Kyd and Shakespeare:

Authorship, Influence, and Collaboration

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to establish the canon of Thomas Kyd's plays and to explore Shakespeare's relationship with that oeuvre. Chapter One begins by examining Shakespeare's verbal indebtedness to plays that have been attributed to Kyd for over two centuries, including *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587), *Soliman and Perseda* (1588), and *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (1589). The first chapter argues that Shakespeare's extensive knowledge of Kyd's plays contributed towards the development of his dramatic language. The second chapter provides an overview of some of the complex methods for identifying authors utilized throughout the thesis. Chapter Three then seeks to establish a fuller account of Kyd's dramatic canon through a variety of authorship tests, arguing that in addition to the three plays above *Arden of Faversham* (1590), *Fair Em* (1590), and *Cornelia* (1594) should be attributed to Kyd as sole authored texts. The fourth chapter examines the internal evidence for Kyd's hand in Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part One* (1592). The chapter contends that Shakespeare's chronicle history play was originally written by Kyd and Thomas Nashe for the Lord Strange's Men, and that Shakespeare subsequently added three scenes for the Lord Chamberlain's Men. The fifth chapter argues that Shakespeare and Kyd collaborated on *The Reign of King Edward III* (1593) and that Kyd should thus be recognized as one of Shakespeare's earliest co-authors. Finally, Chapter Six, by way of conclusion, outlines other possible links between Kyd's plays and Shakespeare. The thesis as a whole argues for a reconsideration of Kyd's authorship of a number of key plays that influenced Shakespeare, and for a reconsideration of the collaboration between these two dramatists.

Play Titles and Abbreviations

Ado = Much Ado About Nothing
AF = Arden of Faversham
Corn. = Cornelia
E3 = Edward III
FE = Fair Em
1H4 = Henry IV Part One
2H4 = Henry IV Part Two
1H6 = Henry VI Part One
2H6 = Henry VI Part Two
3H6 = Henry VI Part Three
Ham. = Hamlet
Jn. = King John
KL = King Leir
LLL = Love's Labour's Lost
Lr. = King Lear
MND = A Midsummer Night's Dream
R2 = Richard II
R3 = Richard III
Rom. = Romeo and Juliet
S&P = Soliman and Perseda
Shr. = The Taming of the Shrew
SLWT = Summer's Last Will and Testament
Sp. T. = The Spanish Tragedy
TGV = The Two Gentlemen of Verona
Tit. = Titus Andronicus

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Chapter One

Kyd and Shakespeare

Introduction

This chapter explores Shakespeare's verbal indebtedness to Thomas Kyd. In particular, it details some of the links between Shakespeare's early plays and Kyd's traditionally accepted tragedies, *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587) and *Soliman and Perseda* (1588).[1] Having analysed verbal affinities between these texts, drawing upon the idea of Shakespeare's 'actor's memory', the chapter investigates links between Shakespeare's drama and *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* (1589), which, Chapter Three argues, was also written by Kyd.[2] The aim of this first chapter is to demonstrate that Shakespeare had extensive knowledge of Kyd's plays and that this knowledge contributed towards the development of Shakespeare's dramatic language.

Shakespeare's Early Career

Ann Thompson pointed out in 1984 that many scholars 'seem reluctant to accuse' Shakespeare 'of being the borrower but prefer to assume that the other dramatist borrowed from him'.[3] For example, in 1924 John Mackinnon Robertson highlighted striking verbal parallels between Shakespeare's early works, and *King Leir* and *Arden of Faversham* (1590), but he concluded: 'The notion that Shakespeare in 1593 was capping in this fashion lines so freely current in the theatre will perhaps at this stage be dismissed by most readers'.[4] William Wells, in 1940, refused to believe that

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[1] I have used Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson's *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue: Volume II: 1567-1589* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue: Volume III: 1590-1597* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) for the dates of first performances.

[2] See Chapter Three below for my evidence that *King Leir* (1589) was written by Kyd. The evidence I present for Shakespeare's borrowing from plays in the 'extended' Kyd canon will inform my evaluation of MacDonald P. Jackson's argument for Shakespeare's part authorship of *Arden of Faversham* (1590), also in Chapter Three.

[3] Ann Thompson, '*The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Notes and Queries*, 31 (1984), 182-184 (p. 182).

[4] J. M. Robertson, *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon: Proceeding on the Problem of Titus Andronicus* (London: Routledge, 1924), p. 392.

> Shakespeare not only plagiarized the *Raigne*—which, by the way, when re-moulding the work, he almost scrupulously refrained from doing—but that he plundered every Kyd play he could lay his hands on. Passages from […] *Leir*, *Arden*, the *Spanish Tragedy* […] are all deftly woven into the fabric.[5]

Other scholars, however, have been willing to accept the fact that Shakespeare followed the standard practice of borrowing from his fellow dramatists. Hardin Craig suggested in 1951 that Shakespeare had acted in *King Leir* and was thus able to recall the play.[6] In 1958, Thomas H. McNeal listed numerous verbal matches between Shakespeare's plays and *King Leir*. He concluded that Shakespeare borrowed 'in both phrase and paraphrase' from the old play throughout his career.[7] Charles R. Forker has suggested that 'Much of this assimilation was undoubtedly unconscious, at least in the case of verbal echoes, since Shakespeare seems to have known many of the plays from practical experience in the theatre'.[8] I argue in this chapter that Shakespeare's ability to weave verbal details from other plays into his own passages is in part attributable to his career as an actor.

We know frustratingly little about Shakespeare's acting career. The first allusion to Shakespeare as an actor and dramatist features in Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance* (1592). Greene warns his fellow dramatists and University Wits, Nashe, Peele, and Marlowe, about actors, 'those Puppets (I meane) that spake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours', and one actor in particular; Shakespeare, or 'Shake-scene', has had the audacity to turn his hand to writing plays:

> Yes trust them not, for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers that, with his Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrey.[9]

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[5] William Wells, 'Thomas Kyd and the Chronicle-History', *Notes and Queries*, 30 (1940), 218-224, 238-243 (p. 243).

[6] See Hardin Craig, 'Motivation in Shakespeare's Source of Materials', *Shakespeare Survey*, 4 (1951), 26-34.

[7] Thomas H. McNeal, 'Margaret of Anjou: Romantic Princess and Troubled Queen', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 1-10 (p. 5).

[8] Charles R. Forker, '*The Troublesome Reign*, *Richard II*, and the Date of *King John*: A Study in Intertextuality', *Shakespeare Survey*, 63 (2010), 127-148 (p. 127).

[9] Robert Greene, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance*, ed. D. Allen Carroll (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), pp. 83-84.

There is a 'list printed in the 1616 Jonson Folio', which tells us that Shakespeare was 'one of the "principall Comedians" in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*' in 1598.[10] He is also 'listed among "The principall Tragedians" in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*'.[11] Finally, Shakespeare is listed as one of the principal actors in his own plays, in the First Folio (1623). John Davies of Hereford tells us that he often played 'Kingly parts in sport'.[12]

It is most likely that Shakespeare began his career as an actor-dramatist for Pembroke's Men, as proposed by Halliwell-Phillipps during the nineteenth century.[13] Shakespeare seems to have written his earliest plays, such as *Henry VI Part Two* (1591), *Henry VI Part Three* (1591), and *The Taming of the Shrew* (1592), with that company before it disbanded in 1593. Following the company's collapse, some of Pembroke's players were able to produce memorial reconstructions of Shakespeare's texts, as was convincingly argued by Madeleine Doran in 1928,[14] and Peter Alexander in 1929.[15] Over a decade later, Alfred Hart provided what remains the most comprehensive examination of unauthorized texts such as *The first part of the Contention of the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the death of the good duke Humphrey* (1594) and *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke and the death of good King Henry the Sixt* (1595). I agree with Hart that these texts are 'garbled abridgements of the acting versions made by order of the company from Shakespeare's manuscripts'.[16]

A. S. Cairncross argued that Pembroke's Men 'existed before 1592, probably as early

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[10] *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, eds. John Jowett, William Montgomery, Gary Taylor, and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. lxvi.

[11] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. lxvi.

[12] John Davies, 'The Scourge of Folly', in *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols (printed privately, 1878), II.26.

[13] See J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1883), p. 105.

[14] See Madeleine Doran, *Henry VI, parts II and III: Their Relation to the Contention and the True Tragedy* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, 1928).

[15] See Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929).

[16] Alfred Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies: A Comparative Study of Shakespeare's Bad Quartos* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1942), p. ix.

as 1589', and it was 'Shakespeare's company, as it was, for a time at least, Kyd's'.[17]

Similarly, Terence Schoone-Jongen points out that 'Pembroke's 1592-93 court performances indicate it probably had existed long enough to attract the court's attention, and presumably had actors and/or writers talented enough to attract such attention'.[18] He notes that 'Surviving evidence' linking Shakespeare's early acting career with 'Pembroke's Men is more plentiful than surviving evidence for some of its fellow playing companies'.[19] It seems likely that, as an actor-dramatist for Pembroke's Men, Shakespeare would have developed an ear for the 'useful phrases from a probably unsorted store of theatrical utterances that had become commonplace in the minds of their users'.[20] T. W. Baldwin suggested in 1959 that Shakespeare 'would learn, from acting in the old plays' of authors 'such as Kyd'.[21] I propose that proper acknowledgement of Shakespeare's beginnings as an actor for Pembroke's Men can tell us much about the hybrid nature of his plays, or what we might call his 'books of memory'.[22]

Geoffrey Bullough observed that Shakespeare 'seems to have forgotten nothing that he read or heard, or rather, his powers of associative memory were such that if he required a parallel or contrast for plot and incident or a poetic image, something relevant and vivid floated up from his unconscious'.[23] Significantly, John Tobin notes that

> Because plays were very seldom performed in an uninterrupted run, actors needed powerful memories. It was a time when the aural rather than the visual understanding was much greater than in our own time, but even so, the capacity of actors to hold in their heads a large number of roles from many different plays was extraordinary, and

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[17] A. S. Cairncross, 'Pembroke's Men and Some Shakespearean Piracies', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 2 (1960), 335-349 (p. 344).

[18] Terence Schoone-Jongen, *Shakespeare's Companies: William Shakespeare's Early Career and the Acting Companies, 1577-1594* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 119.

[19] Schoone-Jongen, *Acting Companies*, p. 145.

[20] Forker, 'Intertextuality', p. 136.

[21] T. W. Baldwin, *On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Plays* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1959), p. 54.

[22] William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part Two*, I.i.97, in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, eds. John Jowett, William Montgomery, Gary Taylor, and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). All further references to Shakespeare's plays are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

[23] Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge, 1975), VIII.346-347.

new plays were constantly being added to the repertory.[24]

The 'capacious, book-like memory' Shakespeare required in order to succeed as an Elizabethan player meant that he could draw from a variety of plays for the verbal details of his own works.[25] In authorship studies, there is much emphasis placed on authorial self-borrowing but, in my view, an author's patterns of influence can also serve as useful authorship markers.[26] Lukas Erne observes that 'Shakespeare, perhaps more than anyone else, seems to have specifically profited from Kyd's works'.[27] The next section therefore examines the evidence for Shakespeare's borrowing from Kyd.

The Case of Thomas Kyd

Thomas Kyd was baptized on 6 November 1558, in the church of St Mary Woolnoth, London. The son of Anna Kyd and Francis Kyd, a scrivener (a professional scribe), he attended Merchant Taylors' School, which also boasted such alumni as Thomas Lodge, Lancelot Andrewes, and Edmund Spenser. Erne claims that 'There is little doubt' Kyd's first experiences of the stage were 'as an actor at Merchant Taylors' School', under the guidance of the headmaster Richard Mulcaster.[28] Erne even suggests that 'the likelihood is that Kyd, like Shakespeare, Jonson, and Anthony Munday, was once a player'.[29] It seems more probable that Kyd was at some point engaged in his father's trade. Arthur Freeman noted that 'Kyd's handwriting, as it survives in two letters of 1593-4 to Sir John Puckering, is remarkably clear and formal', which suggests the 'training of a scrivener'.[30] Kyd is traditionally accepted as the author of *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and

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[24] John Tobin, 'Elizabethan Theater', in *Hamlet: Evans Shakespeare Editions*, ed. John Tobin (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2012), pp. 15-26 (p. 22).

[25] Ian Lancashire, 'Probing Shakespeare's Idiolect in *Troilus and Cressida*, 1.3.1-29', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 68 (1999), 728-767 (p. 739).

[26] See Chapter Three below for a survey of the evidence suggesting Kyd's debt to Seneca, Garnier, and Lyly.

[27] Lukas Erne, *Beyond The Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 5.

[28] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 2.

[29] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 2.

[30] Arthur Freeman, *Thomas Kyd: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 12.

Cornelia (1594), a translation of Robert Garnier's French drama *Cornélie* (1573). Kyd seems to have written a lost *Hamlet* (1588) play that preceded Shakespeare's version, and he also translated Torquato Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia*, known as *The Householder's Philosophy* (1588). Francis Meres named Kyd twice in his compilation *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury* (1598) as a tragedian and poet.[31]

Kyd, like Shakespeare, did not have a university education. He was therefore also open to criticism from the University Wits. Nashe attacked Kyd in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589), which has helped scholars, beginning with Edmond Malone, to identify Kyd as the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*.[32] Nashe alludes to 'the Kidde in Aesop' who has left 'the trade of *Noverint*' (i.e. a scrivener) and now meddles 'with Italian translations', as Kyd had done with *The Householder's Philosophy*.[33] Nashe claims that Kyd bleeds Seneca 'line by line' in order to 'affoord you whole *Hamlets*'.[34] He derides the opening of *The Spanish Tragedy* in particular, for Kyd 'thrusts Elisium into hell' during Andrea's account of his descent into the lower world.[35] Nashe also claims that Kyd is prone to 'bodge up a blanke verse with ifs and ands',[36] which parodies a line from *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'What, Villaine, ifs and ands? offer to kill him'.[37] Unlike Nashe, Shakespeare seems to have regarded Kyd's drama favourably.

Ben Jonson coupled Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* with Shakespeare and George Peele's *Titus Andronicus* (1592) in his Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614): 'He that will

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[31] See Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury* (London: P. Short, 1598), 279a-287a, 282b.

[32] See *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. James Boswell, 21 vols (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1821), II.372.

[33] Thomas Nashe, 'Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*', in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), III.316-317.

[34] Nashe, 'Preface', pp. 316-317.

[35] Nashe, 'Preface', pp. 316-317.

[36] Nashe, 'Preface', pp. 316-317.

[37] Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, II.i.77, in *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901). All further references to Kyd's accepted plays are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

swear *Jeronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best plays'.[38] Shakespeare's first tragedy, like Kyd's

most famous play, is written in the Senecan mode. Erne summarizes Kyd's influence over

Shakespeare's subsequent tragedies thus:

> His second tragedy, *Romeo and Juliet*, did what only Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*
> among extant plays had done before on the public stage, namely to place a conflict of
> love at the centre of a tragedy. His third tragedy, *Julius Caesar*, covers the same
> period of Roman history as Kyd's *Cornelia*, and Shakespeare's Brutus may well owe
> something to Kyd's. Finally, the chief source of Shakespeare's fourth tragedy,
> *Hamlet*, is undoubtedly Kyd's work of the same name.[39]

Shakespeare evidently recalled Kyd's Turkish Tragedy, *Soliman and Perseda*, when he came

to write *King John* (1596), for the Bastard alludes to the *miles gloriosus* of Kyd's play in the

line, 'Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco-like' (*Jn.*, I.i.244), while Freeman traced the

influence of Basilisco in Shakespeare's characterization of Falstaff.[40] Here I focus

specifically on unique word sequences shared between Kyd and Shakespeare's plays in order

to explore Shakespeare's patterns of verbal borrowing. As Freeman noted in 1967, 'there is

less to be learned about Kyd from Shakespeare than about Shakespeare from Kyd'.[41]

Advancements in electronic corpora give us an insight into the extent to which

Shakespeare borrowed verbal details from Kyd's plays. Martin Mueller – co-author of *The*

Chicago Homer,[42] which allows direct study of the thousands of N-grams repeated in the

corpus of early Greek epic (the famous 'Homeric Formulae') – has created a database

(*Shakespeare His Contemporaries*) consisting of over 500 plays dated between 1552 and

1662. I have profited much from Mueller's Excel document, 'SHCSharedTetragramsPlus',[43]

which lists play pairs that share large numbers of unique tetragrams (four-word sequences or

more). Mueller notes that 'it is quite rare for two plays–texts that are typically between

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[38] Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, Induction.123-124, in *The Selected Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. Martin Butler, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), II.160.

[39] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 5.

[40] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 163.

[41] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 175.

[42] *The Chicago Homer* http://homer.library.northwestern.edu/database [accessed 15 August 2015].

[43] Martin Mueller, 'Repeated n-grams in *Shakespeare His Contemporaries* (SHC)' https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312 [accessed 13 December 2014].

15,000 and 25,000 words long–to share more than one or two of the dislegomena' (N-grams that recur in only two plays in Mueller's corpus) 'analysed here'.[44] Mueller's database lends weight to the theory that Shakespeare recycled verbal details from earlier plays.[45] In the following table I present Mueller's data for unique N-grams (contiguous word sequences) of four or more words, shared between Kyd's accepted tragedies and Shakespeare's plays:

Play	The Spanish Tragedy	Soliman and Perseda
Henry VI Part Three	10	9
Titus Andronicus	7	
Richard III	7	
The Two Gentlemen of Verona	7	7
Cymbeline	7	
Henry VIII	7	

Although John Southworth argues that 'Shakespeare's familiarity with Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*' was 'more likely to derive from having acted' in it, the very popularity of the play presents a difficulty, for many of its phrases seem to have been embedded in the minds of Kyd's contemporaries.[46] The play was parodied by dramatists such as Nashe, Heywood, Marston, Dekker, Jonson, Field, Beaumont, and Shirley, while Mueller's database records large numbers of repetitions between the tragedy and sixteen plays by different authors (although, notably, six of these plays are Shakespeare's).

Conversely, as Freeman pointed out, 'That *Soliman* never attained the popularity of *The Spanish Tragedy* is evident, both from its scant printing history and the paucity of

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[44] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312

[45] These N-grams derive from linguistically annotated texts. Mueller explains that 'The program that identifies repeated N-grams is given a list of the lemmata of all spoken words in sequence. It ploughs through that list, mindlessly matching cases for repeated sequences of the same lemmata. It records these with their start points and their length. Then it eliminates all cases that do not meet the condition of an independent substring […] the real power of the program comes from the aggregation of the data, which lets you compare the relative frequency of shared N-grams. In practice, the cases missed by the program don't add up to a lot, so that frequency-based conclusions are almost never thrown off' (email correspondence, 2 February 2016).

[46] John Southworth, *Shakespeare the Player: A Life in the Theatre* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 41.

allusions to it in its own time'.[47] Kyd's Turkish tragedy is 'generally assumed to have been

printed not long after it was entered in the Stationers' Register in November 1592',[48] so the

verbal affinities with *Henry VI Part Three* (which was almost certainly on stage by

September 1592, given that an explicit allusion to the play occurs in Greene's prose tract) are

likely due to Shakespeare's 'fabulous "aural memory"'.[49] Significantly, Alfred Hart

highlighted inter-play borrowings from *Soliman and Perseda*, *Edward II* (1592), and *Arden

of Faversham* in what he considered to be memorial reconstructions of Shakespeare's Henry

VI plays. Hart's findings suggest that Kyd's play had been in the repertory of Pembroke's

Men.[50] Erne argues that Kyd's Turkish tragedy belonged to Pembroke's Men 'until at least

1597', although 'we do not know for which company Kyd wrote his play'.[51] Shakespeare's

ability to recall the verbal details of these texts could therefore be the result of his having

acted in them.

Southworth tells us that 'Performing in a play brings to the actor a general familiarity

with the text as a whole', for 'he needs to give half an ear to what is being spoken on stage if

he is not to miss his entrance cues'.[52] He claims that 'It is apparent' Shakespeare played

Erastus in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*.[53] Indeed, we find the unique pentagram (five-word

sequence) in Mueller's spreadsheet, 'And thanks unto you all', shared between Erastus's

speech, '**And thankes unto you all**, brave worthy sirs. / Impose me taske, how I may do you

good; / Erastus will be dutifull in all' (*S&P*, I.iv.27-29), and King Edward's lines, 'Thanks,

brave Montgomery, **and thanks unto you all**. / If fortune serve me I'll requite this kindness'

(*3H6*, IV.viii.76-77).[54] We might note the similar contexts in which this formation is

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[47] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 158.
[48] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 157.
[49] James C. Humes, *Citizen Shakespeare: A Social and Political Portrait* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), pp. 44-45.
[50] Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, pp. 389-390.
[51] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 163.
[52] Southworth, *Player*, p. 41.
[53] Southworth, *Player*, p. 41.
[54] I have put all unique N-grams in bold typeface throughout this chapter.

employed: both characters are thankful and offer requital. However, this is the only unique word sequence between Kyd's play and *Henry VI Part Three* that occurs during Erastus's dialogue. Other word sequences in Mueller's database occur in scenes during which Erastus is on stage. Ferdinando's interrogative, '**Dasell mine eyes, or** ist Lucinas chaine?' (*S&P*, II.i.244), provides a cue for Erastus to speak and matches Edward's line, '**Dazzle mine eyes, or** do I see three suns?' (*3H6*, II.i.25). Perseda's line, 'And pardon me **my lord, for this is he**' (*S&P*, IV.i.164), also provides a cue for Erastus to speak, while matching (in language, but not in thought) Henry's prophecy that Richmond will become King: 'Make much of him, **my lords, for this is he**' (*3H6*, IV.vii.75).

