

# Notes

Quotations from *Love's Martyr* and the *Diverse Poetical Essays* are from the first edition of 1601. (I have modernized these titles in the text.) Otherwise, Shakespeare is quoted from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, 2nd edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). Jonson, unless otherwise noted, is quoted from *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–52), and Edmund Spenser from *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Osgood and Fredrick Padelford, 10 vols (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932–57).

## Introduction

1. Colin Burrow, 'Life and Work in Shakespeare's Poems', *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999), 3.
2. J. C. Maxwell (ed.), *The Cambridge Shakespeare: The Sonnets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), xxxiii.
3. See, for instance, Catherine Belsey's essays 'Love as Trompe-l'oeil: Taxonomies of Desire in *Venus and Adonis*', in *Shakespeare in Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 34–53, and 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Poetry*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 90–107.
4. William Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1.
5. I admire the efforts of recent editors to alert readers to the fact that all titles imposed on it are artificial, but there are several reasons why I reluctantly refer to it as 'The Phoenix and Turtle'. Colin Burrow, in *The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chooses to name it after its first line, the rather inelegant 'Let the bird of lowdest lay', which, out of context, to my ear sounds more silly than solemn. Since the line's proposition is cropped in mid-thought, this strategy is less successful than with Marlowe's 'Come live with me and be my love'. First lines could serve as titles in Shakespeare's period, but in this case the poem's first line is not its title, in a volume of otherwise titled poems, and even 'untitled' poses its own problem in becoming in effect a substitute title for a work that has none. Without a title, the poem's oracular voice is less mediated; the technique might have been intentional. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Henry Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems* (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), acknowledging both history and tradition, provide the cumbersome alternative: 'Verses in Love's Martyr [*The Phoenix and Turtle*]'.  
Having decided to choose one of the two most popular conventional titles, I have selected the one that omits the second definite article, conforming to the dominant pattern in *Love's Martyr: or Rosalin's Complaint, Allegorically shadowing the Truth of Love, in the Constant Fate of the Phoenix*

**and Turtle.** The same title page on which this formulation appears adds that the volume also contains 'some new compositions, of several modern Writers', as being 'upon the first subject: viz. **the Phoenix and Turtle**'. On the internal title page of the *Poetical Essays*, the second definite article is again absent, even as the birds are reversed: the subject is here described as being 'on the former Subject; viz: **the Turtle and Phoenix**'. Finally, Marston, commenting on Shakespeare's poem, writes of '**the Phoenix and Turtle** Doves ashes' in the title of his first verse. Empson in *Essays on Shakespeare*, 18–19, n2, argues that only 'The Phoenix and the Turtle' captures the 'habitual rhythm of Shakespeare's poem' which should not be spoiled by 'an illogical pedantry', since it seems like the 'natural title', recapitulating 'this turtle and his queen' and 'the phoenix and the dove' (lines 31 and 50). Barbara Everett, Letter, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', *TLS*, 6 April 2001: 17, however, finds Empson's choice 'curiously banal in its rhythm', thus indicating how subjective these kinds of judgements can be.

6. Edwin Honig, *Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1959), and Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), emphasize the futility of attempting to differentiate 'allegory' from 'symbolism' in complex poems.
7. *Loves Martyr* (London, 1601), sigs. Z3<sup>v</sup>–Z4<sup>v</sup>.
8. Burrow (ed.), *Poems*, 88. Yet these identities, I would add, somehow still manage paradoxically to stay divided as an intrinsic condition of their being.
9. George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 160–1.
10. John Buxton, 'Two Dead Birds: A Note on *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *English Renaissance Studies: Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in Honour of Her Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 47, n15, cites 'Robert Parry's Diary', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 15 (1915): 125, and the heading of a Welsh poem of congratulation (Christ Church MS 184, fo. 288<sup>v</sup>), and specifically assigns the ceremony, without further evidence, to 14 June. Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from a Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 140, however, places it on 1 June 1601, but without noting why.
11. William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine* (London, 1605), in '*Certaine Poemes*', 8.
12. For Shakespeare and Jonson's theatrical dialogue on the nature and function of drama, from 1599 to 1601, see James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets' War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). The 'Chronological Appendix', 270–6, justifies this dating of *Twelfth Night* and *Troilus and Cressida*.
13. Walter Ong, 'Metaphor and the Twinned Vision', *The Sewanee Review* 63 (1955): 193–201.
14. For the rationale behind the recent rise of a mode of criticism that focuses primarily on artistic objects and their effects, while acknowledging context, in what has been called either 'New Aestheticism' or 'New Formalism', see *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements*, ed. Mark David Rasmussen (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Jeff Dolven, 'Shakespeare and the New Aestheticism', *Literary Imagination* 5 (2003): 95–109; *The New Aestheticism*, ed. John J. Joughin and Simon Malpus (Manchester: Manchester

- University Press, 2003); and Hugh Grady, *Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
15. Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991) provides a superb overview of this issue in the English Renaissance theatre.
  16. See Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets' War*, 55–81.
  17. *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 2024, for example, notes that, 'It is unclear which bird this refers to – possibly the phoenix, unless one reads "Death is now the phoenix" nest (line 56) not as part of a cycle but as a final resting place'. Yet it proposes the rooster as an alternative. *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 1891, however, is exceptional in stipulating, 'Of uncertain identity, but clearly not the phoenix', even though 'the sole Arabian tree' of line 2 'suggests' its 'traditional habitat'.
  18. Letter to George and Tom Keats, dated 21 December 1817, in *John Keats: Selected Letters*, ed. Robert Gittings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 40–1.
  19. Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), 302.
  20. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, *Life of Shakespeare* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1909), 128.
  21. Alison Shell, 'Why Didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?' in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 105.
  22. See Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare's Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), and John D. Cox, *Seeming Knowledge: Shakespeare and Skeptical Faith* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007).
  23. C. H. Herford (ed.), *The Works of William Shakespeare*, 10 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 10: 504.
  24. Helen Gardner (ed.), *The Metaphysical Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), 25.

## 1 The Mystery of 'The Phoenix and Turtle'

1. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 1866–1882* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 118.
2. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Parnassus* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1874), vi. Henry Augustin Beers, *Four Americans: Roosevelt, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whitman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 71–2, recalls how he heard Emerson eloquently read 'that mysterious little poem', on request, in 1879 to a group gathered in his library at Concord as part of an informal symposium on Shakespeare.
3. Sidney Lanier in *Shakespeare and His Forerunners: Studies in Elizabethan Poetry and Its Development from Early English* (New York: 1902; rpt. Doubleday, 1908), 94–5.
4. John Masefield, *William Shakespeare* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911), 249.
5. T. S. Eliot, *The Sacred Wood and Other Early Essays* (New York: Dover, 1998), 17, from *The Athenaeum*, 2 May 1919: 18.

6. John Middleton Murry, *Discoveries: Essays in Literary Criticism* (New York: Collins, 1922), 25. Oddly, Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, The Poems*, 27 vols (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1938) 22: 564, missing the critical momentum in its favour, concludes that, 'Editors and other more or less professional scholars seldom indulge in praise' of the poem. Scholars who consult this important volume are consequently left with an unfairly diminished appraisal.
7. Bernard H. Newdigate, *The Phoenix and Turtle* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1937), xi.
8. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 491.
9. Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'Shakespeare's Poetry', *A New Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. Kenneth Muir and S. Schoenbaum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 104. William Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 18. Peter Dronke, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', *Orbis Litterarum* 23 (1968): 199–220, calls it 'brilliant'. Louis Zukofsky, *Bottom: On Shakespeare* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 45, writes that "Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* travels with the flames of "The Phoenix and Turtle". Walter Oakeshott, 'Loves Martyr', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1975): 30, considers it 'the quintessence of poetry'. Roman Jakobson, 'Verbal Interanimations', review of *Poetries: Their Media and Ends* by I. A. Richards, *TLS*, 5 September 1975: 985, lauds it as 'Shakespeare's masterpiece', and John Berryman, *Berryman's Shakespeare, Essays, Letters and Other Writings* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1999), 34 and 138, as 'magnificent' and 'beautiful'.
10. F. T. Prince (ed.), *Shakespeare: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), xlii. It is, he adds, 'a priceless addition' to the canon that shows 'the imaginative power which charges one after another of Shakespeare's mature plays with inexhaustible suggestions of meaning' (xlii). Nowhere else, he adds, 'have we an opportunity to see this power at work in isolation and in so small a compass' (xliv). Muriel Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context: The Constellated Globe* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1989), 74, calls it Shakespeare's 'highest achievement' in 'the Grand Style or the Sublime'.
11. Frank Kermode, *The Age of Shakespeare* (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 138.
12. Barbara Everett, 'Set Upon a Golden Bough to Sing: Shakespeare's Debt to Sidney in "The Phoenix and Turtle"', *TLS*, 16 February 2001: 13; and Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare: National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 173. The poem has also been derided. Sidney Lee's first reaction was to remark that, 'Happily Shakespeare wrote nothing else of like character' (*Shakespeare's Life and Work* [London: Macmillan, 1906], 91). 'There is quite a craze for the "Phoenix and Turtle" just now', Richard Aldington wrote to Amy Lowell in April 1922, 'and I am very much looked down upon because I suggested that it was only the divine William making fun of Donne'. Mocking the 'metaphysical' style as incomprehensible, he preferred 'impression and emotion' (*Richard Aldington, An Autobiography in Letters*, ed. Norman T. Gates [University Park: Penn State Press, 1992], 67). Although Mark Van Doren named it a 'minor masterpiece', he found it 'frigid and brittle' (*Shakespeare* [rpt. 1939, New York: New Yorker Books, 2005], 4).

13. John Kerrigan, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta De Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 76, and Tom Bishop, 'Personal Fowl: "The Phoenix and the Turtle" and the Question of Character', *Shakespeare Studies* 34 (2006): 71.
14. Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Shakespeare, or, The Poet', *Representative Men in Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays and Lectures* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 720.
15. I assume that its title contains a misprint: 'Anuals [i.e. 'Annals' not 'Annuals'] of Great Brittain, or, a Most Excellent Monument, wherein may be seene all the antiquities of this Kingdome, to the satisfaction both of the Universities, or any other place stirred with Emulation of long continuance. Excellently figured out in a worthy Poem'.
16. See Colin Burrow, 'Life and Work in Shakespeare's Poems', *Shakespeare's Poems*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (London: Taylor & Francis, 1999), 18. Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), xv, incorrectly lists 'The Phoenix and Turtle' as being part of Lintott's 1709 and 1710 editions of Shakespeare's *Poems*, but Lintott, reprinting *The Passionate Pilgrim* from 1599, having eschewed Benson's edition, missed it.
17. Malone's edition of 1790, for instance, begins with a grouping of the four 'Venus and Adonis' sonnets, having cut the earliest published versions of what were later designated sonnets 138 and 144. Yet he retains, in a new arrangement, the three poems from *Love's Labour's Lost*. 'Live with me and be my love' and 'Love's Answer' are gone, but Malone rounds out his shortened collection with 'Take, oh, take thy lips away' (XVII) (now attributed to Fletcher) and concludes with the still untitled 'Phoenix and Turtle' (XVIII). Malone's notes, however, supply the poem's first detailed set of local readings. Brian Vickers, *William Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage, 1774–1801* (London: Routledge, 1981), 76, n97, reveals that Edward Capell had also planned a collection of the poems and left notes for an edition (Trinity College, MS 5) that comment on the beauty and obscurity of 'The Phoenix and Turtle'.
18. See Rollins (ed.), *New Variorum Poems*, 22: 560–1. *The Poems of Shakespeare . . .* (Boston: Oliver and Munroe, and Belcher and Armstrong, 1807) was published along with *The Dramatick Works of William Shakespeare printed complete, with Dr. Samuel Johnson's preface and notes. . . .* Collier cut the new title's second 'the' in *The Works of William Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Whittaker & Co, 1843), 8: 578–80.
19. In Dyce's edition of *The Works of William Shakespeare* (London: E. Moxton, 1857), 'The Phoenix and Turtle' is printed at the end of volume 6, after *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, *The Lover's Complaint* and *The Passionate Pilgrim* (6: 705–7). Collier broke even more clearly with Malone when he later included 'The Phoenix and Turtle' in the table of contents of Volume 6 of *Shakespeare, Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1858).
20. Helen Vendler, *Coming of Age as a Poet, Milton, Keats, Eliot, Plath* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 65: 'We recall that the phoenix of Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and Turtle" is male, and is therefore available to Keats as a self-image'.
21. James Orchard Halliwell (afterwards Halliwell-Phillipps), *Some Account of R. Chester's 'Loves Martyr, or Rosalins Complaint', a very rare volume published in*

- 1601, including a remarkable poem by Shakespeare. *The Facsimiles* by E. W. Ashbee (London, 1865), British Library shelfmark 11765.bb.11 (number ten).
22. Since the National Library of Wales edition lacks pages before sig. C2 (with the distinguishing title page and front matter) and after sig. Y4 (with the *Poetical Essays*), it could be a fragment of either STC 5119 from 1601 or STC 5120 from 1611.
  23. Grosart's edition is available online from Google Books; a digitalized version of the 1601 quarto can be viewed at EEBO; and a facsimile of the *Poetical Essays* is featured in Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems*, 535–45. The appendix of this book supplies complete texts of those poems that it does not reproduce in facsimile.
  24. Synopses of *Love's Martyr* are usually made to support contradictory historical allegories. These include Grosart's *Robert Chester's Love's Martyr*, xlv–lxi, which views it as a failed effort to secure a match between Essex and Elizabeth; Brown's *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, liv–lxx, which reads it as an epithalamion on Salusbury's marriage to Ursula Halsall; and Thomas P. Harrison's 'Love's Martyr, by Robert Chester: A New Interpretation', *Texas Studies in English* 30 (1951): 66–85, the one currently most popular, which interprets it as the triumphant union of Salusbury and Elizabeth. For an overview, see Richard Allan Underwood's chapter on 'The "Chester Commentators"', *Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and Turtle': A Survey of Scholarship* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1974), 29–82. Chester's adaptations of earlier chronicle material are traced by Charlotte D'Evelyn, 'Sources of the Arthur Story in Chester's *Love's Martyr*', *JEGP* 14 (1915): 75–88, and Ida R. White, *TLS*, 21 July 1932: 532, documents his widespread plagiarism of sources published between 1557 and 1592. Possible allusions to *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* are cited by Colin Burrow (ed.), *Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 84, and to Shakespeare and Spenser's works by Andrew Hadfield, 'The fair Rosalind', *TLS*, 12 October 2008: 13–14.
  25. Boris Borukhov, 'R. Chester's *Love's Martyr* and the Hyphenated Shakespeare', *Notes and Queries* 58 (2011): 258–60, argues that the hyphen is authorial. Yet the surnames in all six of Shakespeare's extant autographs (each different) are hyphenless. The three unabbreviated signatures on his will read 'William Shakspere', 'Willm. Shaksper', and 'William Shakspeare'. The fact that he signed 'William Shakespeare' to the dedications of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, publications entirely under his control, confirms this undivided spelling. The hyphen might function in this instance as a printer's device to provide spacing so that the feet of the 'k' and long 's' of its italicized type do not break (see the facsimile), while keeping the name together. Editorial intervention is apparent in the addition of periods to the ends of all of the collection's titles and subscriptions.
  26. In 1604 he dropped the 'h' from his surname for the more Latinate 'Jonson'. The 'h' appears in his early letters (H&S, 1:194, 198, 199, 200, 202, 210, and 211) and on the title page of *Poetaster* (London, 1602). For context, see Mark Bland, 'Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (67) 2004: 399–400.
  27. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 91–2.
  28. Richard Allan Underwood, *Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and Turtle': A Survey of Scholarship* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1974), 10.

