

Copyright
by
Maley Holmes Thompson
2011

**The Report Committee for Maley Holmes Thompson
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following report:**

The Shakespearean Additions to the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy*

**APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Supervisor:

Douglas Bruster

James Loehlin

The Shakespearean Additions to the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy*

by

Maley Holmes Thompson, B.A.

Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2011

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Douglas Bruster for your generous help with this project. Your students appreciate your always-open door and your willingness to offer your thoughtful feedback—and your time—to improve our work. I am especially grateful for your encouragement to take a risk and have fun with this project.

Thank you to James Loehlin for your words of encouragement and especially your reassuring temperament during the completion of this project.

Special thanks also to my parents, Mary and Steve Thompson, and to Robert Passberger.

Abstract

The Shakespearean Additions to the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy*

Maley Holmes Thompson, MA

The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

Supervisor: Douglas Bruster

If Shakespeare contributed the additions to the 1602 edition of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, he did so at the time he was writing *Hamlet*. The additions were written anonymously, but contemporary references to playwrights and their works, publication records, and documented theatrical transactions have provoked the authorship controversy for centuries. Recent studies have attempted "fingerprinting" and "DNA" analysis of verbal structures to solve the case once and for all, but this study moves beyond the (impossible) task of trying to "prove" that Shakespeare wrote the additions and instead seeks to recreate a hypothetical scenario to show why and how Shakespeare may have written them.

Using the loose structure of a modern recreation of a cold-case crime, this study contextualizes the additions and the authorship controversy they have inspired, situating the case in its earlier manifestations and in present-day criticism. It will be shown why Shakespeare would have been the ideal candidate to revise *The Spanish Tragedy*: he was familiar with Kyd's work, was known for revitalizing older works, knew the players, and was a writer for hire. It will be argued that the publisher of the additions, Thomas Pavier, followed Shakespeare throughout his career and saw a marketing opportunity to capitalize on three trends: title pages that advertised newness, nostalgia for old texts, and a market for Shakespearean language. This essay will trace the hypothetical steps to see how Shakespeare's additions might have been written, dispersed, rehearsed, acted, and printed. Ultimately, the additions will be situated as a hypothetical middle step between Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

Table of Contents

A SHAKESPEAREAN WHODUNIT	1
The Crime	2
The Suspects	5
Forensics	13
Fingerprints	26
Linking the <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> and <i>Hamlet</i>	36
The Red Herring	42
The Paper Trail	47
The Motive	53
Tainted Crime Scene	60
The Additions and <i>Hamlet</i>	67
Conclusions	70
APPENDICES	72
Appendix A: The Additions	73
Appendix B: The Additions (The Painter's Part 1602)	82
Appendix C: Timeline	85
Bibliography	88

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Title Page of the 1602 Quarto	4
Figure 2: Craig and Kinney's Lexical Analysis.....	16

A Shakespearean Whodunit

I wish to recreate the scene of a crime. The suspicious act took place in 1602 London, on the pages of an old play. The witnesses are long dead, but they left records: some trustworthy, some not. For four hundred years, various suspects have been brought forth—Thomas Kyd, Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, John Webster, and other early modern players and playwrights—to answer for the deed. The evidence is controversial. Many of the dates in this investigation, even publication dates, beg for an asterisk. Much of the evidence in this story has thus been argued in the footnotes. Although this essay recapitulates a widely known and available history, and many of the stories will be familiar to scholars well acquainted with Shakespeare, my objective is to weave these rather threadbare records into a holistic and original narrative. The case has never been put together this way before. Most critics have attempted to solve the mystery through the use of verbal parallels—so-called linguistic “fingerprinting”—and recent developments reinforce that this methodology can provide fruitful results. Some of these critics have identified external evidence that points to one suspect or another, but I aim to draw the chalk marks a little wider to more thoroughly contextualize my hypothetical solution to the cold case. This study will piece together the evidence to provide an alternative account of the circumstances that led to the publication of the 1602 additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In doing so I hope to vindicate the additions for what they are— a vitally important connection to Shakespeare at the time he was writing *Hamlet*.¹

¹ The metaphorical “crime” being recreated here is the authorship of the 1602 additions, not the subsequent (hypothetical) misattribution of them. While interpolating new lines to an old play is not itself a crime, the

The Crime

The Spanish Tragedy, by Thomas Kyd (1558-1594), was already a legendary success by 1602. It was tremendously popular both on the stage and in print: in the five-year period from 1592-1597, it was performed at least twenty-nine times and had been reprinted in multiple editions. It was written around 1587, about a year before Kyd appears to have written *Hamlet*—not Shakespeare’s play, of course, but an earlier, now lost *Hamlet* (hereafter called the *Ur-Hamlet*). *The Spanish Tragedy*’s most striking lines became more quoted (and parodied) than any other throughout early modern playwriting’s greatest sixty years. As Andrew Gurr writes, “even *Hamlet*, which owes a great deal to it, or *Romeo and Juliet*, which doesn’t, were less familiar to Elizabethan and early Stuart audiences than Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*. ”² By 1602, *The Spanish Tragedy* had become a cliché in the theater world, publicly derided by other playwrights. Kyd died in 1594, three years before Ben Jonson ridiculed his style in *Every Man in His Humour* (1597-98)—making *The Spanish Tragedy* the favorite reading of a buffoon (1.3.126-42)—and in *Cynthia’s Revels* (1600)—in which a man with “more beard then braine” swears that “the old Hieronimo” was a well-written play. The grandiloquent style of *The Spanish Tragedy* was also ridiculed in Jonson’s satire *Poetaster*, Shirley’s *Changes*, Middleton’s *Old Law*, and *The Return from Parnassus*.³

added scene of the Painter’s Part consists of an attempted recreation of an actual crime scene. The “crime” as I refer to it in this essay is therefore the meta-criminal act of writing the additions.

² Gurr, introduction to *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd. Ed. J.R. Mulryne (London: New Mermaids, 2009), vii.

³ Lists these references in “*La Tragédie Espagnole face à la Critique Elisabethaine et Jacobéene*,” in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Dramaturgie et Société*, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968), 607-31.

Although the publication history is nearly impossible to adequately sort out, there is evidence that two plays were written with the sole purpose of ridiculing *The Spanish Tragedy*. Philip Henslowe's Diary records a (now lost) frontispiece, *Don Horatio*, which was added to productions of *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1591-2 as a parody of the very play it was introducing.⁴ *I Hieronimo* was another farcical burlesque, published in 1605, that was likely a "crude melodrama" written to lampoon the highly melodramatic *Spanish Tragedy*.⁵ By the turn of the century, ridiculing *The Spanish Tragedy* was not only kicking a dead horse—it was kicking a warhorse of the theater.

At the turn of the century, new scenes were added to this old play, including an addition of a new role: the Painter's Part.⁶ The title page of the 1602 quarto of *The Spanish Tragedy* describes itself as containing the familiar "lamentable tale" of the previous three editions, but with fresh updates and more scenes: "newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with new additions of the Painters part, and others, as it hath of late been diuers times acted."⁷ The enterprising new publisher of the quarto, who was assigned the title in 1600, capitalized on the play's established reputation and marketed its exciting new features.

⁴ There is no scholarly consensus about the possible content of this frontispiece. Lukas Erne maintains that it was an unsuccessful attempt at a two-part play with *The Spanish Tragedy*, but that it was not a "comedy" in the modern sense. Erne, *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 15.

⁵ F.S. Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd* (Oxford 1901), xliii-xliv. As with *Don Horatio*, there is no consensus about the content, provenance, or sequence of these frontispieces. Frederick Boas, Arthur Freeman, Anthony Cairncross, and Lukas Erne offer different hypothetical timelines and interpretations of the missing plays. See Erne, *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy*, 14-45.

⁶ This scene can be found in its modern form in Appendix A and its original printed form in Appendix B.

⁷ Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (London: 1602). Citations are to this edition and will appear in the text. The title page images and those of the Painter's Part (Appendix B) are taken from the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database, copied from the Huntington Library's copy. There is an identical title page for the 1603 reprint that is a clearer picture, but for the sake of authenticity I have reproduced here the title page of the 1602 quarto.

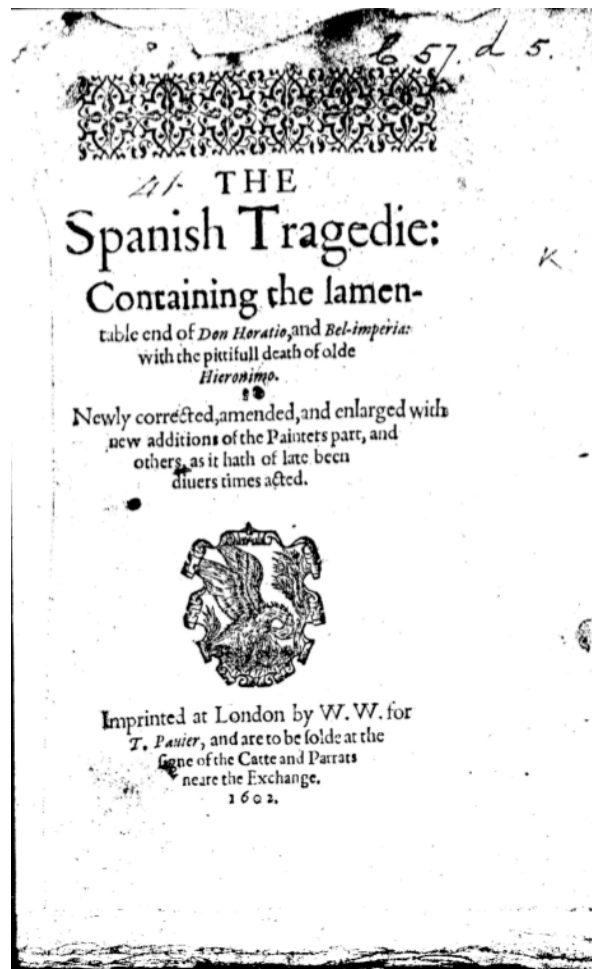


Figure 1.

Altogether, the additions total five passages for a total of 320 new lines. In each of them, Hieronimo is mad with woe over the murder of his son, Horatio. The fourth addition is an entirely new scene, “The Painter’s Part,” inserted in the third act between scenes twelve and thirteen, totaling 175 lines. In it, Hieronimo recreates the scene of the crime of his son’s murder.

For reasons that will be explained later, it is most likely the case that these additions were written around 1600, “diuers times acted” around 1601, and first published in 1602. The additions proved to be a lucrative selling feature that revived the

old play: further editions followed in 1603, 1610/11, 1615, 1618, 1623, and 1633, all deriving from the text of 1602. Who is responsible for them, and why it matters, is the subject of this study.

The Suspects

The following suspects have been put forth to account for the authorship of the 1602 additions: Thomas Kyd, the players, John Webster, an anonymous playwright, Ben Jonson, and William Shakespeare. For reasons that will be explored later, Shakespeare is the most viable candidate for their authorship.

We may eliminate the possibility that Kyd wrote the additions based on style and chronology. The suggestion that Kyd may have originally written the additions has been raised by Anthony Cairncross, who posited that “it might be worth speculating on the alternative possibility that the ‘additions’ are not additions at all, but original passages cut and later restored to the text, and written by Kyd himself.”⁸ This hypothesis is untenable, for the additions are indeed additions, and they are jarringly different in style than the text they append. Whereas *The Spanish Tragedy* is written almost entirely in blank verse, interspersed with some prose (3.5, 3.6.41-89, 3.7.19-28) and some rhymed verse (2.1.1-40, 2.4.24-49), the additions are written entirely in prose. Furthermore, Kyd had originally written the play roughly twenty years prior to the publication of the additions, and the added lines had never appeared in any form in the multiple editions of the play

⁸ Cairncross, ed. [*The Spanish Comedy*, or] *The First Part of Hieronimo* and *The Spanish Tragedy* [or, *Hieronimo is Mad Again*], Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), xxii.

previous to 1602. The 1602 title page announces them as “new additions,” which indicates that they were not lost and recovered. Because Kyd had been dead for eight years when the additions were added, he could not have been responsible for this hypothetical belated recovery of his lost lines.

The second possibility for of the authorship of the additions—the players—is also unlikely. The suggestion was first raised in 1773 by the first editor of *The Spanish Tragedy* to print the play with the additions. Thomas Hawkins suggested that the additions had most likely been imposed on the original text by the actors—“foisted in by the players”—and he henceforth removed them from the original text and segregated them to the footnotes.⁹ One may wonder at the initiative and ability of these hypothetical playwright/ players who invented whole new scenes and characters. While ridiculing *The Spanish Tragedy*’s more melodramatic scenes was a relatively common occurrence, for unknown players to generate new scenes entirely, in earnest, at this level, would have been an implausible anomaly. Grace Ioppolo claims that theatrical annotators should not be taken to have been directly involved with the preparation of copy for the press: “any theory that an acting company would have had to prepare or maintain copies eventually suitable for readers is insupportable from the kind of records kept by Henslowe and other theatrical businessmen.”¹⁰ While Ioppolo’s hypothesis about the relationship between acting companies and the press would rule out the players from the list of possible interpolators, it is based on her understanding of Henslowe’s transactions with the

⁹ Hawkins, ed. *The Origin of the English Drama*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1773)(*The Spanish Tragedy and Soliman and Perseda*, vol. 2).

¹⁰ Ioppolo, *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority, and the Playhouse* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 164.

Admiral's Men as detailed in the Diary. Hawkins' and Ioppolo's claims—that the players could have written and foisted in new additions, and that players could not have prepared copy for print—demonstrate that the speculative theories of the relationship between players and publication are often contradictory and mutually exclusive. The probable process is more tentative and contingent than any single theory can articulate. Sonia Massai offers a third hypothesis that is perhaps a more accommodating middle-ground between these two theories: “actors could not impose their will on stationers who owned dramatic copy of plays which had already been committed to print.”¹¹ Massai's theory holds that players could not “foist” in new scenes without the stationers' approval. According to this hypothesis, actor-reports sometimes used lines readily available in their memories to fill in memorial gaps, as perhaps happened with some “bad” quartos. But when actors reconstructed, for publication, lines and scenes they had previously performed, someone else wrote those lines and scenes for them originally. Perhaps the actors had commissioned the 1602 additions themselves, for reasons that will be explored later, but it is highly unlikely that they composed them.

Forty years after the additions were foisted into the footnotes, Charles Lamb put them back in, calling them “the very salt of the old play” and suggesting John Webster as their author.¹² As Lamb writes, “there is nothing in the undoubted plays of Jonson, which would authorize us to suppose that he could have supplied the scenes in question... Webster might have furnished them. They are full of the wild, preternatural cast of grief

¹¹ Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 109.

¹² Lamb, *Specimens of English Dramatic Writers* (London, 1808), 12.

which bewilders us in *The Duchess of Malfi*.¹³ Edward FitzGerald agrees that the additions are more Websterian than Jonsonian: “Nobody knows who wrote this one scene [Addition 3.12]: it was thought Ben Jonson, who could no more have written it than I who read it: for what else of his is it like? Whereas, Webster one fancies might have done it.”¹⁴ But Webster is also an unlikely candidate—he was too early in his career in 1601 to have been tapped for adding tragic scenes to a famous play. His modern editors contend that his genius matured slowly and did not reveal itself until roughly ten years after the additions were published. Although he was most probably not, as *Shakespeare in Love* would have us believe, a young street urchin covered in rats at the turn of the century, Webster was just beginning his career as a playwright in his early twenties after studying briefly in the law. His early works were collaborations: many of these plays were never printed, including the tragedy *Caesar’s Fall* (written with Michael Drayton, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, and Anthony Munday) and *Christmas Comes But Once a Year* (1602) written with Dekker, with whom he also collaborated on *Westward Ho* (1604), *Northward Ho* (1604) and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607).¹⁵ In 1602 he was still several years away from his Jacobean masterpieces, *The White Devil* (1612) and *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614).

By 1604, Webster had reputation enough as a journeyman to undertake an adaptation of Marston’s play *The Malcontent*. This adaptation was written for the King’s

¹³ Boas, lxxxvii.

¹⁴ Edward FitzGerald, in a letter to Fanny Kemble. From William Aldis Wright (ed.), *Letters of Edward FitzGerald to Fanny Kemble, 1871-1883* (London, 1902), 63.

¹⁵ As seen in *The Works of John Webster* (An Old-Spelling Critical Edition). Eds. David Gunby, David Carnegie; MacDonald P. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Men (Shakespeare's company, which changed its name from the Chamberlain's Men when James I took the throne), and Shakespeare may have acted in it.¹⁶ Webster contributed the Induction, in which the actors Burbage, Condell, Lowin and Sly play themselves. The Induction contains a clue that may corroborate the hypothesis that Shakespeare wrote *The Spanish Tragedy* additions. In the Induction, Condell explains the appropriation of *The Spanish Tragedy* by the King's Men from the Chapel: "why not Malevole in folio with us, as well as Jeronimo In decimo sexto with them." Condell's quotation addresses how the King's Men came to mount a Blackfriar's play, but is also shows the King's Men laying claim to *The Spanish Tragedy*. E.K. Chambers explains this reference: "Perhaps *I Jeronimo* is meant; in view of the stage-history of *The Spanish Tragedy*, as disclosed by Henslowe's Diary, the King's could hardly have laid claim to it."¹⁷ But if Shakespeare wrote the additions, the King's Men could certainly lay claim to the revised edition that their chief playwright had amended so successfully.

Much has been made of Webster's borrowing from Shakespeare, and his later works have been described as "Shakespearian in their range and depth, in the brilliance of their verse and prose, and their vividness of characterization."¹⁸ But Webster was not yet Shakespearean in 1601, and there is no persuasive link to be made between his later style and the 1602 additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*.

¹⁶ Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare & Co.* (London: Penguin, 2006), 224-225.

¹⁷ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 3. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, first published 1923), 396.

¹⁸ Wells, 227.

Scholars have proposed other identities for the author of the revisions, including Thomas Dekker,¹⁹ but more often than not, modern editors of *The Spanish Tragedy* relegate the additions to the appendix as anonymous contributions that do not necessitate extensive speculation about their author. For example, Lukas Erne's 2001 book on Kyd's plays, *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy*, dismisses the additions as a marginal supplement to the canon of Kyd's works and maintains that the additions should remain anonymous. Erne is also the author of the influential study of *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (2003), which argues that Shakespeare conscientiously produced reading texts for publication as well as texts for performance. Because of Erne's areas of expertise—Kyd and Shakespeare—and because *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy* attempts to recuperate Kyd's rightful place as a chief dramatist in Elizabethan England (beyond his most famous work), Kyd's connection to Shakespeare is a prevalent feature in the book that seeks to establish Kyd's canon. But Erne is conspicuously reticent on the subject of Shakespeare's connection to the additions. Although Erne's study on Kyd is "the first book in thirty years on the playwright who is arguably Shakespeare's most important tragic predecessor," Erne does not argue for or against the possibility that Shakespeare wrote the additions. Instead, in his summary of the authorship controversy, he briefly mentions that "Coleridge suggested Shakespeare [as their author], an attribution which, groundless though it be, was revived in the twentieth century." Erne does not explain why this attribution is "groundless." Instead, he argues that the additions should remain anonymous: "the question of the authorship of the additions may well have to remain

¹⁹ See H.W. Crundell and R.G. Howarth, *Notes and Queries*, 4 March 1933, 7 April, 4 August 1934, 4 January 1941.

unanswered...whatever the intrinsic quality of the dramatic writing of the [additions, ...] we may safely leave them where they belong: in the appendix to editions of *The Spanish Tragedy*.”²⁰ His use of the phrase “leave them,” instead of “include them” or “incorporate them,” shows that Erne desires to segregate and dismiss the controversy altogether. Because the additions total only 320 lines, it is understandable that they should be included in the appendices of scholarly editions of *The Spanish Tragedy* (instead of an edition that perhaps includes two full versions of the text, with and without the additions). But the question of their authorship should not be relegated to the appendix as well. While it may be “safer,” or less controversial, to ignore the authorship question altogether, doing so elides the importance of the additions as a possible link to Shakespeare, whether he wrote them or not. Even if we never come close to solving the mystery of their authorship, the additions and the question of their authorship do not “belong” in an appendix. And, as will be demonstrated later in this study, Erne seems to have recently changed his mind about the authorship controversy of the additions.