Some repeated phrases, however, cannot be explained by the theory that Shakespeare played Erastus and recalled his own lines or cue-lines. Erastus is not present on stage when Amurath, accompanied by Soliman, Haleb, and the Janissaries, says:

> **I would not hence till** I had let thee know. (*S&P*, I.v.53)

Amurath attacks Haleb for thwarting 'a Monarchs holy oath' (I.v.54). Shakespeare recalls this line when Margaret calls Warwick a 'Proud setter-up and puller-down of kings! / **I will not hence**, **till**, with my talk and tears' (*3H6*, III.iii.157-158). The next unique word sequence occurs during Soliman's speech, and Erastus has been murdered two scenes previously:

> My last request, **for I commaund no more**,
> Is that my body with Persedas be
> Interd, where my Erastus lyes intombd. (*S&P*, V.iv.140-142)

In Shakespeare's play, the King says, 'Let me entreat—**for I command no more**—' (*3H6*, IV.vii.59). Erastus is also absent from Act Two Scene Two, when Basilisco says, '**Why so**? **I am in** honor bound to combat him' (*S&P*, II.ii.52), which matches Henry's contextually dissimilar line, '**Why**, **so I am**, **in** mind' (*3H6*, III.i.60). Shakespeare thus seems to have been familiar with the language of the play as a whole. Brian Vickers observes that

> All actors were expected to attend rehearsals on the day of the performance, and they
> could hardly avoid attending to the play during performance, since, with the exception

of the principal roles, others were doubled, and actors would be watching out for their entry cue. Further, in the confined space of the Elizabethan theatre, and even more so in the venues encountered on tour, it would have been impossible not to know what was happening on stage.[55]

Similarly, Alfred Hart noted in 1942 that 'There seems no good reason why any actor who had no part in a scene should be excluded from the stage during its rehearsal'.[56] It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that Shakespeare familiarized himself with scenes during which he was not required on stage.

We find a similar pattern to those shared by *Henry VI Part Three* and *Soliman and Perseda* in the matches between Kyd's play and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1594). Just one of these unique N-grams, the pentagram, 'not and therefore she is', is spoken by Erastus, in the line, 'I kept it **not, and therefore she is** lost' (*S&P*, I.iv.123), which matches Thurio's line, 'I claim her **not, and therefore she is** thine' (*TGV*, V.iv.133). However, other lines provide cues for Erastus, such as Perseda's declarative, 'And all **my former love is** turnd to hate' (*S&P*, II.i.152), during the lovers' quarrel, which provides a unique tetragram (four-word sequence) match with Proteus's speech, when he renounces his love for Julia: 'So the remembrance of **my former love** / **Is** by a newer object quite forgotten' (*TGV*, II.iv.192-193). It is conceivable that Shakespeare, if he played Erastus, noted the formation, 'The sweet glances of', while giving 'half an ear to what' was 'being spoken on stage', for Basilisco's line, '**The sweet glances of** many amorous girles' (*S&P*, I.iii.129), is spoken shortly before Erastus enters.[57] Valentine repeats this four-word unit at the beginning of Shakespeare's play: 'To **the sweet glances of** thy honoured love' (*TGV*, I.i.4). All of the remaining unique word sequences occur shortly before Erastus enters, which would seem to support Southworth's claim. However, Erastus is the male protagonist of Kyd's tragedy and is therefore on stage for much of the play. The evidence suggests that Shakespeare could have played Erastus, but

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[55] Brian Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene in Kyd's *Arden of Faversham*', p. 6. Vickers's paper is no longer available online. It was previously available at http://www.brianvickers.uk/?page_id=808 [accessed 5 May 2015].

[56] Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, p. 341.

[57] Southworth, *Player*, p. 41.

it is hardly surprising that many of these repeated phrases can be found in scenes during which Erastus is present.

We cannot rule out the possibility that Shakespeare simply remembered many of these word sequences from having seen the play during performance. Let us consider Hamlet's recitation of the Player's speech, which 'engages directly with the mechanics of recall'.[58] The eponymous character offers 'the Player a cue line to stimulate his memory of the speech; he misremembers, and he corrects his memory'.[59] Hamlet is able to recall a thirteen line speech, with 'good accent and good discretion' (*Ham.*, II.ii.469-470), despite his having only heard the 'speech once, but it was never acted, or, if it was, not above once' (II.ii.437-438). It is conceivable that Shakespeare's 'prodigious skills of memorization required for the theatre' would similarly enable him to recall a number of speeches from plays he had engaged with, either as a spectator or actor.[60] I now explore Shakespeare's verbal indebtedness to *King Leir*, which can be attributed to Kyd with a high degree of probability, as I go on to argue in Chapter Three.

Martin Mueller contends that *King Leir* 'belongs to a very small set of stories to which Shakespeare returned again and again throughout his career', and that 'Without *The True Chronicle Historie* we would not have *King Lear* or *As You Like It*, while *Richard III*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Hamlet* would be quite different plays. From such a perspective *The True Chronicle Historie* emerges as a play with a remarkably consequential career'.[61] *King Leir* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594, but either 'no copy of it' was 'actually printed until more than a decade later', or else earlier copies have disappeared.[62] The 1605 Quarto was printed by Simon Stafford for John Wright. Henslowe's records show that

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[58] Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 121.
[59] Wilder, *Memory Theatre*, p. 121.
[60] Wilder, *Memory Theatre*, p. 33.
[61] Martin Mueller, 'From *Leir* to *Lear*', *Philological Quarterly*, 73 (1994), 195-218 (p. 195).
[62] Jean R. Brink, 'What does Shakespeare leave out of *King Lear*?', in *King Lear: New Critical Essays*, ed. Jeffrey Kahan (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 208-230 (p. 210).

the play was performed in April 1594 at the Rose Theatre, by the 'Quenes men & my lord of Susexe to geather'.[63] Richard Knowles argues that 'there being no clear evidence that Shakespeare ever was a Queen's Man, and some reason to think otherwise, there is accordingly no reason to think that he ever acted in *Leir*'.[64] However, plays frequently passed into the repertoires of different companies, and Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus Andronicus* (as stated on the title page of the First Quarto) is known to have been performed by Pembroke's Men, Derby's Men, and Sussex's Men. Lene B. Petersen observes that 'Queen's Men plays' often recurred 'quasi-simultaneously in other companies' repertoires'.[65] I propose that Sussex's Men acquired the play from Pembroke's,[66] and were therefore able to perform *King Leir* in conjunction with Queen's Men, just as they were 'able to play "Titus & ondronicus"' when Pembroke's Men collapsed and the play 'became temporarily derelict'.[67] Notably, David George suggested in 1981 that 'Sussex's Men were willing' to 'help Pembroke's all they could' in 1594, and 'probably Pembroke's Men were trying to raise capital for one more try at independent acting' by selling some of their plays.[68] Whether Shakespeare had acted in *King Leir* or not, Knowles's argument that 'the evidence for *Leir*'s influence on Shakespeare's early plays is small at best and illusory at worst' is more than countered by the data contained in Mueller's Excel document.[69]

Mueller's automated results reveal that Shakespeare shares a large number of unique word sequences with *King Leir*, which suggests that the play exerted a considerable influence

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[63] Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 21.

[64] Richard Knowles, 'How Shakespeare Knew *King Leir*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 55 (2002), 12-35 (p. 18).

[65] Lene B. Petersen, *Shakespeare's Errant Texts: Textual Form and Linguistic Style in Shakespearean 'Bad' Quartos and Co-authored Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 23.

[66] Kyd seems to have begun his playwriting career for the Queen's Company. However, the dramatist tells us (in an extant letter to Sir John Puckering) that he was 'in the service of a Lord (which would not necessarily exclude him from another enterprise) by 1587-8'. See Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, pp. 13-24, p. 181. Kyd's patron was probably Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, although Erne advances an argument for Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. See Erne, *Beyond*, pp. 227-230.

[67] *Edward III: The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 7.

[68] David George, 'Shakespeare and Pembroke's Men', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 32.3 (1981), 305-323 (p. 318).

[69] Knowles, 'How Shakespeare', p. 27.

over Shakespeare's dramatic language. As Mueller put it in 1994:

> probability arguments are often subject to dispute, and source or allusion hunters are frequently criticized for deriving strong claims from weak resemblances, but sceptics are apt to underestimate the consequences of the fact that probabilities for random occurrence drop precipitously as soon as even a few independently very common features recur in combination.[70]

There are ten unique N-grams shared between *King Leir* and *Henry VI Part Three*; eight with *Richard III* (1593); eight with *King John*; eight with *Henry IV Part One* (1597); and seven with *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598).[71] I focus here on unique N-grams shared between the old play and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Some of these parallels can be found in lines delivered by the (would-be) murderous Messenger. He tells Leir and Perillus:

> Feare nothing, man, thou art but in a dreame,
> And thou **shalt never wake untill** doomes day.[72]

In *Richard III*, the Second Murderer prepares to kill Clarence. He reassures his companion:

> Why, he **shall never wake until** the great judgement day. (*R3*, I.iv.100)

There appears to be some substance in Meredith Skura's argument that Scene Nineteen of *King Leir* served as a 'source for the murder of Clarence'.[73] The characters and plot situations could hardly be more alike. Other recurring N-grams, however, are contextually dissimilar.

The Messenger tells Ragan:

> I weigh no more the murdring **of a man**,
> **Then** I respect the cracking of a Flea. (*KL*, xv.1214-1215)

Richard tells Prince Edward:

> Nor more can you distinguish **of a man**
> **Than** of his outward show. (*R3*, III.i.9-10)

The only similarity here, apart from the placing of this four-word unit in the verse lines, is that both characters are villains. Other word sequences are also used in different contexts.

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[70] Mueller, 'From *Leir* to *Lear*', p. 197.

[71] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312

[72] *King Leir*, xix.1616-1617, in *The History of King Leir*, ed. W. W. Greg (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1907). All further references are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

[73] Meredith Skura, *Shakespeare the Actor and the Purposes of Playing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 285.

The remorseful Leir tells Perillus:

> It may be, if I should to her repayre,
> She would be kinder, **and intreat me fayre**. (*KL*, x.919-920)

Shakespeare draws on Kyd's phraseology for the moment when Richard threatens Queen Elizabeth:

> Either be patient **and entreat me fair**,
> Or with the clamorous report of war
> Thus will I drown your exclamations. (*R3*, IV.iv.152-154)

Some of these N-grams give us a possible insight into Shakespeare's associative memory, while other unique sequences suggest that Shakespeare was so familiar with the verbal fabric of the play that he could retrieve phrases irrespective of context. As is the case with Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, the parallels are not limited to a single character's lines or cue-lines. They suggest an intimate familiarity with the text as a whole.

John Jones argues that a study of 'so-called reported texts confirms one's common sense expectation that having been on-stage fortifies the memory of the reporter. (An actor's recall of his own lines is obviously better again)'.[74] However, it would be erroneous to group Shakespeare with actor-reporters when investigating memorial repetitions. Shakespeare was not an actor-reporter attempting to reconstruct whole scenes or speeches. If he had indeed performed in *Soliman and Perseda* and/or *King Leir*, he is likely to have had a 'general memory for the whole performance' as an actor-turned-dramatist, which enabled him to repeat phrases both consciously and unconsciously.[75] Moreover, as Baldwin suggested, 'As the play was being planned, constructed, and fitted, he would at least hear, and would doubtless participate in, the discussions which arose between author and actors'.[76] Unfortunately, there are simply not enough known actor-dramatists during this period for one to conduct a systematic study of their patterns of verbal borrowing. Vickers notes that 'Apart

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[74] John Jones, *Shakespeare at Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 43.
[75] Margrethe Jolly, *The First Two Quartos of Hamlet: A New View of the Origins and Relationship of the Texts* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2014), p. 106.
[76] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 55.

from Robert Wilson, with his rather crude morality plays, and Richard Tarlton, with his extemporal jests, Shakespeare was the only dramatist in the early 1590s who was also an actor'.[77] We would have to turn to Ben Jonson for a comparable example of a successful actor-turned-dramatist's verbal recall. Judging by the data contained in Mueller's Excel document, Jonson also seems to have had a remarkable retentive memory of serviceable phrases within the theatrical vernacular of his time.[78]

If Shakespeare had been able to borrow phrases from *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and *King Leir* through having read them, he must have somehow acquired copies of these plays prior to publication (*The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* were entered in the Stationers' Register in 1592, and *King Leir* in 1594; all three plays almost certainly predate Shakespeare's earliest dramatic efforts, the Henry VI plays, which were first printed in 1594 and 1595). In my view, it seems more likely that such repetitions are the products of Shakespeare's remarkable aural memory, and that he had either seen the plays during performance or had played in them. Either way, the evidence suggests that Shakespeare was closely familiar with Kyd's plays, and that Kyd's dramatic language therefore influenced Shakespeare's authorial voice.[79]

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Shakespeare borrowed phrases from Kyd, and that these verbal matches are most likely the result of Shakespeare's having performed in Kyd's plays for Pembroke's Men. Significantly, these verbal parallels are not confined to scenes in which Shakespeare could have acted, which, as Chapter Three suggests, shows us that parallels with

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[77] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 6.

[78] We might also add Thomas Heywood to the equation. Heywood seems to have begun his acting and writing career with the Admiral's Men; he (like Jonson) shares a large number of matches with a great many plays written by other dramatists according to Mueller's document.

[79] Nevertheless, as we shall see in the following chapters of this thesis, careful analysis of verbal parallelisms, combined with a number of other authorship tests, can help us to differentiate the dramatists' hands.

Arden of Faversham are indicative of the play's influence on Shakespeare, and not his authorship. In order to present the argument that Shakespeare borrowed from Kyd's drama throughout his career, the following chapters seek to establish exactly what plays make up Kyd's dramatic canon.

Chapter Two

Methodologies

Introduction

The evidence I have gathered for enlarging Thomas Kyd's dramatic canon encompasses verse style, function words, linguistic idiosyncrasies, vocabulary, and verbal links. Brian Vickers notes that, in authorship attribution studies, 'each generation of scholars builds on their predecessors' work, correcting and extending it'.[1] Throughout this thesis I extend the work of attribution scholars by conducting authorship tests that, in some cases, I have devised myself. I also highlight some of the numerous links of thought and dramaturgy that distinguish Kyd's plays. Here I provide an overview of the more complex methods for identifying authors utilized in the following chapters.

Verse Style

Analyses of the various elements that give an author's verse style an individual voice can provide solid evidence for an attribution. One of the most useful contributions to verse studies was made by Philip Timberlake in 1931.[2] Timberlake provided a comprehensive examination of feminine endings (lines concluding in an unaccented eleventh syllable) in English blank verse drama up to 1595. He gave strict counts and percentages for these feminine endings (those not including proper names), as well as overall percentages. His findings revealed that Shakespeare employed feminine endings with more frequency than any of his Elizabethan contemporaries, including Greene (who has a range of 0.1-1.6),[3] Peele (1.5-5.4),[4] and Marlowe (0.4-3.7).[5] For example, Shakespeare's earliest plays, *Henry VI Part*

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[1] Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 147.
[2] See Philip Timberlake, *The Feminine Ending in English Blank Verse: A Study of its Use by Early Writers in the Measure and its Development in the Drama up to the Year 1595* (Menasha, WI: Banta, 1931).
[3] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 25-28.
[4] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 18-24.

Two and *Part Three*, have high percentages of 10.4 and 10.7 respectively,[6] which presents an almost insuperable obstacle for scholars attempting to give large parts of the Henry VI trilogy to Marlowe,[7] who 'only once reaches 8.0 per cent' in 'single long scenes',[8] and whose dramatic output reaches a peak of 3.7 percent feminine endings for *Edward II* (1592). However, Timberlake also discovered that Thomas Kyd 'was customarily using feminine endings with a frequency surpassing that of any' pre-Shakespearean 'dramatist whom we have considered'.[9] As we shall see in the next chapter, the high percentages for the contested Kyd texts provide solid evidence in favour of Vickers's ascriptions (detailed in Chapter Three).[10] It is a pity that Timberlake's findings for Kyd's plays have been largely ignored in modern authorship attribution studies, but I have rectified this oversight.

Another scholar who made a significant contribution to the study of authors' verse styles was Ants Oras. In 1960, Oras studied 'the phenomenon of pauses' and the 'positions they appear in the verse, and in what ratios compared with other positions in the line'.[11] He suggested that 'less conscious pause patterns' could help to answer questions of authorship.[12] Oras recorded patterns for several Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists 'formed by all the pauses indicated by internal punctuation', which he termed A-patterns, as well as patterns for 'pauses shown by punctuation marks other than commas' (B-patterns), and all 'breaks within the pentameter line dividing speeches by different characters' (C-patterns).[13] For the purpose of this thesis, I have replicated Oras's results for A-patterns, those which are 'formed by all

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[5] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 37-45.
[6] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 86-94.
[7] For further discussion on these ascriptions, see the section entitled 'The Claim for Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*' in Chapter Three of this thesis, p. 122.
[8] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 45.
[9] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 52-53.
[10] See Brian Vickers, 'Thomas Kyd, Secret Sharer', *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 April 2008, 13-15.
[11] Ants Oras, *Pause Patterns in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama: An Experiment in Prosody* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1960), pp. 1-2.
[12] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 2.
[13] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 3.

the pauses indicated by internal punctuation',[14] for these patterns show 'the greatest continuity' in terms of authorial metrical development.[15] Oras provided raw figures for the plays he examined, as well as percentages for each position in the verse line. Furthermore, he provided graphs showing these percentages in visual form.

Oras's data revealed that plays written by major dramatists of the 1580s and 1590s, such as Kyd, Greene, Peele, and Marlowe, tended to have peaks at position four. Shakespeare's early plays also display peaks in the proportion of pauses after position four. His middle plays show roughly equal peaks after positions four and six, while his late plays display a dominant peak after position six. The remarkable similarities in patterns for same-author plays examined by Oras prove that punctuation marks, be they authorial or compositorial (Oras examined the earliest editions available for each play), 'keep within the rhythmical climate of the time',[16] and are thus useful in terms of identifying Kyd's prosodic characteristics. In Chapter Three I present Oras's percentages for 'First Half' pause patterns – that is 'the ratio of such pauses before the fifth position i.e. in the first half of the line' – as well as 'pauses after an even-numbered syllable', in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *King Leir*, and *Arden of Faversham*.[17] Furthermore, I demonstrate that Oras's percentages for even-numbered syllables, and for pauses after positions three and six, reveal that the metrical profile for *Arden of Faversham* is distinctly different from Shakespeare's at the beginning of his career.

Unlike Oras's examination of punctuation, there is an element of subjectivity involved in Marina Tarlinskaja's methodology, which I detail below. Tarlinskaja is a Russian-American prosodist who examines weak, or odd (called 'non-ictic'), and strong, or even ('ictic'), syllables in verse. Tarlinskaja notes that 'Strong syllabic positions of the iambic

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[14] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 3.
[15] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 13.
[16] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 3.
[17] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 4.

metrical scheme only tend to be filled with stressed syllables', while 'Weak syllabic positions only tend to be unstressed'.[18] Different strong and different weak positions 'accept dissimilar numbers of deviating stresses depending on the period, genre, and preferences of a poet'.[19] For example, according to Tarlinskaja's data, Kyd's earlier plays frequently omit stresses on the sixth syllable, while his later plays have almost equal percentages for syllables six and eight. Such stress patterns can be useful in terms of identifying authors. Tarlinskaja's figures for run-on lines in the putative Kyd texts are also of value, and suggest that the dramatist developed a tendency towards enjambment.

Tarlinskaja notes that 'Unstressed grammatical monosyllables (*the*, *to*, *and*, *is*) tend to cling to the following or the preceding adjacent stressed lexical (content) word'.[20] These clinging monosyllables are called 'clitics', and 'Potentially stressed clitics that precede their stressed "host" and, as it were, lean forward' are known as 'proclitics', while 'those that follow a stressed word' and 'lean backwards' are called 'enclitics'.[21] In Chapter Three, I cite Tarlinskaja's ratios for proclitic and enclitic micro-phrases per 1,000 lines within contested Kyd texts. I also cite Tarlinskaja's findings for strong syntactic breaks in these plays, which occur 'at the juncture of sentences or a sentence and a clause' and are the Russian school of versification's equivalent of Oras's pauses.[22] However, Tarlinskaja relies 'solely on syntax',[23] which means that, unlike Oras's method, 'doubts and choices are inevitable' (for example, there are numerous ways in which a line's monosyllables can be stressed) in her manual analyses of plays.[24] As I elaborate in the section entitled 'The Claim for Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*' in Chapter Three,[25] Tarlinskaja provided metrical

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[18] Marina Tarlinskaja, *Shakespeare and the Versification of Elizabethan Drama 1561-1642* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 17.
[19] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 17.
[20] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 19.
[21] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 21.
[22] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 24.
[23] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 22.
[24] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 15.
[25] See Chapter Three of this thesis, pp. 116-118.

evidence in support of Vickers's Kyd ascriptions in 2008, but was later persuaded by MacDonald P. Jackson that Shakespeare contributed to the domestic tragedy. None of her evidence can be justifiably interpreted as lending support to Jackson's argument. Moreover, the metrical characteristics examined by Tarlinskaja are strongly influenced by genre. We would naturally expect deviations between a play such as *Cornelia*, which is written largely in heroic verse, and a domestic tragedy like *Arden of Faversham*. I therefore draw from Tarlinskaja's work in this thesis, but acknowledge that much of her material is subjective and influenced by other factors than authorial preferences.

Function Words

Function words have low semantic content and thus operate 'below an author's conscious process of shaping words and concepts into coherent utterances'.[26] They perform 'essential grammatical functions' and 'include the definite and indefinite articles, conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns', and 'auxiliary verbs'.[27] These sub-stylistic markers have some discriminatory power in authorship studies, but 'it is only from the actual reading experience of the texts in question that one can discover which function words will prove to be reliable markers'.[28] For instance, as I elaborate in the following chapters, Kyd employed the word 'But' with more frequency than Shakespeare and Marlowe, and often at the beginning of verse lines. I counted this word in the plays of Shakespeare and Kyd and adjusted my figures according to the overall word and line counts of each text examined. One must indeed read 'the texts in question' in order to ascertain the prosodic elements of such function words.[29] Unfortunately, as we shall see in Chapter Three, discoveries of this kind evade many modern attribution scholars, who rely on number-specific, rather than text-specific, methods. For

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[26] Brian Vickers, 'Identifying Shakespeare's Additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* (1602): A New(er) Approach', *Shakespeare*, 8 (2012), 13-43 (p. 22).
[27] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 90.
[28] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 91.
[29] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 91.

example, Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney, employing computer-aided tests, provide raw counts for 200 function words and then subject the frequencies for these words to statistical processing.[30] They present their findings in graphs, which supposedly distinguish one author's segments (each segment consisting of 2000 words) from another. According to Craig and Kinney, text portions that fall far away from the centroid (these portions are represented by circles, diamonds, or squares) indicate differences of authorship, while those that score close to the centroid suggest common authorship. However, Craig and Kinney's conclusions are influenced by interpretive bias; a number of statisticians might interpret the same results differently. As we shall see in Chapter Three, these computational stylisticians must make a series of subjective decisions before they generate their graphs.[31] The fact is that results based on individual words, shorn of their linguistic context, are often severely misleading. As Vickers puts it:

> The basic problem is that, in other disciplines, data consists of discrete items resulting from multiple observed events. But in language the data is words separated out from a literary text which was composed to be performed or read as a unit, and which relies on the interaction of all its constituent words to create meaningful utterances.[32]

In my view, quantitative studies, as applied by Craig and Kinney, have reached the limits of their analytical power. I hope that future researchers will expand my work on Kyd's use of 'But' by examining other function words according to their prosodic characteristics and contexts of use. Such discoveries could provide valuable evidence, and help to repair the damage caused by the frequent misuse of computational stylistics in modern attribution studies.