29. *Ibid.*, 7.
30. *Ibid.*, 4–6. Kenneth Muir and Sean O’Loughlin, *The Voyage to Illyria: A Study of Shakespeare* (London: Methuen, 1937), 129, note that although one twentieth-century scholar ‘Ranjee’ has suggested that John Fletcher wrote it, ‘he offers no valid evidence’.
31. For Blount, see David Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61–3, and for Jaggard, see James P. Bednarz, ‘Canonizing Shakespeare: *The Passionate Pilgrim, England’s Helicon*, and the Question of Authenticity’, *Shakespeare Survey* 80 (2007): 252–67.
32. G. Wilson Knight, *The Mutual Flame: On Shakespeare’s Sonnets and The Phoenix and Turtle* (London: Methuen, 1955), 204.
33. See Underwood, *Shakespeare’s ‘The Phoenix and Turtle’*, 15, n9, and 27.
34. Newdigate, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, xix; John Buxton, “‘Two Dead Birds’: A Note on *The Phoenix and Turtle*”, *English Renaissance Studies Presented to Dame Helen Gardner on Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John Carey and Helen Peters (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 48; and Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare’s Poems*, 112.
35. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Some Account*, 23.
36. Grosart, *Love’s Martyr*, lxi; and Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare*, 24.
37. Grosart, *Love’s Martyr*, 240. These parallels easily multiply. Of the four, for instance, only Chapman uses the compound ‘Castalian bowls’, in ‘Hymnus in Cynthiam’ in *The Shadow of Night* of 1598 (although singular in the ‘Invocatio’), in order to rebuke ‘flesh confounded soules, / That cannot beare the full Castalian bowles’ (lines 162–3), in what some scholars take as a reference to Shakespeare’s Ovidian epigraph for *Venus and Adonis*. (Quoted from *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis Bartlett [New York: Russell & Russell, 1962], 34.) Attributing this phrase to either Shakespeare or Chapman is consequently problematic. Charles Cathcart, *Marston, Rivalry, Rapprochement, and Jonson* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 32, furthermore, concedes that ‘evidence’ could be ‘aggregated in such a way as to point to Jonson’s composition of the two poems; and they could also yield an argument for the agency of Marston’. But he nonetheless ventures that Marston (a) probably wrote the ‘*Vatum Chorus*’ poems alone and (b) then satirized himself for doing so in *What You Will* (20–1). Yet James Doleman in ‘Charles Fitz-Geffry and the “War of the Theaters”’, *Early Theatre* 11 (2008): 99–106, presents convincing inferential evidence from contemporaneous Latin correspondence indicating that *What You Will* was staged between April and May 1601, before, not after, *Love’s Martyr* was published. Since a Privy Council directive of 11 March 1601, aimed especially at Paul’s and Blackfriars, banned performances during Lent, which had already begun on Ash Wednesday, 25 February, and would end on Easter, 12 April, the premiere of *What You Will* can further be narrowed to between 13 April and May 1601. *Love’s Martyr*, however, was published in or after June of that year, once Salusbury was legally entitled to be addressed as a ‘*true-noble Knight*’ on the title page of the *Poetical Essays*.
38. See Roelaf van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971) and Underwood, *Shakespeare’s ‘The Phoenix and Turtle’*, 303–17, for the myth’s diverse forms and applications.

39. Pliny, *The Historie of the World Commonly Called, the Naturall Historie* (London, 1601), 271.
40. *Ibid.*, 271.
41. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.165, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).
42. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, 4 and 230.
43. William Rankins, *Seaven Satyres Applied to the Weeke* (London, 1598).
44. Chester, for example, refers to himself as the 'Turtle-dove' in line 6 of his verse dedication 'The Authors request to the Phoenix' (A4<sup>v</sup>), and some of the seduction poems of the concluding 'Cantoës' treat the Phoenix in an explicitly sexual manner.
45. See James P. Bednarz, 'Imitations of Spenser in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Renaissance Drama* 14 (1983): 99–101.
46. See Patrick Cheney, "'The Phoenix and Turtle": Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser', *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. Curtis Perry and John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 103–25, who emphasizes this tradition. For a previous strategy of engagement with Chaucer, in *As You Like It*, see Catherine Belsey, 'William and Geoffrey', *Shakespeare Without Boundaries, Essays in Honor of Dieter Mehl*, ed. Christa Jansohn, Lena Cowen Orlin and Stanley Wells (Lanham: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 175–88.
47. Peter Dronke, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', 199–220, traces a 'descent from heaven' tradition in this motif.
48. The 'Pellican' and 'Conclusion' (S2<sup>r</sup>–S3<sup>v</sup>) in rhyming couplets (a different verse form from the rest) offer some of Chester's best poetry, prompting Knight, *The Mutual Flame*, 174, to speculate recklessly that Shakespeare either wrote or doctored them.
49. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), 1: 550.
50. J. W. Lever, review of 'The Poems', *Shakespeare Survey* 15 (1962): 29.
51. S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 327–8.
52. Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 289.
53. Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare Only* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 42.
54. Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: Printed by J.G., W.L., and W.C., 1662), 126.
55. See Lukas Erne, 'Print and Manuscript', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Poetry*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 54–71.
56. See Bednarz, 'Canonizing Shakespeare', 252–67.
57. Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Was the 1609 *Shakespeare's Sonnets* Really Unauthorized?' *Review of English Studies* 34 (1983): 151–71, and Colin Burrow, 'Life and Work', 34–6, as well as his edition of *William Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 95.
58. Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, A Lover's Complaint, and John Davies of Hereford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Harold Love, 'Hallow the Shallow', *TLS*, 20 July 2007: 3. David Bevington's review in *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 1463–6, and Peter Holland's in *The Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008): 170–1, agree. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen have consequently deleted it from the RSC Shakespeare's *Complete Works*. MacDonald



- P. Jackson, in *Shakespeare's 'A Lover's Complaint': Its Date and Authenticity*, University of Auckland Bulletin, 72, English Series, 13 (Auckland, 1965), and 'A Lover's Complaint, Cymbeline, and the Shakespeare Canon: Interpreting Shared Vocabulary', *The Modern Language Review* 3 (2008): 621–38, however, maintains its authenticity.
59. Erne, *Shakespeare's Poetry*, 65.
60. See Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
61. Burrow, *Poems*, 86.

## 2 Eliminating Essex: *Richard II* and the Diverse Poetical Essays

1. See the introduction to *Robert Chester's 'Loves Martyr, or Rosalins Complaint' (1601)*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London: Trübner & Co, 1878), lvii, and William H. Matchett, *The Phoenix and The Turtle* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), 110. Matchett strangely speculates that *Love's Martyr* is a pro-Essex tract so dangerous that it was suppressed, even though its meaning had been sufficiently obscured 'to avoid outspoken treason' (160).
2. Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare: National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 175. See also Cheney's 'The Voice of the Author' in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. Curtis Perry and John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11–12, and *Reading Sixteenth-Century Poetry* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 276, where 'the most durable candidates' are said to be Elizabeth and Essex. Matchett's theory is endorsed by G. P. V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 251–2, and Walter Oakeshott, 'Loves Martyr', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1975): 35. Ian Donaldson even annotates the poetry of *Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 675, n10, by writing that 'Matchett argues plausibly for a return of Grosart's identification of the phoenix and the turtle with Elizabeth and Essex', and Arthur Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 325, n45, agrees that '*Loves Martyr* connects the phoenix with the deceased Essex'. David Riggs in *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 364, n6, recommends Matchett for understanding Salusbury's bond to Essex. 'If the couple really were Elizabeth and Essex', Gerald Hammond teases readers of *Fleeting Things: English Poets and Poems, 1616–1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 101, Shakespeare's and Jonson's verses in *Love's Martyr* 'would be doubly important'. John Roe, in *The New Cambridge Shakespeare: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 42, observes that the theory 'continues to command a small following', yet cites only Anthea Hume, '*Love's Martyr*, "The Phoenix and Turtle"', and the Aftermath of the Essex Rebellion', *Review of English Studies* 40 (1989): 48–71, who reckons the English people to be the 'true' and Essex to be a 'false' turtle.

Surveying the theory's broader contemporary acceptance, we should mention Alzada Tipton's 'The Transformation of the Earl of Essex: Post-Execution Ballads and "The Phoenix and Turtle"', *Studies in Philology* 99 (2002): 57–80, which traces the glorification of Essex to Shakespeare's poem. It presents one

of the most detailed examinations of *Love's Martyr* on record. The study that has done most to keep the Grosart–Matchett hypothesis alive is Richard C. McCoy's 'Loves Martyrs: Shakespeare's "Phoenix and Turtle" and the Sacrificial Sonnets', *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 188–208. *The Year's Work in English* 78 (1997): 327 especially praised McCoy's essay for its 'historically specific local readings'. Germaine Greer, *Shakespeare: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 16, and Peter Hyland, *Shakespeare's Poems: An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 199, offer it as a possibility. Lynn Enterline, "'The Phoenix and the Turtle", Renaissance Elegies, and the Language of Grief', *Early Modern English Poetry: A Critical Companion*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 152, states that in current criticism 'generally the phoenix is taken to signify Queen Elizabeth and the turtle, more tentatively, the earl of Essex'. Tom MacFaul, *Poetry and Paternity in Renaissance England: Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157, also assumes the theory is possible. Michael Schoenfeldt, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 150, n5, however, indicates a shift of direction in objecting that while 'the most common suggestions align the phoenix with Queen Elizabeth and the turtle with the earl of Essex', they are solely a 'literary idea'.

3. Roe, *Poems*, 77.
4. Helen Hackett, *Shakespeare and Elizabeth: The Meeting of Two Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 137.
5. Interest in the Globe performance was piqued by the Evelyn May Albright–Ray Heffner debate about the connection between Shakespeare's play and Hayward's *History*. Their exchange includes: Albright, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy', *PMLA* 42 (1927): 686–720; Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex', *PMLA* 45 (1930): 754–80; Albright, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Hayward's *History of Henry IV*, and the Essex Conspiracy', *PMLA* 46 (1931): 694–719; Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex Again', *PMLA* 47 (1932): 898–9; and Albright, 'Reply', *PMLA* 47 (1932): 899–901. See also Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 117–27, and Charles R. Forker's introduction to the Arden 3 *Richard II* (London: Thomson Learning, 2002), 1–22. The subject has recently been revived by Blair Worden, 'Which Play Was Performed at the Globe on 7 February 1601?' *The London Review of Books*, 10 July 2003: 22, and 'Shakespeare in Life and Art: Biography and *Richard II*', *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 23–42; Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Shakespeare, *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59 (2008): 1–35; and Jonathan Bate's chapter 14, in *Soul of the Age, A Biography of the Mind of William Shakespeare* (New York: Random House, 2009), 279–318.
6. The National Archives, London, UK, SP 78/41, folio 191r.
7. Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 101/16.
8. Gary Taylor, 'William Shakespeare, Richard James and the House of Cobham', *Review of English Studies* 38 (1987): 354.

9. *Sir John Oldcastle*, Prologue, lines 1–9, in *The Oldcastle Controversy*, ed. Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).
10. See James P. Bednarz, 'Biographical Politics: Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Oldcastle Controversy', *The Ben Jonson Journal* 11 (2004): 1–20, and Paul Whitfield White, 'Shakespeare, the Cobhams, and the Dynamics of Theatrical Patronage', in *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 64–89.
11. J. H. Walter (ed.), *King Henry V* (London: Methuen, 1954), xi. For evidence that this passage refers to Essex in 1599, see James P. Bednarz, 'When did Shakespeare Write the Choruses of *Henry V*?' *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006): 486–9, and 'Dekker's Response to the Chorus of *Henry V* in 1599', published in *Notes and Queries* in March of 2012. See also Charles Cathcart, 'Guilpin, Shakespeare, and a Scourge of Wire', *Notes and Queries* 54 (2007): 307–10.
12. Worden, 'Shakespeare in Life and Art', 36, notes the earl of Rutland was hawking. Essex was 'in bed, and all in a sweat after tennis'. Of the group that attended *Richard II*, Gelly Meyrick (with Henry Cuffe) was hanged, disembowelled and quartered on 13 March 1601. Blount (with Sir Charles Danvers) was beheaded five days later. Blount admitted that 'if we had failed in our ends, we should, rather than have been disappointed, even have drawn blood from herself [i.e. the queen]' (quoted from H.M.C.S., 10: 38, by Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex: An Elizabethan Icarus* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971] 316). Lee was executed on 17 February for planning to force the queen to sign a warrant for Essex's release.
13. Hammer, 'Shakespeare, *Richard II*', 1–35. For a superb treatment of the development of the Essex faction, see Hammer's *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially Chapter 7, 'My lord of Essex his men'.
14. A pattern for the intervention is set out in *The State of Christendom*, a manuscript first published in 1657, which is linked to the Rising by Alexandra Gajda, 'The State of Christendom: History, Political Thought, and the Essex Circle', *Historical Research* 81 (2007): 423–46.
15. Augustine Phillips's testimony is quoted from E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 2:325.
16. David Bergeron, 'Richard II and Carnival Politics', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 33–43.
17. Evelyn May Albright, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Essex Conspiracy', *PMLA* 42 (1927): 686–720. Textual parallels between Hayward's and Shakespeare's works are now routinely cited as examples of the play's impact on the history's composition. See, for example, James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), 136–9.
18. See Bate, *Soul of the Age*, 303.
19. Quoted by Richard Dutton, *Licensing, Censorship, and Authorship in Early Modern England: Buggeswords* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000), 172, from CSPD 1601, 499.

20. Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'Archival Poetics and the Politics of Literature: Essex and Hayward Re-visited', in *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 32 (1999): 115–32, and Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca: Cornell, 2006), 23–51.
21. Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 123.
22. Essex had only made it appear that he objected to the dedication, Francis Bacon cynically charged, without evidence, to make its forbidden contents more appealing.
23. Bate, *Soul of the Age*, 258, noting that there is no evidence that Joscelyn Percy attended the performance, sees the commission as coming primarily from Charles, whom Meyrick claimed, under interrogation, probably 'procured' it.
24. Leeds Barroll, 'A New History for Shakespeare and His Time', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 444. Bate, *Soul of the Age*, 256, however, suggests that 'since "ordinary" was also the term for a fixed price', forty shillings above their 'ordinary fee' might perhaps have been twelve pounds, instead of the usual ten, for a court performance.
25. Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 73.
26. Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex', 755.
27. Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 123.
28. *Ibid.*, 124.
29. Worden, 'Shakespeare', 33.
30. *Ibid.*, 31. Worden conjectures that the play performed in 1601 was acted 'probably (though we cannot be certain) by the same company' that produced it in 1599.
31. From the examination of John Wolfe on 13 July 1600 in *The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601*, 450–1, cited by Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex', 759.
32. Three of Allot's excerpts from *Richard II* (which never cite its title) are, however, attributed to 'Ed. Spencer' (number 1560), 'J. Daniell' (1557), and 'Mr. Dr'. (1927), presumably Michael Drayton. See *England's Parnassus*, ed. Charles Crawford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), quotations 5, 311, 605, 862, 1557, 1560, and 1927. See also Crawford's 'Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses', *Englische Studien* 43 (1910–1911): 198–228. On the strength of the 47 quotations from *Richard II* in *Belvedere*, Charles Forker, in his Arden 3 edition of Shakespeare's drama, describes it as Bodenham's 'favorite play' (1).
33. Bate, *Soul of the Age*, 254. Bate, 309–13, mistrusts the accuracy of the anecdote in which Elizabeth is supposed to have said to William Lambarde, the keeper of rolls and records at the Tower: 'I am Richard II. Know ye not that?' Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare, Upstart Crow*, 219–20, finds it plausible.
34. Alexander Grosart, *Loves Martyr*, xxxv. When the turtle-dove flies to Paphos in Chester's poem, Grosart suggests unconvincing 'parallel passages and allusions', xxxvi, in order to support his contention that it represents Essex's military excursion in Ireland.
35. Matchett, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, 194 and xlvi.
36. Quoted from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, Appendix C, 32. See William A. Ringler and Steven W. May, 'An Epilogue Possibly by Shakespeare', *Modern Philology* 70 (1972): 138–9; Michael Hattaway, 'Dating *As You Like It*, Epilogues and Prayers, and the Problems of "As the Dial Hand Tells O'er"', *Shakespeare*

- Quarterly* 60 (2009): 159–60, who suggests that Jonson is an even ‘stronger candidate for authorship’; and Helen Hackett, “‘As the Diall Hand Tells Ore’”: The Case for Dekker, Not Shakespeare, As Author’, *Review of English Studies* (2011): advance online access 27 May 2011.
37. Tom MacFaul, *Poetry and Paternity*, 157. Peter Wentworth’s *A Pithy Exhortation*, advising the queen to settle the issue of succession (which was posthumously published in 1598), was written after he had been incarcerated in the Tower two years earlier for advocating Parliament’s right to consider the matter. William Camden, in *Annales, The True and Royall History of the Empresse Elizabeth* (London, 1625), P4, observes that at the time, even though the topic was constantly considered, ‘nothing’ was ‘more distasteful’ to the queen than ‘to heare any debates about this Title of Succession’.
  38. F. J. Furnivall, ‘On Chester’s *Love’s Martyr*: Essex is not the Turtle-Dove of Shakespeare’s *Phoenix and Turtle*’, *New Shakespere Society Transactions* 5–7 (1877–9): 454.
  39. *The Aldus Shakespeare*, ed. J. Ellis Burdick, 40 vols (New York: Funk and Wagnall’s, 1909), 39: 207. Alexander Dyce and John Forster, the editors of the *Cambridge Shakespeare*, 19 vols (Boston: Colonial Press, 1901), 19: 374, had previously concluded that, ‘There is not much to be said in favour of the view’.
  40. Introduction to ‘The Phoenix and Turtle’, *The Histories and Poems*, ed. Edward Dowden (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), 1159.
  41. Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare: Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 86. The drive to identify the Phoenix biographically nevertheless remains as robust as ever. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, in their introduction to *Shakespeare: The Sonnets and Other Poems* (New York: Random House, 2009), xxi, contend that: ‘It is hard to imagine Chester’s phoenix as anything than a symbol for Queen Elizabeth’. Since Salusbury’s mother was also associated with the phoenix, Duncan-Jones, in *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from His Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 142, sees a more general allegory, wherein the phoenix ‘does not represent any single woman, but rather symbolizes the female Tudor line, alluding occasionally to Elizabeth, but more often to Salusbury’s mother and daughter’.
  42. Hackett, *Shakespeare and Elizabeth*, 134. Alluding to ‘The Phoenix and Turtle’, Hackett acknowledges that ‘those who have written most eloquently about this reticent and haunting poem have eschewed the quest for a key’ (135), noting that this ‘consummately enigmatic poem particularly incites deciphering, but at the same time firmly rebuffs it’ (137). See also Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson, *England’s Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 90–4, for the origin of the influential ‘secret history’ of Elizabeth and Essex.
  43. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare’s Poems* (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), 94 and 140. This position, with which I agree, implicitly rejects the reasoning behind Anthea Hume’s ‘*Loves Martyr*, “The Phoenix and the Turtle”, and the Aftermath of the Essex Rebellion’, *Review of English Studies* 40 (1989): 48–71.
  44. Mervyn Evans James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 424, states that ‘the groups of peers, heads of gentry families, younger sons, and army officers’ who gathered around Essex, ‘had few of the characteristics of the old-style

- feudal affinity', since he lacked the landed resources necessary for a 'regional revolt'. His family, nevertheless, had a long connection with south Wales.
45. For biographical background on Salusbury, see A. D. Carr, 'Salusbury family (per. c. 1454–c. 1684)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems*, 95–107.
  46. Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 138. See W. R. B. Robinson, 'Sir Roland Veleville and the Tudor Dynasty: A Reassessment', *Welsh History Review* 15 (1991): 351–67. Salusbury in 1597 named his own bastard son, by Grace Peake, 'Velivel', Brown notes in *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, xvi.
  47. Brown (ed.), *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, xviii.
  48. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, 90.
  49. Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex: An Elizabethan Icarus* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 251, and Akrigg, *Shakespeare*, 112.
  50. J. E. Neale, 'Three Elizabethan Elections', *The English Historical Review* 46 (1931): 209–38. See also Brown, *Poems by Sir Robert Salusbury*, xv–xxiii.
  51. Brown (ed.), *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, xvii, n3, mentions that Owen, who had served with Essex in Ireland, is 'frequently mentioned as one of his trusted lieutenants' and that 'his movements were closely watched by government informers shortly before the Essex rising'. His death is recorded in Robert Parry's *Diary*. See also Paul E. J. Hammer, 'A Welshman Abroad: Captain Peter Wynn of Jamestown', *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 16 (1998): 59–92, esp. 65–71, 79–81, 82. Brown (xvii) notes that Richard Trevor, who had aided John after his assault on Owen in March 1593, was his enemy by 1601.
  52. Brown (ed.), *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, xxii and xxii. Trevor reports Salusbury's cited contempt for the deceased Essex in a cross-complaint to the Privy Council.
  53. Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 240, and E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare, the 'Lost Years'* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), 93.
  54. Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, 209.
  55. *Ibid.*, 303–4.
  56. Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne: Renaissance Essays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 194.
  57. A. H. Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex Revolt of 1601', *The English Historical Review* 59 (1944): 366.
  58. See Robert Shephard, 'Court Factions in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Modern History* 64 (1992): 721–45.
  59. Matchett, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, 122.
  60. *Ibid.*, 122–3.
  61. Mark Bland, "'As far from all Revolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000): 53–4. In support of his theory, for example, Bland, following Matchett, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, 139–40, n5, cites a letter from William, Lord Derby, Salusbury's brother-in-law, written on 27 November 1598, asking if he would be willing to join him with Essex in Ireland.
  62. *Ibid.*, 53.

63. Neale, 'Three Elizabethan Elections', 219.
64. Dodd, 'North Wales', 366. There is no basis for Matchett's belief that *Love's Martyr* was originally intended to be dedicated to Essex and that 'the two dedications to Essex, Chester's and that signed "*Vatum Chorus*", were for safety's sake readdressed to Chester's old patron' (142). Bland, spinning an equally incredible conspiracy fable, conjectures that the ode to Desmond was secretly written for Essex.
65. Bland, "'As far from all Revolt'", 43.

### 3 Literary Politics: The Publication of *Love's Martyr*

1. Robert Speaight, *Shakespeare: The Man and His Achievement* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000), 220, incorrectly states that the first edition 'was denounced as "seditious"' and 'clandestinely printed and sold'. The volume's lack of registration is neither suspicious nor irregular. *Love's Martyr* was among the third of all books published during the period that were not registered. See Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 400. Blayney, 403, warns that 'inane conspiracy theories' arise from a misunderstanding of 'questions of entrance'.
2. Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006), 377.
3. Francis Bacon, *A Declaration of the Practices and Treasons Committed by Robert Late Earl of Essex and His Complices . . .* (London, 1601), K2<sup>v</sup>-K3<sup>r</sup>.
4. For dramatic sparring between Jonson and Shakespeare from 1599 to 1601, see James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets' War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
5. Colin Burrow (ed.), *William Shakespeare: Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 90.
6. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems* (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), 94. Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare, Scenes from His Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 138, had previously described Chester as Salusbury's 'side-kick (later chaplain)'. See instead Charles R. Forker, 'Robert Chester (fl. c. 1586-1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
7. See Boris Borukhov, 'Was the Author of *Love's Martyr* Chester of Royston?' *Notes and Queries* 56 (2009): 77-81.
8. Carleton Brown (ed.), *Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester* (London: Kegan Paul, Trencher, Trübner 1914), xlvii-liv. Although Borukhov maintains that we do not know who Chester really is, he nonetheless reveals our most complete portrait (aside from Charles Forker's article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*) of Chester in refuting the Royston thesis.
9. See J. George, 'Robert Chester', *The National Library of Wales Journal* 6 (1950): 392, and John Buxton, 'Two Dead Birds: A Note on *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *English Renaissance Studies: Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in Honour of Her Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 46. Chester had earlier stood in for Salusbury in a similar capacity on 18 January of that year.
10. Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture Before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 299 and 298.

11. See G. Blakemore Evans, *The Poems of Robert Parry* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 10–22. (Evans proves Parry is the sole author of the ‘patron’ poems in *Sinetes Passions* that Brown had attributed to Salusbury.)
12. See *Ibid.*, Posies I–IV, VI and VIII, as well as Chester’s No. VIII, IX and X and Salusbury’s XXVI in Brown (ed.), *Poems of Sir John Salusbury*.
13. Alexander Grosart, advertising his forthcoming edition in *Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books* (Blackburn: Privately Printed, 1875), 6.
14. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (ed.), *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–52), 11: 41, following Brown, *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, liv. With few exceptions, Chester’s poem has been excoriated in contemporary criticism. F. T. Prince in *Poems* (London: Methuen, 1960), xl, calls it ‘rubbish’, that is not only ‘grotesquely incompetent and tedious’ but ‘chaotic’, and Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen in *Shakespeare’s Poems*, 94, pronounce it ‘pedestrian’, ‘tedious’ and ‘aesthetically discouraging’.
15. Terence G. Schoone-Jongen, *Shakespeare’s Companies: William Shakespeare’s Early Career and the Acting Companies, 1577–1594* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 103–17, acknowledges that even though the arguments for his connection with Lord Strange’s Men are plausible, ‘none of these premises are unequivocal evidence for Shakespeare’s presence in the company, and, as such, alternative explanations for his whereabouts cannot be ruled out’ (117). See also Sally-Beth MacLean, ‘A Family Tradition: Dramatic Patronage by the Earls of Derby’, in *Region, Religion, and Patronage*, ed. Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 205–26. E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: ‘The Lost Years’* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985), 62, admits that Shakespeare ‘was not named as a member of Strange’s Men in their license to travel of 6 May 1593’. Lawrence Manley, ‘From Strange’s Men to Pembroke’s Men: 2 *Henry VI* and the *First Part of the Contention*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 34 (2003): 253–87, shows how Shakespeare elevates the Stanleys’ role in history.
16. Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture*, 300.
17. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare’s Poems*, 97.
18. A part of Chester’s poem *might* have come to life in this way. But there is no definite indication of an association between Salusbury and Chester before 1598.
19. Richard Dutton, *William Shakespeare: A Literary Life* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1989), 7. For a strong refutation, see R. Bearman, ‘“John Shakespeare’s Spiritual Testament”: A Reappraisal’, *Shakespeare Survey* 56 (2003): 184–203, and ‘“Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?” Revisited’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 53 (2002): 83–94.
20. See John Roe (ed.), *The New Cambridge Shakespeare: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 48; and MacDonald P. Jackson, ‘Vocabulary and Chronology: The Case of Shakespeare’s Sonnets’, *Review of English Studies* 52 (2001): 73.
21. Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture*, 311.
22. Thomas P. Harrison, ‘*Love’s Martyr* by Robert Chester: A New Interpretation’, *University of Texas Studies in English* 30 (1951): 66–85; Muriel Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context: The Constellated Globe* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1989), 78.



23. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 108 and 118. Since Salusbury's electoral victory is recorded on 16 December 1601, he only served in Parliament for three days. Chester fancifully alludes to a "Parliament" of 'the Gods', but nowhere in *Love's Martyr* is any election cited. It is Salusbury's status as an 'honored Knight' (A3) that is prominently showcased.
24. Marie Axton, 'Miraculous Succession: The Phoenix and Turtle (1601)', in *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 116–30.
25. Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 142.
26. Hume, 'Love's Martyr', "The Phoenix and Turtle", and the Aftermath of the Essex Rebellion', *Review of English Studies* 40 (1989): 55. For Elizabeth's transformation into the dead phoenix in the Jacobean period, see John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Elizabeth H. Hageman and Katherine Conway (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2007), especially Alan Young, 'The Phoenix Reborn: An Appropriation of an Elizabethan Symbol', 68–81, and Georgianna Ziegler, 'A Second Phoenix: The Rebirth of Elizabeth I as Elizabeth Stuart', 111–31.
27. For the Elizabethan use of phoenix iconography, see Elkin Wilson, *England's Eliza* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 21–2; and Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 81–3. For the larger dynastic context, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), especially 385–94.
28. Although included in the First Folio, scholars have long suspected it to be a collaboration. See Brian Vickers, 'Henry VIII and The Two Noble Kinsmen with John Fletcher' in *Shakespeare, Co-Author* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 333–402.
29. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 116.
30. Their main advocates are: <sup>(a)</sup> Alexander Grosart, *Love's Martyr*, and William H. Matchett, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*; <sup>(b)</sup> Carleton Brown, *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*; E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare, 'The Lost Years'*; <sup>(c)</sup> Harrison, 'Love's Martyr', 66–85; John Buxton, 'Two Dead Birds', 44–55; Anthea Hume, 'Love's Martyr', 48–71; and Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems* (2007); <sup>(d)</sup> Gwyn Williams, 'Shakespeare's Phoenix', *National Library of Wales Journal* 22 (1982): 277–81; <sup>(e)</sup> Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*; <sup>(f)</sup> Roy T. Erickson, "'Un certo amoroso matire': Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and the Turtle" and Giordano Bruno's *De gli eroici furori*", *Spenser Studies* 2 (1981): 193–215; <sup>(g)</sup> Bernard H. Newdigate, 'The Phoenix and Turtle: Was Lady Bedford the Phoenix?' *TLS*, 24 October 1936: 862; ed., *Jonson, Poems* (1936) and *The Phoenix and Turtle* (1937); and <sup>(h)</sup> Alfred von Mauntz, *Jarbuch* 28 (1893); J. Mort, *Shakespeare Self-Revealed in His Sonnets and Phoenix and Turtle* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1904); Walter Thomson, *Sonnets of William Shakespeare and Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton* (Liverpool: B. Blackwell and H. Young & Sons, 1938); G. Wilson Knight, *The Mutual Flame: On Shakespeare's Sonnets and The Phoenix and Turtle* (1955); Kenneth Muir and Sean O'Loughlin in *The Voyage to Illyria: A New Study of Shakespeare* (London: Methuen, 1937); <sup>(i)</sup> John F. Forbis, *The Shakespearean Enigma and an Elizabethan Mania* (New York: American Library

- Service, 1924), 200; <sup>(i)</sup> David Honneyman, *Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Court of Navarre* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997); <sup>(k)</sup> Ilya Gililov, *The Shakespeare Game: The Mystery of the Great Phoenix* (New York: Algora, 2003); <sup>(l)</sup> Clare Asquith, 'A Phoenix for Palm Sunday: Was Shakespeare's Poem a Requiem for Catholic Martyrs?' (2001); <sup>(m)</sup> Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1957), 237–9; John Finnis and Patrick Martin, 'Another Turn for the Turtle: Shakespeare's Intercession for Love's Martyr' (2003). For a concise debunking of Gililov's outrageous historical speculation, see Boris Borukov, "'The Phoenix and Turtle" Was Published in 1601', *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006): 71–2.
31. Kermode, *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne*, 198.
  32. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context*, 82.
  33. Heinrich Straumann, "'The Phoenix and the Turtle" in its Dramatic Context', *English Studies* 58 (1977): 496.
  34. John Kerrigan, 'Shakespeare's Poems', *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 76.
  35. J. C. Maxwell, *The Cambridge Shakespeare: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), xxviii.
  36. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems*, 93, write that 'close readers of the schools of John Crowe Ransom, I. A. Richards and William Empson have received "The Phoenix and Turtle" joyfully as a lyric which is in effect context-free'. This misconstrues Empson's position, which was influenced by Brown and Honigmann.
  37. Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Poems*, 121–3, and Duncan-Jones, Letter, 'A Lover's Complaint', *TLS*, 20 July 2007: 6.
  38. Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 142; and Tom MacFaul, *Paternity and Poetry in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157.
  39. See Richard Levin, 'The Figures of Fluellen', *New Readings vs. Old Plays: Recent Trends in the Reinterpretation of English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 209–29.
  40. Quoted from 'A Letter of the Authors Expounding His Whole Intention', *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, 1: 167.
  41. For the network of associations linking Salusbury, Marston, Shakespeare and Jonson to the Middle Temple, see Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare*, 137–41. For William Stanley's connection to the Children of Paul's and his own troupe the Earl of Derby's Men, see Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeareian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 339–40.
  42. See Charles Cathcart, *Marston, Rivalry, Rapprochement, and Jonson* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 20.
  43. W. Reavley Gair (ed.), *Antonio's Revenge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11. It was printed as *The Honorable Lord and Lady Huntingdon's Entertainment of their Right Noble Mother, Alice Spenser, Countess Dowager of Derby, the Last Night of Her Honor's Arrival at the House of Ashby*.
  44. Quoted from *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (New York: Russel & Russel, 1962), 19.
  45. Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 11: 485.
  46. Brown, *The Poems of Sir John Salusbury*, 5–7.

47. See *England's Parnassus: or the Choyssest Flowers of our Moderne Poets*, ed. Charles Crawford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), Numbers 1497 and 1267.
48. Mark Bland, "'As far from all Revolt": Sir John Salusbury, Christ Church MS 184 and Ben Jonson's First Ode', *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000): 44.
49. Israel Gollancz, 'Ben Jonson and the Salusburys', *TLS*, 8 October 1925: 655. Mark Bland, "'As far from all Revolt'", 45–6.
50. See William H. Matchett's argument for revision in *The Phoenix and The Turtle* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), 95–6, n21. Herford and Simpson (ed.), *Ben Jonson*, 8: 9, define 'Proludium' as 'preliminary canter'. In changing it to 'Praeludium', Jonson used a more structurally precise term, one that he had previously employed to introduce *Cynthia's Revels*. 'Epode' (the original manuscript title, later reinstated in *The Forrest*) refers to a classically inspired verse form. Jonson changed it to 'Epos' ('after song') in the *Poetical Essays* to link it more forcefully with 'Praeludium' in this volume.
51. *Satiromastix* (1.2.93–4 and 5.2.328–31) in volume 4 of *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
52. Folger MS X.d.246 (ca. 1600).
53. See David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 67–8; Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 65–7; and Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 162–7. Jonson in *Discoveries* mentions Rutland's scorn for him as a 'poet'.
54. G. P. V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 82–3.
55. See Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1989), 147, and Tom Cain (ed.), *Poetaster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 283–4. Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan* (London: Methuen Drama, 2011), 247, guesses, with no convincing evidence, that Shakespeare 'purged' Jonson by acting the role of Sir Vaughan in *Satiromastix*. But Evans and Cain illustrate how the Welsh knight Sir Vaughan partially evokes Salusbury as a patron (not a poet or player) who seeks revenge after discovering that Horace/Jonson has been hypocritically mocking him.
56. The Actaeon–Niobe allegory was first successfully decoded by Alexander Corbin Judson in *Cynthia's Revels* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912), xxv–xxviii. Its language, Judson states, indicates that the earl's 'execution had already taken place'. See also Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage*, 38–48. Recent criticism, intent on aligning Jonson with Essex's cause, downplays the importance of the Actaeon inset. Bland, "'As far from all Revolt'", 56, dismisses it as 'ironical'. Louis Montorse, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 165, similarly exaggerates what he calls the play's 'recurrent tendency to subvert itself' in elaborating 'Queen Elizabeth's personal mythology'.
57. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, 95.
58. *Ibid.*, 95–7.
59. *A Seventeenth-Century Letter-Book, A Facsimile Edition of Folger MS. V.a.321*, ed. A. R. Braummuller (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 66.

60. See Retha M. Warnicke, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 71.
61. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, "'All Mankind and Her Scots", *Mary Stuart and Modern Britain*, *Literature and the Nation*, ed. Brook Thomas (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1998), 72.
62. John Guy, *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart* (New York: Mariner Books, 2005), 180, and *My Heart is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (Hammersmith: Fourth Estate, 2004), 7.
63. Bernard H. Newdigate, "'The Phoenix and Turtle'", *TLS*, 24 October, 1936: 862, based his conclusion on a manuscript copy of the ode headed 'To: L: C: Of: B: ' in a commonplace book at the Bodleian (Rawl. poet. 31). It might be unreliable.
64. Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace, and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 24–7, cogently explores this poem's remarkable improvisation on Horace's *Odes*, 1.12, and its model Pindar's *Olympian 2*.
65. Alexander Leggatt, *Ben Jonson: His Vision and His Art* (London: Methuen, 1981), 134.
66. See Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1995), 57–88, and *Jonson, Lipsius, and the Politics of Renaissance Stoicism* (Durango: Longwood Academic), 1992.
67. See Katherine Maus, *Jonson and the Roman Frame of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
68. Stephen Orgel (ed.), *Selected Masques* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 345.
69. Quoted from *England's Helicon* (London, 1600), H1<sup>r</sup>.
70. 'Eighth Song', lines 1–8, from *Astrophil and Stella*, in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 217–18.
71. H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *Love's Labour's Lost* (London: Thomson Learning, 1998), 12–13.
72. Roe, *The Poems*, 48, and Barbara Everett, 'Set Upon a Golden Bough to Sing: Shakespeare's Debt to Sidney in "The Phoenix and Turtle"', *TLS*, 16 February 2001: 13–15.
73. Roe, *The Poems*, 38.

#### 4 Incorporate Selves: Shakespeare's Mythmaking

1. A. Alvarez, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', *Interpretations: Essays on Twelve English Poems*, ed. John Wain (London: Folcroft Library Editions, 1955), 3.
2. J. V. Cunningham, "'Essence" and "The Phoenix and Turtle"', *ELH* 30 (1952): 265–76. Kermode's assessment is quoted from *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne: Renaissance Essays* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 197. The main shortcoming in Cunningham's essay is his mistaken assumption that the poem is primarily religious, since, he concludes, it would otherwise be blasphemous.
3. For the poem as the embodiment of an Incarnational poetics, see Murray Krieger, *Poetic Presence and Illusion: Essays in Critical History and Theory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 19–20, and Patricia

- Parker, 'Anagogic Metaphor: Breaking Down the Wall of Partition', *Centre and Labyrinth: Essays in Honour of Northrop Frye*, ed. Eleanor Cook, Chaviva Hosek, Jay Macpherson, Patricia Parker and Julian Patrick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 38–58.
4. Tertullian, *Treatise Against Praxeas*, trans. and ed. Ernest Evans (London: SPCK, 1948), 200. For original theoretical definitions, see 'Tertullian and the Beginnings of the Doctrine of the Trinity', in Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), 1–109. Lucian Turcescu, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Concept of Divine Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), traces the conceptualizations behind Augustine's *De Trinitate* and the ensuing Scholasticism typified by Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*.
  5. *The Book of Common Prayer (1559)*, ed. John E. Booty (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 2005), 65.
  6. Quoted from *The Works of . . . Mr. Richard Hooker with an Account of His Life*, ed. John Kemble, 2 vols (New York: D. Appleton & Co.; 1863) 1: 402.
  7. Quoted from *What Luther Says*, ed. Ewald M. Plass (St Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1959), 1385, in reference to ecumenical creeds of 1538.
  8. For contemporary English challenges to this doctrine, see Nigel Smith, "'And if God was one of us": Paul Best, John Biddle, and Anti-Trinitarian Heresy in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Joseph Loewenstein and John Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 160–84.
  9. Muriel Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context: The Constellated Globe* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1989), 77.
  10. Walter Whiter, *Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare* (London, 1794), 257–8, here describes stanzas 7–13, which he calls a 'very remarkable passage'. Shakespeare's Trinitarian paradigm is subsequently mentioned in passing by Charles David Stewart in *Some Textual Difficulties in Shakespeare* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914), 247. Hyder Edward Rollins (ed.), *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Poems*, 27 vols (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 22: 578–9, points out that Ranjee G. Shahani in *Towards the Stars* (1931) writes of the poem's 'academic aroma', 'elusive Platonism' and 'Trinitarian theology'. The importance of the Athanasian Creed for an understanding of 'The Phoenix and Turtle' is broached by William Norman Guthrie, 'The Phoenix and Turtle: A Liberal Plea for Symbolic Orthodoxy', *Anglican Theological Review* 26 (1944): 10–13. Thereafter the Trinity is referenced in Ranjee G. Shahani, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', *Notes and Queries* 191 (1946): 99–101; Cunningham, cited above; A. Alvarez, 'Shakespeare: *The Phoenix and the Turtle*', 1–21; John Buxton, "'Two Dead Birds": A Note on *The Phoenix and Turtle*', in *English Renaissance Studies Presented to Dame Helen Gardner on Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John Carey and Helen Peters (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 44–55; and *Shakespeare's Poetic Styles: Verse into Drama* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 81–2, as well as Tom Bishop, 'Personal Fowl: "The Phoenix and Turtle" and the Question of Character', *Shakespeare Studies* 36 (2006): 65–74.
  11. Robert Ellrodt, 'An Anatomy of "The Phoenix and the Turtle"', *Shakespeare Survey* 15 (1962): 104.

12. Noted by Edmond Malone in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, 10 vols (London: H. Baldwin, 1790), 10: 344. Michael Drayton, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1961), 2: 342. Quotations from Drayton are from this edition.
13. John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), 9.
14. Margaret Healy, *Shakespeare, Alchemy, and the Creative Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 206, and Brian Green, 'Shakespeare's Heroic Elixir: A New Context for The Phoenix and Turtle', *Studia Neophilologica* 51 (1979): 215–23, are not successful in arguing that the poem is dominated by an alchemical vocabulary, although an oblique reference to alchemy seems possible. Alchemists featured the eagle, dove, swan, crow and pelican as symbols for the colours produced by metals as they were refined to achieve the final stage of distillation – the elixir or philosopher's stone – sometimes referred to as the phoenix. From the fifteenth century onwards, the phoenix was pictorially represented by some alchemists as the culmination of their labour, since the red fire it produced was said to match the colour of the bird's feathers. In *The Alchemist* (1610), Jonson mentions the crow, the green lion, the panther, the peacock's tail, the plumed swan and the toad, never the phoenix. The final transmutation that produces the elixir is called 'the perfect ruby' and 'the red man'. Shakespeare's word 'mine' (line 36) can be taken as both a personal pronoun and as a reference to 'a source of mineral wealth or treasure', the material of alchemical transformations: 'Either was the other's mine'. Chapman plays on this same word in his continuation of *Hero and Leander* (1598), when Hero argues that she and Leander are one, in a passage Shakespeare might have recalled, especially insofar as the lovers are said to contract and separate:

This place was mine; Leander, now 'tis thine;  
 Thou being myself, then it is double mine,  
 Mine, and Leander's mine, Leander's mine.  
 O see what wealth it yields me, nay yields him!  
 For I am in it, he for me doth swim.  
 Rich, fruitful love, that, doubling self-estates,  
 Elixir-like contracts, though separates.