Despite these conflicting theories of authorship of the additions, there has been a recent resurgence in this suit—which may well be called a paternity suit—that posits two literary giants, their canons, their biographies, and their legacies against one another. Although the 1602 title page does not indicate the author of the additions—or, for that matter, the author of *The Spanish Tragedy* itself—the most commonly accepted story is

²⁰ Erne, *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy*, 122-126.

that Ben Jonson wrote them. The case for Jonson rests on two entries in Henslowe's Diary in 1601 and 1602:²¹

Lent vnto m^r alleyn the 25 of septembz 1601 to lend vnto Bengemen Johnson vpon hn writtinge of his adicians in geronymo the some of.... xxxx^s [forty shillings]

Lent vnto bengemy Johnsonsone at the A poyntment of EAlleyn & w^m birde the 22 of June 1602 in earneste of A Boocke called Richard crockbacke & for new adicyons for Jeronymo the some of ... x^{li} [ten pounds]

Until recently, and with notable exceptions like the ones discussed above, it has been generally taken for granted that the two records of payments to Ben Jonson for “adicians/ adicyons” of some sort to “geronymo/ Jeronymo” around 1601-1602 establish Jonson's authorship of the “new additions” advertised on the title page of the 1602 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Records of theatrical production are scarce from the period, and to read such evidence as anything but conclusive has seemed counter-intuitive (at best) to Jonson's biographers. But for reasons of chronology and style, it is doubtful that the printed additions are those for which Henslowe paid Jonson.

The essential controversy over the additions is that they sound nothing like Jonson—they sound like Shakespeare. That simple argument has proven most contentious because it is impossible to prove, especially in light of Henslowe's conflicting records. For centuries, the question of Shakespeare's role as alleged author of the additions has been taken up with varying levels of cogency and zeal. In 1656, Edward Archer credited the additions to Shakespeare, although he also gave him the whole of *The*

²¹ Foakes, R.A. and R.T. Rickert (eds.), *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 182-203.

Spanish Tragedy and *I Hieronimo*.²² In 1833, Samuel Coleridge was the first to seriously suggest that Shakespeare may have been the author of the additions: “the parts pointed out in *Hieronimo* as Ben Jonson’s bear no traces of his style; but they are very like Shakespeare; and it is remarkable that every one of them reappears in full form and development and tempered with mature judgment, in some of Shakespeare’s great pieces.”²³ Coleridge also suggested elsewhere that “in *Jeronymo* Shakespeare wrote some passages, and that they are the earliest of his Compositions.”²⁴ From Archer to Coleridge, the arguments on Shakespeare’s behalf could go no further—there was no way to persuasively demonstrate this connection, with any scholarly conviction besides that of a reader recognizing a familiar impression of style.

Forensics

Archer and Coleridge suggested Shakespeare as the author of the additions before the advent of the computer. Just as modern DNA testing has made it possible to retroactively solve cold case crimes, recent developments in what we could call “linguistic DNA” testing have been used to determine the authors of early modern texts. The argument for Shakespeare’s authorship of *The Spanish Tragedy* additions has kept pace with rapidly expanding technology. Since Coleridge’s speculation, several scholars

²² Archer, (London, 1656), quoted in *Some 300 Fresh Allusions to Shakspeare*, ed. F.J. Furnival, The New Shakespeare Society (London, 1886), 176.

²³ Coleridge as quoted in *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 14.1. Ed. Kathleen Coburn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 1.

²⁴ Ibid.

have attempted to discover how we might use modern technology to test these additions to prove whether Shakespeare wrote them.

Hugh Craig and Arthur Kinney's 2009 book, *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, includes a controversial chapter on the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy* additions. The title alone shows that such a book could not have been written in any other time period in Shakespearean critical history: "the results shown here are evidence of forces operating within language on a large scale: forces we could certainly have guessed at, but could never have measured without the computer."²⁵ Craig and Kinney argue that the computer—and the program they have designed—now allow us to quantify and visualize the identifiable, distinguishable, and unique use of language of Shakespeare. Moving beyond sensory statements like "this passage reminds me of *X*," Craig and Kinney's computer programming instead offers what they call "computational stylistics," a large-scale computerized analysis of the frequency of common words in combinations.²⁶

The vocabulary used to describe the theories, methods, and results of computational stylistics is similar to the vocabulary used in modern forensic sciences. For example, Craig and Kinney claim that their study puts "brain activity in alignment with the uniqueness of DNA," concentrating on "an authorial language, on a verbal profile drawn from established language usage and leading to a kind of authorial signature—a

²⁵ Craig and Kinney, *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 38.

²⁶ Their methodology is explained in detail in their chapter, "Methods," 15-39.

kind of verbal DNA.”²⁷ Elsewhere, they claim they are “mapping an individual’s linguistic DNA.” Craig and Kinney use the metaphor of DNA frequently and intentionally. In modern science, DNA testing has proven to be more legitimate, sophisticated and definitive than the more primitive fingerprint and blood-type analyses of the past. DNA testing has reversed court judgments, overturned evidence, and provided belated vindication. Craig and Kinney thus employ the metaphor of DNA to move beyond the individual verbal parallels and unquantifiable stylistic impressions of the past. The reviewers of their book also utilize this language of biological authorship in similar ways: Timothy Watt describes their results as being on “a molecular level”²⁸ and I. Lancashire writes that such “frequency-based attribution methodology... depends on a biological, not a conceptual, paradigm of authorship.”²⁹ According to this paradigm, authors’ vocabulary and linguistic preferences are ingrained in them biologically, molecularly—it is in their blood.

Instead of qualifying Shakespeare’s style, their computer program quantifies Shakespeare’s style. While their “computational stylistics” may report a 98% success rate at mapping authorial language, it is both obvious and important to remember that “verbal DNA” is not as unique as actual DNA. An author’s style is not a fingerprint. Computerized tests of authorship are highly useful because they can perform large-scale analyses of verbal parallels across multiple texts and authors, but their results are not definitive as those biological markers—blood, hair, etc.—left behind a scene of a crime..

²⁷ Ibid, 180.

²⁸ Watt contributes a chapter on “Hand D” in *Sir Thomas More in Shakespeare, Computers*, 209.

²⁹ Lancashire, “Paradigms of Authorship,” *Shakespeare Studies* 26, 299.

Craig and Kinney's book contains a chapter on *The Spanish Tragedy* additions that has invigorated the authorship debate anew. After several chapters of case studies demonstrating the successful results of their program's testing software, Craig and Kinney report a 98% accuracy rate in their test samples. With this foundation of demonstrable, successful results, they put the anonymous additions into the program. The results confirmed the previously unconfirmable suspicions of Coleridge and others: "the Additions were judged to belong to the Shakespeare group."³⁰ In graph form, the results are persuasive:

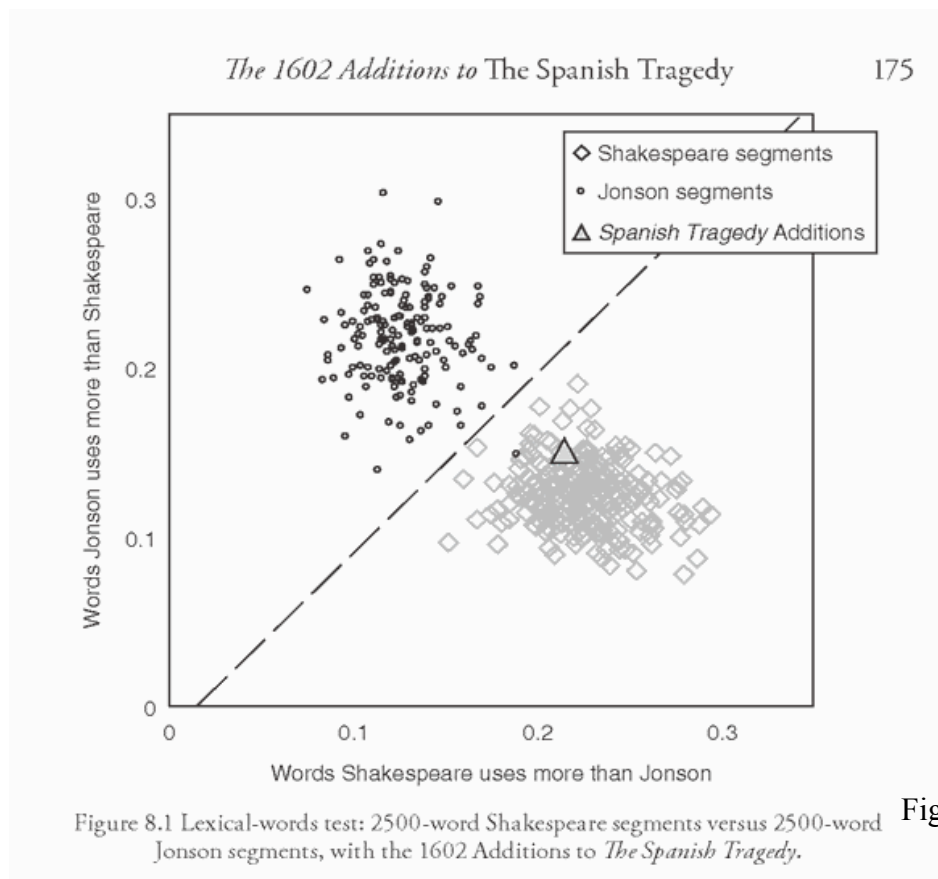


Figure 2.

³⁰ Craig, 17. Figure 2 is taken from page 175 of the same book.

So persuasive, in fact, that Erne—who only ten years ago wrote that the additions and the authorship question should “stay in the appendix where they belong”—wrote in a 2010 review of the study: “Craig and Kinney’s tests suggest that Coleridge got it right....Craig and Kinney thus add to the traditional Shakespeare canon.”³¹ This statement of endorsement is incredible coming from the ever-cautious Erne, who wrote both *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy* and *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist*. If Erne is newly persuaded by Craig and Kinney’s computational stylistics, both of these books need to be revised and linked together. Despite his statement of endorsement, however, Erne carefully backtracks: “in situations where the acknowledged experts disagree, a possibility that should not be discarded is that the truth about a compositional process which took place four centuries ago is simply too complex to be recovered.” This mitigation of his previous statement of endorsement is troubling. It seems to me that there may be major consequences for privileging scholarly consensus—the agreement of the “acknowledged experts”—over exploring new paradigms and attempting persuasive, counter-intuitive readings. If we must wait for consensus or not enter the debate at all, we will never recover anything. Shakespeare studies cannot insist on consensus and provable facts alone; we must allow for speculation, hypothetical arguments, alternative interpretations, skepticism of paradigms, and inconclusive theories. Although Erne finds Craig and Kinney’s results to be “suggestive,” “impressive” and “appealing,” he is not willing, at least not yet, to follow the potentially fruitful—if entirely hypothetical—

³¹ Erne, “Aye, aye,” *Times Literary Supplement*, June 4, 2010.

implications of this suggestion for Shakespeare as a literary dramatist—a surprising silence from the critic who wrote *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*.

Craig and Kinney conclude that, while scholars since Coleridge have remarked that the additions “are certainly Shakespearean in style,” the computer’s results may be used as new evidence “to revive the claims by Coleridge and Stevenson that Shakespeare is the likeliest author of the 1602 Additions to Kyd’s play.”³² The Stevenson to whom they refer is Warren Stevenson, another advocate for Shakespeare’s authorship of the additions. Stevenson has been working on supporting that claim for forty years, from his first essay on the subject—1968’s “Shakespeare’s Hand in the Spanish Tragedy 1602”—to his most recent 2008 publication, a book that, he asserts, “for the first time presents the whole case” for Shakespeare’s claim to the additions. *Shakespeare’s Additions to Thomas Kyd’s The Spanish Tragedy: A Fresh Look at the Evidence Regarding the 1602 Additions* is the culmination of Stevenson’s project, an exhaustive review of the internal evidence for Shakespeare’s authorship.

Compared to Craig and Kinney’s computers-and-DNA approach to forensic authorship, Stevenson’s work comes across like that of a more old-fashioned “sleuth” (a term his foreword contributor uses to describe him). Stevenson believes that “the case could almost rest on grounds of vocabulary alone.” He finds that the vocabulary of the additions is so Shakespearean that only two words from the additions do not appear in some form in Bartlett’s *Concordance to Shakespeare*: “noose” (*Addition* 5.6) and “matted” (*Addition* 4.116). In addition to vocabulary, Stevenson provides what he hopes

³² Craig, 179.

is a collectively overwhelming assemblage of “similarities of style and imagery between the Additions and Shakespeare’s own writings.” It is upon this exhaustive methodology—pointing out every possible verbal parallel between the additions and Shakespeare—that Stevenson’s case ultimately rests: “when all is said the cumulative effect is what counts the most.”³³

This accumulation is not solely one of verbal parallels, although there are hundreds of these. Stevenson hopes his many parallels will be overwhelming enough to whittle away at even the most reluctant skeptic, but he also provides “external” evidence, some of it rather playful, that contributes “to the final demolition of the canard of Jonson’s authorship.” He points out that there is an error in the Latin in the fifth addition, one that could never have gotten by the erudite Jonson, but just might be the “calling card” of someone with “small Latin and less Greek.” He also reminds us that Jonson had been tried for manslaughter in 1598—he killed Gabriel Spencer, one of Henslowe’s actors, in a duel— and had narrowly escaped hanging. Is it likely, then, that he would curse a “damned murderer” only a few years later? (To this question, I believe, it must also be added: would Jonson recreate, in particular, the scene of a hanging?).

Stevenson also rightly contends that Jonson never wrote anything like the additions, before or after 1602. Of course, it may be countered, if Jonson did write the additions, he may have adapted his writing style to a different psychology and poetry to fit in with the surrounding text. But at the turn of the century, Jonson was placing more and more stock in his own uniqueness. The motto that he emblazoned on the title page of

³³ Stevenson, *Shakespeare’s Additions to Thomas Kyd’s The Spanish Tragedy: A Fresh Look at the Evidence Regarding the 1602 Additions* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 77, 65, 29.

Every Man Out (acted in 1599 by the Chamberlain's Men and published in 1600) epitomizes his own sense of inimitability: *Non aliena meo pressie pede* ("I don't walk in other people's steps"). James Bednarz writes that Jonson invented comical satire to provide himself "with an alternative mode of writing comedy in a late Elizabethan theatrical culture dominated by Shakespeare" and that "he was aware of the danger of unreflective mimicry."³⁴ According to this picture of Jonson's relationship to other writers' work, he only imitated to satirize. The additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* are not satirical. Anne Barton corroborates that Jonson forged "a comical style for himself by dissenting from the Elizabethan popular tradition."³⁵ Jonson was not adaptable to others' style; he prided himself on being distinctive and dissenting. Jonson even cautioned his fellow playwrights not to compromise their style through imitation: "we so insist in imitating others, as we cannot... return to our selves."³⁶

Furthermore, if the author of the additions sought to blend them seamlessly into the larger text by imitating Kyd's older style, this was hardly the result. Rather, they seem to be an entirely new style of writing, attaining, as Stevenson calls it, "rare heights of imaginative passion and power—heights reached elsewhere in Elizabethan drama only by Shakespeare and Webster in their greatest pieces."³⁷ Editors of Middleton, Ford, and others may disagree with this sweeping statement, but I must agree that there is a certain quality—which Stevenson calls "height," but may also be called "depth," "palpability," "vividness," "energy," "tensity," etc.—to the additions that is Shakespearean/ late-

³⁴ Bednarz, *Shakespeare and The Poets' War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 55-56.

³⁵ Barton, *Ben Jonson*, x.

³⁶ Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out* 8: 597, as quoted in Bednarz, 56.

³⁷ Stevenson, 5.

Websterian (which may be to say “Shakespearean” again), that cannot be accounted for elsewhere in Jonson’s repertoire.³⁸

Jonson’s style and unwillingness to adapt it make him an unlikely candidate for the authorship of the additions. But there is an additional piece of evidence, based on chronology, that further questions whether Henslowe’s payments to Jonson could refer to the 1602 additions. This chronological complication is as follows: John Marston’s *Antonio and Mellida*, printed in 1602 but generally dated 1599, parodies the Painter’s part of the additions.³⁹ The parody scene suggests that *The Spanish Tragedy*, with the additions containing the Painter’s part, was already being performed in 1599, some time before Henslowe paid Jonson.

Much like Hieronimo’s request of the Painter in the additions, in Marston’s parody scene, Balurdo asks a Painter to paint him an impossible scene:

BALURDO	Can you paint me a driveling, reeling song and let the word be, ‘Uh?’
PAINTER	A belch?
BALURDO	O, no, no—‘Uh.’ Paint me “Uh,” or nothing.
PAINTER	It cannot be done, sir, but by a seeming kind of drunkenness.
BALURDO	No? Well, let me have a good massy ring, with your own posy graven in it, that must sing a small treble, word for word, thus: <i>And if you will my true lover be Come follow me to the greenwood</i>
PAINTER	O Lord, sir, I cannot make a picture sing.

³⁸ The closest Jonson comes to this kind of writing is, I think, in his grief-ridden epitaph for his son Ben: “O, could I loose all father, now... rest in soft peace, and, ask’d, say here doth lie/ BEN. JONSON his best piece of *poetrie*.” (*Ep*, 45). The epitaph is a quieter expression of sorrow at the loss of his son than Hieronimo’s madness, but the depth of feeling is comparable.

³⁹ It is generally thought to have been written in 1599 based on internal references to that date and to Marston’s age in that year. It was first entered into the Stationer’s Register in 1601. Donald H. Reiman, in “Marston, Jonson, and the *Spanish Tragedy* Additions,” *Notes and Queries*, 7 (1960), 336-7, and Freeman *Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 128-30 each conclude that the printed Additions must have been written some years before 1602.

BALARDO Why? 'Slid, I have seen painted things sing as sweet. But I have't
will tickle it for a conceit, I' faith.
(5.1.29-42)⁴⁰

The painter cannot paint a belch, but he can depict a drunk person who seems to belching—"by a seeming kind of drunkenness." He cannot paint a song, but he can portray someone singing. Balurdo's requests are absurd. His demand that the painter depict him "a driveling, reeling song," and "Uh, or nothing," may be compared with the Painter's part in the Fourth addition to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In the addition, Hieronimo asks the Painter, "Canst paint me a tear, or a wound, a groan, or a sigh?" (*Addition* 4.109-11); "Canst paint a doleful cry?" (128). The Painter (Bazardo) responds, "Seemingly, sir" (129). Whereas Marston's painter is given the impossible task of painting the unpaintable, to comic effect, the Painter of the additions cannot paint Hieronimo's grief-stricken requests, to tragic effect. The thematic and verbal parallels between both painter scenes demonstrate that Marston's scene was meant to parody the Painter's Part. For the audience to understand the reference, *The Spanish Tragedy* additions must have preceded *Antonio and Mellida* on stage. If the parody scene in *Antonio and Mellida* was performed in 1599, Henslowe's payments to Jonson three years later seem too belated to correspond to the additions.