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[30] See *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, eds. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[31] See the section entitled 'The Claim for Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*' in Chapter Three of this thesis, pp. 120-122.
[32] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 24.

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

In 1975, David Lake was able to differentiate Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's

hands through linguistic preferences. He argued that 'synonym ratios have great virtue for

authorship work', for they are 'probably not affected by anything except personal

preference'.[33] Indeed, Lake's examination of Dekker and Middleton's plays revealed some

stable characteristics in terms of linguistic preferences, perhaps because many of Dekker and

Middleton's texts were 'printed from autograph copy'.[34] However, statistical arguments based

on single words that authors such as Kyd favoured or disfavoured are compromised

somewhat, for these choices can reflect scribal and compositorial preferences, as opposed to

authorial preferences. For example, in 2002 Paul J. Vincent analysed the ratios for

Shakespeare's preferred and non-preferred forms, such as 'Betwixt' or 'Between', 'Amongst'

or 'Among', and 'Besides' or 'Beside'.[35] Following Vincent, I examined these forms in the

traditionally accepted Kyd plays, as well as the contested texts, and discovered that Kyd's

preferences fluctuated from play to play. As Lake put it: 'synonymous connectives' such as

'between, betwixt' are 'too infrequent to provide reliable ratios in isolation'.[36] Nonetheless,

such forms of analysis can provide supporting evidence for authorship, but are not of primary

evidential value.

David Lake also examined exclamations and colloquialisms, arguing that 'The main

advantage of exclamations as criteria of authorship is that they are relatively unpredictable

from the context of dramatic situation',[37] while colloquialisms can also provide

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[33] David Lake, *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 127.

[34] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 74.

[35] See Paul J. Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare: The Genesis of *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*' (Doctoral thesis: University of Auckland, 2005). Available at https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/294/02whole.pdf?sequence=11 [accessed 7 November 2012].

[36] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 127.

[37] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 11.

'discriminators of authorship'.[38] As I elaborate in the next chapter, Kyd displays a propensity for the exclamation 'Tush' and the colloquialism 'Ay, but' in the three plays that scholarly consensus assigns to him, as well as the plays Vickers attributes to him. Furthermore, I examined Kyd's use of the intensifiers 'Most' and 'Very'. Ward Elliott and Robert J. Valenza, whose work I discuss in more detail below, observe that Shakespeare employed these intensifiers more often than Kyd, Marlowe, and Peele.[39] However, Elliott and Valenza do not include Kyd's Turkish tragedy in their enquiry, and I have discovered that Kyd's stage plays show a relatively steady incline in terms of the frequency with which he used these forms. I hope that other attribution scholars will extend my work on Kyd's use of intensifiers, perhaps through computations of the frequency with which the dramatist employed 'Very' as an adverb premodifying an adjective, such as 'very tall' (*S&P*, II.ii.88), and as a restrictive adjective: 'very sword' (*Sp. T.*, II.i.92).

Calculating the rates in which dramatists employed compound adjectives, such as 'gold-abounding' (*S&P*, I.iii.59) and 'cloud-compacted' (II.i.87), can also help to distinguish authors. Shakespeare employed adjectival compounds with a higher rate of recurrence and more inventively than many of his fellow dramatists, such as Marlowe, who generally eschewed them in his plays. However, as I demonstrate in the next chapter, Kyd also compounded adjectives with some frequency. In Chapter Four I show that the rate of use in *The Spanish Tragedy* and scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One* (1592) is remarkably close and provides strong evidence for common authorship. Different play editions will likely have varying counts for hyphenated compound forms, according to editorial preferences. My counts for adjectival compounds derive from close textual analysis of old spelling versions of plays. I compare my findings with those of scholars such as Alfred

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[38] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 13.

[39] Ward E. Y. Elliott and Robert J. Valenza, 'And Then There Were None: Winnowing the Shakespeare Claimants with Revised Appendices' (1999), p. 210. Available at http://www1.cmc.edu/pages/faculty/welliott/ATTWNrev.pdf [accessed 2 August 2015].

Hart, MacDonald P. Jackson, Paul J. Vincent, and Richard Proudfoot in order to ensure that results are as accurate as possible.

Vocabulary

Since 1987, Ward Elliott and Robert J. Valenza have used computer programs to differentiate Shakespeare from his contemporaries. They subjected the works of Shakespeare and fifty-eight claimants to a battery of tests, which confirmed that 'Shakespeare's quirks, as displayed in his core plays and poems', are 'consistent' and 'distinct from the works of others'.[40] Elliott and Valenza have always been commendably honest about the limitations of their approach to authorship questions, but their methodology has long seemed inflexible to me. For example, their battery of tests rejected *Henry VI Part Three* as a sole Shakespeare play, which caused them to discount the text 'from their core Shakespeare baseline', but this early play is, in my view, clearly not collaborative. Furthermore, their results, published in 1996,[41] rejected Shakespeare's contributions to *Edward III* (1593), which, as we shall see in Chapter Five, was undoubtedly an early Shakespeare collaboration. Their findings also conflicted with Jackson's argument that Shakespeare wrote *Arden of Faversham*, but Ward Elliott's recent pronouncement that 'After an initial round of macroblock tests, none of the many proposed Vickers expansions of the Kyd canon seem to us sustainable', has led me to question whether their latest tests have any value for authorship studies whatsoever.[42] As we shall see in the following chapters, my own findings, drawn from traditional approaches that have been shown by generations of scholars to be reliable, obliterate such negative judgements.

As mentioned in the previous section, I have made use of Elliott and Valenza's

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[40] Elliott and Valenza, 'And Then There Were None', p. 210.

[41] See Ward Elliott and Robert J. Valenza, 'And Then There Were None: Winnowing the Shakespeare Claimants', *Computers and the Humanities*, 30 (1996), 191-245.

[42] Ward Elliott, 'Review of Marina Tarlinskaja, *Shakespeare and the Versification of English Drama, 1561-1642*', *Modern Philology*, 113.3 (2016), 152-156 (p. 155).

method of computing the frequencies with which dramatists used intensifiers. I also draw from their work on prefixes and suffixes. Studies of writers' vocabularies can be useful for identifying a play's author, and can also help to discriminate the shares of dramatists in collaborative works. For example, some early modern dramatists were more apt to use words of Greek or Latin derivation than others. I consider Elliott and Valenza's test of counting prefixes such as *ex-*, *fore-*, *dis-*, *un-*, and *where-/there-* (for words such as 'wherein' and 'therein', but not 'wherefore' and 'therefore'), and suffixes such as *-less*, *-able*, *-ful*, and *-ish*, to be of some value, but it is worth noting that their results are standardized for sample size, usually 20,000 words: the typical length of an Elizabethan play text. This is problematic for unusually short texts, such as *Fair Em* (1590), and I suspect that their results would have been more accurate had they adjusted the totals for prefixes and suffixes according to the overall word count of each play they examined. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in the section discussing *Fair Em* in Chapter Three, dramatists such as Kyd attuned their diction according to context. For example, we would hardly expect as many prefixes with Latin bases (such as *ex*-words) in a domestic tragedy like *Arden of Faversham*, with its relatively naturalistic dialogue, as we would find in a chronicle history play such as *King Leir*, which contains many speeches with a Latinate element. It is important to remember that while an author's vocabulary will exhibit some stable characteristics, it is also affected by dramatic context, character, source material, and generic requirements. Plays, of course, are not merely sources of data, as some attribution scholars treat them, but real documents produced within a historical context: the narrow and intensely competitive world of the London theatres. As I aim to show in this thesis, reading-based methods still have a place in modern authorship attribution studies.

Finally, in chapters Four and Five I occasionally refer to evidence produced by John Dover Wilson and Brian Vickers (as well as my own findings), in order to show that a

number of word choices in *Henry VI Part One* and *Edward III* help to distinguish the hands

of dramatists like Kyd, Shakespeare, and Nashe. For instance, words such as 'Patronage',

never used by Shakespeare, indicate non-Shakespearean authorship, while words such as

'Cornets' are given very different meanings in the works of Shakespeare and Kyd. Analyses

of single words can thus play a useful role in determining authorship, but collocations

provide much firmer evidence.

Verbal Links

As I shall demonstrate in Chapter Three, older scholars, such as Charles Crawford, William

Wells, and Paul V. Rubow, were able to identify Kyd's hand through the traditional

discipline of reading his plays closely and highlighting instances of authorial self-repetition.

Such approaches, paying attention to the verbal fabric of plays and combining qualitative

with quantitative research methods, remain essential in authorship attribution studies (in fact,

many of the repetitions I have detected in Kyd's plays are separated by intervening words,

and thus escape the notice of modern software). The evidence I present throughout this thesis

is drawn from repeated readings of play texts and careful analysis. However, I also take

advantage of considerable advancements in anti-plagiarism software and electronic corpora.

Following Brian Vickers, who contends that 'an author's individuality will be more

visible if we can identify his preferred groupings of words',[43] I employ *WCopyfind*

(developed by Lou Bloomfield, Professor of Physics at the University of Virginia) in order to

highlight strings of words shared between early modern texts.[44] This entirely objective anti-

plagiarism software can be set to highlight any specified collocation length within a pair of

electronic documents, from two words upwards, and can even identify – within a fraction of a

second – approximate matching utterances (for example, some sequences might differ

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[43] Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', p. 13.
[44] Available online at http://plagiarism.bloomfieldmedia.com/z-wordpress/software/wcopyfind/ [accessed 13 December 2014].

slightly in terms of syntactical arrangement or spelling). I use the software program *Info Rapid Search and Replace* to check the highlighted matches against a corpus of 134 plays first performed on the public stages in London, during the period 1580-1600 (these are old spelling versions of the texts drawn from *ProQuest*).[45] I double-check the rarity of these matches using the database *Literature OnLine*, or *LION*,[46] and then triple-check results using the database *Early English Books Online*, or *EEBO*, for variant spellings.[47] In this respect I have attempted to consolidate the approaches of attribution scholars such as Vickers, Marcus Dahl, and MacDonald P. Jackson towards verbal parallels. The word sequences I present throughout this thesis are rare in that they feature no more than five times within plays first performed during the period mentioned above (a great many of them are unique, occurring only in the target texts during this period). These parallels adhere to David Lake's categorizations of 'combinations of more than one word' and 'grammatical or semantic' patterns.[48]

Ian Lancashire notes that collocations 'are the linguistic units we work with most: they fit into working memory and resemble what we store associatively'.[49] Vickers explains that

> Where earlier linguistic theories held that users of natural language selected single words to be placed within a syntactical and semantic structure, it now became clear that we also use groups of words, partly as a labour-saving device, partly as a function of memory. Such verbal economy is particularly prevalent in the drama written for the public theatres, where constraints of time demand speedy composition, characters fall into a set of roles with attendant speech patterns, and the verse line easily admits ready-made phrases. It is hardly surprising that many dramatists frequently repeat themselves.[50]

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[45] Available online at http://www.inforapid.de/html/searchreplace.htm [accessed 13 December 2014].
[46] Available online at http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk [accessed 13 December 2014].
[47] Available online at http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home [accessed 13 December 2014].
[48] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 14.
[49] Ian Lancashire, *Forgetful Muses: Reading the Author in the Text* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 180.
[50] Brian Vickers, 'The Two Authors of *Edward III*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 67 (2014), 102-118 (p. 111).

Plagiarism software helps us to identify 'idiolect markers', which are 'combinatorial, embedded in an author's long-term memory, and repeated. We recognize them by unconscious pattern matching similar to what enables us to quickly make out a face in a crowd'.[51] This method is far more reliable than statistical analyses of a dramatist's use of single words, for an author's brain 'may process language one word at a time, but it also deals with word-strings, ready-made phrases or collocations in which some words frequently recur in regular combinations', while 'in any lexicon the set phrase (or "phraseme") is the numerically predominant lexical unit, outnumbering single words roughly ten to one'.[52] I therefore combine traditional reading-based approaches with modern methods of collecting parallels, which, I argue, will give us an insight into Kyd's cognitive processes and put the case for his authorship beyond reasonable doubt.

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[51] Lancashire, *Muses*, p. 4.

[52] Brian Vickers, 'The Marriage of Philology and Informatics', *British Academy Review*, 14 (2009), 41-44 (p. 43).

Chapter Three

Restoring Thomas Kyd's Canon

Introduction

This chapter begins with an investigation of the three traditionally accepted Kyd plays: *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and *Cornelia*. Having highlighted distinct verbal and dramatic parallels between these tragedies, the chapter explores further authorial links between these plays and the contested texts that Brian Vickers has ascribed to Kyd: *King Leir*, *Arden of Faversham*, and *Fair Em*.[1] I have long accepted these ascriptions, though the argument for a new Kyd canon has yet to be fully expanded. My independent research suggests there are excellent reasons to believe that the six plays examined in this chapter are products of a single author's creative consciousness. I document identifications of Kyd's authorship of these texts in a largely chronological arrangement in order to demonstrate that mutually-enforcing tests have been carried out by generations of reliable scholars. I argue that these scholarly findings (many of which have been largely ignored in modern attribution studies), collected together, validate the ascriptions to Kyd. This chapter aims to make an important contribution to attribution studies by confirming Kyd's authorship of these texts and refuting arguments made against an expansion of Kyd's canon. Having established Kyd's oeuvre, the remaining chapters of the thesis further explore Shakespeare's dramatic relationship with Kyd.

Part One: The Traditionally Accepted Kyd Plays

The Spanish Tragedy

In this section I highlight elements of *The Spanish Tragedy*, such as Kyd's innovative mixture of comedy and tragedy, his penchant for multi-layered eavesdropping scenes, as well

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[1] See Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.

as the influences of Seneca and Garnier, which permeate his drama. The elements I have

selected will inform my examinations of the remaining plays that I ascribe to the dramatist

and will therefore help to define Kyd's dramatic corpus.

    The Spanish Tragedy was entered in the Stationers' Register on 6 October 1592 for

Abel Jeffes. Lord Strange's Men revived the play that year; they performed the tragedy on

sixteen occasions at the Rose Playhouse between 14 March 1592 and 22 January 1593.[2]

However, 1587 (or perhaps earlier) is 'the likeliest date' of the play's having been written.[3]

The play, printed anonymously in every sixteenth, and seventeenth, century edition, was

attributed to Kyd by the bookseller Edward Archer in 1656.[4] In 1773, Thomas Hawkins

identified Kyd as the play's author,[5] through Thomas Heywood's reference in his *An Apology

for Actors* (1612) to 'M. Kid, in his *Spanish Tragedy*'.[6] Kyd's authorship of this play is

uncontroversial.

    The Spanish Tragedy is fundamentally a revenge play in which Hieronimo avenges

the murder of his son Horatio at the hands of Lorenzo and Balthazar. However, as Alfred

Harbage put it, Kyd combines 'comic methods with tragic materials, thus creating a species

of comitragedy'.[7] Lorenzo, fearing that Balthazar's servant Serberine will betray him,

eliminates intermediaries by ensuring that Pedringano kills Serberine and is subsequently

caught by the King's Watch. We find Kyd's distinctive mixture of black comedy and tragedy

in Act Three Scene Six, when Pedringano mocks his executioner upon the scaffold, in the

mistaken belief that an empty box, delivered by a Page, contains his pardon. Prior to this

moment, the Page succumbs to curiosity and opens the box, only to discover that Lorenzo has

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[2] See Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, pp. 17-19.

[3] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 58.

[4] The anonymity of these editions is not unusual; for example, the Tamburlaine plays were not published under Marlowe's name until 1820. Alfred Hart noted that 'anonymity was the rule rather than the exception'. Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, p. 6.

[5] See Thomas Hawkins, *The Origin of the English Drama*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1773), II.2.

[6] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1612), sig. *E3*v.

[7] Alfred Harbage, 'Intrigue in Elizabethan Tragedy', in *Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama in Honor of Hardin Craig*, ed. Richard Hosley (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1962), pp. 37-44 (p. 37).

tricked Pedringano. The Page addresses the audience in prose and prepares them for what Harbage describes as a 'sensationally lethal turn' in Lorenzo's knavery, which provokes an 'oddly mixed response—of amusement and horror, revulsion and admiration'.[8] Kyd's affective blend of humour with Senecan horror is indicative of the playwright's dramaturgical inventiveness. Senecan influences pervade *The Spanish Tragedy* and the other plays that I argue were also written by Kyd.

The Ghost of Andrea and the allegorical figure of Revenge 'serve for Chorus in this Tragedie' (*Sp. T.*, I.i.91) and divide the play's acts with commentary on the action, which follows Seneca's division of acts separated by choruses. I concur with Lukas Erne, who argues that, although the extant text is divided into four acts, 'the dramatic architecture of *The Spanish Tragedy* shows a careful five-act construction as Kyd observed in Seneca'.[9] Moreover, as Jordi Coral points out, Kyd's device of having Revenge and Andrea watch over events follows 'the Senecan Chorus – often in conjunction with an infernal Prologue', which 'casts a shadow of fatality over the unwitting characters, whose actions thus appear to obey a supra-human as well as a human logic'.[10] Kyd's drama adheres to a providential design. Miles S. Drawdy explains that 'providentialism refers to the belief' that 'the earth—indeed the cosmos—is divinely ordered and that this order, when sensitively interpreted, reveals, at least in part, the divine will'.[11] Kyd's play also conforms to 'the terms of the *theatrum mundi*', in which 'a supernatural figure' acts as a 'cosmic playwright yet a playwright who also' performs 'the role of spectator, serving as audience to its own creation'.[12] In Seneca, the Chorus sometimes intervenes in the play's action; for example, the Chorus in *Thyestes*

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[8] Harbage, 'Intrigue', p. 37.
[9] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 67.
[10] Jordi Coral, 'Seneca, what Seneca? The Chorus in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *SEDERI*, 17 (2007), 5-26 (p. 16).
[11] Miles S. Drawdy, '"See here my show": Providence and The Theatrum Mundi in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*' (Honors thesis: College of William and Mary, Virginia, 2014), p. 2. Available at http://publish.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=honorstheses [accessed 9 July 2015].
[12] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 6.

admonishes Atreus.[13] Similarly, in Kyd's play, the choric figure of Revenge fulfils his promise and Andrea is avenged.

Kyd's drama contains two different patterns: while his characters appear to be 'entirely at the mercy of supernatural powers', they also 'shape their own destiny' through intrigue.[14] Kyd emphasizes that 'divine justice, while inviolable, must manifest itself by the verbal and physical agency of man'.[15] It is fitting that Hieronimo – who acts as the very instrument of revenge – temporarily replaces the supernatural Chorus after the performance of 'Soliman and Perseda' by delivering an epilogue, thus allowing Revenge to fulfil his promise and intervene in the action of the play. Hieronimo's playlet is drawn from Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), which is a translation of Jacques Yver's *Le Printemps d'Yver* (1572) and was 'published in 1578 by Francis Kyd's acquaintance' Francis Coldocke.[16] As we shall see, Kyd drew upon this source material for two other plays. The tragic avenger addresses his audience thus: 'And, Gentles, thus I end my play; / Urge no more wordes: I have no more to say' (IV.iv.151-152). *The Spanish Tragedy* gives us the first example, during the period 1580-1600, of an epilogue referring to the audience as 'Gentles' or 'Gentlemen'.[17] Kyd would repeat this device in *Arden of Faversham* in an epilogue that, I shall demonstrate, closely parallels Andrea and Death's closing speeches in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* respectively.

Another feature of the play is Kyd's use of Messenger figures who are, as Vickers

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[13] 'From its initial "objective" stance it is sucked into its increasing concern with the tragic figure and its fate. Eventually it joins the action and takes part in the dialogue [...] Once the Chorus has been sucked into the tragic nightmare, the everyday world ceases to withstand the tragic momentum'. Coral, 'Seneca, what Seneca?', p. 18.

[14] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 103.

[15] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 22.

[16] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 51.