(Quoted from *Christopher Marlowe, The Complete Poems and Translations*, ed. Stephen Orgel [London: Penguin, 1979], 3:411–17). As a precedent for Shakespeare's poem, Chapman combines the word 'mine' (as a source of mineral wealth) with the magical properties of the alchemical 'Elixir' of love that has paradoxically sublimated the lovers even as it separates them. The mining analogy appears again in Donne's 'Loves Alchymie' with its lewd reference to those who have 'deeper digged love's Myne then I' (line 1) in an effort to discover the 'Elixar' (line 7) of life. Shakespeare's poem, however, contradicts alchemical theory in two important ways. First, (following Chapman) it refuses to reduce *two* to *one* in a mystical marriage of elements that annihilates distinction. The anthem does not construe the mystery of the Phoenix and Turtle as a simple unity, but views it as a product of their

- dialectical self-begetting perception of each other as two and one. And second, its *mysterium conjunctionis* does not consist, in typical alchemical fashion, of a union of opposites.
15. K. T. S. Campbell, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle as a Signpost of Shakespeare's Development', *British Journal of Aesthetics* 10 (1970): 170.
  16. Alvarez, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', 9. Green, 'Shakespeare's Heroic Elixir', 215, is right to argue that doctrinal theology is incapable of explaining 'how the poem works as a literary whole'.
  17. See Rudolph Otto's discussion of the '*Mysterium Tremendum*' in *The Idea of the Holy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 12–24.
  18. Kermode, *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne*, 196, builds on T. W. Baldwin, *On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems and Sonnets* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), 363–77.
  19. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 509, and Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. Curtis Perry and John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 123–4.
  20. Murray Krieger, *A Window to Criticism: Shakespeare's Sonnets and Modern Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 153; Brian Green, "'Single Natures Double": An Exegesis of *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *Generous Converse: English Essays in Memory of Edward Davis*, ed. Brian Green (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), 48; Marjorie Garber, 'Two Birds with One Stone: Lapidary Re-Inscription in *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *The Upstart Crow* 5 (1984): 15, and Parker, 'Anagogic Metaphor', 40.
  21. G. Wilson Knight, *The Mutual Flame, on Shakespeare's Sonnets and The Phoenix and the Turtle* (London: Methuen, 1962), 199, and Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context*, 75.
  22. Janet Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays: Hamlet to The Tempest* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 40.
  23. The voluminous scholarship on a poetics of paradox, contradiction and wonder in early modern English culture includes: Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York: Grove Press, 1950); A. P. Rossiter, *Angel with Horns: Fifteen Lectures on Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961); Rosalie Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); Norman Rabkin, *Shakespeare and the Common Understanding* (New York: The Free Press, 1967); Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Joel Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of English Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Graham Bradshaw, *Shakespeare's Scepticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); James Biester, *Lyric Wonder, Rhetoric and Wit in Renaissance English Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), and Peter G. Platt, *Shakespeare and the Culture of Paradox* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).
  24. J. Hillis Miller, 'Ariachne's Broken Wool', *Georgia Review* 31 (1977): 44.
  25. Murray Copland, 'The Dead Phoenix', *Essays in Criticism* 15 (1965): 285.
  26. Robert Ellrodt, 'An Anatomy of "The Phoenix and the Turtle"', *Shakespeare Studies* 15 (1962): 107–8; Murray Copland, 'The Dead Phoenix', *Essays in Criticism* 15 (1968): 285; David Seltzer, "'Their Tragic Scene": *The Phoenix*

- and Turtle and Shakespeare's Love Tragedies', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 12 (1961): 91–101; Elias Schwartz, 'Shakespeare's Dead Phoenix', *ELN* 7 (1969): 52; and John Roe (ed.), *The New Cambridge Shakespeare: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51. Other prominent proponents of the extinction theory include William Matchett, *The Phoenix and Turtle: Shakespeare's Poem and Chester's Loves Martyr* (London: Mouton & Co., 1965), 200; Susan Snyder, *Shakespeare: A Wayward Journey* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2002), 43, who states that 'the poem makes it clear that the ideal will never again be realized on earth'; and Peter Hyland, *An Introduction to Shakespeare's Poems* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 200.
27. Lines 1–4 and 7–8. This 'Epitaph' first appeared in the 1593 edition. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems* (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), 117.
  28. 'After Laura's Death', CCCXXIII, 'Standomi un giorno solo a la fenestra', lines 152–9, in *Petrarch: Sonnets and Songs: Italian–English Edition*, ed. Anna Maria Armi (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1968), 446–8.
  29. A. Kent Hieatt, 'The Genesis of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*: Spenser's *Ruines of Rome: by Bellay*', *PMLA* 98 (1983): 800–14, documents the influence of Spenser's translations from Joachim du Bellay in the same *Complaints* volume, which begins with *The Ruines of Rome* and ends with *The Visions of Petrarch*.
  30. Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), 230. Peter M. Day, 'The Political Intertextuality of Whitney's Concluding Emblem', *Visual Words and Verbal Pictures: Essays in Honour of Michael Bath* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2005), 37–49, explores the split semiotic system that assigns symbolic creatures, such as the phoenix, both abstract associations and specifically political identities. In 'Quatorzain 7: Ceres' of *Celestial Elegies* (London, 1598), unrelated to Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Rogers thus laments the death of a Phoenix, turned to ashes, 'of whom no other bred, that breeds the more my care' and asks, 'O Heavens, why do you bring this land such dearth, / As for to take a Phoenix from the earth'.
  31. Edward Hawkins, Augustus Franks and Herbert Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (London: The British Museum, 1885), 1: 124.
  32. James VI, 'Ane Metaphorically Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix' in *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584).
  33. Vincent F. Petronella, 'Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and the Defunctive Music of Ecstasy', *Shakespeare Studies* 8 (1975): 311–31, contrasts the 'orthodox' presentations of Chester, Marston, Chapman and Jonson with Shakespeare's 'unorthodox' myth of an extinct phoenix. But Chester's myth is itself unorthodox in: (a) pairing a phoenix with a turtle; and (b) expressing a mixture of happiness and regret in considering the phoenix as a sign of generational change.
  34. Arthur H. R. Fairchild, 'The Phoenix and Turtle: A Critical and Historical Interpretation', *Englische Studien* 33 (1904): 363, opts for the crane. Murray Copland, 'The Dead Phoenix', 284, concludes that Shakespeare did not have 'any very clear idea' of which kind of bird served as trumpeter. And Muriel Bradbrook, *Shakespeare in His Context*, 356–7, agrees that since the Elizabethans left no 'general belief in one champion shouter among the



- birds', the phrase 'the bird of loudest lay' merely identifies 'the proper qualification for any herald'. Yet she also admits that one would expect to find the phoenix as 'the usual inhabitant of the sole Arabian tree' and concedes that the poem's 'richness' in this instance 'depends on imprecision'.
35. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (15.391–407). The Egyptian glyph for the 'benu' (a kind of heron or crane) might have been a source for the Greek phoenix, since it also means 'palm tree'. In medieval iconography, the phoenix often nests in this tree which represents a 'palm' of victory.
  36. *Euphues and His England* is quoted from *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902): 2: 85; Florio is cited from Buxton, 'Two Dead Birds', 50.
  37. Lactantius, *De Ave Phoenix*, trans. M. C. Fitzpatrick, in *Early Christian Latin Poets*, ed. Carolinne White (London: Routledge, 2000), lines 39–44. See T. W. Baldwin, *On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems and Sonnets* (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1950), 363–77.
  38. Spenser's 'Epithalamion' supplies a prototype. 'Let not the shriech Oule, nor the Storke be heard: / Nor the night Raven that still deadly yels' (lines 345–6), Spenser commands, inviting 'a hundred little winged loves, / Like divers feathered doves' to fly around his wife's bed. (lines 357–8).
  39. Pliny the Elder, *The History of the World, Commonly called The Natural History of C. Plinius Secundus*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1601), 276. The theory that Shakespeare used Holland's translation is bolstered by the suggestion of J. L. Simmons, 'Holland's Pliny and *Troilus and Cressida*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 27 (1976): 329–32, that the play's phrase 'generation of vipers' (3.1.133) – probably written soon after 'The Phoenix and Turtle' – is similarly indebted to it.
  40. Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 48.
  41. Eagle/crow: *Troilus and Cressida* 1.2.243–4; *Coriolanus* 3.1.139. Swan/crow: *Romeo and Juliet* 1.2.87. Crow/lark: *Merchant of Venice* 5.1.102. Lark/nightingale: *Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.2. Nightingale/goose: *Merchant of Venice* 5.1.104–5. Dove/ostrich [estrich]: *Antony and Cleopatra* 3.13.196. Cuckoo/sparrow: *King Lear* 1.4.215. Owl/wren: *Macbeth* 4.2.9–11.
  42. William Empson, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', *Essays in Criticism* 16 (1966): 152; I. A. Richards, 'The Sense of Poetry: Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and the Turtle"', in *Symbolism in Religion and Literature*, ed. Rollo May (New York: Brazziler, 1961), 52, and Walter Oakeshott, 'Loves Martyr', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1975): 29–49. Other optimists include: G. Wilson Knight; J. V. Cunningham; Peter Donke; Marie Axton; Marjorie Garber; Maurice Evans; and Katherine Duncan-Jones. This position can stem from a philosophical or a political reading of the poem, or it can combine both interpretations.
  43. Peter Dronke, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', *Orbis Litterarum* 23 (1968): 199–220.
  44. Marie Axton, 'Miraculous Succession: The Phoenix and Turtle (1601)', in *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).
  45. Fairchild, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', 363.
  46. Matchett, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, 37.
  47. Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance*, 367, 373.

48. Maurice Evans (ed.), *Narrative Poems* (New York: Penguin, 1989), 53 and 58.
49. Northrop Frye, *The 'Third Book' Notebooks, 1964–1972* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 224.
50. Viewing the collection as a private performance, William Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25, writes that Shakespeare 'as a good trouper . . . left the climax to Marston', who, in turn, 'snatches a moment to compliment Shakespeare, as he bounds onto the stage'. See also Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from His Life* (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), 145–9, and Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 114. Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan of Avon* (London: Methuen Drama, 2011), 243, concludes that 'Shakespeare and Marston were good friends, who were working together quite closely in 1600–2'. She links them together through Shakespeare's 'cousin' Thomas Greene. But their literary relations during this period were, I suspect, more nuanced than this statement indicates.
51. I. A. Richards, 'The Sense of Poetry: Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle*', *American Critical Essays: Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold Beaver (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 50.
52. John Masefield, *William Shakespeare* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), 250.

## 5 Shakespeare's Poetic Theology

1. George Santayana, *Selected Critical Writings*, ed. Norman Henfrey, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 1: 60.
2. See Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 164.
3. Donne had himself represented both dressed in a winding sheet for burial and standing on an urn. John Lepage, 'Kindled Spirits: Cremation and Urn Burial in Renaissance Literature', *English Renaissance Literature* 28 (1998): 3–17, considers how the commemorative urn flourished as a poetic trope, linked to a revival of classicism, despite the fact that cremation was not a feature of early modern practice. Interest in the subject peaks with Sir Thomas Browne's archaeological study *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Burial*, in 1658.
4. J. Dover Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 298. Wilson observes that the *Liber Precum Publicarum* (1560) provides the text for one of those exceptions. Roland Mushat Frye, *The Renaissance Hamlet* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 307, agrees that, 'It is possible to think of a Latin requiem either in terms of Roman Catholic or of Protestant services, or of a sung English service'. Nevertheless, Frye concludes that Shakespeare 'used requiem in an Anglican sense with Anglican liturgical vestments'. For a more traumatic sense of the abolition of prayers for the dead as a consequence of the Protestant rejection of Purgatory, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
5. The *OED* cites Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* (1611) for this general usage in its reference to one who will 'sing sad Requiems' for a 'departed soul'. The word 'anthem' had not yet acquired a patriotic connotation. When Falstaff

- tells the Chief Justice that he has lost his voice with 'singing of anthems' (1.2.190) in *2 Henry IV*, he is referring to hymns usually set to music to be sung antiphonally. (The word 'anthem' is based on 'antiphon', an alternation of responses that suggests group participation.) It had, however, already gained a secular nuance meaning 'lament' in *Venus and Adonis*, where the goddess's 'heavy anthem still concludes in woe' (line 839).
6. On the use of the surplice, see Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 151.
  7. Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962); Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968); and Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
  8. Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 14. It was also Juvenal's word for the true poet. See John Kevin Newman, *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry and Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels: Latomus, 1967) for specific usage; Randall L. B. McNeill, *Horace, Image, Identity, and Audience* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 84–6, for its use as a public role; and Alessandro Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 48, for Ovid's strategic irony in its deployment. Its Renaissance adaptation is outlined by Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle's *Petrarch's Genius: Pentimento and Prophecy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 44–73. The term usually emphasized the inspirational rather than the prognostic element of foresight.
  9. Quoted from Plato, *Phaedrus*, in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 262 D.
  10. Skelton in 'Phyllyp Sparowe', one of Shakespeare's sources, writes that the poem was composed, '*Per me laurigerum Britanum Skeltonida vatem*' (line 1261) ('Through me, Skelton, the laureate poet of Britain'). Quoted from *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 103. For Skelton's notion of what this role entailed, see Jane Griffiths, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 18–37.
  11. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Forrest G. Robinson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), 10.
  12. George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 93.
  13. Harold Bloom, *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), xxiii.
  14. William Webbe, in his *Discourse of Poetry*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. George Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), 1: 231, states that poetry was so esteemed by the ancients that 'they supposed all wisdom and knowledge to be included mystically in that divine instinction, whereby they thought their *Vates* to be inspired'. But, unlike Sidney, he considers any poet concerned with 'grave and necessary matters' to be entitled to be called a '*Vates*', while the rest should be known as '*Poetae*'.