For these and other reasons, Stevenson fervently advocates that Jonson could not have written the additions. His argument leads him to frequently overstate his case, deriding the "lazy" academic acceptance of Jonson's authorship and even his fellow critics who question it "belatedly." While his arguments and parallels are sound and

⁴⁰ John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*. Ed. W. Reavley Gair. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

compelling, Stevenson's insistent advocacy, often condescending and sometimes fanatical, makes even his most palatable arguments difficult to swallow. As E.H. Oliphant wrote almost a century ago, in an article called "How *Not* to Play the Game of Parallels," any investigator seeking to recognize Shakespeare's hand "can so easily twist his parallels to prove whatever he desires them to prove, he soon becomes a victim of an idea, a partisan. He may begin with an intention to ascertain the absolute truth; but soon he develops into nothing better than an advocate."⁴¹ One may admire Stevenson's zeal for his cause—the additions certainly are underrepresented in serious attribution studies concerned with Shakespeare—although at times he doth protest too much, supplanting evidence with personal conviction. He seeks to set right the "imposture that has for too long obscured the true identity of their author" and doubts that "further proof be needed... of the virtual impossibiliy [sic] of Jonson's authorship of the text in question."⁴²

Even the scholar selected to provide the foreword to Stevenson's book stops short of expecting the reader to be persuaded by Stevenson's argument: "whether every reader will be convinced is less important than the undoubted fact that he or she will be intrigued by the journey itself."⁴³ The first reviewer of Stevenson's book rejects Stevenson's hypothetical narrative of events: "Stevenson's own proposal, based mainly on verbal parallels but supplemented by Shakespeare's personal identification with a

⁴¹ Oliphant, "How Not to Play the Game of Parallels." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 28.1 (1929), 2.

⁴² Stevenson, 16.

⁴³ Foreword to Stevenson, vii. Anthony Dawson, Professor Emeritus, the University of British Columbia & President, the Shakespeare Association of America, 2001-2002.

character grief-stricken over the death of his son, is speculative to the extreme, and the case for the additions' authorship must remain inconclusive."⁴⁴ These speculative "personal identifications" between Shakespeare and the additions are indeed the weak points of Stevenson's otherwise persuasive parallel study. Stevenson's enthusiastically reveals what he believes to be Shakespeare's strongest biographical connection to them in a sentence that he places entirely in italics: "*In 1601 Hamnet Shakespeare would have been dead for five years*"⁴⁵ (Stevenson is referring to the death of Shakespeare's son Hamnet at the age of 11 in 1594).

Shakespeare's biographical connection to the content and sentiments of *The Spanish Tragedy* additions are of course not unique or exclusive. In fact, Jonson's biographers—Anne Barton and David Riggs—use similar details from Jonson's life to support their claims to *Jonson's* authorship of the additions. Barton notes that Jonson had always responded with unusual intensity to the deaths of children, and to father-son relationships in general.⁴⁶ In 1601-1602 Jonson had two sons, and his first daughter, Mary, was born in early 1601 and died later that year. According to Barton, a play dealing with a father's grief for his dead child was thus "designed in one important respect to touch a responsive chord in him."⁴⁷ Hieronimo's plight, comments Riggs, suddenly takes on an uncanny resemblance to Jonson's personal situation, especially in the additions. Riggs adds that "all of the passages added to Kyd's text focus on the allied themes of premature death and parental bereavement, and these were subjects close to

⁴⁴ Paul White, Book Review in *Studies in English Literature* 49.2 (2009), 509-510.

⁴⁵ Stevenson, 65, his italics.

⁴⁶ Barton, 171.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 20.

Jonson's heart." The next two years after the additions were, for Jonson, "replete with dead children."⁴⁸ Sadly, they were so for many people: historians estimate that in the late sixteenth century, one in four children died before the age of ten.⁴⁹ Conclusions about authorship based on relatively universal biographical details about authors' biological paternity is an insecure foundation for attribution studies.

One reader who is surprisingly, enthusiastically on board with Stevenson's advocacy of parallels-as-proof is Brian Vickers. In the recently published Spring 2011 edition of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vickers reviews Stevenson's book alongside Craig and Kinney's. Vickers finds Stevenson's "traditional" "reading-based" methods to be superior to the "nontraditional" "linguistic-processing" methods that "merely comput[e] selected word frequencies." Vickers finds several "basic flaws" with the "computer-assisted" methodology used by Craig and Kinney: it has an incomplete underlying theory of language; it is "not new," as it claims to be; it confuses word frequency with literary importance; and there are too many exceptions.⁵⁰ Vickers' forthcoming book, *Redefining the Shakespeare Canon*, is described as featuring a section entitled "Identifying Shakespeare's additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*: A New(er) Approach." Vickers seems to be taking up the call to action that Stevenson rightly advocates: "when all is said, the less tangible qualities of these rare passages remain to be accounted for in our search for

⁴⁸ Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 86-87.

⁴⁹ Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing offer this statistic and address how this fact may have impacted the lived experiences of women in early modern London in *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁵⁰ Vickers, "Shakespeare and Authorship Studies in the Twenty-First Century," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 62.1 (2011).

the author.”⁵¹ It remains to be seen what this “New(er)” approach to proof will look like, but it will likely be an attempt to synthesize the best parts of Stevenson’s and Craig and Kinney’s work: the game of parallels done with computers, this time with an alternative underlying theory of Shakespeare’s language.

Fingerprints

Despite his enthusiasm for questionable biographical parallels, Stevenson’s long list of verbal parallels are certainly there, and many of them are unique and persuasive. One parallel that Stevenson does not address, and that I believe has never before been proffered as evidence in the authorship controversy, is a distinctive word used by Hieronimo in the Fourth addition. When the Painter tells Hieronimo that he can paint the most “notorious villains that ever lived in all of Spain,” Hieronimo replies: “O, let them be worse, worse: stretch thine art, and let their beads be of Judas his own colour, and let their *eyebrows* jutting over.”⁵² The 1602 quarto prints the word “eyebrows” as “eie-browes.” Shakespeare coined many compound words using the word “eye:” “eyeball” (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*), “eyebeam” (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*), “eyedrops” (*2 Henry IV*), “eyeglass” (*The Winter’s Tale*), and “eye-wink” (*Merry Wives of Windsor*). The *Oxford English Dictionary* does indeed credit Shakespeare for the word “eyebrow,” in *As You Like It*. There is one previous use of the word in a 1585 translation of a medical book on physical nomenclature, but Shakespeare was the first to use the word as a singular (hyphenated), figurative term:

⁵¹ Stevenson, 55.

⁵² Italics mine. The full text of the additions can be found in Appendix A. Corresponding images of the 1602 quarto can be found in Appendix B.

- 1585 J. Higgins tr. Junius *Nomenclator* 27 *Supercilium*, the ridge of haire about the eye lids or the eye browes.
 a1616 Shakespeare *As You Like It* (1623), 2.7.149. The Louer, with a wofull ballad Made to his Mistresse eye-brow.

As You Like It was probably written between 1599-1600 but was first published in the Folio in 1623. *The Spanish Tragedy* additions precede *As You Like It* in print, and are chronologically in between these two entries in the *OED*. Hieronimo's speech may therefore be the earliest recorded use of "eyebrow" as an original word (not translated from something else), at least in drama. The originality of the word, the combination of "eye" and another noun, and the already established connection to Shakespeare suggest that "eyebrow" may be a Shakespearean signature.

Additionally, the use of the word "juty" with "eyebrow" may further point to Shakespeare's authorship of the additions. The *OED* credits Shakespeare with the first usage of the word in its transitive meaning: to project beyond, overhang:

- a1616 Shakespeare *Henry V* (1623), 3.1.13. As fearefully, as doth a galled Rocke O're-hang and iuty his confounded Base.

Henry V is also estimated to have been written c.1599 (tradition holds that it was the first play to be staged at the newly constructed Globe). For two words that Shakespeare supposedly coined at around the same time—"eyebrow" and "juty"—to be paired together in additions that were written around the same time is indeed suggestive that Shakespeare may have written the additions.

Stevenson provides many parallels of Shakespearean vocabulary in the additions. From his hundreds of examples, two of the most suggestive of Shakespeare's authorship will be addressed here. From the fourth addition:

Where was she *that* same *night*,
 When my Horatio was murdered?
She should have shone: search through the book!
 Had *the Moone* shone...
 In my boyes face there was a kind of grace,
 That I know—nay, I doe know—had the murderer seen him,
 His weapon would have fall’n and cut the earth.
 (*Addition* 4.46-50)

In this scene, Hieronimo laments that the moon was absent on the night Horatio was murdered. He asks for an almanac to corroborate that it was a moonless night. In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, written in the 1590s, the rude mechanicals also discuss looking for the moon in an almanac:

SNOUT	Doth <i>the Moone</i> shine <i>that night</i> wee play our play?
BOTTOM	A Calendar, a Calendar, <i>look in this Almanack</i> , finde out <i>Moon-shine</i> , find out <i>Moone-shine</i> .
QUINCE	Yes, it doth <i>shine that night</i> .

(3.1.51-55)⁵³

The actors did remember their almanac, and consult it to see whether they will have moonshine on the night of their production. In the 1590s, Shakespeare also wrote the following in *Richard III*:

KING	Give me a <i>Kalender</i> : Who saw the Sunne today?
RATCLIFFE	Not I, my Lord.
KING	Then he disdaines to <i>shine</i> : for by <i>The Booke</i> <i>He should have</i> brav’d the East an houre ago. A blacke day will it be to somebody.

(5.3.277-81)

⁵³ All quotations cited by Stevenson from Shakespeare unless otherwise noted follow the text of *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. W.J. Craig (Oxford, 1904, reprint 1945). Stevenson’s italics are added for emphasis without further acknowledgment.

This last example of the ominous portend of the sun's absence resembles Hieronimo's invective against the moon, not only in language, but in the sentiment that the lack of celestial markers in the sky can bring about dangerous consequences.

A second unique parallel from Stevenson's study is the one that is also the most striking to Vickers:

Well, heaven is heaven still!
And there is Nemesis, and Furies,
And things called whippes
And they sometimes doe meete with murderers.
(*Addition* 3.40-43)

Here Hieronimo is comforting himself that Horatio's death may be revenged in the afterlife, as there has not yet been justice on earth. Compare this to the Duke of Gloucester, who carries out justice in *2 Henry VI* when he sends Simpcox to be punished:

Have you not Beadles in your Towne,
And things called whippes?
(2.1.132-134)

Vickers writes of this parallel: "The closeness of the parallel, in both words and thought, and the similarity in the dramatic context—a man in authority rebuking a wrongdoer—rules out any other explanation, such as plagiarism or imitation: both passages come from Shakespeare's verbal memory."⁵⁴

I agree that the phrase "things called whippes" is unique enough to not be coincidental, and both quotes share the context of a potential just punishment. They do seem to be from the same verbal memory, but I do not agree with Vickers that the parallel "rules out" the possibility of "plagiarism or imitation." "Plagiarism" may be ruled out

⁵⁴ Vickers, 109.

with or without this parallel: the concept of intellectual property—especially for short phrases—did not exist in Shakespeare’s time in the way we use the term today. For example, the same publisher who would later become famous to posterity for helping to produce the First Folio (1623) of Shakespeare’s plays, William Jaggard (c.1568- 1623), published several of Shakespeare’s sonnets in a book of collected poems, *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599). He did so without Shakespeare’s approval. Although some of the sonnets in *The Passionate Pilgrim* were by Shakespeare, he did not profit from their publication. In Elizabethan England, the publishers, not the authors, held copyright. There was little Shakespeare could do about his poetry being surreptitiously published. Shakespeare was apparently displeased. We learn of Shakespeare’s ire from his fellow poet and dramatist Thomas Heywood (c.1573-1641), in his *Apology for Actors* (1612). Like Shakespeare, Heywood was a victim of Jaggard’s unscrupulous publishing tactics. Jaggard had taken Heywood’s work and passed it off as Shakespeare’s to amplify the third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Heywood complained of the “manifest injury” that Jaggard’s theft of his work had done to his reputation. Heywood recalled that Shakespeare himself had suffered similar treatment at Jaggard’s hands when *The Passionate Pilgrim* was first published: Shakespeare, he writes, was “much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknown to him) presumed to make so bold with his name.”⁵⁵ But publishers who owned the rights to authors’ works could be bold with their names and words. And, as we will see, the publisher of the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy* was not known for his scruples.

⁵⁵ Heywood, *An Apology for Actors, Containing Three Brief Treatises* (1612), edited for the Shakespeare Society in 1841.

While “plagiarism” may be ruled out simply because it was not a viable concept in 1601, we should not rule out “imitation” as a possibility. If Shakespeare did not write the additions, the anonymous playwright used Shakespeare’s phrases. *The Passionate Pilgrim* attests to Shakespeare’s growing popularity at the turn of the century, and it may be the case that the interpolator copied the “things called whips” phrase and others from Shakespeare’s previous works. The chronology of the “things called whippes” parallel is important. *2 Henry VI* and *Richard III* were written about a decade before *The Spanish Tragedy* additions, which leads to two possibilities: the same author wrote *2 Henry VI*, *Richard III*, and the additions, or the author of the additions copied the phrase from those plays. Either of these possibilities has important ramifications. In the first case, Shakespeare is our author. In the second, in roughly 1601 the interpolator turned to Shakespeare’s previous work to revive an old play. As will be shown, halfway through Shakespeare’s career, before he had published his great tragedies, then, his style was regarded as invigorating, marketable, and distinct.

This early regard for Shakespeare’s style as invigorating may explain why he would be an ideal writer to turn to when updating an old play. By 1599, Shakespeare was known for being adept at rewriting old familiar stories. For example, his *Henry V*, performed at the Curtain in late March 1599, was based on Holinshed’s *Chronicles*. The audience’s presumable familiarity with the story may have added to their pleasure in seeing it rewritten anew. James Shapiro envisions that “*Henry V* becomes a much more original and complicated work when playgoers couldn’t help but see it unfold in

juxtaposition to what they were expecting.”⁵⁶ *Henry V* was published in 1600 by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington, but two years later it was printed by Creede for Thomas Pavier. Pavier is the same publisher of 1602 *The Spanish Tragedy* with additions. Pavier’s familiarity with Shakespeare circa 1600-1602, and Shakespeare’s capabilities as a refurbisher of old works—demonstrated already in print—explain why Pavier would think to turn to Shakespeare to modernize the outdated *Spanish Tragedy* when he was assigned the title in 1600.

Shakespeare’s reputation at the turn of the century can also be gleaned from the famous passage in Frances Meres’s *Palladis Tamia, Wit’s Treasury*, first published in 1598. In this book of Elizabethan commonplaces, Meres writes the following in praise of Shakespeare:

As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to live in *Pythagoras*: so the sweet wittie soule of *Ovid* lives in mellifluous & honytongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private frinds, &c. As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines : so *Shakespeare* among y’ English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Ge’tleme’ of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love labours lost*, his *Love labours wonne*, his *Midsummer night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice* : for Tragedy his *Richard the 2.* *Richard the 3.* *Henry the 4.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Juliet*. As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speak Latin : so I say that the Muses would speak with *Shakespeares* fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.⁵⁷

Meres’s description of Shakespeare’s work and reputation up to 1598 is a vital piece of evidence that helps us date his earlier works. By 1598, Shakespeare had written several

⁵⁶ Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2005), 87.

⁵⁷ Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*. Printed by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie (1598). Facsimile Reprint of the Church copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Reproduced in Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1930) v. ii, 194.

popular poems and at least a dozen plays—six comedies and six “tragedy” plays (although we now place some of these in the “history play” or “problem play” categories). Meres praises Shakespeare for his “mellifluous & honytongued” style and imagines that, if the Muses could speak English, they would best do so with Shakespeare’s “fine filed phrase.” *The Spanish Tragedy* additions corroborate Meres’s impression of Shakespeare’s reputation as a dramatist immediately before the turn of the century. The overwhelming number of parallels that Stevenson and others have found between the 1602 additions and Shakespeare’s writing previous to 1600 (which may be determined by Meres’s list of his works) may not prove that Shakespeare’s own hand absolutely wrote both. But if Shakespeare did not write the 1602 additions, another author followed Meres’s English Muse and utilized this praiseworthy Shakespearean style in the interpolations. The verbal parallels demonstrate that in 1601 someone turned to Shakespeare’s writing—not the work of another tragedian—to punch up an old play. As Shapiro claims, by 1599, “for contemporary playwrights, Shakespeare’s work had become the mark to aim at and virtually all of Shakespeare’s rivals found themselves either imitating his example, repudiating it, or both.”⁵⁸ *The Spanish Tragedy* additions do not repudiate Shakespearean style—they are either by Shakespeare or they are lifted from Shakespeare.

If they are not Shakespeare’s, they are an important example of this phenomenon of another playwright co-opting Shakespearean style at the turn of the century. Even if another playwright contributed the additions, the obvious parallels demonstrate that

⁵⁸ Shapiro, 327.

Shakespearean phrases were popular at the turn of the century. This mimicry is not the same as that done during the Poets' War of 1599-1601, in which rival playwrights "fired paper bullets at one another," mocking the plays of their competition. The Poets' War was a "crisis of legitimation," of "literary confrontation that pitted Jonson against Shakespeare, Marston, and Dekker."⁵⁹ The additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* are not lampooning Shakespeare's style. If anything, they show that the Shakespearean style in the additions is superior to the overblown style of Kyd's surrounding play.

At the end of the Poets' War, between 1599-1602, a student production at Cambridge staged the public battle of wits in a series of plays and asked its audience to decide the winner for themselves. In late 1599, the first part of *The Return from Parnassus* staged two characters, named "Burbage" and "Kemp," auditioning students for the title roles in Shakespeare's *Richard III* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (this is before the additions were added). The audition speeches are the most famous lines from either play: "Now is the winter of our discontent" and "Who called Hieronimo from his naked bed?" The latter scene takes place in *The Spanish Tragedy* when Hieronimo is summoned in the night to find that his son Horatio has been murdered. Shakespeare and *The Spanish Tragedy* were being linked on stage at just the time that he would have been called upon to add scenes to it.

In the same play, the students joke with one another that about the usefulness of plagiarizing Shakespeare's language to attract women. They imagine that they could court women by quoting romantic lines from *Venus and Adonis* and *Romeo and Juliet*:

⁵⁹ Bednarz, 2-4.

“We shall have nothing but pure Shakespeare and shreds of poetry that he hath gathered at the theatres!”⁶⁰ This humorous line tells us that Shakespeare’s language was commonplace and co-opted by others at the turn of the century. It also hints that this process worked both ways—Shakespeare also gathered “shreds” of poetry and theater from other playwrights at the time. This corroborates Robert Greene’s famous lines about Shakespeare in his 1592 pamphlet that huffily dismissed “Shake-scene” as an “upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, [who] supposes he is well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you.”⁶¹ Just as Shakespeare was notorious for beautifying his works with others’ “feathers,” his feathers were also utilized by others to beautify their own works. While the students did so by using Shakespeare’s poetry to court women, it may also be true that, if Shakespeare contributed lines to *The Spanish Tragedy*, he himself beautified Kyd’s work with his own feathers.

Perhaps “things called whippes” is one of Shakespeare’s “feathers,” but there is another complication to this verbal parallel. In 1608, the actor Robert Armin (1563-1615) (who acted in Shakespeare’s dramas) wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Nest of Ninnies*. In it, Armin writes: “Ther are, as Hamlet saies, things cald whips in store.”⁶² Stevenson believes that Armin has made a mistake here: “Armin has confused the Hieronimo of the

⁶⁰ *The Return from Parnassus Part One*. MS in Bodleian Library (1599-1561).

⁶¹ Robert Greene *Groatsworth of Wit* (London: 1592). In a detailed reconsideration of the debate about the authorship of *Greene’s Groatsworth of Wit*, John Jowett’s concludes that internal and external evidence supports the theory that the work was forged by Henry Chettle. Jowett further argues that *The Repentance of Robert Greene* was written by Greene but edited by Chettle. John Jowett, “Johannes Factotum: Henry Chettle and *Greene’s Groatsworth of Wit*,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 87 (1993): 453-86.

⁶² Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies* (London: 1608) from Furnival, *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book* (1932), 1:192. ed. J.P. Collier for the Old Shakespeare Soc. (1842), subsequently re-ed. F.J. Furnival et al. (1909), & re-issued with a preface by E.K. Chambers (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), I: 192.