[17] See Brian Vickers, 'The Shakespeare Reflex', *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 April 2015, 9-11 (p. 11). The only other Elizabethan dramatist to adopt this form of address (for the public theatres) was Shakespeare, in his *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595) and *Henry V* (1599), which suggests that Shakespeare was influenced by Kyd's 'subtle *apologia*', which challenges 'the socially-constructed predicates of aristocratic privilege'. See Christopher James Crosbie, **'**Philosophies of retribution: Kyd, Shakespeare, Webster, and the revenge tragedy' (Doctoral thesis: New Jersey, 2007), p. 11. Available at https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/23881/ [accessed 19 June 2015].

puts it, 'formally invited, in the proper Senecan mode' to deliver news.[18] Vickers has

highlighted the fact that Kyd conforms to this convention in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Cornelia*,

and *Edward III*, and I aim to expand this point by proposing that this debt to Seneca can be

traced in *Soliman and Perseda*, *Arden of Faversham*, and, as I show in Chapter Four, *Henry*

VI Part One. Near the beginning of *The Spanish Tragedy*, the Spanish King asks the General

to

> unfolde in breefe discourse
> Your forme of battell, and your warres successe,
> That, adding all the pleasure of thy newes
> Unto the height of former happines,
> With deeper wage and greater dignitie,
> We may reward thy blissfull chivalrie. (I.ii.16-21)

The General provides a vivid description of a battle with the Portuguese – modelled partly on

Garnier's description of the battle of Thapsus in *Cornélie* – which conforms to what Vickers

calls 'the narration of an off-stage event, usually a catastrophe, conveyed by a Nuntius'.[19] To

instance a couple of examples: in Seneca's *Agamemnon*, the herald Eurybatus describes a

storm that has struck the Achaean fleet. In *Medea*, the Nuntius informs the Chorus that

Corinth is on fire.[20] In the following scene of *The Spanish Tragedy*, the Viceroy invites

Villuppo to 'tell thy tale at large' (I.iii.58) and Kyd 'extends' the Senecan 'convention' by

having Villuppo deliver 'a false report, accusing Alexandro, another Portuguese noble, of

having shot Balthazar in the back'.[21]

The third example of Kyd's use of this Senecan convention occurs when Bel-imperia

entreats Horatio 'to relate / The circumstance of Don Andreas death' (I.iv.96-97) in Act One

Scene Four. Three accounts of the same battle, in the space of three scenes, follow formal

invitations in the 'male, public world of the Spanish and Portuguese courts', as well as the

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[18] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 109.
[19] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 105.
[20] Seneca's tragedies would have been available to Elizabethan readers lacking Latin through Thomas Newton's collection, *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581). See *Seneca his Tenne Tragedies Translated into English*, ed. Charles Whibley, 2 vols (London: Constable and Company, 1927).
[21] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 108.

'private house' where Horatio narrates Don Andrea's death.[22] The verbal exchanges between

Bel-imperia, Balthazar, and Lorenzo, following Horatio's narration, offer an appropriate

place to highlight another aspect of Kyd's drama influenced in part by Seneca: his use of

stichomythia. In staging Balthazar's 'unwelcome advances' towards Bel-imperia, 'Kyd

combines classical drama with the traditions of Renaissance love poetry',[23] as we can see in

the following passage:

> *Balthazar.* What, if conceite have laid my hart to gage?
> *Bel-imperia.* Pay that you borrowed and recover it.
> *Balthazar.* I die, if it returne from whence it lyes.
> *Bel-imperia.* A hartles man and live? A miracle.
> *Balthazar.* I, Lady, love can worke such miracles.
> *Lorenzo.* Tush, tush, my Lord, let goe these ambages. (I.iv.85-90)

Kyd often disrupts such stichomythic bouts through the interposition of a spectatorial third

character (just as supernatural forces often intervene in the outcomes of Kyd's plays), in this

case Lorenzo. Kyd also 'shows his talent for transforming ancient devices by making the

Senecan stichomythia the vehicle' for Horatio and Bel-imperia's 'amorous fence' in Act Two

Scene Two,[24] as can be seen in the following exchanges:

> *Bel-imperia.* But whereon doost thou chiefly meditate?
> *Horatio.* On dangers past, and pleasures to ensue.
> *Balthazar.* On pleasures past, and dangers to ensue.
> *Bel-imperia.* What dangers, and what pleasures doost thou mean?
> *Horatio.* Dangers of warre, and pleasures of our love.
> *Lorenzo.* Dangers of death, but pleasures none at all. (II.ii.26-31)

Lorenzo and Balthazar break up the lovers' discourse with a series of villainous asides. Kyd's

ornate verse is complemented by elaborate multi-layered stage action, for the audience watch

Revenge and the Ghost of Andrea, who watch the villains, who in turn watch the lovers.

Lorenzo, accompanied by Balthazar, Serberine, and Pedringano, also puts an end to the

lovers' linguistic tangent, in Act Two Scene Four:

> *Horatio.* The more thou sitst within these leafy bowers,

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[22] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 108.

[23] Bart Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 67-68.

[24] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), p. xxxiv.

>The more will Flora decke it with her flowers.
>*Bel-imperia.* I, but if Flora spie Horatio heere,
>Her jealous eye will thinke I sit too neere.
>*Horatio.* Harke, Madame, how the birds record by night,
>For joy that Bel-imperia sits in sight. (II.iv.24-29)

The conspirators subsequently enter and 'quickly dispatch' Horatio (II.iv.52). I agree with Alexander Maclaren Witherspoon, who suggested in 1924 that Kyd's 'custom of arranging stichomythic dialogue in rhymed couplets' was likely 'borrowed from Garnier'.[25] In this chapter, I demonstrate that there are comparable examples of Kyd's clever stichomythic repartee in *Soliman and Perseda*, *King Leir*, and *Fair Em*. Moreover, I highlight Kyd's multi-layered stage action during such eavesdropping scenes.

 The next dramatic device employed by Kyd that I should like to highlight is that of characters anticipating their own downfalls. Prophetic, premonitory, or precognitive dreams and/or visions can be found in the works of Seneca: *Agamemnon* opens with the ghost of Thyestes foreseeing Agamemnon's death, while Andromache has an ominous dream in which she is visited by the ghost of Hector in *Troades*. Yet many Elizabethan writers argued that there was little to no validity in the notion that dreams could impart 'special knowledge'.[26] For example, Thomas Nashe, in his pamphlet *The Terrors of the Night* (1594), contended that such dreams were 'nothing else but a bubbling scum or froth of the fancy'.[27] Francis Bacon asserted that the tales of divine prophecies throughout history had been 'by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned, after the event past'.[28] Prophetic dreams, however, are given some credibility in Kyd's dramatic works. William Wells noted in 1939 that 'Kyd's

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[25] Alexander Maclaren Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 161.

[26] Derek Alwes, 'Elizabethan Dreaming: Fictional Dreams from Gascoigne to Lodge', in *Framing Elizabethan Fictions: Contemporary Approaches to Early Modern Narrative Prose*, ed. Constance C. Relihan (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1996), pp. 153-167 (p. 153).

[27] Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night or A Discourse of Apparitions*, in *Thomas Nashe: The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. J. B. Steane (London: Penguin, 1972), p. 218.

[28] Francis Bacon, *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 414.

characters almost invariably anticipate disaster by dreams or premonitions',[29] and that it is 'probable that it was from Garnier that Kyd derived the feature'.[30]

Early in the play, the Viceroy, who has been told (falsely) by Villuppo that his son has been slain in battle, says, 'I, I, my nightly dreames have tolde me this' (I.iii.76), while Bel-imperia anticipates Horatio's murder in the line, 'my hart foretels me some mischaunce' (II.iv.15). Horatio attempts to placate Bel-imperia by dismissing her premonition: 'Sweet, say not so; faire fortune is our freend' (II.iv.16). Lorenzo, who is 'the first Machiavellian villain' in Elizabethan drama, anticipates his own downfall in Act Three Scene Four.[31] He articulates his fear that Hieronimo has discovered he was responsible for Horatio's murder:

> A guiltie conscience, urged with the thought
> Of former evils, easily cannot erre:
> I am perswaded, and diswade me not
> That als revealed to Hieronimo. (III.iv.14-17)

Balthazar, like Horatio before him, is dismissive: 'tush, it cannot be' (III.iv.13). As we shall see, Kyd repeated this process (while drawing from his individual store of verbal formulae, in order to fulfil the same dramatic purpose) of having a character imparting a dream or vision to a confidant, who subsequently dismisses their interpretation of the premonition, throughout his career.

Having highlighted these elements of Kyd's dramaturgy in *The Spanish Tragedy*, I now wish to show how the remaining plays examined in this chapter reveal Kyd's habits of mind.

Soliman and Perseda

Soliman and Perseda was entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 November 1592 and was printed by Edward Allde for Edward White. Erne suggests that the play was most likely

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[29] William Wells, 'The Authorship of *King Leir*', *Notes and Queries*, 25 (1939), 434-438 (p. 435).
[30] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 436.
[31] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 96.

'written in 1588 or 1589'.[32] Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith note that 'The only serious candidate' for the play's authorship is Kyd and that 'Almost every scholar who discusses either the play or the playwright acknowledges the connection'.[33] The Turkish tragedy was attributed to Kyd by Thomas Hawkins in 1773,[34] who was followed by scholars such as Frederick Gard Fleay in 1891,[35] Gregor Sarrazin in 1892,[36] and Adolphus William Ward in 1899.[37] Philip Edwards, having identified similarities in language and dramatic construction between the Turkish tragedy and *The Spanish Tragedy*, concluded that 'it seems reasonable to assign the anonymous *Soliman and Perseda*' to Kyd in 1966.[38] One year later, Arthur Freeman also concluded that it was 'safe to assign *Soliman and Perseda* to Kyd'.[39] I now present some internal evidence I have collected validating the ascription of this play to Kyd.

Rhyme Forms

In 1905, James E. Routh Jr. identified the 'sporadic appearance' in Kyd's accepted plays 'of three regular rime schemes: *aca*, where *c* is an unriming line; *abab*; and *aaa*', which provided compelling evidence for Kyd's authorship of *Soliman and Perseda*.[40] Routh Jr. concluded that *Soliman and Perseda* is 'at one with *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia* in its use of such unusual and whimsically varied rime schemes set at random in the texture of the verse'.[41] As

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[32] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 160.

[33] Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith, *The Predecessors of Shakespeare: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 233.

[34] Hawkins included the play in the second volume of his *The Origin of the English Drama*.

[35] F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 2 vols (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), II.26.

[36] See Gregor Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis: eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung* (Berlin: E. Felber, 1892), p. 42.

[37] Adolphus William Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1875), p. 311.

[38] Philip Edwards, *Thomas Kyd and Early Elizabethan Tragedy* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1966), p. 23.

[39] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 146.

[40] James E. Routh Jr., 'Thomas Kyd's Rime Schemes and the Authorship of *Soliman and Perseda* and of *The First Part of Jeronimo*', *Modern Language Notes*, 20.2 (1905), 49-51 (p. 49).

[41] Routh Jr., 'Rime Schemes', p. 50.

we can see in the table below,[42] *Soliman and Perseda* shares many of the distinct rhyme schemes employed by Kyd in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia*:

Rhyme	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and Perseda*
Aca	11	3	6
Abab	7	20	
Aaa	3	4	1
Abba		3	
Acaa	1		2
Aaaa	1		
Totals	22	30	9

Verse Style

As described in the previous chapter,[43] Philip Timberlake calculated Kyd's use of feminine endings (that is an extra unstressed syllable at the end of a verse line), which range from 1.2% (with a range of 0.0-4.1) in *The Spanish Tragedy* to 9.5% for *Cornelia* (2.4-13.1), while *Soliman and Perseda* averages 10.2% (with a range of 0.0-34.4).[44] Timberlake acknowledged that 'Kyd varied surprisingly in his practice',[45] and that 'The late plays by (or attributed to) Kyd are the only non-Shakespearean works that rival Shakespeare's high rate'.[46] He argued that 'the evidence' for *Soliman and Perseda* 'is at least strong enough to make it very probable that Kyd is the author'.[47]

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[42] Brian Vickers, '*King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy*: matching collocations'. This paper was given at '*King Leir*: Play Reading and Symposium', Somerville College, Oxford, 16 May 2015. I have utilized Vickers's table as a model for my own table detailing Kyd's rhyme forms throughout this thesis. The figures for rhyme forms are taken from Vickers, with the exception of *Arden of Faversham* (1590), *Fair Em* (1590), *Henry VI Part One* (1592), and *Edward III* (1593), which are my own counts.

[43] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 18-19.

[44] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 46.

[45] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 46.

[46] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 78-79.

[47] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 50.

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

As we saw in Chapter Two,[48] David Lake argued in 1975 that 'synonym ratios have great

virtue for authorship work', for they are 'probably not affected by anything except personal

preference'.[49] I conducted linguistic tests on the three accepted Kyd plays and compared

Kyd's preferences for the variant forms 'Betwixt' and 'Between', 'Amongst' and 'Among',

'Besides' and 'Beside', and 'Hither' and 'Thither':

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither
The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0

Soliman and Perseda largely accords with Kyd's patterns of language usage. It is possible

that such forms are variable and can be affected by textual complexities, such as scribal or

compositorial interference.[50] Nevertheless, these ratios suggest a single author's linguistic

idiosyncrasies.

I conducted another authorship test and computed every instance of the exclamation

'Tush' in Kyd's plays, as well as the colloquialism 'Ay, but'. Such quantifiable elements

were also examined by David Lake in order to distinguish Middleton from his

contemporaries.[51] Thomas Merriam observes that 'Ay, but' appears 'more frequently in *The*

Spanish Tragedy than in the plays of Marlowe or Shakespeare as a whole'.[52] I adjusted my

figures according to the total word count of each text. The patterns of usage in *The Spanish*

Tragedy and *Soliman and Perseda* could hardly be more alike:

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[48] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.

[49] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 127.

[50] See Marcus Dahl, 'Authors of the Mind', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 5 (2016), 157-173. Available at http://www.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-jems/article/view/18106/16855 [accessed 16 March 2016].

[51] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.

[52] Thomas Merriam, 'New Light on a Possible Kyd Canon', *Notes and Queries*, 240 (1995), 340-341 (p. 340).

Play	Total word count	Tush	Ay, but	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	22227	4	6	10	0.04
Soliman and Perseda	18800	2	8	10	0.05

Verbal Links

Martin Mueller's database of over 500 plays dated between 1552 and 1662 (*Shakespeare His Contemporaries*), discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, shows us that *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* share eight unique N-grams of four or more words. Mueller notes that 'If we look more closely at shared dislegomena by same-author play pairs, we discover that on average plays by the same author share five dislegomena, and the median is four. Roughly speaking, plays by the same author are likely to share twice as many dislegomena as plays by different authors'.[53] The high quantity of unique verbal matches therefore supports the ascription to Kyd. What is most refreshing about Mueller's database is that we are afforded a corpus that has been created to facilitate the study of N-grams. It produces objective, automated results, which create, as Mueller puts it, 'a framework of expectations' within which their evidentiary value can be evaluated.[54]

Mueller has also applied 'discriminant analysis to lemma trigrams that occur at least 500 times in 318 early modern plays', which 'misclassifies 50 or 16% of 318 plays. It gets 84% right. Of 37 plays by Shakespeare, it gets 34 right'.[55] Discriminant analysis, which establishes 'variance between groups on the basis of the combined effect of multiple variables', assigns *Soliman and Perseda* to Kyd with an 85.3% chance, while *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia* are given percentages of 96.1 and 79.7 respectively.[56] The verbal

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[53] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[54] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[55] Martin Mueller, 'Vickers is right about Kyd'. Mueller's 2009 blog post is not currently available online.
[56] Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.

evidence therefore converges to validate Kyd's authorship of *Soliman and Perseda*.[57]

Overall Dramaturgy

Throughout this thesis I supplement statistical tests by highlighting similarities in dramaturgy and characterization. Hieronimo's playlet and the main plot of the Turkish tragedy are both drawn from Wotton. *Soliman and Perseda* is therefore an example of Kyd's having 'reworked, recast his own material', according to Leonard R. N. Ashley.[58] Like *The Spanish Tragedy*, the play is 'an orgy of bloodshed', which revolves around a fatal love-triangle between Erastus, Perseda, and Soliman, akin to the relationship between Horatio, Bel-imperia, and Balthazar.[59] The tragedy also contains humour, through the characters of Piston and, in particular, Basilisco, a *miles gloriosus* perhaps drawn from the Italian *commedia dell'arte* (however, the character of the braggart soldier can be found in Roman comedy, such as Plautus's play *Miles Gloriosus*; Plautus's source was a lost Greek play called *Alazon*, or *The Braggart*), which seems to have influenced Kyd throughout his career. Erne suggests that 'Kyd's interest in complex stage action and a multitude of props may well have been fostered by the Italian comedies'.[60] Kyd, as Shakespeare would do after him, toys with generic conventions through exploiting the dramatic potential of blending comedy and tragedy. One cannot stress the 'innovative nature of Kydian comedy' too much, for, as Erne rightly points out, this aspect of Kyd's drama represents 'a radical generic experiment'.[61] Kyd's playfulness with audience expectations is emphasized by Soliman who, in a theatrically self-conscious speech, surmises that if he can win Perseda 'Our seane will proove but tragicomicall' (*S&P*,

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[57] Mueller's Discriminant Analysis tests give the anonymous burlesque, *The First Part of Hieronimo* (1600), a 30% chance of being Kyd's. Mueller notes that 'Discriminant Analysis rejects the prequel as Kyd's. It assigns it to the grab bag of anonymous plays with a 57.4% chance. So it is not fooled by the presence of many shared repetitions between it and *The Spanish Tragedy*'. Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.

[58] Leonard R. N. Ashley, *Authorship and Evidence: A Study of Attribution and the Renaissance Drama Illustrated by the Case of George Peele (1556-1596)* (Geneva: Droz, 1968), p. 80.

[59] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, p. lxi.

[60] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 195.

[61] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 85.

V.ii.143), but he also fears that 'woes' will 'spoile my commedie' (V.iv.8). Kyd's intolerance

of tidy genre definitions can be seen most clearly in the choric frame of the play, for Love,

Death, and Fortune argue over the play's generic outcome. Death, like Andrea, provides a

lengthy list of the dead at the play's tragic conclusion. Furthermore, Kyd's Turkish tragedy,

like *The Spanish Tragedy*, features characters involved in plots of intrigue and revenge.

Early in the play, Perseda requests Basilisco to 'work revenge' on her 'behalf'

(II.i.76), in the mistaken belief that Erastus has been unfaithful. Later in the play she seeks

vengeance for the murder of her husband. Erastus's murderer, Soliman, also seeks revenge

for the deaths of his brothers, 'In controversie touching' Rhodes (III.i.7). Bel-imperia plays

the role of Perseda in *The Spanish Tragedy* in order to avenge the murder of her lover, while

Perseda avenges Erastus through disguising herself in a man's apparel and tricking Soliman

into kissing her poisoned lips. *Soliman and Perseda* thus typifies Kyd's emphasis on Senecan

revenge, which is achieved through complex intrigue plots.

It is also worth noting that Piston takes the role of the Nuntius in Act Three Scene

One. Erastus invites Piston to give an account of the catastrophes that have ensued at Rhodes:

'Say, Piston, whats the newes at Rhodes?' (III.i.154). Piston 'metamorphoses into the

Senecan messenger, deeply conscious of the effect his news will have',[62] in his response,

'Colde and comfortles for you; will you have them all at once?' (III.i.155), before telling

Erastus that 'the Governour will hang you, and he catch you; / Ferdinando is buried; your

friends commend them to you; / Perseda hath the chaine, and is like to die for sorrow'

(III.i.158-160). Similarly, in Act Four Scene One, Erastus asks Brusor: 'What hastie news

brings you so soone to Rhodes, / Although to me you never come to soone?' (IV.i.21-22).

Brusor does not give an account of an off-stage catastrophe as such; he tells Erastus that

Soliman has requested him 'To come your selfe in person and visit him / Without inquirie

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[62] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 109.

what should be the cause' (IV.i.28-29). Little does Erastus know, but Brusor's news is certainly catastrophic, for Soliman intends to murder him upon his return to Constantinople.

Erastus's murder in Act Five Scene Two reveals Kyd as the pre-Shakespearean master of sophisticated staging. Erastus is put on false trial, while Soliman watches from afar and comments on the action; he is in turn spied on by Piston, who also delivers a series of asides. Erne compares this scene to the play-within-the-play in *The Spanish Tragedy*, which also exhibits Kyd's 'interest in multi-layered action'.[63] I suggest that this scene closely parallels Act Two Scene Two of *The Spanish Tragedy*, for the villains in both plays comment on the action, as their unwitting victims approach death. These villains are in turn spied on by supernatural choruses. As I show in this chapter, the two-layered trial scene (one might argue three-layered, given that Soliman and Piston are observed by Love, Death, and Fortune) in *Soliman and Perseda* also corresponds to the multi-layered eavesdropping scenes in *King Leir* and *Fair Em*.

Piston once again takes the role of the Nuntius when he enters in Act Five Scene Three and delivers tragic news:

> O lady and mistris, weepe and lament, and wring your
> hands; for my maister is condemnd and executed. (V.iii.22-23)

Perseda, upon learning that Erastus is dead, repeats the Viceroy's line from *The Spanish Tragedy*,

I, I, **my nightly dreames** have **tolde me this** (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.76)

almost verbatim:

Ah no; **my nightly dreames** fore**tould me this**. (*S&P*, V.iii.25)

Such verbal formulae,[64] repeated in recurring dramatic situations, are indicative of Kyd's

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[63] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 179.

[64] I have put all rare or unique combinations of words in bold typeface throughout this thesis.

idiosyncratic lexicon of collocations.[65] Close reading of these passages, combined with

plagiarism software, enables us to identify significant authorship indicators. The scholarly

consensus that the play is Kyd's, on the basis of internal evidence, is surely justified. I

present additional comprehensive data that enforces the claim that Kyd is the author of this

play in my later examinations of texts assigned to Kyd by Vickers. The internal evidence is

just as strong, if not stronger, in the three contested texts, as I demonstrate below. I now

highlight some elements of Kyd's *Cornelia* that also reveal dramaturgical correspondences

with these plays.

Cornelia

Kyd's *Cornelia* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 26 January 1594 by John Busby

and Nicholas Ling. The dramatist's name features on the title page and at the end of the

translation; his initials feature in the dedication to the Countess of Sussex. *Cornelia*, despite

being a translation, is very much Kyd's own work, for he translated freely, to the extent that

his 'amendments constitute a second text, which can be considered independently of

Garnier's version'.[66] Some of the finest passages in Kyd's translation are of his own

invention, such as the first eighteen lines of the third act, which contain a number of effective

poetic images:

> Her murdred love trans-form'd into a **Rose**:
> Whom (though she see) to crop she kindly feares;
> But (kissing) sighes, and dewes hym with her teares; —
> **Sweet** teares of love, remembrancers to **tyme**,
> Tyme past with me that am to teares converted. (*Corn.*, III.i.10-14)

Here Kyd, who was 'rarely disinclined to take clues from his earlier plays', reworks

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[65] It is worth noting that thirteen of the fourteen examples of the word 'dream' that I can detect in Kyd's three accepted plays are associated with murder. Such parallels of thought are indicative of Kyd's associative memory.