15. John Huntington in *Ambition, Rank, and Poetry in 1590s England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 109–10, explains Sidney's reluctance fully to endorse poetic inspiration as a sign of his aristocratic self-assurance, but in the *Apology* it is overtly contained by religious scruple.
16. Quoted from *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957).
17. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 509.
18. William Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 28.
19. Lines 8–13, quoted from the Christ Church MS of the poem, with variant readings 'Pythius' for 'Cynthius' and 'flowing' for 'bolder' in *The Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, ed. Carleton Brown (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co., 1914), 5. This version is even closer to Dekker's parody in *Satiromastix* than its later altered version in *The Underwood*.
20. Clare Asquith, 'A Phoenix for Palm Sunday: Was Shakespeare's Poem a Requiem for Catholic Martyrs?' *TLS*, 13 April 2001: 14–15. Asquith's unreliable assumptions are on display at length in *Shadow Play: The Coded Beliefs and Hidden Politics of William Shakespeare* (New York: Perseus Books, 2005).
21. John Klause, 'The Phoenix and Turtle in Its Time', in *In The Company of Shakespeare: Essays on English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans*, ed. Thomas Moisan and Douglas Bruster (Cranbury: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), 215, assumes that Shakespeare's purpose is to prove that 'Love and Constancy and Death were themes too exalted for the fatuous treatment they had been given in *Love's Martyr*' (215). Klause's argument, expanded in *Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2008), overemphasizes the Catholic element in the poem in the same way Asquith does, especially in reading the miraculous union of the Phoenix and Turtle as a type of the Transubstantiation, the belief, rejected by the Church of England, that the body of God was physically present in the wine and bread consecrated during the Catholic mass. Yet only the paradoxical definition of the Persons of the Trinity, who are and are not the same, adequately describes the mysterious ontological status of the Phoenix and Turtle. Shakespeare mentions neither bread nor wine, which are, according to Catholic doctrine, only superficially different when consecrated: two become one. So that even though the Christian belief in the Trinity imagines a state of three-in-one, the dialectic of independence and interdependence it enunciates perfectly fits Shakespeare's paradigm. However, that does not make 'The Phoenix and Turtle' a religious poem, since none of *Love's Martyr* is a primary expression of belief in anything other than the power of profane love to infuse life with a kind of natural sanctity that can best be explained in terms of a sacred mythopoesis. Literature was a game in which such ideas could be explored outside the limits of belief. Shakespeare's poem is a form of metaphysical feigning that derived its liberty from the freedom of poetry to imagine the world in startling new ways that were only tangentially related to religious doctrine.
22. John Finnis and Patrick Martin, 'Another Turn for the Turtle: Shakespeare's Intercession for *Love's Martyr*', *TLS*, 18 April 2003: 12–14. See also Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Shakespeare Rediscovered By Means of Public Records*

- (New York: Scribners, 1938), 211–35, and *Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1957), 237–9. Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 241, who similarly argues for a Catholic Shakespeare, credits her theory.
23. Quoted from *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, ed. Carleton Brown (London: Kegan Paul, Trencher, Trübner, 1914), xv.
  24. Brown, *Poems by Sir John Salusbury*, xxiv.
  25. Thomas P. Harrison, 'Love's Martyr by Robert Chester: A New Interpretation', *University of Texas Studies in Literature* 30 (1951): 78, attempts unsuccessfully to turn this evidence on its head by claiming that 'the violence of Sir John's accusation, unsupported as it seems to be by other evidence, suggests that the accuser might well have been under suspicion as a papist, rather than Lloyd, Sir John's enemy on other grounds'. Harrison also cites Justice Lewknor's letter to Cecil on 31 October 1601 about 'backsliding in religion' in North Wales, but Sir John is not cited. One fact is irrefutable: Salusbury wanted to be seen as a Protestant.
  26. Klause, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', 222.
  27. *Ibid.*, 222, 215.
  28. H. Neville Davies, 'The Phoenix and Turtle: Requiem and Rite', *The Review of English Studies* 46 (1995): 526, argues that the crow's production of its offspring, 'With the breath thou giv'st and tak'st', recalls one of the opening sentences, quoted from Job, of the Anglican Burial Service: 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away'. The phrase consequently describes not only what Davies calls 'the obscure pneumatics of exhalation and inhalation involving this corvine coupling', but also echoes contemporary Protestant ritual.
  29. Richard C. McCoy, "'Love's Martyrs": Shakespeare's "Phoenix and Turtle" and the Sacrificial Sonnets', in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 195.
  30. *Ibid.*, 196.
  31. Lynn Enterline, "'The Phoenix and the Turtle", Renaissance Elegies, and the Language of Grief', in *Early Modern English Poetry: A Critical Companion*, ed. Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 154.
  32. See Ralph Houllbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 151, and Michael Neill on the rise of secular displays on funeral monuments in *Issues of Death: Mortality in English Renaissance Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 38–42. Enterline, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', 155.
  33. Cleanth Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), 3–21.
  34. Enterline, 'The Phoenix and Turtle', 153. See also Patrick Cheney, 'The Voice of the Author in "The Phoenix and Turtle": Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser', in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, ed. Curtis Perry and John Watkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009), 103–25. Russell A. Fraser, *Shakespeare: The Later Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 104–6, had previously produced an aesthetic interpretation by evoking Christian theology when he speculated that the poem was a secular model

- of the rite of 'transubstantiation' through which the death of the Phoenix and Turtle, a fact of experience, is transformed into the new Phoenix of the first line as 'the symbol of his tragic art'.
35. Enterline, 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', 154, 157.
  36. McCoy, 'Love's Martyrs', 202.
  37. Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare: National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 197.
  38. I. A. Richards, 'The Sense of Poetry: Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and the Turtle"', *Daedalus* 87 (1958): 93.
  39. Marjorie Garber, 'Two Birds With One Stone: Lapidary Re-Inscription in *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *Upstart Crow* 5 (1984): 5–19.
  40. Hyder Edward Rollins in *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Poems*, 27 vols (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 22: 571, cites Alfred J. Von Mauntz in *Gedichte von William Shakespeare* (Bruer, 1894) as the first critic to cite the influence of Ovid's *Amores* 2.6 on Shakespeare's poem.
  41. Ovid's *Amores* 2.6.13–14 is quoted from Ovid's *Elegies* in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Poems and Translations*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 144–5.
  42. Ann Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer: A Study in Literary Origins* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 85, 218, Ever since Arthur H. R. Fairchild, 'The Phoenix and Turtle: A Critical Interpretation', *Englische Studien* 33 (1904): 337–84, asserted that *The Parliament of Fowls* was a major influence on Shakespeare's poem, its direct importance, as opposed to its interest as a generic precedent, has been exaggerated.
  43. Quoted from *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), lines 571–5.
  44. See I. A. Gordon, 'Skelton's "Philip Sparrow" and the Roman Service Book', *MLR* 29 (1934): 389–96.
  45. A. D. Nuttall, review of John Arthos, *Shakespeare's Use of Dream and Vision*, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1979): 422.
  46. Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1899), 146, first noticed Shakespeare's 'adaptation of Roydon's elegiac conceits'.
  47. Quoted from 'An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill. *Written upon the death of the right Honorable sir Philip Sidney knight, Lord governor of Flushing*', lines 199–221, in *The Phoenix Nest (1593)*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 15–16.
  48. Quoted from *Certain Sonnets*, lines 26–7, in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 153.
  49. The circulation of the phoenix image in the Sidney circle and its application to his sister is documented by Margaret P. Hannay in *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 81–2. June and Paul Schlueter, 'Halfe Maim'd? Five Unknown Poems by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke', *TLS*, 23 July 2010: 15, present her newly discovered epitaph on her niece, 'the Countesse of Rutland daughter to Sr. Philip Sydney', which ends with a variant on the motif of the extinct phoenix associated with her father: 'All prayse is sayd: I say thou wert his heire / Phoenix Sydney's, the world hath no such paire' (lines 17–18).
  50. Because of its brevity, tetrameter verse conveniently fits tombstones. And if he is indeed the author of the inscription on his own tomb, Shakespeare

turned to a mixed tetrameter quatrain to enjoin visitors to Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-Upon-Avon to honour his final resting place.

51. Sidney elsewhere, in a less complex manner, describes his bond to Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer as a 'happy blessed trinity' of poets, stating that they have 'one mind in bodies three'. See Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 13.
52. Hamlet's short lines of poetry, blending iambic and trochaic rhythms, have been cited as an early example of metaphysical verse:

Doubt thou the stars are fire;  
Doubt that the sun doth move;  
Doubt truth to be a liar;  
But never doubt I love. (2.2.116–19)

Here, Hamlet, making use of Copernican theory, seems to imply that the traditional belief in human centrality in the universe might be a lie, anticipating Donne's perception that 'new philosophy' calls 'all in doubt'. Patrick Cheney, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 233–7, reminds us that 'never doubt I love' can mean either 'never question' or 'never suspect' that 'I love'.

## 6 Metaphysical Wit from Shakespeare to Donne

1. Helen Gardner, *The Metaphysical Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), 23.
2. *Ibid.*, 23. Gardner was cautious about assuming that Shakespeare knew some of the earliest of the *Songs and Sonnets*, and she points out salient differences to demonstrate Donne's superiority. Even though it is 'the most "strong-lined" of all poems', she writes, 'The Phoenix and Turtle' lacks Donne's dynamic wit, dramatic immediacy, urgent expression of personal choice, varied and shifting tone, impression of spontaneous thought and metrical irregularity. It approximates neither Donne's engaged lyricism nor his speculative intellect, since it is 'too remote, and too symbolic', expressive of 'a static world where Love and Constancy are deified'. Kenneth Muir (ed.), *Elizabethan Lyrics*, (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1952), 40, concurs that although 'it is difficult to draw the line between the Metaphysicals and their immediate predecessors', Donne 'probably learnt more from the dramatists than he did from the lyric writers', although he admits that 'Sidney, Raleigh, Chapman do at times, in very different ways, approach the metaphysical manner'.
3. Colin Burrow (ed.), *Metaphysical Poetry* (London: Penguin, 2006), xxiv.
4. George Saintsbury, 'Shakespeare: Poems', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 14 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 5: 262.
5. Frank Mathew, *An Image of Shakespeare* (London: Cape, 1922), 115.
6. Joseph Quincy Adams, *A Life of Shakespeare* (London: Constable, 1923), 342.
7. O. J. Campbell, *The Sonnets, Songs and Poems of Shakespeare* (New York: Schocken, 1964), 337. Louis Zukofsky, *Bottom: On Shakespeare*

- (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 25, considers it 'probably the greatest English metaphysical poem'.
8. Murray Copland, 'The Dead Phoenix', *Essays in Criticism* 15 (1968): 281.
  9. Peter Hyland, *An Introduction to Shakespeare's Poems* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 203.
  10. Quoted from Izaak Walton, *Lives of Donne and Herbert*, ed. S. C. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 37. See also Dayton Haskin, 'A History of Donne's "Canonization" from Izaak Walton to Cleanth Brooks', *JEGP* 92 (1993): 17–36.
  11. See J. B. Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne* (New York Harper and Row, 1966), 16–20; and Evelyn Simpson, 'Jonson and Donne: A Problem of Authorship', *The Review of English Studies* 15 (1939): 274–82.
  12. Bernard H. Newdigate (ed.), *The Phoenix & Turtle* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1937), xxii–xxiii, and Hyland, *An Introduction*, 203.
  13. Is 'Ignoto' Goodyer? The final couplets of Ignoto's two poems, 'The first' and 'The burning', are: 'The heart, one string: so, thus **in single turnes** / The world one *Phoenix*, till another **burnes**' (lines 5–6) and 'Her rare-dead ashes, fill a rare-live urne: / '**One Phoenix borne, another Phoenix burne**' (lines 7–8). In *The Mirrour of Majestie, or The Badges of Honour* (1618), a book of heraldry and emblems by H.G., these lines are recalled as: 'Thus Time alternates **in its single turnes**; / **One Phoenix borne, another Phoenix burnes**' (B3<sup>r</sup>). Here the phoenix is an emblem of James I's wife, Queen Anna, as successor to Elizabeth. Donne wrote one extant verse epistle and numerous prose letters to Goodyer, and they later collaborated on 'A Letter with Sir H. G. and J.D. *alternis vicibus*', a 12-stanza verse epistle composed at Goodyer's Polesworth estate. Lines of Emblem 28 in *The Mirrour of Majestie* even echo lines 78–82 of Donne's *Satire* 3:

Th' ascending Path that up to wisdom leads  
Is rough, uneven, steepe: and he that reads  
Therein, must many a tedious Danger meet,  
That, or trips up, or clogs his wearied feet.

- The theory that this H. G. is Goodyer is, however, contested by I. A. Shapiro, *TLS*, 5 February 1949: 89, as well as Martin R. Smith, 'The Apologia and Emblems of Ludovico Petrucci', *Bodleian Library Record* 8 (1967): 40–7. Shapiro maintains that Goodyer's verse is better than what can be found in *The Mirrour*, that his status would not have allowed him to produce such a work and that the earls of Bedford and Huntingdon, with whom he was close, are not included. This scepticism is shared by the work's latest editor Mary V. Silcox in *The English Emblem Tradition*, ed. Camden H. G. van Veen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 4: 49. If Goodyer is not the author of *The Mirrour*, there is then no basis for connecting him to the *Poetical Essays*.
14. R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 108.
  15. For evidence that Jaggard's transcription of 144 was inordinately corrupt and not Shakespeare's early draft as some contend, see James P. Bednarz,



- 'Canonizing Shakespeare: *The Passionate Pilgrim, England's Helicon* and the Question of Authenticity', *Shakespeare Survey* 60 (2007): 255, n15.
16. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), 5, guess that Shakespeare 'may have prepared a collection of his sonnets late in 1599, provoked by Jaggard's piratical and mediocre *Passionate Pilgrim*, and that at one time he planned to publish it'. John Stubbs, in *John Donne, The Reformed Soul* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007), 120, speculates from the same evidence that Donne might have reached a settlement with Edgar to withdraw the volume from publication. But the gap between this ambiguous entry in the Stationers' Registry and their bold conclusions is too wide.
  17. Herbert Grierson (ed.), *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 1: xx.
  18. Herbert Grierson (ed.), *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), xlv–xli.
  19. Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne*, 1: 391–2. All quotations from Donne's poetry are from this edition. For a reading of how Donne sought to resolve this dilemma, see Edward W. Taylor, *Donne's Idea of a Woman: Structure and Meaning in The Anniversaries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
  20. Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Abraham Cowley', *Lives of the English Poets: Selections* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1964), 1–20.
  21. Quoted from A. J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 151. Dryden writes that the poet of this kind of verse 'perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softness of love'. Arthur H. Nethercot, 'The Term "Metaphysical Poets" Before Johnson', *Modern Language Notes* 37 (1922): 11–17, details the word's negative connotation throughout the seventeenth century.
  22. 'To his much honoured Friend Dr. Arthur Johnston, Physician to the KING' (c. 1629), in *Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Edward W. Taylor (New York: Knopf, 1967), 215.
  23. See James Biester, 'Fancy's Images: Wit, the Sublime, and the Rise of Aestheticism', in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Peter Platt (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 297.
  24. Robert H. MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 228, discovered 'loves martir' in a list of over forty books Drummond read in 1606. Drummond certainly knew Marston's work. J. R. Barker, in 'A Pendant to Drummond of Hawthornden's *Conversations*', *Review of English Studies* 16 (1965): 284–8, cites Drummond's holograph annotations to Epigrams XLIX and LXVIII of his copy of the 1616 Jonson Folio that identify Marston as their subject. Jonson in *Conversations* told Drummond about his many quarrels with Marston during which he beat him, stole his pistol and 'wrote his *Poetaster* on him' (in a play that was produced around the time *Love's Martyr* was published).
  25. Marston's 'A narration and description of a most exact wondrous creature, arising out of the Phoenix and Turtle Doves ashes', lines 21–6.
  26. In a parallel case, Marston uses 'intellectual' as a noun meaning 'mind' five times in *The Scourge of Villanie*, 'To Detraction', lines 8; 8.81; 8.166; 8.189; and 10.23, in *The Poems of John Marston*, ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool

- University Press, 1961). There he mocks a fool whose mind is a mad leaping dance of thoughts by commenting that his 'very soul, his intellectual / Is nothing but a mincing capreal' (10: 23–4). Jonson ridiculed him for this usage in his comical satire *Every Man Out of His Humour*, published in 1600. See James P. Bednarz, 'Writing and Revenge: John Marston's *Histriomastix*', *Comparative Drama* 36 (2002): 27. Furthermore, only names and nouns – such as '*Metaphysical*' – are italicized in Marston's poem.
27. Burrow, *Metaphysical Poetry*, xx–xxi.
  28. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Forrest G. Robinson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), 44.
  29. George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 99.
  30. A. R. Cirillo, 'The Fair Hermaphrodite: Love-Union in the Poetry of Donne and Spenser', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 9 (1969): 87. See also Lauren Silberman, 'Hermaphrodite', *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 357–8, and Grace Tiffany, *Erotic Beasts and Social Monsters* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 23–67, for the Renaissance androgyne.
  31. Quoted from Don Cameron Allen, 'Donne's Phoenix', *Modern Language Notes* 62 (1947): 341.
  32. Margaret Healey, *Shakespeare, Alchemy, and the Creative Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 205–8, distorts Shakespeare's poem by reading his Trinitarian paradoxes as alchemical, but is more successful with Marston. Stanton J. Linden, *Darke Hieroglyphicks: Alchemy in English Literature from Chaucer to the Restoration* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 176, suspects that Donne was attempting to 'sexually differentiate bodies joined as in the alchemical conjunction of opposites'. Donne's union, analogous to alchemical refinement, annihilates difference. The phoenix is the 'abler soul' of 'interanimation' celebrated in 'The Exstasie' (lines 41–4). Linden sees Donne's poem as indicating that 'everything that accounted for their separate identities – the eagle *and* the dove – must be eradicated: "two-ness" must be replaced by "one-ness"' (179). Paracelsus identifies 'the chemical Phoenix' as the culmination of his process, although he describes it being carried away by a 'Flying Eagle', without a dove in sight. See also Edgar Hill Duncan, 'Alchemical Figures in Donne', *ELH* 9 (1942): 187–200, and Joseph A. Mazzeo, 'Notes on John Donne's Alchemical Imagery', *Isis* 48 (1957): 103–23.
  33. Quoted from *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 2: 193.
  34. See Brian Green, 'Shakespeare's Heroic Elixir: A New Context for *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *Studia Neophilologica* 51 (1979): 215–23.
  35. William of Ockham states that '*Deus est ens perfectissimum*' in *Sententiarum, Opera Philosophica et Theologica*, ed. S. Brown, 10 vols (New York: St Bonaventure, 1970), 3: 390, and Thomas Aquinas, in *Summa Contra Gentiles* concurs that God is 'primum ens; ergo est perfectissimum'. (*Summa Contra Gentiles*, 5 vols, trans. Anton C. Pegis *et. al.* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977], 1: 28). The concept would subsequently find a central place in western philosophy from Descartes' *Meditations* to Heidegger's *Being and Truth*. See also Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study*

- of the *History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 41–2.
36. Seneca, *Questiones Naturales*, Liber 1, Praefatio 13: ‘*Nostri melior pars animus est: in illo nulla pars extra animum*’ in *Natural Questions*, trans. Thomas H. Corcoran, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971–2).
  37. *Ibid.*, 1: 11.
  38. *Ibid.*, 1: 3.
  39. As a prelude to his discussion of the Trinity, John Calvin in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, 2 vols (Louisville: The Westminster Press, 1960), 1: 121, explicitly mocks Seneca’s *Natural Questions* for assuming that ‘divinity was poured out into the various parts of the world’, whereas God’s ‘spiritual nature forbids us imagining anything earthly or carnal of him’.
  40. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 428b30, trans. D. W. Hamlyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 56.
  41. John Marston, *What You Will*, ed. M. R. Woodhead (Nottingham: Nottingham University Press, 1980), 2.1.588–97.
  42. Jacopo Mazzoni, *On the Defense of the ‘Comedy’ of Dante* in *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden*, ed. Allan H. Gilbert (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1940), 387. See Baxter Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism: The Late Renaissance in Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962), 355–90. Mazzoni’s importance for an understanding of English Renaissance poetry is maintained by Murray Krieger, ‘Jacopo Mazzoni, Repository of Diverse Critical Traditions or Source of a New One?’ in *Poetic Presence and Illusion: Essays in Critical History and Theory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 28–38; John Guillory, *Poetic Authority: Spenser, Milton, and Literary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 5–8; and Joel Fineman, *Shakespeare’s Perjured Eye* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 104.
  43. Theodore Redpath, in *The Songs and Sonets of John Donne* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1967), 19, notes that these birds sometimes represent ‘the predatory and meek’, as in Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* (1.117), Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus* (5.6.114) and George Herbert’s ‘The Sacrifice’ (line 23). But this sounds too severe for the context, and the more benign alternative of ‘strength and gentleness’ is proffered by John Louis Lepage, ‘Eagles and Doves in Donne and Du Bartas: “The Canonization”’, *Notes and Queries* 30 (1983): 427–8. Brian Vickers, ‘Donne’s Eagle and Dove’, *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 59–60, suggests the ‘active and contemplative lives’. John Manning, ‘The Eagle and the Dove: Chapman and Donne’s “The Canonization”’, *Notes and Queries* 32 (1986): 34–48, sees its origin in Ovid’s *Banquet of Sense* (1595), where Corynna’s song relates how ‘*Joves Bird, ceas’d by Cypris Dove*’, proves ‘prophanness, holy’ and ‘wisdom, folly’. Rosalie Colie, in *Paradoxia Epidemica* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 131, concludes that the eagle and dove combine ‘sacred and profane’ associations in a union – producing a phoenix – that is only possible ‘in poetry’.
  44. Donald L. Guss, ‘Donne’s Conceit and Petrarchan Wit’, *PMLA* 78 (1963): 312. Horst Meller, *TLS*, 22 April 1965: 320, cites an Italian edition of Petrarch’s work with a representation of an urn with portraits of Petrarch and Laura surmounted by a phoenix. Ignoto also combines images of urn and phoenix.
  45. John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. John Sparrow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 23.

46. See Barbara Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (New York: Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 14.
47. Nancy Selleck, *The Interpersonal Idiom in Shakespeare, Donne, and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 148.
48. Kathryn R. Kremen, *The Imagination of the Resurrection* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1972), 92–3.
49. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica*, 132. See also Albert C. Labriola, "'The Canonization": Its Theological Context and Its Religious Imagery', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 36 (1973): 327–39, for a treatment of its Trinitarian 'pattern', 'playful daring' and 'breezy blasphemy' (327).
50. Joseph Mazzeo, 'Metaphysical Poetry and the Poetic of Correspondence', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953): 221–34, and 'A Critique of Some Modern Theories of Metaphysical Poetry', *Modern Philology* 50 (1952): 88–96.
51. Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare, Spenser, Donne: Renaissance Essays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 121.
52. See J. Huizinga, 'Religious Sensibility and Religious Imagination', in *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1949), 190–214. Scepticism about the phoenix's miraculous existence would nevertheless cause Theophilus to leave it out of his transcription of Clement's analogues.
53. *De resurrectione mortuorum* 13.4, quoted from *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 612. Aelian, Tertullian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Ambrose, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and the *Apostolic Constitutions* similarly view the phoenix's rebirth as a natural phenomenon with the theological implications.
54. *Physiologus: A Medieval Book of Nature Lore*, trans. Michael J. Curley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 14. *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1954), 54, translated by T. H. White, still asks in the twelfth century, 'if the Phoenix has the power to die and rise again, why, silly man, are you scandalized at the word of God – when he says that he came down from heaven . . . to suffer for us and on the third day rise again?'
55. *Samson Agonistes*, lines 1699–701, in *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957), 592.
56. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, in *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 4 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 2: 194.
57. *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse 1509–1659*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen with an introduction by David Norbrook (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 56.
58. John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 163.
59. Dayton Haskin, 'Donne's Afterlife', *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 236.
60. Walton, *Lives of Donne and Herbert*, 37.
61. Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1899), 1: 117–18.
62. *John Donne's Marriage Letters in the Folger Shakespeare Library*, ed. M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien and Dennis Flynn (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2005), 36.
63. *The Diary of John Mammingham of the Middle Temple, 1602–1603*, ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, NH: The University Press of New England, 1976), 150.

64. Hester, *Donne's Marriage Letters*, 10.
65. Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne and Their Contemporaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 46.
66. R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 147.
67. *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. Alexander Grosart, 2 vols (London: Robson and Sons, 1872), 2: 170.
68. John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind, and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 92.
69. *Ibid.*, 23.
70. J. B. Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytic and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 179.
71. Cleanth Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), 11.
72. Maurine Sabine, 'No Marriage in Heaven: John Donne, Anne Donne, and the Kingdome Come', in *John Donne's 'desire of more': The Subject of Anne More Donne in His Poetry*, ed. M. Thomas Hester (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 235.
73. Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 157.
74. *Ibid.*, 168, 161.
75. Dayton Haskin, 'On Trying to Make the Record Speak More about Donne's Poems', in Hester, *John Donne's 'desire of more'*, 41.
76. Patricia Garland Pinka, *The Dialogue of One: The Songs and Sonnets of John Donne* (Huntsville: University of Alabama Press, 1982), 132.
77. See Barbara Everett, 'Set Upon a Golden Bough to Sing: Shakespeare's Debt to Sidney in "The Phoenix and Turtle"', *TLS*, 16 February 2001: 13–15, and George Williamson, 'The Convention of *The Extasie*', *Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. William R. Keast (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 106–17.
78. Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 'An Ode upon a Question moved, Whether Love should continue for ever?' lines 125–32 are quoted from *The Metaphysical Poets*, ed., Gardner, 100. Marotti in *John Donne: Coterie Poet*, 196–202, assumes that Donne is imitating Herbert's poem and Ramie Targoff, *John Donne: Body and Soul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 53–5, agrees. But Herbert Grierson, in *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), 2:41, and Helen Gardner, in *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 259–65, argue more credibly that here Herbert is imitating Donne. Donne's and Herbert's works are, of course, complexly interwoven: Herbert's 'State-Progress of Ill' (1608), for instance, which imitates Donne's 'Progress of the Soul' (1601), is answered in a verse letter by Donne. Jonson told Drummond that Donne had written his Elegy on Prince Henry to 'match Edward Herbert in obscureness', but as Cleanth Brooks notes in *Historical Evidence and the Reading of Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 79, 'much' of Lord Herbert's verse is 'derivative of the poetry of Ben Jonson and John Donne'. In this ode, Herbert appears to be simultaneously echoing Shakespeare and Donne.
79. Patrick Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 1–106, emphasizes theatre's impact on Donne's dramatic poetry, yet Victor Harris, 'Donne

- and the Theatre', *Philological Quarterly* 41 (1962): 258, states that 'the two allusions to *Tamburlaine* and the verses about *Volpone* are apparently Donne's only references to any play, ancient or contemporary, and even these do not clearly place him among the spectators'. Richard E. Barbieri, 'John Donne and *Richard II*: An Influence', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 26 (1975): 57–62, however, suggests that Shakespeare's 'brittle' mirror imagery (4.1.287–91) is reflected in Donne's eighth *Devotion*.
80. We first hear of his friendship with Donne several years after the *Poetical Essays* volume was published. Donne wrote a Latin commendatory poem for *Volpone* (1607), and Jonson added a poem praising the Donne lyrics he forwarded to Lucy, countess of Bedford.
  81. A. J. Smith (ed.), *John Donne: The Complete English Poems* (London: Penguin, 1971), 361, n23. Pinka, *The Dialogue of One*, 130, agrees that Donne 'congratulates himself in part for finding a cleverer solution to the riddle than writers and emblematisers before him'.
  82. Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 203.
  83. *Ibid.*, 204.
  84. T. S. Eliot, 'The Metaphysical Poets (1921)', in *Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), 243, from *TLS*, 20 October 1921: 669–70.
  85. Quoted by Cairns Craig, 'The Last Romantics: How the Scholarship of Herbert Grierson Influenced Modernist Poetry', *TLS*, 15 January 2010: 15.
  86. *Ibid.*, 247.
  87. Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn*, 18.
  88. Frank Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 109–10. Perhaps one of the reasons that 'The Phoenix and Turtle' is currently neglected is its lingering association with New Criticism.
  89. Murray Krieger, *Poetic Presence and Illusion: Essays in Critical History and Theory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 235.
  90. T. S. Eliot, *A Garland for John Donne*, ed. Theodore Spencer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 8. The Clark and Turnbull lectures were published as *The Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry*, ed. Ronald Schucard (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993). Here Eliot, following Grierson, sees Donne as the victim of a fractured intellectual heritage, which consisted of 'fragments of every philosophical system and every theological system up to his own time', incapable of producing a coherent synthesis. 'Donne had no philosophy at all', Eliot now admits, since he 'thought in a spasmodic and fragmentary way' (83). Yet even though 'the whole was chaos', he adds, 'the fragments were still sharp and identifiable' (203).

## Epilogue: 'If what parts, can so remaine'

1. James Biester, *Lyric Wonder: Rhetoric and Wit in English Renaissance Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 150, n35.
2. Howard Felperin, 'Keats and Shakespeare: Two New Sources', *ELN* 2 (1965): 105–9, explicitly points out Keats's imitation. James L. O'Rourke, *Keats's Odes and Contemporary Criticism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 85, concurs that 'The Phoenix and Turtle' 'clearly informs the final

conjunction of beauty and truth in Keats's funeral urn'. He calls attention to lines 53–5 and 64, concerning "Beautie, Truth, and Raritie" and 'Truth and Beautie'. It is therefore odd to read Thomas Dilworth's claim in 'Keats's Shakespeare', *TLS*, 22 April 2011: 15, that 'this relationship has not been noted in print'. See also Raymond Benoit, 'Dickinson's "I Died for Beauty" and Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and the Turtle"', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal* 19 (2006): 31–3, and Helen Vendler, *Dickinson: Selected Poems and Commentaries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 216–18. Denton J. Snider in *A Biography of William Shakespeare: Set Forth as His Life Drama* (Saint Louis: William Harvey Miner, 1922), 247, comments that 'The Phoenix and Turtle' is 'an Emersonian lyric more than two centuries before the birth of Emerson' and concludes that 'Shakespeare had his transcendental mood . . . in Old England without waiting for New England'. But the poem's impact and influence is wider and deeper.

3. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York: Random House, 1961), 424:3–6.
4. For its multiple allusions to Shakespeare's poetry and plays, see Anthony David Moody, *Thomas Stearns Eliot, Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 59–60. In a later development, modern composers in the 1960s and 1970s, including Thea Musgrave, Phyllis Tate and Michael Hurd scored Shakespeare's poem with their own 'defunctive Musicke' in different vocal and orchestral arrangements. Using the poem solely as a conceptual catalyst, Colin Brumby's *The Phoenix and Turtle*, written for harpsichord and orchestra during the same period, was performed by the Australian Chamber Orchestra on 9 July 2011.
5. Dorothy Wellesley, *Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 57.
6. Robert N. Linscott, 'Faulkner without Fanfare', *Conversations with William Faulkner*, ed. M. Thomas Inge (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 101. See also Joseph Blotner, *Faulkner: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1974), 226, 456, 540 and 772.
7. William Carlos Williams, *Something to Say: William Carlos Williams on Younger Poets* (New York: New Directions, 1985), 134.
8. 'Of Mere Being', line 1 and 4. Quoted from Wallace Stevens, *The Palm at the End of the Mind: Selected Poems and a Play* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 398.
9. Cleanth Brooks, *The Well Wrought Urn* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), anchors the chronology of his New Critical tradition with 'The Phoenix and Turtle', 'The Canonization' and 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'.
10. See also Warren Carrier, 'Commonplace Costumes and Essential Gaudiness, Wallace Stevens' "Emperor of Ice-Cream"', *College Literature* 1 (1974): 230–5, for a more ironic rejoinder to Shakespeare's poem.
11. I. A. Richards, *Poetries: Their Media and Technology* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 58; Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4.
12. See the Introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H. R. Woudhuysen (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 83–5.
13. Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 193.
14. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1881), 126.

## Appendix: *Diverse Poetical Essays*

This appendix provides the complete texts of lyrics in the *Diverse Poetical Essays* that are not otherwise reproduced in facsimile in this book.

See facsimiles:

'INVOCATIO, *Ad Apollinem & Pierides.*' (*Vatum Chorus.*)

'To the worthy honor'd Knight Sir John Salisburie.' (*Vatum Chorus.*)

### *The first.*

The silver Vault of heaven, hath but one Eie,  
And that's the Sunne: the foule-maskt-Ladie, Night  
(Which blots the Cloudes, the white Booke of the Skie,)  
But one sicke *Phoebe*, fever-shaking Light:

The heart, one string: so, thus in single turnes, 5  
The world one *Phoenix*, till another burnes.

### *The burning.*

Suppose here burnes this wonder of a breath,  
In righteous flames, and holy-heated fires:  
(Like Musicke which doth rapt it selfe to death,  
Sweet'ning the inward roome of mans Desires;)  
So she wast's both her wings in piteous strife; 5  
"The flame that eates her, feedes the others life:  
Her rare-dead ashes, fill a rare-live urne:  
"One *Phoenix* borne, another *Phoenix* burne.

*Ignoto.*

See facsimiles:

Untitled poem beginning 'Let the bird of lowdest lay', ending with 'Threnos'  
(*William Shake-speare.*)

'A narration and description of a most exact wondrous creature, arising out of the  
*Phoenix* and *Turtle Doves* ashes.'

### *The description of this Perfection.*

Dares then thy too audacious sense  
Presume, define that boundlesse *Ens*,  
That amplest thought transcendeth?  
O yet vouchsafe my *Muse*, to greete  
That wondrous rarenesse, in whose sweete 5  
All praise begins and endeth.  
Divinest Beautie? that was slightest,  
That adorn'd this wondrous Brightest,  
Which had nought to be corrupted.



- In this, Perfection had no meane  
 To this, Earths purest was uncleane  
     Which vertue even instructed.  
 By it all Beings deck'd and stained,  
*Ideas* that are idly fained  
     Onely here subsist invested. 10
- Dread not to give strain'd praise at all,  
 No speech is Hyperbolicall,  
     To this perfection blessed.  
     Thus close my Rimes, this all that can be sayd,  
     This wonder never can be flattered. 20
- To Perfection.  
 A Sonnet.*
- Oft have I gazed with astonish'd eye,  
 At monstrous issues of ill shaped birth,  
 When I have seene the Midwife to old earth,  
*Nature* produce most strange deformitie,  
 So have I marveld to observe of late, 5  
     Hard favour'd Feminines so scant of faire,  
     That Maskes so choicely, sheltred of the aire,  
 As if their beauties were not theirs by fate.
- But who so weake of observation,  
 Hath not discern'd long since how vertues wanted,  
 How parcimoniously the heavens have scanted,  
 Our chiefest part of adornation? 10
- But now I cease to wonder, now I find  
 The cause of all our monstrous penny-showes:  
 Now I conceit from whence wits scarc'tie growes,  
 Hard favoured features, and defects of mind. 15  
     *Nature* long time hath stor'd up vertue, fairnesse,  
 Shaping the rest as foiles unto this Rarenesse.
- Perfectioni Hymnus.*
- What should I call this creature,  
     Which now is growne unto maturitie?  
 How should I blase this feature  
     As firme and constant as Eternitie?  
 Call it Perfection? Fie! 5  
     Tis perfecter then brightest names can light it:  
 Call it Heavens mirror? I.  
     Alas, best attributes can never right it.  
 Beauties resistlesse thunder?  
     All nomination is too straight of sence: 10  
 Deepe Contemplations wonder?  
     That appellation give this excellence.  
 Within all best confin'd,  
     (Now feebler *Genius* end thy slighter riming)

No Suburbes\* all is *Mind* 15  
 As farre from spot, as possible defining.  
*John Marston.*

Marginal Note: \**Differentia Deorum & hominum (apud Senecam) sic habet nostri melior pars animus in illis nulla pars extra animum.*

*Peristeros: or the male Turtle.*

Not like that loose and partie-liver'd Sect  
 Of idle Lovers, that (as different Lights,  
 On colour'd subjects, different hewes reflect;)  
 Change their Affections with their Mistris Sights,  
 That with her Praise, or Dispraise, drowne, or flote, 5  
 And must be fed with fresh Conceits, and Fashions;  
 Never waxe cold, but die: love not, but dote:  
 "(Loves fires, staid Judgments blow, not humorous Passions,)  
 Whose Loves upon their Lovers pomp depend,  
 And quench as fast as her Eyes sparkle twinkles, 10  
 "(Nought lasts that doth to outward worth contend,  
 "Al Love in smooth browes born is tomb'd in wrinkles.)  
 But like the consecrated\* Bird of love,  
 Whose whole lifes hap to his\* sole-mate alluded,  
 Whome no prow'd flockes of other Foules could move, 15  
 But in her selfe all companie concluded.  
 She was to him th'*Analise* World of pleasure,  
 Her firmenesse cloth'd him in varietie  
 Excesse of all things, he joyd in her measure,  
 Mourn'd when she mourn'd, and dieth when she dies. 20  
 Like him I bound th'instinct of all my powres,  
 In her that bounds the Empire of desert,  
 And Time nor Change (that all things else devoures,  
 But truth eterniz'd in a constant heart)  
 Can change me more from her, then her from merit, 25  
 That is my forme, and gives my being, spirit.  
*George Chapman.*

Marginal Notes: \* *The Turtle.*; \* *The Phoenix.*

*Praeludium.*

*We must sing too? what Subject shal we chuse?  
 Or whose great Name in Poets Heaven use,  
 For the more Countenance to our Active Muse?  
 Hercules? alas his bones are yet sore,  
 With his old earthly Labors; t'exact more 5  
 Of his dull Godhead, were Sinne: Lets implore  
 Phoebus? No. Tend thy Cart still. Envious Day  
 Shall not give out, that we have made thee stay,  
 And foundred thy hote Teame, to tune our Lay.  
 Nor will we beg of thee, Lord of the Vine, 10  
 To raise our spirites with thy conjuring Wine,  
 In the greene circle of thy Ivy twine.*

Pallas, nor thee we call on, Mankind Maide,  
 That (at thy birth) mad'st the poore Smith afraide,  
 Who with his Axe thy Fathers Mid-wife plaide. 15

Go, crampe dull Mars, light Venus, when he snorts,  
 Or with thy Tribade Trine, invent new sports,  
 Thou, nor their looseness, with our Making sorts.

Let the old Boy your sonne play his old Taske,  
 Turne the stale Prologue to some painted Maske,  
 His Absence in our Verse is all we aske. 20

Hermes the cheater, cannot mixe with us,  
 Though he would steale his sisters Pegasus,  
 And rifle him; or pawne his Petasus.

Nor all the Ladies of the Thespian Lake, 25  
 (Though they were crusht into one forme) could make  
 A Beauty of that Merit, that should take

Our Muse up by Commission: No, we bring  
 Our owne true Fire; Now our Thought takes wing,  
 And now an Epode to deepe eares we sing. 30

*Epos.*

"Not to know *Vice* at all, and keepe true state,  
 "Is *Vertue*, and not Fate:  
 "Next to that *Vertue*, is, to know *Vice* well,  
 "And her blacke spight expell. 5

Which to effect (since no breast is so sure,  
 Or safe, but shee'l procure  
 Some way of entrance) we must plant a guard  
 Of *Thoughts*, to watch and ward  
 At th'*Eye* and *Eare*, (the *Ports* unto the *Mind*;) 10  
 That no strange or unkind

Object arrive there, but the *Heart* (our spie)  
 Give knowledge instantly,  
 To wakefull *Reason*, our *Affections* King:  
 Who (in th'examining)  
 Will quickly taste the *Treason*, and commit 15  
 Close, the close cause of it.

"Tis the securest Pollicie we have,  
 "To make our Sense our Slave.  
 But this faire course is not embrac'd by many:  
 By many? scarce by any: 20

For either our *Affections* do rebell,  
 Or else the *Sentinell*,  
 (That shal ring larum to the *Heart*) doth sleepe,  
 Or some great *Thought* doth keepe  
 Backe the *Intelligence*, and falsely swears 25  
 They'r base, and idle Feares,

Whereof the loyall *Conscience* so complains.  
     Thus by these subtile traines,  
 Do severall *Passions* still invade the *Mind*,  
     And strike our *Reason* blind: 30  
 Of which usurping ranke, some have thought *Love*  
     The first; as prone to move  
 Most frequent Tumults, Horrors, and Unrests,  
     In our enflamed brests.  
 But this doth from their cloud of Error grow, 35  
     Which thus we overblow.  
 The thing they here call *Love*, is blind *Desire*,  
     Arm'd with *Bow*, *Shafts*, and *Fire*;  
 Inconstant like the Sea, of whence 'tis borne,  
     Rough, swelling, like a Storme: 40  
 With whom who sailes, rides on the surge of *Feare*,  
     And boiles as if he were  
 In a continuall Tempest. Now true *Love*  
     No such such effects doth prove:  
 That is an *Essence* most gentile, and fine. 45  
     Pure, perfect; nay divine:  
 It is a golden Chaine let downe from Heaven,  
     Whose linkes are bright, and even  
 That fals like Sleepe on Lovers; and combines  
     The soft and sweetest *Minds* 50  
 In equal knots: This beares no *Brands* nor *Darts*  
     To murder different harts,  
 But in a calme and God-like unitie,  
     Preserves *Communitie*.  
 O who is he that (in this peace) enjoys 55  
     Th'*Elixir* of all joyes?  
 (A Forme more fresh then are the *Eden* bowers,  
     And lasting as her flowers:  
 Richer then *Time*, and as *Times Vertue*, rare,  
     Sober, as saddest *Care*, 60  
 A fixed *Thought*, an *Eye* untaught to glance;)

Who (blest with such high chance)  
 Would at suggestion of a steepe *Desire*,  
     Cast himselfe from the spire  
 Of all his Happiness? But soft: I heare 65  
     Some vicious *Foole* draw neare,  
 That cries we dreame; and swears, there's no such thing  
     As this chaste *Love* we sing.  
 Peace *Luxurie*, thou art like one of those  
     Who (being at sea) suppose 70  
 Because they move, the *Continent* doth so:  
     No (*Vice*) we let thee know,  
 Though thy wild Thoughts with *Sparrowes* wings do flie,  
     "*Turtles* can chastly die;  
 And yet (in this t'expresse our selfe more cleare) 75  
     We do not number here

Such Spirites as are onely continent,  
 Because *Lusts* meanes are spent:  
 Or those, who doubt the common mouth of *Fame*,  
 And for their *Place*, or *Name*, 80  
 Cannot so safely sinne; Their *Chastitie*  
 Is mere *Necessitie*,  
 Nor meane we those, whom *Vowes* and *Conscience*  
 Have filld with *Abstinence*:  
 (Though we acknowledge who can so abstaine, 85  
 Makes a most blessed gaine:  
 "He that for love of goodnesse hateth ill,  
 "Is more Crowne-worthy still,  
 "Then he which for sinnes *Penaltie* forbears,  
 "His *Heart* sinnes, though he feares.) 90  
 But we propose a person like our *Dove*,  
 Grac'd with a *Phoenix* love:  
 A beauty of that cleare and sparkling Light,  
 Would make a Day of Night,  
 And turne the blackest sorrowes to bright joyes: 95  
 Whose Od'rous breath destroyes  
 All taste of Bitternesse, and makes the Ayre  
 As sweete, as she is faire:  
 A Bodie so harmoniously composde,  
 As if *Nature* disclosde 100  
 All her best *Symmetrie* in that one *Feature*:  
 O, so divine a Creature  
 Who could be false too? chiefly when he knowes  
 How onely she bestowes  
 The wealthy treasure of her Love in him; 105  
 Making his Fortunes swim  
 In the full floud of her admir'd perfection?  
 What savage, brute Affection,  
 Would not be fearefull to offend a *Dame*  
 Of this excelling frame? 110  
 Much more a noble and right generous *Mind*,  
 (To vertuous moodes enclin'd)  
 That knowes the weight of *Guilt*: He will refrain  
 From thoughts of such a straine:  
 And to his *Sence* object this Sentence ever, 115  
 "Man may securely sinne, but safely never.  
 Ben Iohnson.

*The Phoenix Analysde.*

Now, after all, let no man  
 Receive it for a *Fable*,  
 If a *Bird* so amiable,  
 Do turne into a Woman.

Or (by our *Turtles* Augure) 5  
 That *Natures* fairest Creature,  
 Prove of his *Mistris* Feature,  
 But a bare *Type* and *Figure*.

*Ode 'ενθουσιαστική.*

*Splendor!* O more then mortall,  
 For other formes come short all  
 Of her illustrate brightnesse,  
 As farre as Sinne's from lightnesse.

Her wit as quicke, and sprightfull 5  
 As fire: and more delightfull,  
 Then the stolne sports of *Lovers*,  
 When night their meeting covers.

Judgement (adornd with Learning)  
 Doth shine in her discerning, 10  
 Cleare as a naked vestall  
 Closde in an orbe of Christall.

Her breath for sweete exceeding  
 The *Phoenix* place of breeding,  
 But mixt with sound, transcending 15  
 All *Nature* of commending.

Alas: then wither wade I,  
 In thought to praise this *Ladie*,  
 When seeking her renowning,  
 My selfe am so near drowning? 20

Retire, and say; Her *Graces*  
 Are deeper then their *Faces*:  
 Yet shee's nor nice to shew them,  
 Nor takes she pride to know them.

FINIS.

*Ben: Iohnson.*

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