Additions with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.”⁶³ This scenario is possible, but unlikely—especially taken to the imaginative lengths that Stevenson would have us believe possible: Armin slipped up deliberately in order to be funny; or the actors in Shakespeare's company were “sworn to secrecy because of rivalry between the theatrical companies.” Stevenson ends his argument about the subject with this odd sentence: “only an actor with a writer's itch and a good throwaway line could simultaneously take off a theatrical obsession of his own age while depositing a potential truth capsule in another.” Such speculation is retroactive fantasy. If Armin's *Nest of Ninnies* is a “truth capsule”—whatever that means—its “truth” is unclear. That Armin may have conflated Hieronimo and Hamlet—two famous acting parts that Richard Burbage played—is possible, considering that the two roles were often paired together in allusions to dramatic roles.⁶⁴ It also must not be ruled out that Armin may have been referring to the *Ur-Hamlet*. J.P. Collier finds this possibility “unlikely, as [Armin] was an actor in the same theatre as that for which Shakespeare wrote.”⁶⁵ But Collier's reasoning here needs to be challenged—Armin may have been more familiar with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* than the outdated *Ur-Hamlet*; but Shakespeare's company was also closely associated with the *Ur-Hamlet*.

Linking the *Ur-Hamlet* and *Hamlet*

We know next to nothing about the *Ur-Hamlet*, save for a handful of contemporary references to it. It is estimated that the *Ur-Hamlet* was written in the late

⁶³ Stevenson, 26-29.

⁶⁴ Stevenson provides several instances of the two roles being paired together on stage and in print, 28-29.

⁶⁵ Collier, 67.

1580s, most likely in 1588. We are able to date it because it was denigrated only a year later by Thomas Nashe in the preface to Robert Greene's *Metaphon*. Nashe singles out the *Ur-Hamlet* as an Elizabethan tragedy that overindulged in Senecan rants: "English *Seneca* read by candle light yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so foorth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfult of tragical speeches."⁶⁶ According to this reference, the *Ur-Hamlet* contained handfult of the kind of melodramatic speeches in *The Spanish Tragedy* that so inspired the scorn of playwrights.

It is also from this diatribe of Nashe's that we get the best clue as to Kyd's authorship of the *Ur-Hamlet*:

But o grieffe! *Tempus edax rerum*, what's that will last always? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and *Seneca* let bloud line by line and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage: which makes his famisht followers to imitate the Kidde in *Aesop*, who enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forsooke all hopes of life to leape into a new occupation...to intermeddle with Italian translations: wherein how poorelie they haue plodded... for what can be hoped of those, that thrust *Elisium* into hell. [italics his, underline mine.]

Nashe's topical invective shows Seneca's famished followers leaping into the new occupation of intermeddling with plodding Italian translation (imitating Kyd's *Aesop*). Critical opinion has been divided about the author to whom Nashe is referring in these lines. In his book about Kyd, Erne finds it "more than likely that Nashe's target is indeed Kyd" because of "the possible allusions to Kyd's father being a scrivener, Kyd's debts to Seneca, his very name, his new occupation as a translator, his 'intermeddling' with an Italian translation, the 'home-born mediocrity' of this translation, and Kyd's 'thrusting

⁶⁶ Thomas Nashe's preface to Robert Greene, *Menaphon* (London, 1589), 3^{rv}.

Elysium into hell' in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1.1.72-75.”⁶⁷ The mediocre translation that Nashe ridicules Kyd for undertaking is *The Householder's Philosophy* (February 1588), which did indeed contain several “gross blunders.”⁶⁸ One of these blunders is Kyd's mistranslation of “ad lumina” (“till dawn”) as “by candlelight,” a mistake Nashe alludes to in the phrase “English Seneca read by candle light.”⁶⁹ Nashe's Preface is the best evidence that links the *Ur-Hamlet* to Thomas Kyd. Erne concludes that “the play to which the arguably most famous piece of English literature is heavily indebted is thus indeed his,” Thomas Kyd's, *Ur-Hamlet*.

The *Ur-Hamlet* was first performed at the Theatre, which was built in 1576 by James Burbage (father of the famous actor, Richard) in Shoredich, north of London. For years the Theatre loomed large as London's oldest and most celebrated playhouse, the early home of the great drama of Kyd, Shakespeare, and Marlowe. In the mid-1590s, the *Ur-Hamlet* entered the repertory of the newly formed Chamberlain's Men. They temporarily took the play from the Theatre to the Newington Butts, a playhouse located a mile south of London Bridge. On June 9, 1594, Shakespeare, Burbage and Kemp were probably in the cast that performed the *Ur-Hamlet* at the Newington Butts, which the Chamberlain's Men were temporarily sharing with their rivals, the Admiral's Men. The already outdated *Ur-Hamlet* was not a success: “If box-office receipts are any indication, the play continued to show its age: fewer customers paid to see [the *Ur-*] *Hamlet* than did to see other old revenge plays staged the previous week, Shakespeare's own *Titus*

⁶⁷ Erne, 147.

⁶⁸ Boas discusses this error, lxiii.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 455.

Andronicus and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*.”⁷⁰ Christopher Marlowe's still-popular tragedy, *The Jew of Malta*, beat Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet* at the box office. This was not the first time Marlowe was responsible for Kyd taking a beating.

Our pool of suspects is populated with two genuine criminals, according to the Privy Council in 1593. One of them was murdered (perhaps in self-defense) and the other died shortly after being released from prison. In the early 1590s, from around 1591-1593, Marlowe (c. 1564-1593) and Kyd shared lodgings. On May 11, 1593, the Privy Council ordered the arrest of the authors of “divers lewd and mutinous libels” that had been posted around London. Kyd was arrested on May 12 on suspicion of being one of those libelous authors. He later claimed that “some outcast Ismael” had informed against him. When his lodgings were searched, the investigators found something far worse than “libels”: “vile hereticall conceipts denyinge the deity of Ihesus Christe our Sauior.” Kyd claimed they were not his. Under interrogation—which probably means under torture—Kyd “affirmeth that he had [gotten the papers] ffrom Marlowe.” A week after Kyd's arrest, a warrant went out for Marlowe's arrest. But before the Council could complete their investigation into the case, Marlowe was stabbed to death—a sharp slash above his right eye, killing him instantly—on June 1, 1593, in Deptford.⁷¹ (He may therefore be ruled out as the author of *The Spanish Tragedy* additions). Meanwhile, Kyd remained in prison for roughly one month. When he was finally released, he was “vtterllie vndon.” On his return, he endured “bitter times and priuie broken passions” struggling to make

⁷⁰ Shapiro, 285.

⁷¹ Boas, lxx-lxxiii.

ends meet. He died within a year, just two months after the *Ur-Hamlet* was played at the Newington Butts.

Despite the *Ur-Hamlet*'s modest takings at Newington Butts, when the Chamberlain's Men moved to the Theatre (where they played from 1594-1597), they brought the play back with them. By this point, "the ghost's haunting cry for revenge had become a byword."⁷² The second surviving contemporary reference to the *Ur-Hamlet* is from 1596, roughly four years before Shakespeare sat down to write his own *Hamlet*. In *Wit's Miserie*, Thomas Lodge spoke familiarly of one who "walks for the most part in black under the cover of gravity, and looks as pale as the vizard of the Ghost who cried so miserably at the Theatre like an oyster wife, 'Hamlet, revenge!'"⁷³ The same quotable phrase, "Hamlet, revenge!" appears in Thomas Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1602)—"my name's Hamlet revenge!" (4.1.121)—and two years later in Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho*: "Let these husbands play mad Hamlet, and crie reuenge." (5.4.50-51). In Shakespeare's version Hamlet utters no such cry. He does say the word "revenge" five times, never as an independent cry, as these references indicate may have been the case for Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*. Occasions inform against Hamlet to "spur his dull revenge," but unlike Kyd's protagonist, his is a revenge characterized by dullness and repeated provocation, not steadfast commitment and unswerving fury.

In addition to placing the *Ur-Hamlet* on the stage years before *Hamlet*, Lodge's quotation also tells us one of the few things we know about the *Ur-Hamlet*: it featured a

⁷² Shapiro, 285.

⁷³ Lodge, *Wit's Miserie* (London: 1596). *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, ed. Edmund Gosse, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1883), IV, 62.

ghost. This is a departure from François de Belleforest's older Hamlet story in *Histoires Tragiques* (first published 1570), which was itself a retelling of Saxo Grammaticus's Latin saga (1514) about the legendary Danish revenger Amleth. Kyd introduced to the Hamlet story the Ghost, the play within a play, the feigned madness, and the hero's death, which were familiar features of the revenge drama of the late 1580s. Of all the characters in *Hamlet*, only Fortinbras, who threatens invasion at the outset and succeeds to the throne at the end, is Shakespeare's invention. In terms of plot, then, *Hamlet* is perhaps "Shakespeare's least original play." By the late 1590s, the "shopworn" *Ur-Hamlet* had become outdated, although probably not on the level of *The Spanish Tragedy*, for the *Ur-Hamlet* was not publicly ridiculed, and its only substantive imitation turned out to be the greatest play in all of literature.

When the Chamberlain's Men took the *Ur-Hamlet* with them back to the Theater in 1594, they only had five more years at the old playhouse. Interestingly, their temporary home at the Theatre provided both the literary and the literal foundations for the Globe. The timber used to build the Globe was dismantled from this same Theatre in early 1599, carried over the frozen river Thames, and used to form the foundation of the Globe "on the cheap." Shapiro writes of this symbolic move: "What the Chamberlain's Men did to the wooden frame of the Theatre, Shakespeare did to the old play of *Hamlet*: he tore it from its familiar moorings, salvaged its structure, and reassembled something new."⁷⁴

The metaphor is a good one, and may perhaps be expanded to include *The Spanish*

⁷⁴ Shapiro, 288. Shapiro relishes in this tale, offering a persuasive, if whimsical, reconstruction of the Chamberlain's Men's ransacking the Theater "as the snow fell" around them, "about to trespass and take back what they considered rightfully theirs, and, if necessary, come to blows with anyone trying to stop them." 2. Shapiro imagines Shakespeare was among these men.

Tragedy additions. If Shakespeare wrote the additions, the framework for *Hamlet* did not only come from the timber of the *Ur-Hamlet*. There is a chronological, biographical, and psychological middle step in between this relocation of Kyd's plots, characters, and ideas to Shakespeare's tragedy. It has already been shown that Shakespeare's company played in the *Ur-Hamlet* and that his *Hamlet* wrenched an outdated revenge play into the present. But in between these two *Hamlet* plays, Shakespearean additions revived another of Kyd's old plays. We may now look beyond the performance history and verbal parallels and instead return to the records themselves: Henslowe's Diary, the title page of the 1602 Quarto of *The Spanish Tragedy*, and the printed text of the additions.

The Red Herring

Even armed with the most striking, unique, and persuasive parallel in the world, we must still attempt to account for Henslowe's Diary. Otherwise, wishful thinking takes the place of proof. C. Van Heynigen begins his 1961 essay on the subject, "I believe that the interpolations to *The Spanish Tragedy* are unmistakably by Shakespeare. For this view there is apparently not a rag of external evidence; but the dates are right, and none of the known facts are against it—unless we count [Henslowe's diary]."⁷⁵ I believe there is a way to "count" Henslowe's diary and still arrive at the conclusion that Shakespeare wrote the additions.

The most complete evidence we have of the workings of a theatrical company comes from Henslowe's Diary and the papers associated with it in the Alleyn collection

⁷⁵ Van Heynigen, "The Additions to Kyd's 'Spanish Tragedy.'" *Theoria* 17 (1961), 38.

at Dulwich College. Although one of his earlier editors viewed Henslowe as “an illiterate moneyed man... who regarded art as a subject for exploitation” and who was ignorant of stage management and of dramatic literature,⁷⁶ Henslowe’s relationship with the players has since been described as “friendly and, on the whole, harmonious.”⁷⁷ He was involved in the theater world as more than a money-lender. In 1584, he purchased property in Southwark, called the “little rose,” which contained rose gardens and a brothel. On this property he built The Rose theatre, which became one of the three large, permanent, public playhouses in London. When the Admiral’s Men split with James Burbage (of the Theatre) in 1591, they partnered with Henslowe. The lead actor of the Admiral’s Men, Edward Alleyn, married Henslowe’s stepdaughter Joan a year later. In 1600, as the Globe was beginning its first year, Henslowe moved the Admiral’s Men to his new theater, the Fortune, in the north-western corner of the city, in Shoreditch. He also had interests in the Newington Butts Theatre (which housed the *Ur-Hamlet* in 1594) and the Swan.

He kept records of his theatrical and money-lending businesses. His Diary records transactions with Jonson, Marlowe, Middleton, Greene, Dekker, Webster, and other notable playwrights. Shakespeare’s name is conspicuously absent in the Diary, although several of his plays are represented there, under titles that may indicate these plays:

Hamlet, Henry V, 1 Henry VI, The Taming of a/the Shrew, and Titus Andronicus.

Importantly, Henslowe’s Diary does not name Shakespeare as the author of texts *we know to be his*. Why then would we expect Henslowe to record Shakespeare’s

(hypothetical) freelance work? We may conclude, based on Henslowe’s habits of (not)

⁷⁶ F.G. Fleay, *A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642* (1860), 112-113.

⁷⁷ Foakes, xxxii.

recording Shakespeare, that even if Shakespeare did write *The Spanish Tragedy* additions, we would still not find his name in the Diary.

Henslowe's Diary was not an official or meticulously kept record. Nor is the information consistent and reliable throughout. Many of the plays marked "ne," for "new," were not new.⁷⁸ Spelling was not standardized, which explains some of the more obvious "errors" as natural inconsistencies. For example, the variants "titus," "tittus," "titus & ondronicus," "titus & ondronicous," and "tittus & ondronicus" are recorded for *Titus Andronicus* in the one month period of January-February 1593.⁷⁹

But spelling variations cannot help us untangle, or even fully account for, the variability in Henslowe's records with regard to *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Don Horatio*, and *I Hieronimo*. As mentioned previously, the now lost *Don Horatio* (1591-2) is thought to be a humorous frontispiece to *The Spanish Tragedy*. *I Hieronimo* (1605) is thought to be a separate play, a crude, farcical burlesque of *The Spanish Tragedy*. To demonstrate the inconsistencies in Henslowe's Diary and the difficulty in distinguishing these plays, I have counted the multiple entries in the two-year period from 1591-1593 alone:

spanes comodye donne oracioe	1
comodey of doneoracio	1
Jeronymo	11
Joronymo	4
doneoracio	1
comodey of Jeronymo	3
comodey Jeronymo	1

⁷⁸ The "ne" for "new" mystery is one that has bedeviled scholars of Henslowe's Diary. E.K. Chambers rejects some of them as errors by Henslowe (*Elizabeth Stage* II, 143-146), whereas Foakes contends that "ne" refers to the licensing of a playbook for performance by the Master of the Revels (*Diary*, xxx).

⁷⁹ *Henslowe's Diary* (ed. Foakes), 17-19.

These variant spellings do not all correspond to the same play. The title “*The Spanish Tragedy*” never appears in the Diary, as Henslowe referred to it by its protagonist’s name, Hieronimo, or *Jeronymo/ Joronymo*. The variants listed above refer to separate works, although it is unclear how many distinct works there were and what their relationship to one another may have been. Critics have found it difficult to identify the different titles and their chronology. Boas, Cairncross, Freeman and Erne divide the records into three separate plays—*I Hieronimo*, *Don Horatio*, and *Jeronymo/ The Spanish Tragedy*—but disagree on the sequence and provenance of their composition.⁸⁰ The “complex and conflicting evidence” leads to the “total sum of which no single critic seems to have been able to explicate.” It seems that the most probable division of these records is that *Don Horatio* was a (lost) frontispiece to *The Spanish Tragedy* in the 1590s, and *I Hieronimo* was a separate, farcical burlesque of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

W.W. Greg, author of *Henslowe’s Diary* (1904), provided the introduction to the Malone Society reprint of the 1602 quarto of *The Spanish Tragedy* (1925). In his introduction, he argues that *The Spanish Tragedy* must have been added to and revised several times by various persons. The play was entered as “ne” in the Diary in 1597, which may indicate that it received substantial revision when it was revived for the Rose.⁸¹ Greg concludes that Henslowe’s £5 payment to Jonson in 1601 was not in exchange for *The Spanish Tragedy* additions, but were probably paid in exchange “for a whole new play.... the identification [of Jonson as the author of the additions], far from

⁸⁰ Erne summarizes their argument and offers his own solution by dividing each play into “textual layers,” 19-20.

⁸¹ Greg writes that this fact was erased in the nineteenth century from the manuscript with a knife, which explains why it does not appear in the earlier texts of Collier and Greg. W.W. Greg *The Spanish Tragedy with Additions 1602* (Oxford, 1925) xvi-xviii.

being certain, is hardly even conceivably correct.”⁸² It is far more probable that Jonson wrote *I Hieronimo*.

As was mentioned earlier in this study, Jonson repeatedly parodied *The Spanish Tragedy* and Kyd’s grandiloquent and melodramatic style. He ridiculed it before and after the additions were added to it, in *Every Man in His Humour* (1597-98), the Induction to *Cynthia’s Revels* (1600), *Poetaster* (1601), *The Alchemist* (1610), *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), *The New Inn* (1626), and *A Tale of a Tub* (1633).⁸³ As he was clearly interested in parodying *The Spanish Tragedy* in his works, Jonson was likely paid by Henslowe to compose an entirely separate comedic work in 1601-2. This separate burlesque work may be *I Hieronimo*, or it may be a different full-length parody—but it is probably not the Painter’s Part and the other 1602 additions.

Henslowe’s two entries have been used as the sole proof of Jonson’s authorship of the additions. But by expanding our analysis of the Diary to include spelling variants, Henslowe’s silence about Shakespeare, and records of previous revisions, the main source of evidence in this case may actually support the opposite conclusion. The Diary is still a vital clue, but it corroborates an alternative account than that which has been previously asserted.

⁸² Ibid., xviii-xix.

⁸³ Barton offers an explanation for the gibe in *Cynthia’s Revels*: she posits that it was a last-minute insertion by Jonson to defend the interpolations—comparing “old Hieronimo” to the “newer” Hieronimo in the additions. But by 1602, Hieronimo was “old” with or without the juxtaposing new scenes. Barton, *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 14-15. Stevenson argues that “Jonson thus maintained a sort of running attack on *The Spanish Tragedy*,” 11.

The Paper Trail

In his study on the role of Plotters in early modern theatrical productions, David Bradley traces the typical process of an Elizabethan play *From Text to Performance*, in part by piecing together the information in Robert Daborne's letters to Henslowe.⁸⁴ If Shakespeare provided the additional scenes to *The Spanish Tragedy*, and he followed what is thought to be ordinary practices for play preparation, the process was as follows: the company or Henslowe himself commissioned Shakespeare to add new scenes to the old play.⁸⁵ The Diary records companies, actors, and playwrights who were bonded to or hired by Henslowe personally for short periods. Some, like Daborne, were commissioned and some, like Heywood, were employed under contract. Others appear to have submitted their work independently as freelancers—which Shakespeare would have done if he wrote the additions, as he usually wrote plays for the Chamberlain's Men, not the Admiral's Men. The idea of Shakespeare as a gun for hire may not sit well with some Shakespeareans, particularly those who do not like to think of their author as anything other than a solitary genius who worked in isolation for only one company.⁸⁶ However, it

⁸⁴ Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 13-14.

⁸⁵ If a group of authors were commissioned, the process had more steps. For more on the collaborative process from text to performance, see Giorgio Melchiori's introduction to the New Cambridge Shakespeare *King Edward III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 13-16.