[66] Josephine A. Roberts and James F. Gaines, 'Kyd and Garnier: The Art of Amendment', *Comparative Literature*, 31 (1979), 124-133 (p. 133).

expressions of grief from *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*:[67]

> **Sweet** lovely **Rose, ill pluckt before thy time** (*Sp. T.*, II.v.47)
> Faire springing **Rose, ill pluckt before thy time**. (*S&P*, V.iv.81)

As we can see in these examples, Kyd was apt to repeat words and phrases in related dramatic contexts. Collocation matching, as a text-specific method, is a valuable tool for identifying Kyd as the author of the plays examined in this thesis.

Erne observes that *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* are 'intrigue plays, typically based on novelistic material', but that *Cornelia* is 'aimed at an educated readership' and (like Seneca's tragedies) 'is characterized by an almost complete substitution of narrative for stage action and is declaimed rather than performed'.[68] We can detect Seneca's influence in the Chorus, who close each act and interact with Cornelia.[69] In this respect the Chorus resemble the superstructures in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, for 'Andrea is to be considered more a part of the action than, for example, Tantalus in *Thyestes*', while the 'trio of gods' are 'included in the regular act-scene structure' of Kyd's Turkish tragedy.[70]

The play also makes use, in Act Five, of the Senecan convention of a Nuntius being formally invited to relate catastrophic news.[71] Cornelia invites a Messenger to 'Discourse the manner of his hard mishap, / And what disastrous accident did breake / So many people bent so much to fight' (*Corn.*, V.i.44-46). The Messenger, mindful of the effect his narrative will have on the heroine, apologizes before telling his tale: 'These mis-fortunes yet / Must I report to sad Cornelia, / Whose ceaseles griefe (which I am sorry for) / Will agravate my former misery' (V.i.16-19). The Messenger relates the gruesome details (as well as the news that Cornelia's father, Metellus Scipio, has died) of the battle of Thapsus, which, as I noted earlier, served as Kyd's model for the General's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

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[67] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 215.
[68] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 203.
[69] Kyd therefore assimilates the 'dynamic Chorus of Seneca' into the play. Coral, 'Seneca, what Seneca?', p. 15.
[70] Freeman, *Facts and Problems*, p. 141.
[71] See Vickers, '*Edward III*', 102-118.

A consistent feature of Kyd's drama is the use of ominous dreams. In the third act of *Cornelia*, the title character relates a dream in which the ghost of Pompey visited her (the dream is prophetic in that Pompey tells Cornelia her father is also dead, which, as we have seen, is confirmed by the Messenger in the play's final act).[72] Erne suggests that Kyd's 'aim seems to have been to impregnate his text with a stranger sense of the supernatural than he found in the original'.[73] Cornelia cries, 'My fearfull dreames do my despairs redouble' (III.i.61), to which the Chorus respond, 'Why suffer you vayne dreames your heade to trouble?' (III.i.62). The Chorus attempt to placate the dreamer with a dismissal of the dream's significance; nevertheless, the dream has such an impact on Cornelia that she still thinks she can see the ghost of Pompey, even when awake:

> And, thinking to embrace him, opte mine armes,
> When drousy sleep, that wak'd mee at unwares,
> Dyd with hys flight unclose my feareful eyes
> So suddainly, that yet mee thinks I see him. (III.i.122-125)

Kyd employed this device of having a character suffer from hypnopompic delusions throughout his career. Such features link Kyd's traditionally accepted plays to the three 'anonymous' plays attributed to him by Vickers, which I discuss below.

Part Two: Plays in the 'Extended' Kyd Canon

In a general essay published in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 2008, Vickers argued for a new Kyd canon, ascribing to him *King Leir*, *Arden of Faversham*, *Fair Em*, and parts of *Henry VI Part One* and *Edward III*.[74] In this essay, Vickers examined authorial self-repetition seen in Kyd's use of N-grams, using evidence produced by modern anti-plagiarism software. As we shall see, his attributions were rejected by several scholars using different systems,

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[72] Given that Garnier, like Kyd, was heavily influenced by Seneca's revenge tragedies, I suspect that both playwrights took their cues from Andromache's dream of Hector in Seneca's *Troades*, which Garnier adapted in 1579.

[73] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 210.

[74] See Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.

largely arithmetico-statistical, based on word frequencies. However, in the course of this study I have scrutinized the Vickers ascriptions and the arguments against them and have been surprised at the scholarly deficiencies in modern authorship attribution studies. In my section on the claim for Shakespeare's part authorship of *Arden of Faversham*, in particular, I evaluate the arguments made against an 'extended' Kyd canon and highlight some of the flaws in such arithmetico-statistical approaches.[75] My independent investigations have led me to conclude that Vickers's ascriptions are valid.

King Leir

There is evidence of some confusion in the Stationers' Register as to whether Adam Islip or Edward White owned the rights to *King Leir*; Islip's name was crossed out of the record and replaced by White's. White, to whom *Soliman and Perseda* was registered, published an unauthorized edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1592. Edmond Malone was the first scholar to suspect that Kyd was 'the author of the old plays of *Hamlet*, and of *King Leir*',[76] while later, in 1891, F. G. Fleay ascribed the play to Kyd and Lodge.[77] John Mackinnon Robertson asserted in 1914 that there was 'some reason to think' Kyd (albeit recasting a play written by Lodge, as suggested by Fleay) was the play's author.[78] Robertson expanded on his attribution in 1924, arguing that the 'play is ascribable to Kyd on the score' of 'the naturalness of the diction [...] the orderly planning and complication of the action throughout, despite frequent crudity of device and detail', and 'the frequent parallelism both in action and in phrase to those of Kyd's ascertained plays'.[79]

In 1939, William Wells also argued for Kyd's authorship of *King Leir*, for it is 'a play

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[75] See Darren Freebury-Jones, 'N-grams, Authorship and Influence: Restoring Thomas Kyd's Canon' https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=417 [accessed 4 September 2015].

[76] See *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. James Boswell, II.316.

[77] Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II.52.

[78] J. M. Robertson, *Elizabethan Literature* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1914), p. 109.

[79] Robertson, *Titus*, p. 387.

of simple, undisguised realism, with few flights of fancy. Its sentiment is extraordinarily naive, in content and expression, and yet, in its way, powerful. This accords with Kyd's characteristics'.[80] Wells rightly dismissed any arguments for Lodge as part author, for 'the style of *Leir* is uniform throughout, one poet alone is involved'.[81] He also observed that *King Leir* is 'abounding in feminine endings, and this points directly to Kyd, for none but he, among the pre-Shakespearean dramatists, wandered far from the normal ten-syllable line'.[82] In 1948, Paul V. Rubow, having identified numerous parallels of thought and language, as well as corresponding plot features, through traditional reading-based methods, ascribed *King Leir* to Kyd.[83] I present my findings for rhyme forms, verse style, linguistic idiosyncrasies, vocabulary, verbal links, and overall dramaturgy below.

Rhyme Forms

King Leir shares the 'three regular rime schemes: *aca*, where *c* is an unriming line; *abab*; and *aaa*' with Kyd's plays.[84] Vickers has recorded all Kydian rhyme forms shared between the play and Kyd's accepted works. I replicate his findings in the accompanying table, which represent corroborative evidence for common authorship:[85]

Rhyme	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and Perseda*	*King Leir*
Aca	11	3	6	8
Abab	7	20		2
Aaa	3	4	1	3
Abba		3		1
Acaa	1		2	1
Aaaa	1			2
Totals	23	30	9	17

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[80] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 434.
[81] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 437.
[82] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 438.
[83] See Paul V. Rubow, *Shakespeare og hans samtidige* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1948), pp. 145-155.
[84] Routh Jr., 'Rime Schemes', p. 49.
[85] Vickers, '*King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy*'.

Verse Style

In his study of lines ending in an unstressed syllable,[86] Timberlake recorded an average of 10.8% feminine endings in *King Leir*, with a range of 0.0-25.4, which is comparable to the 10.2% for *Soliman and Perseda*, and 9.5% for *Cornelia*.[87] Marina Tarlinskaja suggests that 'Kyd was possibly the first Elizabethan playwright to discover feminine endings'.[88] In fact, Kyd is the only known dramatist preceding Shakespeare who comes close to the proportion of feminine endings in *King Leir*.[89] Timberlake's figures therefore rule out other authorship contenders, such as the 'monotonously regular metrist',[90] Greene (0.1-1.6),[91] Peele (1.5-5.4),[92] and Marlowe (0.4-3.7),[93] whose percentages, within their dramatic works, are manifestly too low. Tarlinskaja points out that '*King Leir* could be attributed to Kyd on the basis of feminine endings alone'.[94]

As described in the previous chapter (see the section entitled 'Verse Style'),[95] Ants Oras studied 'the phenomenon of pauses' and the 'positions they appear in the verse, and in what ratios compared with other positions in the line'.[96] The pause profiles that Oras provided for *The Spanish Tragedy* and *King Leir* reveal homogeneity in patterns 'formed by all pauses indicated by internal punctuation'.[97] Both plays feature fourth position peaks (as we would expect of drama from this period), while the percentages for the ninth position are in fact identical. More significant is the fact that the percentages for 'First Half' pause patterns – that

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[86] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 18-19.

[87] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 61-62.

[88] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 111.

[89] The only known dramatist with a comparable high rate, within a dramatic text, is George Peele, who averages 5.4% in *The Old Wife's Tale* (1592). However, this text is unusually short and probably damaged. The relatively high percentage (still well below *Soliman and Perseda*, *Cornelia*, and *King Leir*) could be the result of compositorial interference.

[90] Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, p. 171.

[91] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 25-28.

[92] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 18-24.

[93] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 37-45.

[94] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 105.

[95] See Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 19-20.

[96] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, pp. 1-2.

[97] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 3. Oras also produced practically identical frequency polygons for these plays. See pp. 41-42.

is 'the ratio of such pauses before the fifth position i.e. in the first half of the line' – are also

identical, while the percentages for 'pauses after an even-numbered syllable' are remarkably

close.[98] Assembling Oras's data into one table effectively demonstrates the 'special

physiognomy' of Kyd's plays:[99]

Play	First Half	Even	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The Spanish Tragedy	78.9	67.5	7.1	15.0	5.7	39.1	15.2	11.4	4.2	1.9	0.4
King Leir	78.9	63.0	13.3	13.7	4.2	36.6	14.0	8.7	5.1	3.9	0.4

Tarlinskaja has also analysed the prosodic elements of *King Leir*,[100] and discovered

that the ratio of enclitic micro-phrases is 'close to *Cornelia*'s: 45.6 per 1,000 lines', while

'the preferred location of strong syntactic breaks' create 'a homogenous cluster', for the

'maximum of strong syntactic breaks after syllable 4' is 22.6 in *King Leir*, which we can

compare to *The Spanish Tragedy*'s 22.7, *Soliman and Perseda*'s 20.1, and *Cornelia*'s 20.7.[101]

Tarlinskaja records a figure of 9.3 for run-on lines in *King Leir*, which is consistent with *The

Spanish Tragedy*'s 9.5 and *Soliman and Perseda*'s 9.9.[102] Tarlinskaja's linguistic-statistical

methods lead her to attribute the play to Kyd.[103]

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

If we return to the subject of linguistic idiosyncrasies, discussed in Chapter Two,[104] we find

that *King Leir* shares Kyd's preferences for 'Amongst' and 'Hither'. It is, however, worth

bearing Jonathan Hope's caveat in mind: 'synonyms may not be textually stable, given

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[98] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 4.

[99] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 23.

[100] For an overview of Tarlinskaja's method, see the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 20-22.

[101] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, pp. 101-102.

[102] See 'Appendix B: Table B.3', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification*.

[103] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 90.

[104] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.

compositorial/scribal practices'.[105]

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither
The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0
King Leir	1/5	5/1	2/2	9/2

Vocabulary

We have seen in the previous chapter that Ward Elliott and Robert J. Valenza were able to differentiate Shakespeare's hand from his contemporaries,[106] partly through his use of prefixes and suffixes, adjusted to register frequencies per 20,000 words. I reproduce their counts (in their revised appendices of 1999) for *The Spanish Tragedy* and *King Leir*, in the table below:[107]

Prefix/suffix	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*King Leir*
where-/there-	27	9
dis-	60	53
fore-	4	6
un-	58	58
ex-	46	60
-able	14	12
-less	46	20
-ish	14	13
-ly	140	141
-ment	22	17

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[105] I should like to thank Jonathan Hope for his advice, given in email correspondence, 28 May 2015.
[106] See the section entitled 'Vocabulary' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 26-28.
[107] See Elliott and Valenza, 'And Then There Were None', pp. 476-479.

Tarlinskaja notes that 'Prefixes and suffixes' can 'supply clues to authorship'.[108] These

stylistic markers strongly suggest that *The Spanish Tragedy* and *King Leir* are products of a

single author's vocabulary.[109] The counts for *un-* prefixes, *-ish* suffixes, and *-ly* suffixes, in

particular, are so close that the probability of these affinities being coincidental seems highly

unlikely. Other data I have collected also supports the hypothesis that these plays were

written by the same author. In 2007, Vickers, before he had identified Kyd as part author of

Henry VI Part One, noted that the dramatist used many 'Latinate abstractions' and that 'The

general stylistic impression' is 'of a bookish dramatist of an older generation, given to rather

portentous gestures and linguistic display'.[110] During my own researches, I was struck by

Kyd's fondness for words (consisting of at least three syllables) ending in *-ity* and *-tion*, such

as 'perpetuity' and 'invocation'. Kyd's intimate familiarity with Latin works such as

Seneca's tragedies could help to explain the Latinate diction of his plays. The following table

demonstrates that *King Leir* is practically indistinguishable from the traditionally accepted

Kyd plays in terms of the dramatist's use of these suffix forms:

Play	-ity	-tion	Total instances
The Spanish Tragedy	16	45	61
Soliman and Perseda	17	33	50
Cornelia	18	17	35
King Leir	25	26	51

Moreover, the evidence for matching collocations suggests that the play's 'phraseognomy', to

adopt a term coined by John Sinclair (meaning individual phraseology), is overwhelmingly

Kyd's.[111]

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[108] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 10.

[109] I should like to thank Ward Elliott for an insight into his third-round test results (email correspondence, 2 August 2015).

[110] Brian Vickers, 'Incomplete Shakespeare: Or, Denying Coauthorship in *1 Henry VI*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 58.3 (2007), 311-352 (p. 343).

[111] John Sinclair, *Trust the Text: Language, Corpus and Discourse*, ed. Ronald Carter (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 177.

Verbal Links

Vickers has utilized anti-plagiarism software to highlight 'any identical three-word sequence' shared between *King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. He has 'checked each match against' a 'corpus of 54 plays performed in the public theatres before 1595'.[112] In total, he has identified ninety-six unique collocation matches, which provides strong evidence for common authorship. Gabriel Egan, citing MacDonald P. Jackson's paper, 'New Research on the Dramatic Canon of Thomas Kyd', [113] has called Vickers's method of collecting highly distinctive collocations 'useless':

> Jackson dices the data several ways and the outcome is always the same: the three plays definitely by Kyd—*The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda* and *Cornelia*— have stronger links with one another than with the four Vickers claimants for Kydness. Jackson dices the data yet another way, looking at unique matches per 1,000 lines, and the results are the same: the accepted Kyd plays are like one another and the ones Vickers wants to add to the Kyd canon are unlike them.[114]

However, Jackson's statistics are based on Vickers's crude counts for matches, during his preliminary researches in 2008. For example, Jackson notes that Vickers counts '31' Kyd matches 'with *King Leir*',[115] but Vickers has since amassed a far more impressive number of unique matches between *King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy* alone. Jackson praises Vickers's 'excellent idea of using plagiarism software to search pairs of plays for shared three-word phrases'.[116] Nonetheless, he accuses Vickers of 'entering Kyd into a one horse race, which Kyd cannot fail to win'.[117] As I argue in my section evaluating Jackson's claim for Shakespeare's part authorship of *Arden of Faversham*,[118] the 'mechanical objectivity' of Vickers's method is vastly superior to Jackson's method of collecting parallels and checking

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[112] Vickers, '*King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy*'.
[113] MacDonald P. Jackson, 'New Research on the Dramatic Canon of Thomas Kyd', *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 47 (2008), 107-127.
[114] Gabriel Egan, 'Year's Work in English Studies 2009: Shakespeare: Editions and Textual Studies' http://gabrielegan.com/publications/Egan2011g.htm [accessed 15 December 2014].
[115] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 114.
[116] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 107.
[117] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 108.
[118] See Part Three of the current chapter (Chapter Three): 'The Claim for Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*', pp. 102-103.

their rarity via the database *LION*.[119] The argument that I should like to dispute here, however, is Jackson's claim that 'The canonical Kyd plays are utterly different from the plays putatively Kyd's'.[120]

This conclusion seems unwarranted. Martin Mueller is the only scholar to realize the validity of Vickers's approach. In two blogs published on his (then) website *Digitally Assisted Text Analysis* in 2009 ('N-grams and the Kyd canon: a crude test' and 'Vickers is right about Kyd'),[121] Mueller applied statistical tests which convinced him that 'Vickers is right about the Leir play, *Fair Em*, and *Arden*'.[122] In 'N-grams and the Kyd canon: a crude test', Mueller explains that he 'ran an experiment on 318 early modern plays in the MONK corpus' and 'extracted lemma N-grams from bigrams to heptagrams that were repeated at least once'. He computed 'their distribution across plays' and discovered that *King Leir* and *Soliman and Perseda* are placed above the median (the number separating the higher half of Mueller's data from the lower half) – with a percentage of 96.5 – for play pairs suggesting 'characteristic patterns of authorial usage'.[123] This percentage is higher than that found for the play pair *Soliman and Perseda* and *Cornelia* (93.5%), which effectively quashes Jackson's argument.

Mueller's Excel document, 'SHCSharedTetragramsPlus', described in Chapter One of this thesis, reveals that there are eight unique N-grams of four or more words shared between *King Leir* and Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, which is the same total we find for *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*.[124] Given that Mueller's corpus consists of over 500 early

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[119] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 108.

[120] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 121.

[121] Martin Mueller, 'N-grams and the Kyd canon: a crude test'. Mueller's 2009 blog post is not currently available online.

[122] Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.

[123] Mueller, 'N-grams and the Kyd Canon'.

[124] The play with the most matches (twelve according to Mueller's spreadsheet) with *King Leir* (1589), however, is Robert Yarington's highly plagiaristic *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1595). Yarington 'was apprenticed to the scrivener, Francis Kyd (father to Thomas Kyd) in 1578'. G. K. Hunter, *English Drama 1586-1642: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 543. Kyd's authorship of *King Leir* could help to explain Yarington's intimate familiarity with its verbal details, for Yarington may have had access to Kyd's manuscripts

modern plays, we cannot suppose that Kyd has been entered into 'a one horse race'.[125]

Significantly, Mueller's Discriminant Analysis tests assign *King Leir* to Kyd with a 99.3%

chance. Mueller concludes that 'Discriminant Analysis very strongly confirms' that the play

comes 'from the same stable' as the three accepted Kyd plays.[126]

Following Mueller, I tested these texts for contiguous sequences of four or more

words (tetragrams are statistically rarer than trigrams in early modern drama). However,

using Jackson's own criteria, I recorded only tetragrams that occur 'not more than five times

in drama of the period 1580-1600'.[127] (The full list of tetragram matches between the six sole

authored Kyd plays can be found in the Appendix. I omitted stage directions, which may or

may not be authorial, from my searches.) Plagiarism software (see Chapter Two for an

overview of my methodology)[128] highlighted seven rare word sequences between *The Spanish*

Tragedy and *Cornelia*, four rare word sequences between *Soliman and Perseda* and *Cornelia*,

and twenty-two sequences shared by *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*. The

fact that the Turkish tragedy and *The Spanish Tragedy* share more than triple the number of

matches between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia* validates the attribution of *Soliman and*

Perseda to Kyd. My tests also show that *King Leir* is at one with the other Kyd plays in terms

of the quantity and quality of matching collocations. *King Leir* shares the exact same number

of matches with *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Cornelia* as *Soliman and Perseda* does. I adjusted

my figures according to the combined word count of each play pair. All four texts in the

following table appear to belong to the same author's mental repertoire of collocations:

Play pair	Combined word count	Total number of matches	Percentage of matches
The Spanish Tragedy /	37888	7	0.02

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and could have been involved in making fair copies of his plays.
[125] Jackson, 'New Research', p. 108.
[126] Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.
[127] MacDonald P. Jackson, *Determining the Shakespeare Canon: Arden of Faversham and A Lover's Complaint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 219.
[128] See the section entitled 'Verbal Links' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 28-30.

Cornelia			
The Spanish Tragedy / Soliman and Perseda	41027	22	0.05
Cornelia / Soliman and Perseda	34461	4	0.01
King Leir / The Spanish Tragedy	44715	22	0.05
King Leir / Cornelia	38149	4	0.01
King Leir / Soliman and Perseda	41288	18	0.04

Many of these matches reveal Kyd's 'tendency to formulaic utterance'.[129] For example, the match, '**Should** leane upon **the person of a King**' (*KL*, xiv.1100), with '**Shouldst** come about **the person of a King**' (*S&P*, I.v.72), demonstrates that Kyd often repeated ready-made phrases in the same position within the verse line. We might note that the pentagram, 'the person of a King', embraces the verbal auxiliary 'Should', which gives us an insight into Kyd's associative memory. Other collocational clusters of words are unmemorable and thus unlikely to have been seized upon by a plagiarist, as we can see in the match, '**Though it be ne're so** much to our disgrace' (*KL*, ii.120), with 'Then th'evill it selfe, **though it be nere so** sore' (*Corn.*, IV.ii.167). Some of these combinations reveal complex word associations belonging to a single brain, as we can see in the following examples:

> Do **you** heare, **sir**? you looke like **an honest man**;
> **Ile** not stand **to do** you a pleasure (*KL*, xxiii.2008-2009)
> I pray **you**, **sir**, hold your hands, and, as I am **an honest man**,
> **Ile doe** the best I can **to** finde your chaine. (*S&P*, I.iv.112-113)

Plagiarism software therefore highlights unmistakeable instances of Kyd's self-repetition.

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[129] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.