⁸⁶ Jeffrey Knapp, for example, writes in *Shakespeare Only* that "Shakespeare's exclusive attachment to one company" made his writing process a group endeavor only so far as his company may have had input. He challenges G.E. Bentley's and Masten's arguments for the relative frequency of collaboratively written plays in the period. Knapp, Jeffrey. *Shakespeare Only* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Bentley, G. E. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956). Masten, Jeffrey. *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

is now generally accepted that Shakespeare worked in collaboration with other authors.⁸⁷

It has also been relatively established that Shakespeare put his talents to use as a freelance writer for other companies, especially considering the similar case of *Sir Thomas More*.

Sir Thomas More was originally written ca. 1591-3 and revised ca. 1596, although these dates are controversial estimates.⁸⁸ The extant manuscript is a problematic document because it contains multiple layers of revision, censorship, collaboration, and annotations in different handwriting. One set of these annotations—"Hand D"—is thought by many scholars to be the handwriting of Shakespeare's.⁸⁹ The original play was probably written by Henry Chettle and Anthony Munday, and it was heavily revised by a group of playwrights working in collaboration, including Heywood, Dekker, and perhaps Shakespeare. Scott McMillin argues that Shakespeare may have contributed his revisions for the Lord Strange's Men as part of the original 1590s text.⁹⁰ The evidence for Shakespeare as "Hand D" is similar to that put forward for *The Spanish Tragedy* additions: it is stylistically similar to Shakespeare's acknowledged works and there are strong verbal parallels to Shakespeare's vocabulary. In the case of "Hand D," handwriting analyses comparing the annotations to the few extant documents with Shakespeare's signature on them demonstrate a probable correlation. Although many

⁸⁷ Eric Rasmussen estimates that almost half of the plays written for the public theaters were the product of joint authorship, no doubt to keep up with the demand. "Collaboration" in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁸⁸ Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchiori address the dating controversy in their edition of the play *Sir Thomas More* by Anthony Munday (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

⁸⁹ G. Blakemore Evans summarizes the debate in the introduction to *Sir Thomas More. The Riverside Shakespeare* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1974, updated 1997).

⁹⁰ Scott McMillan, *The Elizabethan Theatre and "The Book of Sir Thomas More"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

remain skeptical of the attribution, in 2005 *Sir Thomas More* was performed with Shakespeare's name in 2005 by the Royal Shakespeare Company and was included for the first time in The Oxford Shakespeare's The Complete Works of Shakespeare in 2005. Scholars have taken the hypothesis that Shakespeare wrote in *Sir Thomas More* and have applied it to their understandings of Shakespeare's compositional process.⁹¹ If we are encouraged to consider that Shakespeare may have written for the Lord Strange's Men in the 1590s, we must also entertain the possibility that Shakespeare may have been a writer for hire, an appropriate playwright to turn to when revising *The Spanish Tragedy* at the turn of the century.

By 1602, *The Spanish Tragedy* had been played by several companies in several playhouses. We have no records of the earliest performances of the play in the late 1580s, but the Lord Strange's Men staged *The Spanish Tragedy* (as *Jeronymo*) sixteen times between 1592-1593. The Admiral's Men revived *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1597, staging it twelve times between January and July before joining with the Pembroke's Men in October of that same year. The play went on tour to Germany in 1601 and was adapted into German and Dutch. It was therefore not associated with only one company. It had been performed by multiple groups of players in many different theatres. It would not be unheard of for a playwright who wrote for a company other than the Admiral's Men to be responsible for contributing the additions.

⁹¹ For example, Henry Woudhuysen and Jonathan Bate follow the implications of adding *Sir Thomas More* to Shakespeare's canon. Woudhuysen, "Shakespeare's Writing: from Manuscript to Print" in *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare: Second Edition*. Eds. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells. Cambridge University Press, 2010. Bate, Jonathan. *Soul of the Age: the Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 2008).

Henslowe sometimes lent his authors books as source material, suggesting that playwrights were sometimes provided with topics or guidelines; but in this case, Shakespeare was undoubtedly familiar with Kyd's work in general, and the *Ur-Hamlet* and *The Spanish Tragedy* in particular. Shakespeare was not only a playwright, but he was also an actor who had close ties to other actors. Richard Burbage, the period's leading player, performed in plays for at least four companies: he acted for the Admiral's Men in 1590s, the Lord Strange's Men in 1592, the Earl of Pembroke's Men in 1593, and was the star of the Chamberlain's Men (which became the King's Men in 1603). He performed the lead roles in *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Richard III*, *King Lear*, in Jonson's *Volpone*, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Jew of Malta*. Upon his death in 1619, an anonymous poet composed an elegy for Burbage that highlights two of his most famous roles together on the same line: "no more young Hamlet, ould Hieronimo."⁹² Burbage's diversified resume of roles further demonstrates the interrelated associations across company lines in the theater. Burbage (and perhaps even Shakespeare) had probably acted in the *Ur-Hamlet* at Newington Butts; and years later, Shakespeare wrote the title role of *Hamlet* for Burbage. Chronologically and thematically between these two productions lie *The Spanish Tragedy* and the additions.

Burbage, or the actor playing Hieronimo at the turn of the century, would have welcomed the additional lines that further his character's development. The additions expand the role, adding length as well as depth. Hieronimo had always been a "part to

⁹² *A Funerall Elegye on the Death of the famous Actor Richard Burbage who died on Saturday in Lent the 13 of March 1619*, quoted in *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, 1:185. Stevenson offers more examples of these two roles being paired together in contemporary references.

tear a cat in,” but his additional soliloquies offered the actor reciting them the ability to stretch his craft, to stage a metatheatrical performance of complicated grief and madness in ways that prefigure *Hamlet*. If Shakespeare was tapped to write the additional scenes, the company could not have chosen a better playwright at a better time.

After being commissioned to write the additions, after some time Shakespeare would have sketched out a plan that, if deemed sufficient, would earn him a partial payment to continue working. Henslowe was sometimes disappointed with a completed play and passed the scenario to other writers to complete (there is a record of Chapman being paid for finishing another author’s play.) On a full play, if the writer worked more quickly than the more notoriously slow playwrights (Jonson and Webster, for example), he might produce a rough version of the play “at one hit.” This is the way Shakespeare is said to have worked: the First Folio compliments him for being a master writer, whose “mind and hand went together” and who wrote with such ease that “we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.” The additions, which are much shorter than a full-length play, would not have taken their author as much time to write as the normal process entailed.

According to Bradley, rough versions probably contained descriptive notes for acting and perhaps even some suggestions for casting. There would also be unfinished scenes, lines, and second thoughts not fully integrated. After its initial composition, the primary material would be read and heard by the company, or by some of its members appointed for the purpose. But normally, only a part-payment would be made at this hearing, and the author would then have the task of completing his final, perfected

version. In the case of the additions, these multiple steps were probably unnecessary. But they explain why Henslowe may have paid Jonson twice for a parody of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

The company would then set about purchasing costumes and collecting properties. The additions call for an additional character, the Painter, who would need a costume, and lanterns would need to be provided for Hieronimo's added lines about them to make any sense. But the aesthetic changes to the play were otherwise verbal, not physical. A scribe, meanwhile, would set to writing the long scrolls of "according to the scrip." Rehearsals were performed from these rolls/ roles.

The written lines that constitute the additions, therefore, probably existed in several forms, even before publication. None of these documents survives. Even if Shakespeare were the ideal interpolator, the unblotting author who delivered lines on time, there are no records of any part of this early compositional process. We must therefore turn to the surviving printed text itself, which, of course, has its own hazards. Although Shakespeareans have tried for centuries to attempt to recover "true original" texts from surviving records, it is an impossible project. Transmission may be corrupted at every stage in the process, from text to performance to print. Bibliographical studies that search for the "intended" copy underlying Elizabethan printed texts have shown it to be, as Fredson Bowers writes, "of every conceivable variety" available to the modern scholar's imagination.⁹³ Even the supposed process of customary practices detailed above is formed from speculative deductions based on corruptible records. As Bradley

⁹³ Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare* (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1966), 11.

concludes, “we are on very unsure ground in deriving from [the records] any principles of practical composition and theatrical usage. It is not surprising that theories accounting for the relationship of variant texts have been derived, in the absence of external evidence of customary practice, from probabilities of scribal transmission and the habits of compositors that are at least amenable to quantification and methodical analysis.”⁹⁴ It is to the printer and the printed text that we now turn.

The Motive

As Peter Holland writes, “so much of the evidence for performance of individual plays seems locked into the printed text that the interrogation of print to understand performance seems at times the only activity scholars can undertake, however tentative, vulnerable, and hypothetical much of the work to find the right keys to unlock these texts may be.”⁹⁵ The tentative, vulnerable, and hypothetical activity of delving into the printed text of the 1602 additions is further complicated by the fact that previous editions of *The Spanish Tragedy*, before the additions were added, were already plagued by controversy. When the title was turned over to its new publisher in 1600, it had already been at the center of another open battle between two rivals.

In 1592, Abel Jeffes, a bookseller, entered *The Spanish Tragedy* into the Stationer’s Register. An undated quarto was printed within the year, by Edward Allde, although it was not printed for Jeffes. Allde printed the quarto for another bookseller,

⁹⁴ Bradley, 11.

⁹⁵ Holland, *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare’s England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 1.

Edward White. Jeffes and White went to court over the quarto, and the Stationers Company ruled that both of them had printed texts that belonged to the other. They were each fined 10 shillings and the quartos were destroyed (there is only one extant copy of the Q1 *Spanish Tragedy*, which refers to an even earlier (now lost) printing on its title page). The booksellers appear to have reached a compromise by 1594, when they jointly printed Q2 of *The Spanish Tragedy*: the title page reads “Abell Jeffes, to be sold by Edward White.” In 1599, Jeffes transferred his copyright to William White, who issued a third edition. On August 14, 1600, White transferred the copyright to Thomas Pavier (?-1625).

Pavier is a familiar name in the controversial publication history of Shakespeare’s works. Like the red herring of Ben Jonson’s authorship of the 1602 additions, the long-standing popular narrative about Pavier has been recently called into question. Sonia Massai’s recent book, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, challenges the previous notion of Pavier-as-Pirate. The old narrative is as follows: “the most significant investor in Shakespeare in print between his death in 1616 and the publication of the First Folio in 1623, attempted to defraud the King’s Men and his fellow stationers by publishing ten unauthorized editions of Shakespearean and apocryphal plays in 1619, which are better known as the ‘Pavier Quartos.’”⁹⁶ But this popular narrative is untenable and has been discarded by recent critics.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Massai, 37.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of Pavier as responsible publisher, see Gerald Johnson “Thomas Pavier,” *Library*, Sixth Series, 14 (1992) and Massai. For a brief synopsis of earlier representations of Pavier and the “False Folio” by the New Bibliographers, consult Paul Miller, “The 1619 Pavier Quartos of Shakespeare: A Recapitulation,” *Michigan Academician* 3.1 (1970). Lukas Erne still seems to treat Pavier as a literary

Pavier was an excellent marketer of plays. The economics of play-publication, as Gary Taylor shows, made it a distinctly “rocky adventure,” for plays in print hardly ever recouped the publishers’ investment.⁹⁸ Writing about the First Folio, Taylor offers the picture of bookshops as “performance spaces, where individuals acted out socially scripted interactive rituals of self-fashioning” with a standard cast of characters: the customer, the bookseller, and the bookseller’s boy. Taylor sees it as a space which negotiated the concepts of the author and publisher in contradictory ways.

One way in which printed texts sold themselves in the bookshop was the title page. Gabriel Egan has addressed some of the strategies for marketing plays in print and, in particular, the precise connections with performance that title-pages manifest.⁹⁹ The phrasing of promotional matter, as Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser have noted, was the task of the publisher: “the ultimate decision lay with publisher, for they had all legal rights over the copy.”¹⁰⁰ Why, in the title page of the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy*, did Pavier choose to highlight its new features?

At the turn of the century, title pages increasingly advertised that plays had been recently performed on the stage and were about to be performed again. As Holland writes of this phenomenon, “something seems to be happening at this juncture at the opening of the century: a new and growing tendency to see the play as continuing to be performed (now described as being ‘As it is played’ or with a signal of the company’s ‘playing

scalawag. I am grateful to my colleague David Harper for pointing me to old and new developments in the Pavier controversy.

⁹⁸ Taylor, “Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623,” *From Performance to Print* (2008).

⁹⁹ Egan, “As It Was, Is, or Will Be Played”: Title-Pages and the Theatre Industry to 1610,” *From Performance to Print* (2008).

¹⁰⁰ Farmer and Lesser, “Vile Arts: The Marketing of English Printed Drama, 1512-1660,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 39 (2000), 77-165.

usually') and a sequence of books that are plays (and yet not fully plays, for they are narratives of performances rather than scripts)."¹⁰¹ Such an advertisement would be especially lucrative for an old warhorse like *The Spanish Tragedy*, which may have been seen by the average 1602 bookseller as a tired play that hardly warranted another edition. Egan also sees a shift in what title pages emphasized at the turn of the century, from old performances to new possibilities: "It appears that something was happening in the second half of the first decade of the seventeenth century to make publishers think that it was worth describing their printed plays in terms that emphasized their capacity to originate fresh performances rather than reflect on past performances."¹⁰² Pavier was clearly aware of this backwards and forwards tension in printed play-texts. He capitalized on the nostalgia for the old play as well as the originating potential for fresh performances from the added passages.

With or without Henslowe's involvement, Pavier may have been at least partially responsible for commissioning the additions. It is possible that it was merely a fortuitous coincidence that he was assigned *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1600, which was conveniently also the time that someone created new scenes for the play, independently of his knowledge or authorization. But it is more likely that it was Pavier's idea in the first place (although this is not our only option). How might we examine the possibility that Pavier was the one responsible for commissioning Shakespeare or another playwright to add the scenes?

¹⁰¹ Holland, 4.

¹⁰² Egan, 100.

Massai writes of the close professional ties between the theater and print: “those stationers who chose dramatic publication over other types of books often did so because they had well-established connections with the world of the commercial theatre.”¹⁰³ Indeed, the various records for Pavier’s publications in the *English Short Title Catalog* demonstrate that he had a lifelong obsession with theatrical texts, particularly the works of Shakespeare. Many of the characters and suspects in this narrative appear in Pavier’s publication records. A brief, somewhat chronological summary of the relevant entries is as follows:

In 1600, Pavier published a text that, like *Sir Thomas More* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, sometimes enters the Shakespearean apocrypha: *Sir John Oldcastle*. Jaggard claimed in his 1619 edition that it was written by Shakespeare, but scholars contend that he did not write it and that Henslowe’s Diary points to different authors. Although Pavier did not print Shakespeare’s name on the title page of the 1600 *Sir John Oldcastle*, he may have been peripherally capitalizing on the popularity of Shakespeare’s character Falstaff, who was based on the real Sir John Oldcastle. When Pavier published the play again, among the 1619 “Pavier Quartos,” it was in a collection of ten plays organized around a single author, Shakespeare. Although this collection contains both canonical texts and apocrypha, Pavier’s “project was the first serious attempt to materialize Shakespeare as a dramatic author in the form of a bound book.”¹⁰⁴ Like *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy* is another play in the Shakespearean apocrypha that Pavier had published

¹⁰³ Massai, 34.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Murphy, *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 42.

previously before it appeared among the Pavier Quartos. In 1608, he employed a different kind of marketing for *A Yorkshire Tragedy*. The title page did not advertise it as new; it was “not so new as lamentable and true.” What the title page did promote was its author: “VVritten by VV Shakspeare.” This was not, in fact, by Shakespeare after all.

David Lake contends that it was Thomas Middleton’s work, and in their recent edition of *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, John Lavignino and Gary Taylor included *The Yorkshire Tragedy* in the Middleton’s canon.¹⁰⁵ The case has also been made for Thomas Heywood and George Wilkins.¹⁰⁶ Pavier put Shakespeare’s name on the play to sell more books, and did so again when he reprinted *The Yorkshire Tragedy* with *Sir John Oldcastle* and other Shakespeare plays in his 1619 Quartos.

Pavier also published several of the witnesses and suspects that have appeared in this case study. In 1602, the year he published the additions, Pavier printed Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene’s *Looking Glass*. Lodge is the man who quoted the *Ur-Hamlet*, and Greene scorned Shakespeare for being an “upstart crow.” In 1609, Pavier published Robert Armin’s *Italian Taylor*—the same Robert Armin who had attributed “things called whippes” to Hamlet.

Pavier was also associated with many of the peripheral texts that have appeared in this study. In 1605, William Jaggard (who later worked with Pavier) published *I Hieronimo*, the farcical burlesque that may have been the work for which Henslowe paid Jonson. After almost two decades of reprinting the amended *Spanish Tragedy* (which

¹⁰⁵ Lake. *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 163-74. Taylor and Lavignino, eds. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ Terence P., Logan and Denzell S. Smith, eds. *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 231-2.

continued to be advertised on its title page as new), Pavier and Jaggard published the controversial 1619 Pavier Quartos together. In the same year that Jaggard published *I Hieronimo*, 1605, Pavier published *Henry V*, Shakespeare's rewriting of a familiar classic story. Three years later, Pavier published a predecessor to *Hamlet*: Belleforest's French *Hamblet*, translated into English. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* had already been in print for some years now, but Pavier's timely edition of one of Shakespeare's source texts seems to have been a calculated marketing move to capitalize on the success of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Once again, Pavier is seen hovering on the edges of Shakespeare's plays, profiting from the playwright's work however he could.

While the records indicate that Pavier was associated with many of the peripheral "witnesses" in this case, it also documents that he was a Shakespeare enthusiast for his entire publishing career. It is unclear to what extent he may have worked with Shakespeare personally. Massai summarizes the recent developments in the field of Shakespeare textual studies that have led the scholarly community to consider the possibility that Shakespeare did not only write with the stage and the page in mind, but he may also have instructed his printers on matters of layout and expressive typography.¹⁰⁷ Jonson is better known for his involvement in the careful publications of his works, but Shakespeare did have a hand in the publications of his earlier poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Nevertheless, he might be less inclined to fret over the integrity of the print of anonymous additional passages he contributed to someone else's play.

¹⁰⁷ For Shakespeare's concern with both "stage and page," see Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For Shakespeare's possible relationship to his printed works, see Henry Woudhuysen, "The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text," *The Shakespeare Lecture*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2004), 69-100.

Tainted Crime Scene

While the 1602 additions do seem “Shakespearean” to many readers, there also seems to be an element of corruption, an element at one remove from Shakespeare’s authentic voice, that keeps them from being universally admired in style. Erne finds them to be metrically deficient. According to Philip Edwards, they “have little to commend them; their literary quality is slight and they do so much damage to Kyd’s careful unfolding of plot and character.”¹⁰⁸ Two challenges to Shakespeare’s authorship of the additions, based on these supposed corruptions, will be met presently: that the text is structurally inadequate; and that Hieronimo’s dramatic diatribe about grief and pain is cut short.

As Gurr writes in his introduction to the New Mermaid’s edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, “it is easy to fall back on assumptions that the text is inadequate.”¹⁰⁹ Kyd’s contemporaries certainly found it to be so, and expressed their derision in print. But there is another reason for questioning the integrity of the play’s general structure: as the proto-typical Senecan renaissance revenge tragedy, one would expect it to be a five act play. T.W. Baldwin has pointed out that Terence’s dramatic principles, taught in the third form of grammar schools, insisted on a five-act structure which Kyd’s play seems to ignore.¹¹⁰ *The Spanish Tragedy* is clearly divided into four acts, marked both by the intervention of Don Andrea and Revenge at the end of each act and by the all-caps headings in Latin that introduce them: ACTUS PRIMUS, etc.

¹⁰⁸ Edwards, *Thomas Kyd & Early Elizabethan Tragedy* (London, 1959), lxi.

¹⁰⁹ Gurr, Introduction to *The Spanish Tragedy* (2009), xiv.

¹¹⁰ Baldwin, *William Shakespeare’s Five-Act Structure* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947), 788.

The Spanish Tragedy's four-act structure is complicated by the radical variations in the length of the acts. As Gurr points out, the third act is more than twice the length of the other acts. In the 1592 edition, the line length of each act is as follows:

Act 1 608
Act 2 423
Act 3 1366
Act 4 565

Act 3 is proportionally massive. Modern critics attempt to break up this act into two parts, usually at around Act 3.7. Erne chooses this placement because it is at the end of Hieronimo's 79-line bravura speech, and an interlude by Andrea and Revenge is unnecessary after Pedringano's execution. Placing the act break here leaves the rest of the act for Hieronimo's descent into madness and his decision to take revenge, before the necessary bloodbath of the new Act 5. This break also divides Act 3 into 542 and 824 lines. This newly structured five act version would thus be:

Act 1 608
Act 2 423
Act 3 542
Act 4 824
Act 5 565

This new division may appease modern editors who apply the five-act structure to the play, but the extant text lacks any obvious interlude to mark a break for the new Act 4. The anomalous four-act structure "raises the issue, one usually linked with the difficulties critics have in explaining the play's final moments, whether the last section of the text is corrupt." Gurr offers a hypothesis that may provide a possible explanation for why the 1602 additions came to be written: "It is conceivable that the 'Additions' of the 1602 version reflect signs of discomfort with the structure among the players when they

commissioned the extra scenes. Most of the ‘Additions’ fit into the third act, elongating it even further than its exceptional length in the 1592 edition, as if the player were looking for additional breaks in the flow.”¹¹¹

The 1602 *Spanish Tragedy* does not suddenly have five acts. The additions did not change the Latin headings, or add a scene for Andrea and Revenge to break up Act 3. If anything, the additions exacerbate the already bloated print of Act 3. But on the stage, the added lines would indeed break up the action. The Painter’s scene, in particular, operates in a similar way to Don Andrea and Revenge’s interludes: Hieronimo mimics Don Antonio’s repeated lamentations about the series of injustices he has endured. Interestingly, the Painter’s Part was added to the play at roughly the same place that Erne and other modern editors choose to divide up Act 3. There are 48 lines inserted between 3.11.1 and 3.11.2, and 169 lines (the Painter’s scene) are added between 3.12 and 3.13, with the final stage direction replacing 3.13.01. If the players, Henslowe, Pavier, or Shakespeare had originated the idea to update the shopworn *Spanish Tragedy*, the logical place to amend its structural imperfections and add a new scene would be at this very place.

The second challenge to the additions’ merit—that Hieronimo’s speech is cut short—may be explained historically, contextually, and with a brief rhetorical analysis. In the Painter’s scene, Hieronimo instructs the Painter to draw him: “Make me curse, make me rave, make me cry, make me mad, make me well again, make me curse hell, invoke heaven, and in the end leave me in a trance; and so forth” (*Addition 4*. 152-155). The abrupt ending, “and so forth,” seems too curt and dismissive of an ending for a hearty

¹¹¹ Gurr, *Spanish Tragedy*, xiv.

diatribe of madness, especially the kind that Shakespeare so enjoyed writing. But Shakespeare used the phrase four times: in *Love's Labours Lost* (4.2.1240), *2 Henry IV* (5.3.3395), and twice in *Twelfth Night* (1.5.532, 3.4.1609). He used the phrase as an ellipsis to end lists of items, finish a Latin quotation, and complete long descriptions of other people. Although he did not end the dramatic monologues of his tragic protagonists with "and so forth," in the context of *The Spanish Tragedy*, the phrase is used in a way similar to how Shakespeare used it in his own plays. "And so forth" ends the list of things Hieronimo wants the Painter to "make" him do in his picture of the crime scene.

Contextually, "and so forth" is apropos. It comes at the end of a long list of images Hieronimo wants the Painter to depict in his recreation of the crime scene, but this list is ever-changing and is actually impossible to paint in a static scene. What Hieronimo seeks to recreate is the crime scene, but paint is not the right medium. He needs movement and sound:

Well sir, then bring me forth, bring me through alley and alley, still with a distracted countenance going along, and let my hair heave up my night-cap. Let the clouds scowl, make the moon dark, the stars extinct, the winds blowing, the bells tolling, the owl shrieking, the toads croaking, the minutes jarring, and the clock striking twelve. And then at last, sir, starting, behold a man hanging: and tottering, and tottering as you know the wind will weave a man, and I with a trice to cut him down. And looking upon him by the advantage of my torch, find it to be my son Horatio. There you may show a passion, there you may show a passion. Draw me like old Priam of Troy, crying "the house is a-fire, the house is a-fire as the torch over my head!" Make me curse, make me rave, make me cry, make me mad, make me well again, make me curse hell, invoke heaven, and in the end leave me I a trance; and so forth. (*Addition* 4.141-155)

The many repetitions in this speech, rather than being signs of textual corruption, are signs of the painful circuitries of mad passion. A painted canvas cannot contain this scene

as Hieronimo wants it to be rendered. Hieronimo himself is the painter here, the artist recreating, in stark and sensory detail, the experience of finding his son stabbed and hung from a tree. “And so forth” ends the speech because there is nothing left. The Painter replies to Hieronimo’s abrupt ending: “And is this the end?” to which Hieronimo responds, bitterly, “O no, there is no end: the end is death and madness!” Hieronimo said “and so forth” to show that the process of grief is never over.

Even if “and so forth” is a corruption, and possibly obscures more words to come, this may be a consequence of the multiple, mutable forms of the lines in this soliloquy that may have been in circulation before 1602. If it was the players who, sensitive to the problematic pacing of *The Spanish Tragedy*’s abnormal four-act structure, first commissioned the extra scenes (as Gurr hypothesized), then we may also entertain the idea that these same players reconstructed their lines for Pavier’s publication. Pavier owned the rights to the play and legally published it with the additions, perhaps with the help of the players who performed the new lines. As Bradley writes of actors reconstructing lines for publication in the case of the “bad” quartos, “reconstruction from memory alone may have come about through the venal action of player recalling as much for the performed text as they could for sale to a publisher. The theory of the pirating of texts by reporters in the audience with the aid of stenography has proved less enduring, but is, no doubt, still believed by many.”¹¹² Pavier did not surreptitiously pilfer the additional lines by placing a “plant” in a live production of the play. If the actors did not

¹¹² Bradley, 9. Laurie Maguire examines the theory of memorial reconstruction in the “bad” quartos in *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The “Bad” Quartos and Their Contexts* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).

reconstruct the additions for Pavier, how else might he have obtained them, and in what form?

As discussed previously, texts existed in several forms: manuscripts at various stages of revision, foul matter, the Plotter's text, roles, printed versions, etc. Pavier may have printed the quarto from any one of these. But not all of these were "authorial," "best," or "true and perfect." The idea that Shakespeare's texts may have existed in several authorial versions is too close to the idea of continuous copy to be of comfort to many editors, and has, on the whole, been opposed by bibliographers.¹¹³ For example, R.B. McKerrow's view has not found general favor:

It is very doubtful whether, especially in the earlier plays, there ever existed any written "final form." Shakespeare, as an active member of a theatrical company, would, at any rate in his younger days, have been concerned with producing, not plays for the study, but material for his company to perform on the stage, and there can be little doubt that his lines would be subject to modification in the light of actual performance.¹¹⁴

McKerrow's notion of multiple authorial texts in circulation at the same time conforms to the practices of modern theaters, but it does not easily apply to the Elizabethan stage.

While plays were necessarily altered on the stage with every performance, and printed editions of texts underwent traceable revisions, McKerrow's view is too radical.

Honigmann preferred to re-state the notion of textual multiplicity in the following way, believing that Shakespeare, like any other author, may well have introduced many small changes in the process of copying his own work: "I envisage... two copies of a play, each in the author's hand, disagreeing in both substantive and indifferent readings: the play

¹¹³ Bradley, 11.

¹¹⁴ As quoted in E. Honigmann, *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (London: Arnold, 1965), 2.

being regarded as ‘finished’ by Shakespeare in each version though not therefore beyond the reach of afterthoughts.”¹¹⁵ Honigmann acknowledges that he must use his imagination to recreate this scenario of multiple authorial texts. In the absence of Shakespeare’s manuscripts, we have no incontrovertible proof of the process of how texts went from Shakespeare’s hand, to the page, to the theater, to print. If Shakespeare was, as the Folio boasts, a writer whose words flowed easily, who rarely blotted his ink, then perhaps he, more than his contemporaries, required fewer revisions and therefore fewer tangible versions of his works. A consequence of the Folio’s assertion for Shakespeare’s effortless expertise is that it has “set running the hare of subsequent editorial ambition to reconstruct for readers the original texts of the plays... of which ambition the [Folio] volume produced from Jaggard’s printing-house had clearly fallen somewhat short.”¹¹⁶ The additions also seem to fall short of our expectations for what a Shakespearean discovery might be. These lines are not the lost *Cardenio*, they are not definitively by Shakespeare, and they seem to be corrupted. But they *are* forgotten and neglected Shakespearean lines that need to resurface in Shakespeare studies.

As recent publications attest, the additions are indeed finding a renaissance in critical attention. The authorship controversy has been invigorated anew by technological advances and large-scale verbal parallel studies between the additions and Shakespeare’s work. After establishing what is hopefully a persuasive case for Shakespeare’s authorship of the additions, the next step would be to consider how that possible scenario would affect our understanding of the additions as an important missing link between the *Ur-*

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Bradley, 8-9.

Hamlet, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and *Hamlet*. If and when we decide—or at least momentarily entertain the idea—that Shakespeare wrote these additions, we may then attempt to discover what this conclusion may mean for our understanding of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*.

The Additions and *Hamlet*

The pre-1602 *Spanish Tragedy* has long been compared to *Hamlet* as a possible source text. One example from many is Henry Thew Stephenson’s 1906 article, in which he endeavored “to show that there is reason to believe that Shakespeare had ‘The Spanish Tragedy’ in mind while writing ‘Hamlet’ and that, though he followed it as a model, he improved it at many points.” Stephenson sees so many links between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* that he hazards the inference that “Shakespeare’s play may bear less resemblance to the lost ‘Hamlet’ than to ‘The Spanish Tragedy.’” Even without any attention paid to the additions, it was maintained that Shakespeare “transformed the unpoetic dross of the original into the poetic ore associated in our minds only with Shakespearian genius.”¹¹⁷

If Shakespeare wrote the additions, he did so at the time he was writing *Hamlet*. Shapiro contends that “when Shakespeare was at his most creative he wrote plays in bunches, and when he did so they tended to spill into one another.”¹¹⁸ The characters within *Hamlet* embody this intertextuality. For example, Polonius recalls his earlier acting days: “I did enact Julius Caesar. I was killed I’ th’ Capitol; Brutus killed me”

¹¹⁷ Stephenson, “The Spanish Tragedy’ and ‘Hamlet’” *Sewanee Review* 14. 3 (1906), 294-298.

¹¹⁸ Shapiro, 327.

(3.2.99). Polonius's recollection not only highlights the "cross-pollination" of Shakespeare's plays, but also *Hamlet's* emphasis on metatheatricality. *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* explore metatheatricality and performance in similar ways. The following is a rhetorical analysis of the metatheatrical parallels between the additions and *Hamlet*.

Both *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet* famously contain a play-within-a-play intended to catch and punish guilty persons. Hieronimo directs a tragedy called "Simon and Persida" in which actors murder one another on stage. When the play is over, Hieronimo reveals that the deaths were real. Hamlet also stages a revenge tragedy, "The Murder of Gonzago," which echoes *The Spanish Tragedy* in both its concerns about theatrical performance and its Spanish-sounding title. Hamlet calls it "The Mouse Trap" because he directs the play to be a dramaturgical trap in order to exact revenge on Claudius. Hamlet adds a scene to "The Murder of Gonzago," much like the anonymous author of *The Spanish Tragedy* additions did to Kyd's play. Hamlet asks a player, "You could, for a need, study a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines which I could set down and insert in 't, could you not?" At least to the extent that Shakespeare shows a similar practice happening with the plot of *Hamlet*, then, the act of adding lines to revenge plays was clearly not a foreign practice to Shakespeare. Like the author of the additions, Hamlet inserts lines to serve his purposes and to enhance the revenge plot. Many critics have turned to Hamlet's advice about theater, costume, and production as a tentative way into Shakespeare's own theatrical process. If Shakespeare wrote the additions at around

the same time that he was writing *Hamlet*, his famous protagonist's interpolated scenes may add too the metatheatrical identification of the playwright with his player.

Hieronimo's staging of "Simon and Persida" does not take place in the additions. But the Painter's Part adds another metatheatrical link between the two plays.

Hieronimo's direction to the Painter in the added scene corresponds to Hamlet's performances of grief and madness. Hieronimo competes with the Painter over who has cause to grieve more. When the Painter says his son was murdered, and "no man did hold a son so dear," Hieronimo retorts, "I had a son,/ Whose least unvalued hair did weigh/ A thousand of thy sons" (*Addition* 4.94-97). The competitive nature in their shared shows of grief echoes Hamlet's grief-contest with Laertes at Ophelia's grave: "Forty thousand brothers/ could not, with all their quantity of love,/ make up my sum." Hamlet continues to challenge Laertes, setting up the terms of their competition in structures that echo Hieronimo's added speech: "Show me what thou'lt do./ Woot weep, woot fight, woot fast, woot tear thyself,/ woot drink up eisel, eat a crocodile?/ I'll do't" (259-262).

Similarly, Hieronimo asks the Painter if he "canst paint me a tear, or a wound, a groan, or a sigh?" He continues to ask for things to be added to the canvas: "paint me such a tree as this... draw me five years younger... paint a doleful cry... canst thou draw a murderer?"

Both *Hamlet* and *The Spanish Tragedy* additions address the question of performing grief in calculated, demonstrative ways that come across as madness.

Conclusions

After this foregoing review of the evidence, I have formulated a hypothetical, scenario to account for the 1602 additions. In short, it is as follows:

The Spanish Tragedy was initially a blockbuster, but it was a tired play by 1600. For two decades it moved between several different playing companies and publishers.

Shakespeare had acted in it, was familiar with Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*, was known for revitalizing older works, knew the players, and was a writer for hire. When Pavier—who followed Shakespeare throughout his career—was assigned the title, he saw a marketing opportunity to capitalize on three trends: title pages that advertised newness, nostalgia for old texts, and a market for Shakespearean language. Pavier, Henslowe, a different theatrical manager, or another intermediary commissioned Shakespeare to write the additions. Whether Henslowe was involved, we should not expect to find the transaction in his Diary. Henslowe's two payments to Jonson were for a longer work that lampooned *The Spanish Tragedy*, a skill that Jonson repeatedly returned to throughout his career. Shakespeare's additions were written to break up Act 3, improving the flow and structure of the play. In the process of writing the new scenes, Shakespeare worked out several issues that he was simultaneously working on while writing *Hamlet*: revitalizing old texts, father/ son relationships, revenge, madness, performing madness, performing grief, thoughts of suicide, fetishizing a crime scene, the inability of language to capture ineffable pain, punishing a guilty person through the staging of a play, etc. Shakespeare wrote from his own verbal memory and used vocabulary he would revisit in later works. Shakespeare's additions were written, dispersed, rehearsed, acted, and proved successful.

Pavier could have gone to print with one of any number of versions of the text: a reconstruction by the players, a manuscript with poor handwriting, an early draft, a late draft, a revised theatrical copy, roles, etc. Pavier marketed and published the 1602 edition and it was successful enough in print to warrant another edition within the year, with several more to come. Shakespeare had successfully exercised, in print, his talents in the middle step between the *Ur-Hamlet*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and *Hamlet*.

In recreating this crime scene, I have attempted to revisit the evidence to formulate a plausible alternative. Occam's Razor would have us believe that Jonson wrote the additions simply because it is the easiest conclusion. But I maintain that if we reevaluate the clues in a new light, the overall picture can instantly switch to the alternative and even more compelling possibility that Shakespeare wrote the additions. Like a Gestalt switch that changes a rabbit into a duck and back again, both scenarios are equally possible. Whether the reader of the additions is ultimately persuaded that Shakespeare wrote them, the tentative acknowledgment that it is possible.

It is unlikely that we will ever find the "smoking gun," the long-lost confession of our prime suspect, but we should at least momentarily concede that an alternative, fact-based reconstruction of an unsolved mystery can offer new insight into old records, and perhaps lead us to new paradigms for understanding how Shakespeare came to write *Hamlet*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Additions¹¹⁹

First Addition

Between 2.5.45-46

[For outrage fits our cursed wretchedness.]

Ay me, Hieronimo, sweet husband speak.

HIERONIMO He supped with us tonight, frolic and merry,
And said he would go visit Balthazar
At the duke's palace: there the prince doth lodge.
He had no custom to stay out so late,
He may be in his chamber; some go see.
Roderigo, ho!

Enter PEDRO and JAQUES

ISABELLA Ay me, he raves. Sweet Hieronimo!

HIERONIMO True, all Spain takes note of it.
Besides, he is so generally beloved
His majesty the other day did grace him
With waiting on his cup: these be favours
Which do assure he cannot be short-lived.

ISABELLA Sweet Hieronimo!

HIERONIMO I wonder how this fellow got his clothes?
Sirrah, sirrah, I'll know the truth of all:
Jaques, run to the Duke of Castile's presently,
And bid my son Horatio to come home:
I and his mother have had strange dreams tonight.
Do you hear me, sir?

JAQUES Ay, sir.

HIERONIMO Well, sir, begone.
Pedro, come hither: knowest thou who this is?

PEDRO Too well, sir.

HIERONIMO Too well? Who? Who is it? Peace, Isabella:
Nay, blush not, man.

PEDRO It is my lord Horatio.

HIERONIMO Ha, ha! Saint James, but this doth make me laugh,
That there are more deluded than myself.

PEDRO Deluded?

HIERONIMO Ay, I would have sworn myself within this hour
That this had been my son Horatio,
His garments are so like.

¹¹⁹ Modern spellings taken from J.R. Mulryne, ed. *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd. (London: New Mermaids, 2009).

Ha! are they not great persuasions?
 ISABELLA O, would to God it were not so!
 HIERONIMO Were not, Isabella? Dost thou dream it is?
 Can thy soft bosom entertain a thought
 That such a black deed of mischief should be done
 On one so pure and spotless as our son?
 Away, I am ashamed.
 ISABELLA Dear Hieronimo,
 Cast a more serious eye upon thy grief:
 Weak apprehension gives but weak belief.
 HIERONIMO It was a man, sure, that was hanged up here;
 A youth, as I remember: I cut him down.
 If it should prove my son now after all—
 Say you, say you, light! Lend me a taper,
 Let me look again. O God!
 Confusion, mischief, torment, death and hell,
 Drop all your stings at once in my cold bosom,
 That now is stiff with horror; kill me quickly:
 Be gracious to me, thou infective night,
 And drop this deed of murder down on me;
 Gird in my waste of grief with thy large darkness,
 And let me not survive to see the light
 May put me in the mind I had a son.
 ISABELLA O, sweet Horatio. O, my dearest son!
 HIERONIMO How strangely had I lost my way to grief!
 [Sweet lovely rose, ill plucked before thy time,]

Second Addition

Replacing 3.2.65 and part of 66

[LORENZO Why so, Hieronimo? Use me.]

HIERONIMO Who, you, my lord?

I reserve your favour for a greater honour;

This is a very toy my lord, a toy.

LORENZO All's one, Hieronimo, acquaint me with it.

HIERONIMO I'faith, my lord, 'tis an idle thing.

I must confess, I ha' bene too slack,

Too tardy. Too remiss unto your honour.

LORENZO How now, Hieronimo?

HIERONIMO In troth, y lord, it is a thing of nothing,

The murder of a son, or so:

A thing of nothing, my lord.

[LORENZO Why then, farewell.]