Overall Dramaturgy

King Leir is characteristic of Kyd's drama in that the play is concerned with intrigue, disguise, and deception throughout. The play begins with Leir's attempt to trick his daughter Cordella into marrying the Irish King, while Gonorill and Ragan conspire to 'aggravate' their father 'in such bitter termes, / That he will soone convert his love' for Cordella 'to hate' (*KL*, ii.193-194). The Gallian King and Mumford disguise themselves as pilgrims, using the aliases Will and Jack. Towards the end of the play, assisted by Cordella, they disguise themselves as country folk. Much of the play's comic intrigue revolves around the Messenger figure. In Scene Twelve, he enters with letters from Cornwall, to be delivered to Leir, but Gonorill intercepts him and opens the letters herself. We might compare the Messenger's lines, 'Madam, I hope **your** Grace **will stand** / **Betweene me and** my neck-verse, if I be / Calld in question, for opening the Kings letters' (xii.996-998), with the Hangman's line in *The Spanish Tragedy*: '**You will stand between** the gallowes **and me**?' (*Sp. T.*, III.vii.26). The Hangman's imploration follows, as Martin Wiggins has pointed out, the Page's illicit opening of the box that supposedly contains Pedringano's pardon.[130] Here we see Kyd's 'idiosyncratic recurrent phrasal patterns' in related dramatic contexts.[131]

Karen Cunningham points out that, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd exploits the 'ambiguous potential' of letters and that he had 'a personal history of being immersed in the documentary practices of his day'.[132] Throughout *King Leir*, the dramatist makes use of letters in his intrigue plotlines. Gonorill incenses her sister against Leir through exchanging a letter for one that claims Leir has been slanderous, while Ragan orders the Messenger to show Leir Gonorill's incriminating letter ordering his murder. Similarly, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Bel-imperia writes to Hieronimo, implicating Horatio's murderers. Nevertheless, Hieronimo

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[130] Martin Wiggins pointed this link out during Brian Vickers's talk on the authorship of *King Leir*, at the conclusion of '*King Leir*: Play Reading and Symposium'.

[131] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 11.

[132] Karen Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals: Subjectivity and the Discourses of Treason in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 111.

ponders whether Bel-imperia is attempting to incense him against Lorenzo in order to endanger his life (the Hangman eventually confirms the conspirators' guilt when he discovers Pedringano's letter to Lorenzo). Kyd's 'complex views of an unsettled competitive relationship between writing and selfhood, between letters and persons as sites of knowledge' and 'letters as a crucial means of forming alliances' can also be seen in the treatment of the Ambassador.[133] The Ambassador hopes to deliver a letter inviting Leir to France, but he is accused of 'a fayn'd Ambassage' (*KL*, xxii.1940) and is maltreated by Ragan and Cambria.

King Leir also corresponds to Kyd's traditionally accepted plays in terms of dramatic language and scenic structure. For example, we find Kyd's idiosyncratic mixture of 'classical drama with the traditions of Renaissance love poetry' during the moment when the Gallian King, accompanied by Mumford, encounters Cordella, in Scene Seven.[134] The King and Cordella's exchanges echo the stichomythic bouts between Bel-imperia and her suitors, Balthazar and Horatio, in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

> *King*. To utter griefe, doth ease a heart o'ercharged.
> *Cordella*. To touch a sore, doth aggravate the payne. (vii.640-641)

Structurally, this scene recalls Act Three Scene Two of *Soliman and Perseda* in which Perseda and Lucina compete over whose grief is greater. In both scenes, the line-by-line dialogue is disrupted by a clown's bawdy jests, while Lorenzo, as we have seen in my section discussing *The Spanish Tragedy*, interrupts the amorous discourse between Bel-imperia and Horatio in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Cordella, initially unaware that she is being watched (just as Bel-imperia and Horatio are not aware that Lorenzo is spying on them), says, 'I will professe and vow a maydens life' (vii.624), to which Mumford comments, 'Then I protest thou shalt not have my custom' (vii.625). Basilisco also comments facetiously:

> Why, Lady, is not Basilisco here?
> Why, Lady, dooth not Basilisco live?

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[133] Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals*, p. 111.
[134] Van Es, *Company*, pp. 67-68.

> Am not I worth both these for whom you mourne?
> Then take each one halfe of me, and cease to weepe;
> Or if you gladly would injoy me both,
> Ile serve the one by day, the other by night,
> And I will pay you both your sound delight. (*S&P*, III.ii.18-24)

We also find Kyd's characteristic stichomythic exchanges in verbal repartee during the 'loving controversy' (*KL*, xxiv.2317) between the reunited Leir and Cordella, which follows the 'Senecan logic of reversal and echo':[135]

> *Leir.* But you gave life to me and to my friend,
> Whose dayes had else, had an untimely end.
> *Cordella.* You brought me up, when as I was but young,
> And far unable for to helpe my selfe.
> *Leir.* I cast thee forth, when as thou wast but young,
> And far unable for to helpe thy selfe. (xxiv.2309-2314)

Here the characters 'seek to outbid one another in expressions of indebtedness'.[136] I have commented earlier that Kyd customarily breaks up line-by-line exchanges through the intervention of a third character, who often serves as a spectator. Just as Lorenzo intervenes in the verbal jousting between Bel-imperia and Balthazar, in the line, 'let go these ambages' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.90), the Gallian King decides to 'breake off' (*KL*, xxiv.2317) the distichomythic dialogue between Leir and Cordella.[137] These scenes in *King Leir* accord, stylistically, structurally, and dramaturgically, with Kyd's undoubted plays.

Like *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, the play toys with its audience's generic expectations. For instance, the Gallian King, following his wedding, asks Cordella:

> When will these clouds of sorrow once disperse,
> And smiling joy tryumph upon thy brow?
> When will this Scene of sadnesse have an end,
> And pleasant acts insue, to move delight? (xvi.1-4)

We might recall Soliman's hope that 'Our seane will proove but tragicomicall' (*S&P*,

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[135] Van Es, *Company*, pp. 68-69.

[136] Janet Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 221.

[137] Similarly, Hieronimo disrupts his own playlet: 'Heere breake we off our sundrie languages' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.74).

V.ii.143).[138] As we can see in these examples, Kyd's drama features what Drawdy describes

as a 'certain breed of dramatic self-consciousness that reveals itself by a systematic reliance

upon the *theatrum mundi* as a foundation for both visual imagery and textual framework'.[139]

King Leir, like *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, begins with a sense of

unavoidable danger. Leir announces that 'me thinks, **my** mind presageth still / **I know not**

what; **and yet** I feare **some** ill' (*KL*, iii.216-217), which parallels, in both thought and

language, Bel-imperia's speech: '**I know not what** my selfe: / **And yet my** hart foretels me

some mischaunce' (*Sp. T.*, II.iv.14-15). Leir's fear is soon realized; he is betrayed by his

daughters and takes on the role of the 'self-cursing hero',[140] as can be found in Seneca's

tragedies. It is also notable that Perillus – rather like Antigone in Seneca's *The Phoenician*

Women, who follows blind Oedipus – accompanies the King and persuades him not to kill

himself. We might note a correlation between Leir's self-inflicted misery and Oedipus's self-

inflicted blindness. Perillus asks the audience: 'Ah, who so blind, as they that will not see /

The neere approch of their owne misery?' (*KL*, vi.577-578). Perillus, like Seneca's choruses,

comments 'on the words and actions of the characters', and he is 'sympathetic to, and

expressive of, the problems of the hero'.[141] It seems to me that, although the play could be

regarded as a comedy, which concludes happily with the restoration of divine order, Kyd's

debt to Seneca's revenge tragedies in *King Leir* is unmistakeable. However, Witherspoon

argued that it was Robert Garnier who provided 'the important innovation' of introducing 'a

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[138] The Gallian King's lines also reveal parallels of thought with Balthazar's speech – as he anticipates his wedding to Bel-imperia – in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587):

>   Come, Bel-imperia, Balthazars content,
>   My sorrowes ease and soveraigne of my blisse,
>   Sith heaven hath ordainde thee to be mine:
>   Disperce those cloudes and melanchollie looks
>   And cleare them up with those thy sunne bright eyes,
>   Wherein my hope and heavens faire beautie lies. (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.95-100)

[139] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', pp. 25-26.

[140] James Ker, *The Deaths of Seneca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 99.

[141] Jo-Ann Shelton, *Seneca's Hercules Furens: Theme, Structure and Style* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), p. 40.

confidant' for the lead character 'to address'.[142] Indeed, Perillus can also be likened to the

Chorus in Kyd's translation of Garnier's closet drama, for *King Leir*, like the three undoubted

Kyd plays and Garnier's play, makes use of the Senecan device of foreboding dreams.

At the beginning of Scene Nineteen, Leir and Perillus are unaware that the Messenger

is spying on them. As we have seen, Lorenzo, another of Kyd's antagonists with murderous

ambitions, spies on Bel-imperia and Horatio, and, just as the Messenger does, interposes with

a series of asides. The King wakes from a prophetic dream, in which his

> daughters, *Gonorill & Ragan*,
> Stood both before me with such grim aspects.
> Eche brandishing a Faulchion in their hand
> Ready to lop a lymme off where it fell,
> And in their other hands a naked poynyard,
> Wherewith they stabd me in a hundred places. (xix.1488-1493)

Leir, like Bel-imperia, Lorenzo, and Cornelia, imparts his premonition 'to a friend', who

dismisses 'any deductions' he 'may have drawn'.[143] He tells Perillus that 'with the feare of

this I did awake, / And yet for feare my feeble joints do quake' (xix.1500-1501), which is

comparable to the effect Cornelia's dream has on her: 'When drousy sleep, that wak'd mee at

unwares, / Dyd with hys flight unclose my feareful eyes / So suddainly, that yet mee thinks I

see him' (*Corn.*, III.i.123-125). Leir's dream is fairly accurate, for Ragan has sent the

Messenger to slay him. Nevertheless, Perillus reassures him, 'Feare not, my lord, dreames are

but fantasies, / And slight imaginations of the brayne' (*KL*, xix.1481-1482), which is akin to

the Chorus's response to Cornelia: 'Why suffer you vayne dreames your heade to trouble?'

(*Corn.*, III.i.62). Leir's dream is symptomatic of the 'divine theatre in which' Kyd's

characters 'enact the roles they have been prescribed by God'.[144] Leir is only saved from his

dream becoming total reality by the intervention of thunder, which causes the Messenger to

flee. Leir and Perillus attribute this storm to a divine power: the Messenger exits and Perillus

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[142] Witherspoon, *Robert Garnier*, p. 27.
[143] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 436.
[144] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 96.

says, 'Let us give thanks to God' (*KL*, xix.1759). Kyd's characters can often be seen

'testifying to a just and omnipotent God', which follows a 'providential logic'.[145]

We can see, therefore, that the dream sequence in *King Leir* offers structural and

dramaturgical parallels with Kyd's accepted plays. My evidence suggests that this scene also

derives from the same author's linguistic resources. Leir says, '**I** marvell, **that** my daughter

stayes so long' (*KL*, xix.1476), which recalls, '**I** wonder **that** his Lordship **staies so long**'

(*Sp. T.*, III.iv.30). John Dover Wilson suggested in 1948 that 'once parallelisms of high

quality have been found in sufficient number to establish identity of authorship, parallels of

lower quality become interesting too'.[146] For example, we find the common phrase, 'God

graunt', in Leir's line, 'God graunt we do not miscarry in the place' (*KL*, xix.1478), but there

is a unique association of this line-opening with the topic of dreams, shared with Cornelia's

line, 'God graunt these dreames to good effect bee brought' (*Corn.*, III.i.65). We might

compare Leir's description of his daughters 'Ech brandishing a **Faulchion in their** hand'

(*KL*, xix.1490) with the Messenger's report of the Battle of Thapsus in *Cornelia*, and the

Roman nobles 'with their **fauchins in their** fists' (*Corn.*, V.i.307). We also find the phrase,

'bleeding wounds', shared between Leir's account of the dream, in which his daughter

Cordella 'Came with a boxe of Balsome in her hand, / **And** powred it **into** my **bleeding**

wounds' (*KL*, xix.1496-1497), and Hieronimo's account of finding his son's corpse: 'Within

the river of his **bleeding wounds**' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.124). The singular form, 'bleeding wound',

occurs in *Cornelia*, in the line, '**And** launc'd hys **bleeding wound into** the sea' (*Corn.*,

IV.i.24), which, following the grammatical pattern in *King Leir*, is accompanied by the line-

opening conjunction 'And', a transitive verb, as well as a possessive pronoun (as in *The*

Spanish Tragedy), and the preposition 'into'. The line thus appears to be 'a variant of the'

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[145] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 38.
[146] John Dover Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Titus Andronicus*, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. vii-lxxi (pp. xix-xx).

same 'writer's formula'.[147] I submit that *King Leir* should be restored to Kyd's canon.

Arden of Faversham

Arden of Faversham was entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 April 1592. It was published in Quarto that year by Edward White, who also published Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, and owned the rights to *King Leir*. Abel Jeffes was fined 10s for publishing an illegal edition of the domestic tragedy that same year (White was also fined for publishing an edition of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, which belonged to Jeffes). M. L. Wine has suggested that 'The printer, to judge from the ornament at the end of the text, seems to have been Edward Allde',[148] who also printed *Soliman and Perseda* and owned 'rights to the title' of *King Leir* in 1624.[149] A. S. Cairncross argued during the 1960s that the play belonged to the repertory of Pembroke's Men.[150]

F. G. Fleay suggested Kyd as the play's author in 1891,[151] as did Charles Crawford in 1903.[152] Crawford noted that some of the 'language' of the play 'can only be properly appreciated by persons acquainted with the drafting of legal documents', as Kyd likely was, being 'the son of a scrivener'.[153] He observed that the play 'echoes all parts of Kyd's work; and, therefore, it is a difficult thing to make choice of illustrations, there being such an abundance of material to substantiate his claim to the play'.[154] Having listed fifty verbal matches between the domestic tragedy and *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, he concluded that

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[147] Robertson, *Titus*, p. 388.

[148] *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine (London: Methuen, 1973), p. xix.

[149] David Scott Kastan, 'In Plain Sight: Visible Women and Early Modern Plays', in *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception and Performance*, eds. Gordon McMullan, Lene Cowen Orlin, and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 47-56 (p. 52).

[150] See Cairncross, 'Some Shakespearean Piracies', 335-349.

[151] Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II.29.

[152] See Charles Crawford, 'The Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 39 (1903), 74-86.

[153] Charles Crawford, *Collectanea: First Series* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1906), p. 105.

[154] Crawford, *Collectanea*, p. 120.

A man's vocabulary is the surest test by which he can be judged, for no author can jump out of his own language into that of another without betraying himself. His other work will condemn him, and vindicate the wronged party at the same time. It only means the exercise of much patience and minute inquiry to know "which is which." The proof lies before us here: the parallels from Marlowe and Lyly are of an entirely different character from those I have adduced from Kyd himself. I assert, then, that Kyd is the author of *Arden of Feversham*.[155]

In 1907 Walter Miksch, having studied the stylistic, metrical, and rhetorical features of *Arden of Faversham* in comparison to *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, ascribed the play to Kyd. He listed almost a hundred verbal matches between these texts.[156] The following year, Tucker Brooke agreed with Fleay and Crawford that 'there are more parallels in feeling and expression between' the 'play and the tragedies of Kyd than coincidences will account for'.[157] H. Dugdale Sykes, in 1919, identified additional collocation matches, including some with Kyd's *Cornelia*. He argued that 'this play has rightly been assigned to Kyd', for 'the resemblances between *Arden* and the unquestioned work of Kyd extend to the most trivial details of phrasing and vocabulary, and the whole weight of the internal evidence supports the conclusion that it is the product of Kyd's own pen'.[158]

Following these detailed accounts, T. S. Eliot praised Kyd as 'that extraordinary dramatic (if not poetic) genius who was in all probability the author of two plays so dissimilar as *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Arden of Feversham*'.[159] In 1948, Paul V. Rubow also assigned the play to Kyd, having listed over a hundred verbal parallels between Kyd's works (including *Cornelia* and *The Householder's Philosophy*) and the domestic tragedy.[160] Two years later, Félix Carrère, having analysed verbal parallels and resemblances in characterization and dramatic situation, argued that Kyd's authorship was beyond reasonable

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[155] Crawford, *Collectanea*, p. 130.

[156] See Walter Miksch, *Die Verfasserschaft des Arden of Feversham* (Breslau, 1907), pp. 19-29.

[157] *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p. xv.

[158] H. Dugdale Sykes, *Sidelights on Shakespeare* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1919), pp. 48-49.

[159] T. S. Eliot, 'Hamlet and His Problems', in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1920), pp. 87-94 (pp. 88-89).

[160] See Rubow, *Shakespeare og hans*, throughout.

doubt.[161] According to my researches, at least twenty respected scholars associated the play with Kyd during the twentieth century. Arthur F. Kinney dismisses this movement as a 'bandwagon',[162] but the fact that 'five scholars, in four different countries' (Crawford, Miksch, Sykes, Rubow, and Carrère) 'over a fifty-year period should independently ascribe *Arden of Faversham* to Kyd is a phenomenon unmatched in the history of attribution studies'.[163] The overwhelming evidence that these scholars provided for Kyd's authorship should have led to a definite attribution. However, in his 1963 Oxford thesis,[164] MacDonald P. Jackson ascribed parts of the play to Shakespeare, in what Vickers calls 'a depressing reflex over the past two centuries: if you find anything good in an anonymously published play, attribute it to Shakespeare'.[165] Nevertheless, as I demonstrate below, the internal evidence for Kyd's sole authorship is substantial.

Rhyme Forms

Given that the dramatist attempts a 'naked tragedy' and avoids 'glozing stuff' in *Arden of Faversham*,[166] it is somewhat surprising that close textual analysis reveals a variety of Kydian rhyme forms. Timberlake hypothesized that Kyd decided to 'mix less rime with his blank verse' in his later plays.[167] However, according to my count, there are eighteen examples of the *aca* scheme, one example of the *aaa* scheme, and one example of the *acaa* scheme in this play:

Rhyme	*The Spanish*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and*	*King Leir*	*Arden of*

[161] See Félix Carrère 'Introduction', in *Arden de Faversham. Etude Critique, Traduction et Notes*, ed. Félix Carrère (Paris: Montaigne, 1950), pp. 21-85.

[162] Arthur F. Kinney, 'Authoring *Arden of Faversham*', in *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, eds. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 78-99 (p. 93).

[163] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 26.

[164] See MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Material for an edition of *Arden of Faversham*' (B.Litt. thesis: Oxford University, 1963).

[165] Vickers, 'Shakespeare Reflex', p. 10.

[166] *Arden of Faversham*, Epilogue.14-18, in *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine (London: Methuen, 1973). All further references are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

[167] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 53.

	Tragedy		*Perseda*		*Faversham*
Aca	11	3	6	8	18
Abab	7	20		2	
Aaa	3	4	1	3	1
Abba		3		1	
Acaa	1		2	1	1
Aaaa	1			2	
Totals	23	30	9	17	20

For example, Reede uses the *aca* scheme in the lines, 'I am now bound to sea. / My coming

to you was about the plot of ground / Which wrongfully you detain from me' (*AF*, xiii.11-

13). Erastus's rhyming dialogue is similarly broken up by an unrhyming word (this example

follows an *aaca* scheme), when he asks Perseda:

> Why, when, Perseda? wilt thou not assure me?
> But shall I, like a mastlesse ship at sea,
> Goe every way, and not the way I would?
> My love hath lasted from mine infancie. (*S&P*, I.ii.1-4)

Kyd frequently employs the pronouns 'thee' and 'me' in conjunction with polysyllabic words

ending in *-cy*, *-ny*, *-ty*, and *-ry* suffixes. We can see this in the following passage from the

Quarrel Scene:

> Whose beauty and demeanour far exceeded thee.[168]
> This certain good I lost for changing bad,
> And wrapped my credit in thy company.
> I was bewitched—that is no theme of thine!—
> And thou unhallowed hast enchanted me. (*AF*, viii.90-94)

The lovers' quarrel in Kyd's Turkish tragedy is also characterized by this distinctive mixture

of blank verse and complex rhyme:

> Couldst thou abuse my true simplicitie,
> Whose greatest fault was over loving thee?
> Ile keepe no tokens of thy perjury:
> Heere, give her this; Perseda now is free. (*S&P*, II.i.148-151)

On the basis of rhyme forms, *Arden of Faversham* provides compelling evidence for Kyd's

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[168] As a side note, we might compare this line to Soliman's interrogative, 'What thinkst thou of their valour **and demeanor**?' (*S&P*, III.i.39). I can find no other example of the bigram, 'and demeanour', in drama performed during the period 1580-1600.

authorship.

Verse Style

In 1931, Timberlake provided metrical evidence that validated Kyd's authorship.[169] He recorded an average of '6.2 per cent of feminine endings with a range in long scenes of 0.9-12.9 per cent. *Soliman* has 10.2 per cent, and a range of 5.3-14.8 per cent'.[170] Timberlake noted that 'Kyd was customarily using feminine endings with a frequency surpassing that of any dramatist whom we have considered' and that 'Kyd was following nobody', for he 'freely admitted feminine endings because he saw their fitness for dramatic speech'.[171] He concluded that 'this is not entirely surprising. Kyd was a gifted playwright with a keen perception of dramatic values, and his metrical development may find its explanation in that fact'.[172]

Ants Oras, whose work I detailed in Chapter Two,[173] observed in 1960 that, in *Arden of Faversham*, 'that distinctly non-Shakespearean play', we can see 'a period pattern'.[174] Nevertheless, I replicate his findings, in comparison to *The Spanish Tragedy* and *King Leir*, in order to demonstrate the close relationships between some of these percentages:

Play	First Half	Even	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
The Spanish Tragedy	78.9	67.5	7.1	15.0	5.7	39.1	15.2	11.4	4.2	1.9	0.4
King Leir	78.9	63.0	13.3	13.7	4.2	36.6	14.0	8.7	5.1	3.9	0.4
Arden of Faversham	63.5	71.2	2.2	5.3	3.9	41.5	16.6	22.8	6.1	1.5	0

The percentages for the third, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth positions, in particular, are commensurate with Kyd's pausation practices. Conversely, no play in Shakespeare's

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[169] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.
[170] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 52.
[171] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 52-53.
[172] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 52.
[173] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 19-20.
[174] Oras, *Pause Patterns*, p. 31.

entire dramatic corpus reaches as high a percentage for pauses on even-numbered syllables as can be found in *Arden of Faversham*, or as low a figure as can be found for pauses after position three, while he would not reach a percentage exceeding that found for pauses after position six until *Julius Caesar* (1599), which yields a figure of 23.1. The pause patterns for the domestic tragedy are distinctly different from Shakespeare's preferences at the beginning of his career.