Third Addition

Between 3.11.1-2

[1 PORTINGALE By your leave, sir.]

HIERONIMO 'Tis neither as you think, nor as you think,
Nor as you think: you're wide all:
These slippers are not mine, they were my son Horatio's.
My son, and what's a son? A thing begot
Within a pair of minutes, thereabout:
A lump bred up in darkness, and doth serve
To ballance these light creatures we call women;
And, at nine months' end, creeps forth to light.
What is there yet in a son
To make a father dote, rave or run mad?
Being born, it pouts, cries, and breeds teeth.
What is there yet in a son? He must be fed,
Be taught to go, and speak. Ay, or yet?
Why might not a man love a calf as well?
Or melt in passion o'er a frisking kid,
As for a son? Methinks a young bacon
Or a fine little smooth horse-colt
Should move a man as much as doth a son:
For one of these in very little time
Will grow to some good use, whereas a son,
The more he grows in stature and in years,
The more unsquared, unbevelled he appears,
Reckons his parents among the rank of fools,
Strikes care upon their heads with his mad riots,
Makes them look old before they meet with age:
This is a son:
And what a loss were this, considered truly?
Oh, but my Horatio
Grew out of reach of these insatiate humours:
He loved his loving parents,
He was my comfort, and his mother's joy,
The very arm that did hold up our house:
Our hopes were stored up in him,
None but a damned murderer could hate him.
He had not seen the back of nineteen year,
When his strong arm unhorsed the proud Prince Balthazar,
And his great mind, too full of honour,
Took him unto mercy,
That valiant but ignoble Portingale.
Well, heaven is heaven still,
And there is Nemesis and Furies,
And things called whips,

And they sometimes do meet with murderers:
They do not always 'scape, that's some comfort.
Ay, ay, ay, and then time steals on:
And steals, and steals, till violence leaps forth
Like thunder wrapped in a ball of fire,
And so doth bring confusion to them all.
[Good leave have you: nay, I pray you go.]

Fourth Addition

Between 3.12 and 13

Enter JAQUES and PEDRO

JAQUES I wonder, Pedro, why our master thus
At midnight sends us with our torches' light,
When man and bird and beast are all at rest,
Save those that watch for rape and bloody murder?

PEDRO O Jaques, know thou that our master's mind is much
distraught since his Horatio died,
And now his aged years should sleep in rest,
His heart in quiet; like a desperate man,
Grows lunatic and childish for his son:
Sometimes, as he doth at his table sit,
He speaks as if Horatio stood by him;
Then starting in a rage, falls on the earth,
Cries out 'Horatio, where is my Horatio?'
So that with extreme grief and cutting sorrow,
Ther is not left in him one inch of man:
See, where he comes.

Enter HIERONIMO

HIERONIMO I pry through every crevice of each wall,
Look on each tree, and search through every brake,
Beat at the bushes, stamp our grandma earth,
Dive in the water, and stare up to heaven,
Yet cannot I behold my son Horatio.
How now, who's there, sprites, sprites?

PEDRO We are your servants that attend you, sir.

HIERONIMO What make you with your torches in the dark?

PEDRO You bid us light them, and attend you here.

HIERONIMO No, no, you are deceived, not I, you are deceived:
Was I so mad to bid you light your torches now?
Light me your torches at the mid of noon,
Whenas the sun-god rides in all his glory:
Light me your torches then.

PEDRO Then we burn daylight.

HIERONIMO Let it be burnt: night is a murderous slut,

That would not have her treasons to be seen;
 And yonder pale-faced Hecate there, the moon,
 Doth give consent to that is done in darkness;
 And all those stars that gaze upon her face,
 Are aglets on her sleeve, pins on her train;
 And those that should be powerful and divine,
 Do sleep in darkness when they most should shine.

PEDRO Provoke them not, fair sir, with tempting words:
 The heavens are gracious, and your miseries
 And sorrow makes you speak you know not what.

HIERONIMO Villain, thou liest, and thou doest naught
 But tell me I am mad: thou liest, I am not mad.
 I know thee to be Pedro, and he Jaques.
 I'll prove it to thee, and were I mad, how could I?
 Where was she that same night when my Horatio
 Was murdered? She should have shone: search thou the book.
 Had the moon shone, in my boy's face there was a kind of grace,
 That I know (nay, I do know) had the murderer seen him,
 His weapon would have fallen and cut the earth,
 Had he been framed of naught but blood and death.
 Alack, when mischief doth it knows not what,
 What shall we say to mischief?

Enter ISABELLA

ISABELLA Dear Hieronimo, come in a-doors.
 O, sir, not means so to increase thy sorrow.

HIERONIMO Indeed, Isabella, we do nothing here;
 I do not cry; ask Pedro, and ask Jaques;
 Not I indeed, we are very merry, very merry.

ISABELLA How? be merry here, be merry here?
 Is not this the place, and this the very tree,
 Where my Horatio died, where he was murdered?

HIERONIMO Was—do not say what: let her weep it out.
 This was the tree, I set it of a kernel,
 And when our hot Spain could not let it grow,
 But that the infant and the human sap
 Began to wither, duly twice a morning
 Would I be sprinkling it with fountain water.
 At last it grew, and grew, and bore and bore,
 Till at length
 It grew a gallows, and did bear our son,
 It bore thy fruit and mine: O wicked, wicked plant.

One knocks within at the door

See who knock there

PEDRO It is a painter, sir.

HIERONIMO Bid him come in, and paint some comfort,
For surely there's none lives but painted comfort.
Let him come in. One knows not what may chance:
God's will that I should set this tree—but even so
Masters ungrateful servants rear from naught,
And then they hate them that did bring them up.

Enter the PAINTER

PAINTER God bless you, sir.

HIERONIMO Wherefore? why, thou scornful villain,
How, where, or by what means should I be blessed?

ISABELLA What wouldst thou have, good fellow?

PAINTER Justice, madam.

HIERONIMO O ambitious beggar, wouldst thou have that
That lives not in the world?
Why, all the undelved mines cannot buy
An ounce of justice, 'tis a jewel so inestimable:
I tell thee,
God hath engrossed all justice in his hands,
And there is none, but what comes from him.

PAINTER O then I see
That God must right me for my murdered son.

HIERONIMO How, was thy son murdered?

PAINTER Ay sir, no man did hold a son so dear.

HIERONIMO What, not as thine? that's a lie
As massy as the earth: I had a son,
Whose least unvalued hair did weigh
A thousand of thy sons: and he was murdered.

PAINTER Alas sir, I had no more but he.

HIERONIMO Nor I, nor I: but this same one of mine
Was worth a legion: but all is one.
Pedro, Jaques, go in a-doors: Isabella go,
And this good fellow here and I
Will range this hideous orchard up and down,
Like to two lions reaved of their young.
Go in a-doors, I say.

Exeunt [ISABELLA, PEDRO, JAQUES]

The PAINTER and he sits down

Come, let's talk wisely now. Was thy son murdered?

PAINTER Ay sir.

HIERONIMO So was mine. How dost take it? Art thou not sometimes mad?
Is there no tricks that comes before thine eyes?

PAINTER O Lord, yes sir.

HIERONIMO Art a painter? Canst paint me a tear, or a wound, a groan, or a sigh? Canst
paint me such a tree as this?

PAINTER Sir, I am sure you have heard of my painting, my name's Bazardo.

HIERONIMO Bazardo! afore God, an excellent fellow! Look you sir, do you see, I'd have you paint me in my gallery, in your oil colours matted, and draw me five years younger than I am. Do you see sir, let five years go, let them go, like the marshal of Spain. My wife Isabella standing by me, with a speaking look to my son Horatio, which should intend to this or some such like purpose: 'God bless thee, my sweet son': and my hand leaning upon his head, thus, sir, do you see? may it be done?

PAINTER Very well, sir.

HIERONIMO Nay, I pray mark me sir. Then sir, would I have you paint me this tree, this very tree. Canst paint a doleful cry?

PAINTER I'll warrant you sir, I have the pattern of the most notorious villains that ever lived in all Spain.

HIERONIMO O, let them be worse, worse: stretch thine art, and let their beads be of Judas his own colour, and let their eyebrows jutting over: in any case observe that. Then sir, after some violent noise, bring me forth in my shin, and my gown under mine arm, with my torch in my hand, and my sword reared up thus: and with these words:
What noise is this? who calls Hieronimo?
 May it be done?

PAINTER Yea sir.

HIERONIMO Well sir, then bring me forth, bring me through alley and alley, still with a distracted countenance going along, and let my hair heave up my night-cap. Let the clouds scowl, make the moon dark, the stars extinct, the winds blowing, the bells tolling, the owl shrieking, the toads croaking, the minutes jarring, and the clock striking twelve. And then at last, sir, starting, behold a man hanging: and tottering, and tottering as you know the wind will weave a man, and I with a trice to cut him down. And looking upon him by the advantage of my torch, find it to be my son Horatio. There you may show a passion, there you may show a passion. Draw me like old Priam of Troy, crying 'The house is a-fire, the house is a-fire as the torch over my head!' Make me curse, make me rave, make me cry, make me mad, make me well again, make me curse hell, invoke heaven, and in the end leave me in a trance; and so forth.

PAINTER And is this the end?

HIERONIMO O no, there is no end: the end is death and madness! As I am never better than when I am mad, then methinks I am a brave fellow, then I do wonders: but reason abuseth me, and there's the torment, there's the hell. At the last, sir, bring me to one of the murderers, were he as strong as Hector, thus would I tear and drag him up and down.
He beats the PAINTER in, then comes out again with a book in his hand

Fifth Addition

Replacing 4.4.168-190

[CASTILE Why hast thou butchered both my children thus?]
HIERONIMO But are you sure they are dead?
CASTILE Ay, slave, too sure.
HIERONIMO What, and yours too?
VICEROY Ay, all are dead, not one of them survive.
HIERONIMO Nay then, I care not, come, and we shall be friends:
Let us lay our heads together;
See here's a goodly noose will hold them all.
VICEROY O damned devil, how secure he is.
HIERONIMO Secure, why dost thou wonder at it?
I tell thee Viceroy, this day I have seen revenge,
And in that sight am grown a prouder monarch
Than ever sat under the crown of Spain:
Had I as many lives as there be stars,
As many heavens to go to as those lives,
I'd give them all, ay, and my soul to boot,
But I would see thee ride in this red pool.
CASTILE Speak, who were thy confederates in this?
VICEROY That was thy daughter Bel-Imperia,
For by her hand my Balthazar was slain:
I saw her stab him.
HIERONIMO Oh, good words:
As dear to me was my Horatio,
As yours, or yours, or yours, my lord, to you.
My guiltless son was by Lorenzo slain,
And by Lorenzo, and that Balthazar,
Am I at last revenged thoroughly,
Upon whose souls may heavens be yet revenged
With greater far than these afflictions.
Methinks since I grew inward with revenge,
I cannot look with scorn enough on death.
KING What, dost thou mock us, slave? Bring tortures forth.
HIERONIMO Do, do, do, and meantime I'll torture you.
You had a son, as I take it: and your son
Should ha' been married to your daughter:
Ha, was't not so? You had a son too,
He was my liege's nephew. He was proud,
And politic. Had he lived, he might ha' come
To wear the crown of Spain, I think 'twas so:
'Twas I that killed him; look you, this same hand,
'Twas it that stabbed his heart; do you see, this hand?
For one Horatio, if you ever knew him, a youth,
One that they hanged up in his father's garden,

One that did force your valiant son to yield,
While your more valiant son did take him prisoner.
VICEROY Be deaf my senses, I can hear no more.
KING Fall heaven, and cover us with thy sad ruins.
CASTILE Roll all the world within thy pitchy cloud.
HIERONIMO Now do I applaud what I have acted
Nunc iners cadat manus
Now to express the rupture of my part,
[First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart.]

APPENDIX B

The Additions: The Painter's Part (1602)¹²⁰

The Spanish Tragedie.
 Yet cannot I behold my fonnè *Isabella*,
 How now, Who's there, spirits, spirits?
Ped. We are your servants that attend you fir.
Hic. What make you with your torches in the daies?
Ped. You bid vs light them, and attend you here,
Hic. No, no, you are deceiv'd, not I, you are deceiv'd,
 Was I to mad to bid you light your torches now,
 Light me your torches at the mid of noone,
 When as the Sun-God rides in all his glorie:
 Light me your torches then,
Ped. I then we burne day light.
Hic. Let it be burnt, might is a murderous flur,
 That would not haue her treasons to befeene,
 And yonder pale faced Hee-car there, the Moone,
 Doth giue consent to that is done in darkenell,
 And all those Sarcas that gaze vpon her face,
 Are agons on her fleecy pins on her traine,
 And those that should be powerfull and diuine,
 Doe sleepe in darkenes when they moue should shine.
Ped. Prouoke them not to farr, with tempting words,
 The heauens are gracious, and your miseries and sorow,
 Make you speake you know not what.
Hic. Villaine thou liest, and thou dost nought
 But tell me I am mad, thou liest, I am not mad.
 I knew thee to be *Pedro*, and he *Pedro*,
 He prouoe it to thee, and were I mad, how could I
 Where was the that same night when my *Hic.* was murdered?
 She should haue floues: Search thou the booke, (grace
 Had the Moone shone in my boyes face (there was a kind of
 That I know) nay, I doe know, had the murderer seene him,
 His weapon would haue fall'n and cutt the earth,
 Had he beene fained of naught but blood and death.
 Alacke when iudgement doth it knowes not what,
 What shall we say to miſchance?
Enter Isabella.
Is. Dare *Hieronymus* come in a doore,
 O, seeke not means to to censure thy sorrow,
Hic. No.

The Spanish Tragedie.
Hic. Indeed, *Isabella* we doe nothing heere,
 I doe not cry, alke *Pedro* and alke *Ingrate*,
 Not indeed, we are very meriting very merite.
Is. How, do merite heere, be merite heere.
 Is not this the place, and this the very tree,
 Where my *Hieronymus* lieth, where he was murdered?
Hic. Was, doe not say what let her weepe it out.
 This was the tree, I tell of a kermell,
 And when our hot Spaine could not let it grow
 But that the minant and the humane sap
 Began to wither, duly twice a morning,
 Would I be sprinkling it with fountaine water,
 At last it grew, and grew, and bore and bore,
 Till at the length it grew a gallowes, and did beare our fonnè,
 It bore thy fruit and mine: O wicked, wicked plant.
One knockes within at the doore.
 See who knocke there.
Pedro. It is a painter fir.
Hic. Bid him come in, and paint some comfort,
 For surely there's none liues but painted comfort.
 Let him come in, one knowes not what may chance,
 Gods will, that I should let this tree,
 But euen to matters, yngratefull seruants reare from nought,
 And then they haue them that did bring them vp.
Enter the Painter.
Painter. God blesse you fir.
Hic. Wherefore, why shou fonnèfull villaine,
 How, where, or by what means should I be blest,
Is. What wouldst thou haue good fellow.
Painter. Iustice, Madame.
Hic. O ambitious beeger, wouldst thou haue that
 That liues not in the world,
 Why all the vndelud mynes cannot buy
 An ounce of iustice, its a jewel so inestimable:
 I tell thee, God hath engoffed all iustice in his hands, (some
 And there is none, but what comes from him.
Ped. O then I see that God must right me for my murdered
Hic. How
 H 3

¹²⁰ Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (London: 1602). Image from Early English Books Online (EEBO) database, copied from the Huntington Library's copy.

The Spanish Tragedie.

Hic. How, was thy sonne murdered?

Paint. I, sir, no man did hold a sonne so deere,

Hic. What not as thine? that's a lie,

As misse as the earth. I had a sonne,

Whose least unallied haire did waigh

A thousand of thy sonnes; and he was murdered.

Paint. Alas, sir, I had no more but he.

Hic. Nor I, nor I: but this same one of mine,

Was worth a legion: but all is one.

Padre, Jaques, goe in a doores, *Isabella* goe.

And this good fellow heere and I,

Will range this halious orchard vp and downe,

Like to two Lyons reared of their yong.

Exit.

Goe in a doores, I say.

The Painter and he sit downe.

Come let's talke wisely now:

Was thy sonne murdered?

Paint. I, sir.

Hic. So was mine.

How doo'st take it: art thou not sometimes mad?

Is there no trickes that comes before thine eyes?

Paint. O Lord, yes sir.

Hic. Art a Painter? canst paint me a creature or a wound,

A grone, or a fight? canst paint me such a tree as this?

Paint. Sir, I am sure you haue heard of my paintings,

my name's *Bacardo*.

Hic. *Bacardo*, afore-god, an excellent fellow. Look you sir,

Do you see, I haue you paint me my Gallie

In your olie colours match'd, and draw me five

Yeeres younger then I am. Doe ye see sir, let five

Yeeres goe, let then goe like the Marshall of Spaine.

My wife Isabella standing by me,

With a speaking looke to my sonne *Horatio*,

Which should enter: I to this, or some such like purpose:

God bless thee my sweet sonne, and my hand leaning vpon

his head thus, doe you see may it be done?

Paint. Very well sir.

Hic. Nay,

The Spanish Tragedie.

Hic. Nay, I pray marke me, sir. Then sir, would I haue

you paint me this tree, this very tree.

Canst paint a dolefull crie?

Paint. Seemingly, sir.

Hic. Nay, it should crie: but all is one.

Well sir, paint me a youth, run thorow and thorow with vil-

laines swords, hanging vpon this tree.

Canst thou draw a murderer?

Paint. He warrant you sir,

I haue the patterne of the most notorious willaines that euer

liued in all Spaine.

Hic. O, let them be worse, worse: stretch thine Arce,

And let their beards be of *Indes* his owne colour,

And let their die-browes iurie ouerturn any case oblerue that.

Then sir, after some violent noyse,

Bring mee forth in my shirt, and my gowne under myne

armes, with my torch in my hand, and my sword reared vp

thus: and with these wordes,

What noyse is this? Who call? Hieronimo?

May it be done?

Paint. Yes, sir.

Well sir, then bring mee forth, bring mee thorow alle and

alys, still with a distracted countenance going along,

and let my haire beare vp my night-cap,

Let the clowdes kowle, make the Moone darke, the Stares

exting, the Windes blowing, the Belles tolling, the

Owle flinking, the Toades croaking, the Minutes ter-

ring, and the Clocke striking twelue.

And then at last, sir, starting behold a man hanging: And tot-

tering, and tottering as you know the winde will weate

a man, and I with a stile to cut him downe.

And looking vpon him by the aduantage of my torch, finde

it to be my sonne *Horatio*.

There you may a passion, there you may shew a passion.

Drawe mee like old *Pyrrus* of *Troy*,

Crying the howle is a fire, the howle is a fire

As the torch ouer my head. Make me curse,

Make

The Spanish Tragedie.

Make me raue, make me cry, make me mad,
Make me well againe, make me curse hell,
Inuocate heauen, and in the ende, leaue me
In a trance, and so forth.

Pain. And is this the end?

Hic. O no, there is no end the end is death and madnesse,

As I am neuer better then when I am mad,

Then methinks I am a braue fellow,

Then I doe wonders: But reason about me,

And there's the torment, there's the hell,

At the last, fir, bring me to one of the murders,

Were he as strong as *Hector*, thus would I

He beates the Painter in, then comes out againe

With a Booke in his hand,

Chiliffa milh.

I heauen will be reueng'd of euery ill,

Nor will they suffer murder yne paid:

Then slay, *Hieronimo*, attend their will,

For mortall men may not appoint a time,

Per felix semper tuum est sceleribus iter,

Strike, and strike home, where wrong is offered thee,

For eulls into its conducters be,

And death's the worst of resolution:

For he that thinks with patience to conserd

To quiet life, his life shall easily ende.

Fata s'mplicitas inuicta habet spulchrum,

Fata s'ultam meam, habet spulchrum,

If Define thy miseries doe eale,

Then halt thou health, and happy shalt thou be.

If Define deny thee life *Hieronimo*,

Yet shalt thou be assur'd of a tombe:

If neither, yet let this thy comfort be,

Heauen couereth him that hath no buriall.

And to conclude, I will reuenge his death,

By how? not as the vulgar wits of men,

With open, but inuicible list:

As

The Spanish Tragedie.

As by a secret, yet a certaine means,
Which vnder kinship will be cloaked best,

While men will take their opportunitie,

Closely and safely futing things to time,

But in extremes vantage hath no time.

And therefore all times fit not for reuenge:

Thus therefore will I rest me in yre,

Differing quiet in vauqueness,

Not seeming that I know their villanies,

That my simplicitie may make them thinke,

That ignorantly, I will let it slip:

For ignorance I wot, and well they know,

Remedium malorum inter est.

Nor ought auails it me to menace them,

Who, as a wintrie thorne vpon a plaine,

Will beare me downe with their nobilitie.

No, no, *Hieronimo*: thou must enioyne

To milder speeches, then thy spirit affords,

Thy heart to patience, and thy hands to rest,

Thy Cappe to currelfe, and thy knee to bowe,

Till to reuenge, thou know when, where, and how.

A noise within.

How now, what noise? what coile is that you keepe?

Enter a Seruant.

Sir, Heere are a sort of poore Petitioners,

That are importunate, and it shall please you sir,

That you should plead their causes to the King.

Hic. That I should plead their feuerall actions?

Why let them enter, and let me see them.

Enter three Citizens, and an old man.

So, I tell you this, for learning and for law,

That can preuaile, or will take halfe the paine,

That he will in pursuit of equitie.

Hic. Come nixte, you men that thus importune me.

Now must I beare a face of grauitie:

I

For

APPENDIX C

Timeline

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1538*. Thomas Kyd born.</p> <p>1564. William Shakespeare born.</p> <p>1570. Belleforest's <i>Hamblet</i> published in <i>Histoires Tragiques</i></p> <p>1576. The Theatre is built.</p> <p>1583-1585. Kyd writes plays for the Queen's Men.</p> <p>1587* Kyd writes <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i></p> <p>1588* Kyd writes the <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>
Kyd translates <i>The Householder's Philosophy</i>.</p> <p>1590s* Richard Burbage acts for the Admiral's Men.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">*Shakespeare writes <i>Richard III</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">*<i>Ur-Hamlet</i> enters repertory of Chamberlain's Men.</p> <p>1591. Admiral's Men split with the Theatre, partner with Henslowe.</p> <p>1591-2*. <i>Don Horatio</i> added as frontispiece to <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i></p> <p>1591-1593*. Kyd and Marlowe share quarters
*<i>Sir Thomas More</i></p> <p>1592-1597. <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> performed 29 times</p> <p>1592. Robert Greene calls Shakespeare an "upstart crowe."
Burbage acts for the Lord Strange's Men.
*(Lost) first edition of <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>.
Abel Jeffes and Edward White go to court over <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>.</p> <p>1592-1593. <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> staged sixteen times by the Lord Strange's Men</p> | <p>1593-4. Plague.</p> <p>1593. Burbage acts for the Earl of Pembroke's Men.
<i>Venus and Adonis</i>.
Kyd imprisoned and tortured.
Marlowe dies</p> <p>1594. Kyd dies.
Hamnet Shakespeare dies.</p> <p>1594. <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> performed at Newington Butts by the Chamberlain's Men.
Chamberlain's Men return to the Theatre with the <i>Ur-Hamlet</i>.
<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> reprinted.</p> <p>1595. <i>Ur-Hamlet</i> is performed at the Theatre by the Chamberlain's Men.</p> <p>1596. John Shakespeare becomes a gentleman.
Thomas Lodge's <i>Wit's Miserie</i>.
*<i>Sir Thomas More</i> revised</p> <p>1597. <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> is entered as "ne" in Henslowe's Diary.
The Admirals' Men revive <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>, staging it twelve times between January and July and joining with the Pembroke's Men in October.</p> <p>1597-8. Jonson's <i>Every Man and His Humour</i> ridicules <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>.</p> <p>1598. Francis Meres' <i>Palladis Tamia</i>.
Jonson tried for manslaughter.</p> <p>1599. Jeffes transfers his copyright of <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> to William White, who issued a third edition.
Jonson's <i>Every Man Out</i> on the stage (published in 1600)- saying "I don't walk in others' steps."
<i>The Passionate Pilgrim</i>.</p> |
|--|--|

* indicates that the date is an estimate.

- Shakespeare's *Henry V* performed at the Curtain.
 Timber from the Theatre used to build the Globe.
The Spanish Tragedy reprinted.
 Thomas Nashe's preface to Robert Greene's *Metaphon*.
 **The Return from Parnassus*
- 1599-1601. The Poets' War.
 1599/1602* *Antonio and Mellida* parodies The Painter's Part. *A&M* was ridiculed in *Every Man Out* in 1599/1600, and entered into Stationer's Register in 1601 and first published in 1602.
1600. Henslowe moves the Admiral's Men to the Fortune.
 Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* ridicules *The Spanish Tragedy*.
 Shakespeare's *Henry V* published.
 Pavier assigned *The Spanish Tragedy* by White.
 Pavier publishes *Sir John Oldcastle*.
1601. *The Spanish Tragedy* goes on tour in Germany.
 John Shakespeare dies.
 Mary Jonson dies.
 Henslowe pays Jonson forty shillings in September.
 Essex rebellion.
- 1602. *The Spanish Tragedy* published with additions.**
 Henslowe pays Jonson ten pounds in June. Shakespeare's *Henry V* published by Pavier.
 Thomas Dekker's *Satiromatrix*.
 Pavier publishes Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glass*.
1603. The Chamberlain's Men become the King's Men.
Hamlet Q1.
1604. *The Spanish Tragedy* reprinted with additions.
 Webster adapts Marston's *The Malcontent*.
 Webster and Dekker's *Westward Ho*.
 The King's Men make a claim to *The Spanish Tragedy*.
- 1604-5. *Hamlet* Q2.
 1605. *I Hieronimo* published by Jaggard.
 Pavier publishes *Henry V*.
 1606. *Return from Parnassus* plays are published.
 1608. Robert Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*.
 Pavier publishes *The Yorkshire Tragedy*.
 Pavier publishes *Hamlet*.
 1609. Pavier publishes Armin's *Italian Taylor*.
 Shakespeare's *Sonnets* published.
1610. Jonson's *The Alchemist* ridicules *The Spanish Tragedy*.
 1611. *Spanish Tragedy* reprinted with additions.
 1612. Webster's *The White Devil*
 Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors*.
 1614. Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*.
 Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* ridicules *The Spanish Tragedy*.
 1615. *Spanish Tragedy* reprinted with additions.
 1616. Shakespeare dies.
 Folio of Jonson's work published.
1618. *Spanish Tragedy* reprinted with additions.
 1619. The Pavier Quartos
 Burbage dies.
1623. *The First Folio*.
Spanish Tragedy reprinted with additions.
1626. Jonson's *The New Inn* ridicules *The Spanish Tragedy*.

1633. Jonson's *A Tale of a Tub* ridicules *The Spanish Tragedy*.
Spanish Tragedy reprinted with additions.
1656. Edward Archer's *Exact and Perfect Catalogue*
1668. *The Spanish Tragedy* is performed at the Nursery Theatre in Hatton Garden (reported by Pepys).
1744. Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays* contains the first "modern" editions of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia*.
1833. Coleridge says the additions "bear no traces" of Jonson's style, "but they are very like Shakespeare."

Bibliography

- Adams, Barry B. "The Audiences of 'The Spanish Tragedy.'" *JEGP* 68 (1969).
- Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies* (London: 1608).
- Baldwin, T.W. *William Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947).
- Barthes, Roland. "Death of the Author.," (1968).
- Barton, Anne. *Ben Jonson, Dramatist*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Bate, Jonathan. *Soul of the Age: the Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 2008).
- Bednarz, James. *Shakespeare and the Poet's War*. Columbia University Press 2001.
- Bell, Millicent. "Hamlet, Revenge!" *HudR* 51 (1998).
- Bentley, G. E. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).
- Bloom, Harold. "An Elegy for the Canon," *The Western Canon*. (New York: Riverhead Books, 1994).
- Boas, Frederick S. *The Works of Thomas Kyd, Edited from the Original Texts with Introduction, Notes and Facsimiles*. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, H. Frowde, 1901).
- Bowers, Fredson. *On Editing Shakespeare* (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1966).

- Bradley, David. *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Bristol, Michael D. "Shakespeare Is an Author: An Essentialist View." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Brooks, Douglas A. *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England: Women and Gender in the Early Modern World*. (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005).
- Burke, Deborah. "'I'll Want My Will Else': The Changeling and Women's Complicity with Their Rapists." *ELH* 62.4 (1995) 759-790.
- Cairncross, Anthony, ed. [*'The Spanish Comedy,' or 'The First Part of Hieronimo' and 'The Spanish Tragedy' [or, 'Hieronimo is Mad Again']*], Regents Renaissance Drama Series (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967).
- Chambers, E.K. *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 3. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, first published 1923).
- Cheney, Patrick. *Shakespeare, National Poet-Playwright*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Coburn, Kathleen, ed. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 14, 1. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- Cox, John and Jeffrey Kastan, eds. *A New History of Early English Drama*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- Craig, D.H. "Authorial Styles and the Frequencies of Very Common Words: Jonson, Shakespeare, and the Additions to the Spanish Tragedy." *Style* 26 (1992).

- . and Kinney, Arthur F. *Shakespeare, Computers and the Mystery of Authorship*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Craig, W.J., Ed. *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. W.J. Craig (Oxford, 1904, reprint 1945).
- Crawford, Patricia and Laura Gowing. *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England*. (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Crundell, H.W. and R.G. Howarth, *Notes and Queries*, (4 March 1933, 7 April, 4 August 1934, 4 January 1941).
- Davis, William. "Now, Gods, Stand up for Bastards: The 1603 "Good Quarto" Hamlet." *Textual Cultures* 1.2 (2006): 60-89.
- de Belleforest, François. *Histoires Tragiques* (1570).
- Dekker, Thomas. *Satiromastix* (1602).
- . and John Webster. *Westward Ho* (1604).
- Diaz-Fernandez, Jose Ramon. "Thomas Kyd: A Bibliography, 1966-1992." *BB* 52.1 (1993) 1-13.
- Dickens, Charles. "Letter to Wiliam Sandys," 13 June 1847, in *Complete Writings of Charles Dickens*, ed. "by his sister-in-law." (Boston, Mass: Charles E. Lauriat, 1923).
- Dudrap, Claude. "La Tragédie Espagnole face à la Critique Elisabethaine et Jacobéene," in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Dramaturgie et Socieété*, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).

- Dutton, Richard. "The Birth of the Author." *Elizabethan Theater: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum*, ed. R.B. Parker and S. Zitner (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 71-92.
- . "Not one clear item but an indefinite thing which is in parts of uncertain authenticity." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Edwards, Philip. *Thomas Kyd & Early Elizabethan Tragedy* (London, 1959).
- Egan, Gabriel. "As It Was, Is, or Will Be Played": Title-Pages and the Theatre Industry to 1610," *From Performance to Print* (2008).
- Erne, Lukas. *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001).
- . *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- . "Reconsidering Shakespearean Authorship." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- . "Aye, aye," *Times Literary Supplement*, (June 4, 2010).
- Evans, G. Blakemore, ed. *Sir Thomas More. The Riverside Shakespeare* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1974, updated 1997).
- Farmer Alan B. and Zachary Lesser. "Vile Arts: The Marketing of English Printed Drama, 1512-1660", *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 39 (2000).
- Fleay, F.G., *A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642* (1860).
- Foakes, R.A. and R.T. Rickert, eds. *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).
- Foucault, Michel. "What is an Author?" 1969.

- Freeman, Arthur. *Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems* (Oxford: 1967).
- Furnival, F.J., ed. *Some 300 Fresh Allusions to Shakspeare*, The New Shakespeare Society (London, 1886).
- . *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book* (1932), ed. J.P. Collier for the Old Shakespeare Soc. (1842), subsequently re-ed. F.J. Furnival et al. (1909), & re-issued with a preface by E.K. Chambers (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).
- Gabrieli, Vittorio and Giorgio Melchiori, eds. *Sir Thomas More* by Anthony Munday (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
- Gair, W. Reavley, Ed. *Antonio and Mellida* by John Marston (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
- Garber, Marjorie. *Shakespeare's Ghost-Writers: Literature as Uncanny Causality*. (Routledge, 1997).
- Gosse, Edmund, ed. *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1883).
- Gray, Henry David. "The First Quarto 'Hamlet.'" *MLR* 10 (1915).
- . "Reconstruction of a Lost Play." *PQ* 7 (1928), 254-74.
- Greene, Robert. *Groatsworth of Wit* (London: 1592).
- . *Menaphon* (London, 1589).
- Greg, W.W., ed. *The Spanish Tragedy with Additions 1602* (Oxford, 1925).
- Gunby, David; David Carnegie; MacDonald P. Jackson, eds. *The Works of John Webster* (An Old-Spelling Critical Edition). (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- Gurr, Andrew, Introduction. *The Spanish Tragedy*, by Thomas Kyd. Ed. J.R. Mulryne (London: New Mermaids, 2009).
- James, Heather. "Shakespeare, the Classics, and the Forms of Authorship." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Johnson, Gerald. "Thomas Pavier," *Library, Sixth Series*, 14 (1992).
- Jowett, John. "Johannes Factotum: Henry Chettle and *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 87 (1993): 453-86.
- Hawkins, Harriet. "Fabulous Counterfeits: Dramatic Construction and Dramatic Perspectives in the Spanish Tragedy, A Midsummer Night's Dream, and The Tempest." *ShakS* 6 (1970).
- Hawkins, Thomas, ed. *The Origin of the English Drama*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1773)(*The Spanish Tragedy and Soliman and Perseda*, vol. 2).
- Heywood, Thomas. *An Apology for Actors, Containing Three Brief Treatises* (1612), edited for the Shakespeare Society in 1841.
- Holland, Peter. *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).
- Honigmann, E. *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (London: Arnold, 1965).
- Ioppolo, Grace. *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, Authority, and the Playhouse* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).
- Irish, Bradley J. "Vengeance, Variouslly: Revenge Before Kyd in Early Elizabethan Drama." *EarT* 12 (2009).

- Jackson, M.P. "Determining Authorship: A New Technique." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 41 (2002) 1-14.
- James, Heather. "Shakespeare, the Classics, and the Forms of Authorship." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Jensen, Ejner J. "Kyd's 'Spanish Tragedy': The Play Explains Itself." *JEGP* 64 (1965).
- Kirschbaum, Leo. "Is 'The Spanish Tragedy' A Leading Case? Did a Bad Quarto of 'Love's Labour's Lost' Ever Exist?" *JEGP* 37 (1938).
- Kirwan, Peter. *Early Theatre* 13, no. 1 (2010) 159-63.
- Knapp, Jeffrey. *Shakespeare Only*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- . "Shakespeare as Coauthor." *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Kyd, Thomas. *The Spanish Tragedie*. (Imprinted in London by W.W. for T. Pavier, 1602).
- . *The Spanish Tragedy*. Ed. J.R. Mulryne. (London: University of Reading. New Mermaids Edition, 2009).
- . *The Householder's Philosophy* (February 1588)
- Lake, David. *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- Lamb, Charles. *Specimens of English Dramatic Writers* (London, 1808).
- Lancashire, I. "Paradigms of Authorship," *ShakS* 26 (1998).
- Levin, Harry. "An Echo from the Spanish Tragedy." *Modern Language Notes*. Vol. 64, No. 5 (May, 1949) 297-302.
- Lawrence, William W. "The Play Scene in 'Hamlet.'" *JEGP* 18 (1919).

- . “Ophelia’s Heritage.” *MLR* 42 (1947).
- Lodge, Lodge. *Wit’s Miserie* (London: 1596).
- Logan, Terence P. and Denzell S. Smith, eds. *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1965).
- Love, Harold. *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Maguire, Laurie. *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The “Bad” Quartos and Their Contexts* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Marcus, Leah. “Editing Shakespeare in a Postmodern Age” in Andrew Murphy (ed.) *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).
- . “The Author and/or the Critic.” *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Massai, Sonia. *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Masten, Jeffrey. *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- McMillan, Scott. *The Elizabethan Theatre and “The Book of Sir Thomas More”* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
- Melchiori, Giorgio. *King Edward III* New Cambridge Shakespeare. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*. Printed by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie (1598). Facsimile Reprint of the Church copy in the Henry E. Huntington

- Library. Reproduced in Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1930).
- Miller, Paul. "The 1619 Pavier Quartos of Shakespeare: A Recapitulation," *Michigan Academician* 3.1 (1970).
- Mincoff, M. "The Authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," *English Studies* 33 (1952).
- Montrose, Louis. "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Shaping Fantasies of Elizabethan Culture: Gender, Power, Form," in Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (ed.), *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, 1986.
- Murphy, Andrew. *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).
- Nicholl, Charles. *The Lodger Shakespeare* (New York: Penguin, 2007).
- Oliphant, E.H.C. "How Not to Play the Game of Parallels." *JEGP* 28 (1929).
- Pope, Alexander. *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt. (Abindon: Routledge, 1963).
- Rabkin, Norman. "Problems in the Study of Collaboration," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 19 (1976), 7-13.
- Rasmussen, Eric. "Collaboration" in Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Reiman, Donald H. "Marston, Jonson, and the *Spanish Tragedy* Additions" *Notes and Queries*, 7 (1960).
- The Return from Parnassus Part One*. MS in Bodleian Library (1599-1561).

- Riggs, David. *Ben Jonson: A Life*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).
- Schoenbaum, S. *Internal Evidence and Elizabethan Dramatic Authorship: An Essay in Literary History and Method*. (London: Arnold, 1966).
- Schrickx, W. "The Background and Context of Hamlet's Second Soliloquy." *MLR* 68 (1973).
- Shapiro, James. *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2005).
- Smith, Emma. "Author V. Character in Early Modern Dramatic Authorship: The Example of Thomas Kyd and 'The Spanish Tragedy.'" *MRDE* 11 (1999).
- Stephenson, Henry Thew. "The Spanish Tragedy' and 'Hamlet'" *Sewanee Review* 14. 3 (1906).
- Stevenson, Warren. "Shakespeare's Hand in *The Spanish Tragedy* 1602', *Studies in English Literature*, 8 (1968) 307-21.
- . *Shakespeare's Additions to Thomas Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy: A Fresh Look at the Evidence Regarding the 1602 Additions*. (Lewston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008).
- Taylor, Gary. "Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623," *From Performance to Print* (2008).
- . and John Lavignino, eds. *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- Van Heyningen, C. "The Additions to Kyd's 'Spanish Tragedy.'" *Theoria* 17 (1961).
- Vickers, Brian. *Shakespeare, Co-Author*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

- . “What is a Co-Author?” *Rep* 89 (2005).
- . “Coauthors and Closed Minds.” *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Wall, Wendy. “Early Modern Authorship in 2007.” *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Wells, Stanley. *Shakespeare & Co.* (London: Penguin, 2006).
- White, Paul Whitfield. *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 49 (2009) 485-543.
- Wilson, J. Dover. “The Parallel Plots in ‘Hamlet’: a Reply to Dr. W.W. Greg.” *MLR* 13 (1918).
- Wilson, Richard. “‘Our Bending Author’: Shakespeare Takes a Bow.” *ShakS* 36 (2008).
- Woudhuysen, Henry. “The Foundations of Shakespeare’s Text,” The Shakespeare Lecture, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2004)
- . “Shakespeare’s Writing: from Manuscript to Print.” *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare: Second Edition*. Eds. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells. (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Wright, William Aldis, (ed.), *Letters of Edward FitzGerald to Fanny Kemble, 1871-1883* (London, 1902).