Function Words

In 1995, Thomas Merriam noted that 'the expression "aye, but" or "nay, but" is used more frequently' in *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and *Arden of Faversham* than in the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare.[175] He also observed that 'The same can be said for the much higher word frequency of "but"', which led him to conclude that Kyd is 'the preferred author of *Arden of Faversham*'.[176] Merriam's raw counts for the word 'But' reveal striking affinities with Kyd's plays: *The Spanish Tragedy* has a total of 203, *Soliman and Perseda* contains 208, and *Arden of Faversham* contains 202.[177] I have recently discovered that Richard Proudfoot has also been investigating 'But' in plays ascribed to Kyd. He observes that 'the frequency of function words used to start the verse line varies between writers (as it might be expected to)'.[178] According to my count, of the 202 instances of 'But' in *Arden of Faversham*, 105 are placed in the initial iambic foot, compared to 81 and 49 instances in Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part Two* and *The Taming of the Shrew* respectively.[179] Conversely, the high figure for *Arden of Faversham* accords with *The Spanish Tragedy*'s 122 and *King*

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[175] Merriam, 'New Light', p. 340.

[176] Merriam, 'New Light', p. 340. See the section entitled 'Function Words' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 22-23.

[177] Merriam, 'New Light', p. 341.

[178] I should like to thank Richard Proudfoot for sharing his thoughts with me in email correspondence, 9 December 2015. Proudfoot notes that words such as 'But' and 'For' 'show variation that does look systematic', although he has requested that I 'make it clear' that his work does not yet 'amount to any kind of system'.

[179] Of the 45 instances of 'But' in scenes 4-9 of *Arden of Faversham* (1590), which MacDonald P. Jackson gives to Shakespeare, 25 occur at the start of verse lines.

Leir's (identical) 105. Kyd thus places 'But' in the initial iambic foot once every 20 lines in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 23 lines in *Soliman and Perseda* and *King Leir*, and 19 lines in *Arden of Faversham*, which we might compare to Shakespeare's rate of once every 29 lines in *Henry VI Part Two*, and 46 lines in *The Taming of the Shrew*.[180]

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

My numbers for the exclamation 'Tush' and the colloquialism 'Ay, but' also demonstrate that *Arden of Faversham* corresponds to other plays assigned to Kyd:[181]

Play	Tush	Ay, but	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	4	6	10	0.05
Soliman and Perseda	2	8	10	0.05
Cornelia	0	0	0	0
King Leir	0	7	7	0.03
Arden of Faversham	12	9	21	0.10

Boas pointed out that Kyd's habit of starting lines with 'Ay, but' is symptomatic of the dramatist's 'distinctively Euphuistic mannerisms. Lyly is fond of making a statement and then contradicting it in a sentence beginning "Ay, but"'.[182] Kyd's debt to Lyly in *Arden of Faversham* is unmistakeable, as we shall see.

Paul J. Vincent notes that 'Shakespeare consistently preferred "between" to "betwixt" and "among" to "amongst"'.[183] The dramatist responsible for *Arden of Faversham*, on the other hand, prefers 'Betwixt' over 'Between' and 'Amongst' over 'Among':

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither

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[180] My computations are based on the line totals for these plays, taken from 'Appendix B: Table B.1', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification.*

[181] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, p. 24.

[182] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, p. xxiv.

[183] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 184.

The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0
King Leir	1/5	5/1	2/2	9/2
Arden of Faversham	2/0	3/2	2/1	0/1

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two,[184] Elliott and Valenza observe that Shakespeare

used the intensifiers 'Very' and 'Most' more frequently than Kyd.[185] I counted these

intensifiers within Kyd's plays and adjusted the figures to the total word count of each text.

According to these results, *Arden of Faversham* is closest to *Soliman and Perseda*:

Play	Total word count	Most	Very	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	22227	3	1	4	0.02
Soliman and Perseda	18800	5	9	14	0.07
Cornelia	15661	5	0	5	0.03
King Leir	22488	13	13	26	0.12
Arden of Faversham	21108	3	15	18	0.09

Verbal Links

Mueller demonstrated in his blog post 'N-grams and the Kyd canon: a crude test' that

Soliman and Perseda and *Arden of Faversham* are placed 'in the top quartile for shared two-

play N-grams by the same author', with a percentage of 99.7, while *Arden of Faversham* and

King Leir are given a percentage of 99, which provides compelling evidence for common

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[184] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies', pp. 24-25.
[185] Elliott and Valenza, 'And Then There Were None', p. 201.

authorship of these texts.[186] Additionally, Mueller's document, 'SHCSharedTetragramsPlus',

shows us that the play with the most matches with *Arden of Faversham* is Kyd's *Soliman and*

Perseda. The two plays share eighteen unique N-grams of four or more words.[187] Mueller has

noted elsewhere that 'the odds of getting between 10 and 15 shared tetra- or pentagrams in a

random draw are on the order of 1:10,000'.[188] Mueller's corpus would seem to validate

Charles Crawford's theory, put forward over a century ago, that 'these two plays must have

been composed by Kyd much about the same time; and works of the same date by the same

writer invariably repeat each other more often than others that are separated by longer

intervals of time'.[189] *Arden of Faversham* shares eleven unique N-grams with *King Leir*,

which once again provides strong evidence for common authorship.[190]

Mueller has also created a spreadsheet with the top 1,500 play pair combinations with

the densest networks of N-grams in his database.[191] *Soliman and Perseda* tops the list of plays

with links to *Arden of Faversham*, with a value of 526.05. *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman*

and Perseda are given a value of 435.26, which demonstrates that *Arden of Faversham* has

even denser verbal relations with Kyd's Turkish tragedy than *The Spanish Tragedy* does.[192]

Mueller's Discriminant Analysis tests give *Arden of Faversham* a 97.4% chance of having

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[186] Mueller, 'N-grams and the Kyd Canon'.
[187] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[188] Martin Mueller, 'Did Nicholas Udall Write the History of Jacob and Esau?'
https://literaryinformatics.wordpress.com/2011/04/08/did-nicolas-udall-write-the-history-of-jacob-and-esau/
[accessed 30 June 2015].
[189] Crawford, *Collectanea*, p. 123.
[190] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[191] I should like to thank Martin Mueller for allowing me to use his data, drawn from a spreadsheet entitled 'EMDRepetitionPairSummary'. Mueller explains (email correspondence, 8 June 2015) that: 'I assigned each n-gram the initial value of the number of its words, and then divided that value by the number of plays in which it occurs. So an octagram restricted to two plays has a value of 4, while an octagram that occurs in eight plays has a value of 1. For each play pair combination I added the values for each n-gram and then computed the rate per 10,000 words in the combined word count of the two texts. This is a very primitive procedure, but it works in the sense that the results are certainly not arbitrary. At the top of the list are various play pairs that show obvious signs of "text reuse" (the emerging term of art for such phenomena among computer scientists). The ranking you get from this expanded list of n-grams isn't very different from the ranking that you get from using n-grams that only occur in two plays. Why bother then? I've become interested in the general behaviour of n-grams. If an n-gram occurs in eight texts, is its distribution random, or is it more likely to cluster in a genre or an author? What do such n-grams tell us about author habits? Quite a bit, I think.'
[192] No Shakespeare play makes this list of texts with dense verbal relations to *Arden of Faversham* (1590), except the inauthentic 'bad' Quarto text *The Taming of a Shrew* (1594), with a value of 398.96. Memorial reconstruction is perhaps the most logical explanation for correlations between these texts.

been written by Kyd. Mueller concludes that 'If you combine my evidence from common trigrams' with the evidence 'from rare shared repetitions, you would have to be very sceptical about the power of quantitative analysis not to acknowledge the fact that the claim for an expanded Kyd canon rests on quite solid evidence'.[193]

According to my own tests, *Arden of Faversham* provides overwhelming verbal evidence for Kyd's authorship. The domestic tragedy shares a remarkable thirty-two rare tetragrams with *Soliman and Perseda*, sixteen tetragrams with *The Spanish Tragedy*, and five tetragrams with *Cornelia* (the domestic tragedy thus shares more rare N-grams of four or more words with *Cornelia* than Kyd's Turkish tragedy does). Moreover, the play shares twenty-three rare word sequences with *King Leir*, which is slightly higher than the total for tetragrams shared between *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*:

Play pair	Combined word count	Total number of matches	Percentage of matches
Arden of Faversham / The Spanish Tragedy	43335	16	0.03
Arden of Faversham / Cornelia	36769	5	0.01
Arden of Faversham / Soliman and Perseda	39908	32	0.08
Arden of Faversham / King Leir	43596	23	0.05

Many of these matching lines share complex verbal patterns that are surely the result of common authorship (we might note that both sequences below form part of a rhyming couplet):

The many good turns **that** thou hast done to **me.**
Now must I quittance with betraying thee (*AF*, iii.197-198)
Come neere, you men, **that** thus importune **me.** —

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[193] Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.

      Now must I beare a face of gravitie. (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.55-56)

Other parallels point towards a single dramatist's thought processes, with both matching and

non-matching words serving the same syntactical and semantic functions:

> And hurt thy **friend whose thoughts were** free from harm (*AF*, xiii.93)
> To wrong my **friend**, **whose thoughts were** ever true. (*S&P*, II.ii.28)

Collocation matching also gives us an insight into Kyd's preferred phrases, as we can see in

the double match below,

> **But that I know** how resolute you are (*AF*, xiv.135)
> **But that I know** your grace for just and wise (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.166)
> **But that I know** his qualities so well (*KL*, xii.955)

and in the following examples:

> I loved him more **than all the world beside** (*AF*, xiv.408)
> Dearer to me **than all the world besides** (*S&P*, II.i.284)
> And almost yoked **all the world beside** (*Corn.*, I.i.117)
> What **all the world besides** could ne're obtayne. (*KL*, xi.1871)

Kyd often employed verbal formulae to serve similar contextual and emotive purposes. For

example, Mosby, having been arrested for Thomas Arden's murder, and knowing that he is

about to be executed, cries, 'How long **shall I live in** this hell of grief?' (*AF*, xvi.12).

Cornelia mourns for Scipio: 'O, **shall I live in** these laments' (*Corn.*, V.i.432). When the

results of all of these independent tests are assembled together, the evidence for Kyd's

authorship becomes overwhelming, while close reading of the play itself reveals further

evidence for Kyd's hand.

Overall Dramaturgy

Arden of Faversham dramatizes the real-life event of Thomas Arden's murder in 1551.

However, just as in *Soliman and Perseda* and *King Leir*, 'the playwright keeps us guessing at

what sort of play he is writing', for 'he is toying with us'.[194] Vickers observes that 'the

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[194] Alexander Leggatt, '*Arden of Faversham*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 36 (1983), 121-134 (p. 129).

dramatist produces the first black comedy in English'.[195] Grisly humour can, of course, be found in Kyd's earlier dramatic efforts, most notably during the scene between Pedringano and his executioner in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Vickers notes that 'The professional killers in the Kentish tragedy', Black Will and Shakebag, 'are incompetent boasters, under whose ferocious aspect one can see the lineaments of the braggart *miles gloriosus*. Black Will and Shakebag exchange boasts about their exploits in battle (9.1-30), just like Basilisco in *Soliman and Perseda* (1.3.71-111), and he turns out to be equally incompetent'.[196] We also find unique verbal formulae shared between the domestic tragedy and Kyd's Turkish tragedy, utilized within similar contexts and according to corresponding character relationships. For example, Shakebag boasts, 'I think the overplus that's more than thine / Would mount to a greater sum of money / **Then** either **thou** or **all thy kin are worth**' (*AF*, ix.16-18). In *Soliman and Perseda*, Piston tells the Cryer that the chain's value 'was worth more **then thou** and **all thy kin are worth**' (*S&P*, I.iv.74). Lois Potter notes that 'Kyd paired his braggart' Basilisco 'with a small boy, Piston, who keeps undermining his boasts with asides and cheeky retorts'.[197] In this respect, Shakebag and Piston serve a practically identical dramatic purpose, for they both frequently undermine Black Will and Basilisco. Moreover, these comic murderers, like Basilisco, Pedringano, and the Messenger in *King Leir*, are central to the play's plot.[198]

I should also like to draw attention to the presence of a comic device in *Arden of Faversham* known as a mondegreen, which is a mishearing or misinterpretation of a phrase. In Scene Ten, we find the following conversation between Michael and his rival Clarke:

> *Clarke*. How now, Michael? How doth my mistress and all at
>   home?
> *Michael*. Who? Susan Mosby? She is your mistress, too?

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[195] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 1.
[196] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 1.
[197] Lois Potter, *The Life of William Shakespeare: A Critical Biography* (Chichester: Blackwell, 2012), p. 174.
[198] John Mackinnon Robertson pointed out in 1924 that 'the "murderer" business' in *King Leir* (1589) 'smacks strongly of' Kyd's 'ARDEN'. Robertson, *Titus*, pp. 387-388.

> *Clarke*. Ay, how doth she and all the rest?
> *Michael*. All's well but Susan; she is sick.
> *Clarke*. Sick? Of what disease?
> *Michael*. Of a great fever.
> *Clarke*. A fear of what?
> *Michael*. A great fever.
> *Clarke*. A fever? God forbid! (*AF*, x.48-57)

This device is employed in a strikingly similar context in *King Leir*, during a conversation between Gonorill and the Ambassador (Gonorill is covering up her malice towards Cordella, which is characterized by seemingly involuntary vocalizations):

> *Gonorill*. How doth my sister brooke the ayre of Fraunce?
> *Ambassador*. Exceeding well, and never sick one houre,
> Since first she set her foot upon the shore.
> *Gonorill*. I am the more sorry.
> *Ambassador*. I hope, not so, Madam.
> *Gonorill*. Didst thou not say, that she was ever sicke,
> Since the first houre that she arrived there?
> *Ambassador*. No, Madam, I sayd quite contrary.
> *Gonorill*. Then I mistooke thee. (*KL*, xviii.1394-1402)

These humorous passages evince complex collocations of ideas, which suggest a single author's mind.[199] This form of punning is so distinct, and the point of the exchange in the Kentish tragedy is so vague, that I consider it highly unlikely a plagiarist echoed the moment from *King Leir*.

There are also correlations between Kyd's drama and the business of letters in *Arden of Faversham*. Bradshaw, like Lorenzo in *The Spanish Tragedy* and Gonorill and Ragan in *King Leir*, is implicated by a letter, which follows Isabella's caveat that 'The heavens are just, murder' (or in the case of *King Leir*, attempted murder) 'cannot be hid' (*Sp. T.*, II.v.57). In Scene Three, Michael's euphuistic letter to Susan is used as a comic device. Erne notes that 'Euphuism serves Kyd to characterize the languid, effeminate Petrarchan lover' Balthazar in *The Spanish Tragedy*.[200] In *Arden of Faversham*, Kyd employs the letter, which is a 'travesty

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[199] I suggest that Kyd adopted this device from Italian comedy. See my section on the role of Trotter in *Fair Em* (1590). I should like to thank David Bevington for his advice, given in email correspondence, 9 September 2015, on this 'distinctive kind of punning'.
[200] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 71.

of euphuistic love language',[201] to put Michael in difficulties with his master (we might recall that the Ambassador's letter also proves troublesome in *King Leir*). Michael and Balthazar are used as pawns by the scheming villains Mosby and Lorenzo. The evidence points towards Kyd's dramatic methods.

Indeed, Mosby's schemes are very similar to those hatched by Lorenzo in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Mosby effectively uses his sister, Susan, as bait, just as Lorenzo matches his sister with Balthazar to serve his own Machiavellian purpose. Mosby offers his sister in marriage and therefore pits Michael and Clarke against each other, just as Lorenzo pits Pedringano and Serberine against each other. Vickers notes that Lorenzo's plot is comparable to Mosby's 'cat's-paw plot', devised in Scene Eight, which is 'the use of intermediaries to despatch some nasty business before they are themselves eliminated'.[202] Mosby intends 'to use Greene as an instrument to kill Arden'.[203] Nevertheless, for all the intrigue that occurs in the domestic tragedy, just as in Kyd's carefully crafted play *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'the conspirators accomplish only their own deaths'.[204]

Erne claims that 'Nashe portrays Kyd as a Senecan playwright, a generic image to which *Arden* conforms badly if at all'.[205] I disagree with Erne here, for my evidence suggests that the dramatist responsible for the domestic tragedy was indebted to Seneca, and that the tragedian's influences pervade the play's language, structure, and characterization. In 1893, John W. Cunliffe compared Mosby's monologue in Scene Eight to a passage in Seneca's *Hippolytus*.[206] Mosby states that 'My golden time was when I had no gold' (*AF*, viii.11), which, as is 'characteristic of Seneca', contrasts 'the safety of humble life with the peril of

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[201] Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington, 'Introduction', in *Plays on Women*, eds. Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 1-60 (p. 34).
[202] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 43.
[203] Vickers, 'The Quarrel Scene', p. 43.
[204] Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550-1700* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 79.
[205] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 222.
[206] John W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (New York: Macmillan, 1893), p. 88.

lofty position'.[207] Furthermore, Mosby's assertion that 'The way I seek to find where pleasure dwells / Is hedged behind me that I cannot back / But needs must on although to danger's gate' (viii.20-22) recalls the Senecan tag (found in *Agamemnon*) spoken by Hieronimo in *The Spanish Tragedy*: '*per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter*' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.6).[208] Also, M. L. Wine has pointed out that Shakebag 'is given to Senecan rhetoric'.[209] In one of 'the play's most "poetic" passages',[210] Shakebag tells the audience that

> Black **night** hath hid the **pleasures** of the day,
> And sheeting **darkness** overhangs the earth
> And with the black fold of her cloudy robe
> Obscures us from the eyesight of the world,
> In which sweet silence such as we triumph.
> The lazy minutes linger on their time,
> Loath to give due audit to the **hour**. (*AF*, v.1-7)

Robertson noted that the 'blank verse' of such speeches in *Arden of Faversham* have Kyd's 'pedestrian quality, despite poetic touches'.[211] Shakebag's speech closely resembles the following passage in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in terms of thought, manner, and poetic quality:

> Now that the **night** begins with sable wings
> To over-cloud the brightnes of the Sunne,
> And that in **darkenes pleasures** may be done,
> Come, Bel-imperia, let us to the bower,
> And there in safetie passe a pleasant **hower**. (*Sp. T.*, II.iv.1-5)

Additionally, Franklin fulfils a similar role to the Senecan Chorus in *Cornelia*, for he is 'sympathetic to, and expressive of, the problems' of the titular character.[212] Like Perillus, he follows his friend and, somewhat perplexingly at times, given Thomas Arden's lack of moral principles, identifies with him. The Senecan conventions surrounding Franklin can also be seen in Scene Fourteen. Franklin re-enters and the Mayor invites him to relate his news:

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[207] Robert B. Pierce, *Shakespeare's History Plays: The Family and the State* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1971), p. 70.

[208] Mosby's line therefore follows the Senecan idea, as expressed by Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon*, of proceeding through bad deeds, or mischief, in order to achieve safety. See Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Agamemnon*, l. 115, in *Seneca: Agamemnon*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[209] *Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine, p. lxvii.

[210] *Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine, p. xxx.

[211] Robertson, *Titus*, p. 342.

[212] Shelton, *Seneca's Hercules Furens*, p. 40.

'what mean you come so sad?' (*AF*, xiv.374). Franklin takes the role of the Senecan Nuntius, for he reports an off-stage catastrophe: Arden's body has been discovered behind the Abbey. He cries, 'would God I were deceived!' (xiv.380), and thus evokes the miserable Messenger in *Cornelia*, who mourns the loss of his 'deerest Maister' (*Corn.*, V.i.11) Scipio.

Franklin also delivers the play's epilogue. Vickers points out that Franklin refers to the audience as 'Gentlemen' and asks that they 'pardon this naked tragedy' (*AF*, Epilogue.14), which recalls Hieronimo's epilogue: 'Gentles, thus I end my play' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.151).[213] In the closing moments of the play, Franklin comes to represent 'the providential playwright of the *theatrum mundi* tradition', while Hieronimo 'assumes an analogous position' when he puts on the play-within-the-play.[214] Moreover, like the Ghost of Andrea in *The Spanish Tragedy* and Death in *Soliman and Perseda*, Franklin provides a list of the dead. The epilogues in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Arden of Faversham* emphasize that divine retribution has been accomplished, for Andrea and Franklin describe the punishments that the villains will go on to suffer. In my view, there can be little doubt that these speeches came from the same pen.

Irving Ribner observed that 'The action and interest of the Kydian revenge play are sustained by the unsuccessful attempts of the hero to avenge some ghastly crime committed by a diabolical villain'.[215] The revenger figure in *Arden of Faversham* appears to be Dick Reede, who desires his land back from the acquisitive Arden. Indeed, Franklin emphasizes in his epilogue that Arden 'lay murdered in that plot of ground, / Which he by force and violence held from Reede' (*AF*, Epilogue.10-11). Reede vows revenge at the beginning of the play (i.480) and, like Hieronimo, he seeks divine justice:

> Nay, then, I'll tempt thee, Arden, do thy worst.
> God, I beseech thee, show some miracle
> On thee or thine in plaguing thee for this. (xiii.29-31)

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[213] See Vickers, 'Shakespeare Reflex', p. 11.
[214] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 30.
[215] Irving Ribner, *Patterns in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge, 1960), p. 15.

Ribner also noted that 'An especially significant attribute of Kydian revenge tragedy is that the avenger and his plight are treated sympathetically'.[216] We are apt to sympathize with Reede, given Arden's procurement of his land, which is a 'crime' that 'God will justly punish'.[217] The numerous failed attempts on Arden's life emphasize 'the potency of Dick Reede's appeals to divine justice by foregrounding the haste with which his requests are realized'.[218] I agree with Miles S. Drawdy that *Arden of Faversham* belongs to the providential universe of *The Spanish Tragedy*:

> The understanding exhibited by these characters that God operates through the effort of man implies the understanding, at least in theory, of their respective playwrights. It is, then, in no way insignificant that *Arden of Faversham* is often supposed to have been the work of none other than Thomas Kyd.[219]

Arden of Faversham shares a number of elements with Kyd's drama, particularly the notion that supernatural or divine forces can intervene in the play's action. The play conforms to Kyd's 'mixture of Senecan theme and elaborate plotting',[220] and can be considered the product of a 'Senecan playwright'.[221]

Arden of Faversham also shares Kyd's (and Seneca's/Garnier's) emphasis on premonitions and ominous dreams. At the beginning of the play, Arden reprimands his wife for calling 'on Mosby in thy sleep' (i.66). Franklin suggests that Alice's dream is devoid of significance; he tells Arden to 'leave to urge' his adulterous wife 'overfar' (i.73). Later in this scene, Alice, just like the villainous Lorenzo, anticipates her own downfall:

> So lists the sailor to the mermaid's song;
> So looks the traveller to the basilisk.
> I am content for to be reconciled,
> And that I know will be mine overthrow. (i.213-216)

Mosby, the man who will indeed lead them both to 'overthrow', dismisses Alice's

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[216] Ribner, *Patterns*, p. 17.
[217] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 24.
[218] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 23.
[219] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 24.
[220] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 5.
[221] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 222.

premonition: 'Thine overthrow? First let the world dissolve!' (i.217). Nonetheless, these

premonitions, just as in *The Spanish Tragedy*, create 'an uncanny atmosphere of intrigue and

impending tragedy'.[222] Later in the play, Michael, speaking very much in the voice of Kyd's

Cornelia, has a 'fearful dream that troubled me' (iv.93) in which he 'was beset / With

murderer thieves' (iv.94-95). Franklin, disturbed by Michael's cry, complains, '**What** dismal

outcry calls **me from my** rest?' (iv.87). This line replicates Hieronimo's famous cry: '**What**

out-cries pluck **me from my** naked bed' (*Sp. T.*, II.v.1). We might consider this to be flagrant

plagiarism of Kyd's play, but the fact that the author of *Arden of Faversham* couples this line

with Hieronimo's later image of the 'dismall out-cry' (IV.iv.109) suggests self-repetition on

Kyd's part. This line also parallels *Soliman and Perseda*: '**What dismall** Planets guides this

fatall hower?' (*S&P*, I.v.78). I agree with Sykes, who pointed out that Kyd was most likely

'producing, in the phraseology natural to him, just such an incident as he had already used in

his earlier play'.[223] Michael's declarative, '**My** trembling **joints** witness my inward **fear**' (*AF*,

iv.95), gives us a unique match with the dream sequence of *King Leir*: 'And yet for **feare my**

feeble **joints** do quake' (*KL*, xix.1501). Thomas Arden takes the role of the dismissive

Chorus here: 'So great a cry for nothing I ne'er heard' (*AF*, iv.97).

However, Arden has his own ominous dream in Scene Six. I argue that the

homogeneity of Arden and Leir's impartations diminishes the probability of plagiarism. Like

Leir, Arden is being pursued by murderers and anticipates this attempt on his life through a

dream. Wells noted that 'They both dream that they are attacked by two persons, one of

whom, in each case, carries a falchion'.[224] If we examine the verbal details of this moment in

Arden of Faversham, we once again find the line-opening, 'God grant', uniquely associated

with prophetic dreams in Arden's line, '**God grant** this vision bedeem me any **good**' (vi.31),

which parallels, 'God graunt we do not miscarry in the place' (*KL*, xix.1478), and, in

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[222] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 52.
[223] Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 67.
[224] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 436.

particular, Kyd's *Cornelia*: '**God graunt** these dreames to **good** effect bee brought' (*Corn.*, III.i.65). Arden tells his companion, Franklin:

> So, trust me, Franklin when **I did awake,**
> I stood in doubt whether I waked or no. (*AF*, vi.28-29)

Leir tells Perillus:

> And with the feare of this **I did awake,**
> And yet for feare my feeble joints do quake. (*KL*, xix.1500-1501)

The three-word unit, 'I did awake' (employed as a formulaic line-ending in both examples), is unique in the period 1580-1600. Here we see verbal parallels combined with similar character relationships. Franklin reassures Arden that 'This fantasy doth rise from Michael's fear, / Who being awaked with the noise he made, / His troubled sense yet could take no rest' (*AF*, vi.32-34). Franklin, like Perillus in *King Leir* and the Chorus in *Cornelia,* 'makes the wrong diagnosis' of the dream, 'for it is truly predictive'.[225] Arden responds to his companion, 'It may be so, God frame it to the best: / But oftentimes my **dreams** presage **too true**' (vi.36-37). These lines parallel the Messenger's line in the dream sequence of *King Leir*: 'Confesse, that **dreames** do often prove **too true**' (*KL*, xix.1484). Franklin's speech, 'To such as note their nightly fantasies, / Some one in twenty may incur belief' (*AF*, vi.38-39), recalls *King Leir*'s,

> dreames are but fantasies,
> And slight imaginations of the brayne (*KL*, xix.1481-1482)

as well as *The Spanish Tragedy*'s, 'I, I, my nightly dreames have tolde me this' (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.76), and *Soliman and Perseda*'s, 'my nightly dreams foretold me this' (*S&P*, V.iii.25), through linking the premodifier 'nightly' with the topic of ominous dreams. Garnier's 'detailed influence on Kyd' is unmistakeable in these passages.[226] The French tragedian calls dreams 'Qu'vn vain semblant, qu'vn fantôme, une image / Qui nous trompe en dormant, et

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[225] Robert K. Presson, 'Two Types of Dream in Elizabethan Drama, and Their Heritage: Somnium Animale and the Prick-of-Conscience', *Studies in English Literature*, 7 (1967), 239-256 (p. 239).
[226] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 181.

non pas un présage' in his *Hippolyte* (1573).[227] Arden's line, 'But in the pleasure **of this**

golden **rest**' (*AF*, vi.12), matches Erastus's interrogative, 'What thinks Lord Brusor **of this**

strange ar**rest**?' (*S&P*, V.ii.17). This example could have been prompted by the phonetically

similar lexical choices 'rest' and 'arrest', for stored units may be manipulated and processed

mentally according to both meaning and sound. We also find a unique formulaic line-opening

shared between Arden's line, '**With that he** blew an evil-sounding horn' (*AF*, vi.16), and

Piston's line in *Soliman and Perseda*: '**With that he** purst the gould, and gave it us' (*S&P*,

V.ii.52). Either the author of *Arden of Faversham* was assiduously imitating not only the

dream sequence in *King Leir* but also the language, dramaturgy, and patterns of influence

within Kyd's accepted plays, or these parallels are the products of Kyd's creative

consciousness. The attribution of Kyd to *Arden of Faversham* for over a century is surely

valid, for the totality of internal evidence I have presented here seems more than adequate

enough to gain Kyd recognition as the play's author.

Fair Em

Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter of Manchester was 'Imprinted at London for T.N. and I.W.',

which, as Standish Henning suggests, 'probably stands for Thomas Newman and John

Winnington'.[228] The play 'bears a printer's device associated with John Danter' and is known

to have been performed by Lord Strange's Men (as stated on the title page of the undated

First Quarto edition).[229] It is likely that the play was performed privately as a compliment to

Sir Edmund Trafford, a friend and colleague of Henry Stanley, in 1590.[230] Henslowe's diary

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[227] Robert Garnier, *Hippolyte*, ll. 237-238, in *Les Tragedies*, ed. Wendelin Foerster (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1883).

[228] *Fair Em: A Critical Edition*, ed. Standish Henning (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), p. 1.

[229] Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth Maclean, *Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 105.

[230] See Alwin Thaler, '*Fair Em* (and Shakespeare's Company?) in Lancashire', *PMLA,* 46 (1931), 647-658; *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire*, ed. George David (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. xxxi, pp. 180-181.

records a later performance of 'william the conkerer' on 4 January 1593 by Sussex's Men at the Rose Theatre.[231] Henning notes that 'There is no very good evidence that this play was really *Fair Em*, but critics have agreed on the tentative identification'.[232] In 1898, Josef Schick identified Henry Wotton's 1578 work *A Courtly Controversy of Cupid's Cautels* as the source for the William the Conqueror plotline in *Fair Em*.[233] Kyd is the only (undoubted) Elizabethan playwright to use *A Courtly Controversy of Cupid's Cautels* as a source for his dramatic works and, as we have seen, Wotton's translation was printed by Kyd's father's friend, Francis Coldocke. The story in Wotton's collection is a tragedy and ends with Lubeck's execution and William's suicide. The dramatist responsible for *Fair Em* transforms the tragic tale into a comedy. I have shown earlier that Kyd eschews tidy genre definitions, which can be seen most clearly in the choric frame of Love, Death, and Fortune in his Turkish tragedy. Richard Proudfoot notes that the 'Shared source' for *Fair Em* and *Soliman and Perseda* 'speaks strongly for common authorship, as does' the 'ingenious reversal of genre in the dramatization of both source stories'.[234] To the best of my knowledge, Vickers is original in attributing the play to Kyd, although it is worth noting that Paul V. Rubow identified a few verbal parallels between the comedy and Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1948.[235]

> Robert Greene ridiculed the play's author in his *Farewell to Folly* (1591):
>
> Others will flout, and over read everie line with a frumpe, and say tis scurvie, when they themselves are such scabd Jades that they are like to dye of the fazion, but if they come to write or publish anie thing in print, it is either distild out of ballets or borrowed of Theologicall poets, which for their calling and gravitie, being loth to have anie profane pamphlets passe under their hand, get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses: Thus is the asse made proud by this under hande brokerie. And he that cannot write true Englishe without the help of Clearkes of parish Churches,

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[231] Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, p. 20.
[232] *Fair Em*, ed. Standish Henning, p. 28.
[233] Josef Schick, 'Preface', in *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. Josef Schick (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1898), pp. v-xliii (p. xxvi).
[234] I should like to thank Richard Proudfoot for sharing his thoughts with me in email correspondence, 7 October 2015.
[235] See Rubow, *Shakespeare og hans*, pp. 132-133.

will needs make him selfe the father of interludes. O tis a jollie matter when a man hath a familiar stile and can endite a whole yeare and never be beholding to art? but to bring Scripture to prove any thing he says, and kill it dead with the text in a trifling subject of love, I tell you is no small peece of cunning. As for example two lovers on the stage arguing one an other of unkindnesse, his Mistris runnes over him with this canonicall sentence, A mans conscience is a thousand witnesses, and hir knight againe excuseth him selfe with that saying of the Apostle, Love covereth the multitude of sinnes. I think this was but simple abusing of the Scripture. In charitie be it spoken I am perswaded the sexten of Saint Giles without Creeplegate, would have beene ashamed of such blasphemous Rhetoricke. But not to dwell in the imperfection of these dunces, or trouble you with a long commentarie of such witlesse cockescombes, Gentlemen.[236]

In 1886, F. G. Fleay claimed that 'Greene's chief attacks had been directed against Kyd in *Menaphon* and in *Never Too Late'*, but that 'he took' particular offence at *Fair Em*.[237] Thomas H. Dickinson, writing in 1909, noted that 'There are indications that Greene would have been quite willing to ridicule Kyd', for 'Nash, in the same preface to *Menaphon* in which he had ridiculed Marlowe, satirizes Kyd'.[238] In fact, the opening of Greene's attack, 'Others will flout',[239] resembles Kyd's hint 'at the existence of hostile critics',[240] in his dedication to Thomas Reade in *The Householder's Philosophy*: 'Let others carpe'.[241]

In *Farewell to Folly*, Greene criticizes the dramatist's use of 'Biblical paraphrases, the first from I Peter 4:8 and the second from Romans 2:15',[242] as 'simple abusing of the Scripture'.[243] Greene also criticizes the dramatist's use of plots 'distild out of ballets' or 'borrowed of Theologicall poets, which for their calling and gravitie, being loth to have anie profane pamphlets passe under their hand, get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses'.[244] In an extant letter to Sir John Puckering, Kyd 'projected a poem on the conversion

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[236] Robert Greene, *Farewell to Folly*, in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 15 vols (London: The Huth Library, 1881-1886), IX.232-233.
[237] F. G. Fleay, *A Chronicle of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (London: J. C. Nimmo, 1886), p. 13.
[238] Thomas H. Dickinson, 'Introduction', in *Robert Greene*, ed. Thomas H. Dickinson (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), pp. ix-lxvii (p. xxxvi).
[239] Greene, *Farewell*, p. 232.
[240] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, p. lxxvii.
[241] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, p. 233.
[242] *Fair Em*, ed. Standish Henning, p. 64.
[243] Greene, *Farewell*, pp. 232-233.
[244] Greene, *Farewell*, pp. 232-233.

of St Paul'.[245] Kyd thus fits Greene's profile of a successful but mediocre poet who writes

works 'of theological cast'.[246] We should also remember that Francis Meres named Kyd as a

poet as well as a successful writer of tragic plays. Greene's image of 'a man' who 'hath a

familiar stile and can endite a whole yeare and never be beholding to art' recalls Nashe's

attack against Kyd: 'that run through every art and thrive by none, to leave the trade of

noverint whereto they were born and busy themselves with the endeavours of art'.[247] Greene's

line, 'he that cannot write true Englishe without the help of Clearkes of parish Churches, will

needs make him selfe the father of interludes', suggests that the author of *Fair Em* was a

professional copyist, but had turned to playwriting.[248] Furthermore, as Eric Sams pointed out

in 1995, 'There is no direct evidence that Kyd was ever a churchman of any persuasion' but

'his scrivener father Francis had been a churchwarden at St Mary Woolnoth's in Lombard

Street, not far from Cripplegate'.[249]

It seems possible that, in his allusion to 'Saint Giles without Creeplegate',[250] Greene

follows Nashe in evoking Kyd's name. Saint Giles (the protector of rams and deer) was a

Greek Christian hermit who was crippled when a hunter's arrow, intended for his companion,

a young deer (a young deer can be referred to as a kid, as well as a fawn or calf), wounded

him. The Visigothic King Flavius subsequently ordained Saint Giles a priest.[251] More

significant, perhaps, is the fact that the vicar of St Giles' Church, known as 'the windmill

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[245] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 220.

[246] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 515.

[247] Nashe, 'Preface', pp. 316-317.

[248] Greene, *Farewell*, pp. 232-233.

[249] Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1564-1594* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 93.

[250] Greene, *Farewell*, p. 233.

[251] See Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 118-119. It is perhaps worth mentioning the remarkably similar tale of Saint Francis of Paola (1416-1507), who, like Saint Giles, resided in a cave; he was praying one day when a young goat rushed in, seeking protection from a group of hunters. The hunters entered the cave and were startled to see the hermit caring for the frightened kid. The saint accepted the visit of the goat and the hunters as 'a sign from God that he was to leave his hermitage and work for the Church'. Rosemary Ellen Guilley, *The Encyclopedia of Saints* (New York: Visionary Living, 2001), p. 117.

parish' (much of *Fair Em*, of course, takes place in the interior of a mill),[252] at the time (between 1588 and 1605, having taken over as rector of the church after Robert Crowley) was Lancelot Andrewes, Kyd's schoolfellow at Merchant Taylors'. Andrewes was a considerable scholar who, as Peter McCullough observes, drew 'upon moral, historical, and poetic classical texts' for his renowned sermons.[253] Nashe praised him for his 'incomparable gifts' in 1596,[254] and we might surmise that Andrewes would 'share Greene's view of interpolating scripture into a play text'.[255] In my view, Greene's attack is practically identical to Nashe's invective against Kyd and his education at Merchant Taylors', as well as his background as a scrivener. Both pamphleteers label the subject of their respective attacks as a 'plagiarist, and dunce',[256] or, as T. W. Baldwin put it in 1959, a 'degreeless person' who produces plays that are 'compared favourably with the work' of better educated dramatists.[257] Baldwin argued that Nashe and Greene were both attacking the same author.[258] Such conclusions must, of course, remain conjectural. However, given that the old *Hamlet* play Nashe alludes to can now be regarded as 'undoubtedly Kyd's work', I propose that here is evidence for Kyd's authorship of *Fair Em*.[259] I now present the internal evidence I have collected for Kyd's authorship, encompassing rhyme forms, verse style, linguistic idiosyncrasies, vocabulary, function words, verbal links, and overall dramaturgy.

Rhyme Forms

In 1960, H. S. D. Mithal claimed that 'This play is mainly written in blank verse and the only instance of a rimed couplet is offered when Blanch vindicates the fidelity of her sex to a

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[252] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 44.

[253] Peter McCullough, 'Introduction', in *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. Peter McCullough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. xi-lvii (p. lvii).

[254] Thomas Nashe, *Have with You to Saffron Walden*, in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols, III.107.

[255] I should like to thank Peter McCullough for sharing his thoughts in email correspondence, 3 May 2016.

[256] *Fair Em*, ed. Standish Henning, p. 66.

[257] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 515.

[258] See Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, pp. 19-26, pp. 514-520.

[259] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 5.

distrustful William'.[260] However, I have identified a number of Kydian 'rime schemes set at random in the texture of the verse'.[261] It is interesting that a total of ten Kydian rhymes can be found (there are nine in total in *Soliman and Perseda*, according to Vickers's count), given that *Fair Em* 'seems to be a cut' and 'badly mangled' play.[262] Henning suggests that 'corrupting forces may have hidden more' rhymes:[263]

Rhyme	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and Perseda*	*King Leir*	*Arden of Faversham*	*Fair Em*
Aca	11	3	6	8	18	7
Abab	7	20		2		1
Aaa	3	4	1	3	1	2
Abba		3		1		
Acaa	1		2	1	1	
Aaaa	1			2		
Totals	23	30	9	17	20	10

Kyd often complicates his broken rhymes even further by distributing rhyming words between characters, such as during Trotter's comic song, in which he professes his love for the heroine. The dramatist collocates the words 'ground' and 'wound', when Trotter tells Em that she has the power 'To wound my heart',[264] and that he is therefore 'In prison bound' (*FE*, v.32), to which Em retorts, 'So all your rhyme / Lies on the ground' (v.33-34). We find the same collocation of rhyming words in *Soliman and Perseda*, when Perseda curses Erastus for abusing her love: 'Hinder my teares from falling on the ground, / And I must die by closure of my wound' (*S&P*, II.i.91-92). Just as in *Fair Em*, Kyd distributes (interrupted) rhyming words between Erastus and Perseda, as can be seen in the following exchange:

> *Erastus.* And till I came whereas my love did dwell,
> My pleasure was but paine, my solace woe.

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[260] H. S. D. Mithal, 'The Authorship of *Fair Em* and *Martin Mar-sixtus*', *Notes and Queries*, 7.1 (1960), 8-10 (p. 10).
[261] Routh Jr., 'Rime Schemes', p. 50.
[262] Standish Henning, '*Fair Em* and Robert Wilson: Another View', *Notes and Queries*, 7.9 (1960), 348-349 (p. 348).
[263] Henning, 'Another View', p. 348.
[264] *Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter of Manchester*, v.29, in *Fair Em: A Critical Edition*, ed. Standish Henning (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980). All further references are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

Perseda. What love meanes, my Erastus, pray thee tell. (II.i.102-104)

I propose that the distinctive use of rhyme in these scenes argues strongly for common authorship.

Verse Style

Timberlake was puzzled by his findings for *Fair Em*.[265] He stated that 'one is hardly prepared to find a play of such undistinguished verse exceeding in use of feminine endings the practice of such leading dramatists as Marlowe and Greene'.[266] *Fair Em* averages 6.5 percent feminine endings (with a range of 0.0-15.9), which is very close to the figure of 6.2 found in *Arden of Faversham*. Timberlake came to the unlikely conclusion that the play had been 'originally composed in Poulter's measure (or possibly in straight fourteeners) which has been altered' during revision 'to make the play blank verse throughout'.[267] Nonetheless, *Fair Em* exhibits Kyd's practice (unique among Shakespeare's predecessors) of admitting a high proportion of feminine endings.

Tarlinskaja has examined *Fair Em*,[268] and 'found some features of Kyd's versification style'.[269] For example, she notes that the ratios of proclitic micro-phrases in *Fair Em* and *King Leir* 'are very close, and very "Kyd-like," at 220-250 per 1,000 lines', which is 'almost the same as in *The Spanish Tragedy*', while 'the mean stressing on' metrically weak syllabic positions is also 'Kyd-like, below 10 percent'.[270] Furthermore, she observes that *Fair Em* conforms to 'the maximum of strong syntactic breaks after syllable 4' in Kyd's plays, which have a maximum percentage of '20.1-22.7 percent'; *Fair Em* has a percentage of 22.4.[271] Her

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[265] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.
[266] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 63-64.
[267] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 63-64.
[268] For an overview of Tarlinskaja's method, see the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 20-22.
[269] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 93.
[270] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 102.
[271] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 102.

figure of 14.1 for run-on lines in *Fair Em* is close to *Cornelia*'s 13.6.[272] *Fair Em* thus exhibits

Kyd's metrical profile.

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

As discussed in Chapter Two, I examined high-frequency linguistic markers in *Fair Em*, in

comparison to the three accepted Kyd plays, as well as *King Leir* and *Arden of Faversham*.[273]

We find that *Fair Em* shares the same ratio for 'Betwixt' and 'Between' with *Soliman and*

Perseda, the same preference for 'Amongst' over 'Among' with all of the plays attributed to

Kyd, as well as the same preference for 'Besides' over 'Beside'. My linguistic evidence

supports Vickers's ascription of *Fair Em* to Kyd:

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither
The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0
King Leir	1/5	5/1	2/2	9/2
Arden of Faversham	2/0	3/2	2/1	0/1
Fair Em	1/1	2/1	2/0	1/1

Vocabulary

In the table below, I present Ward E. Y. Elliott and Robert J. Valenza's date for prefixes and

suffixes. We should, of course, expect significant differences between the vocabularies of

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[272] See 'Appendix B: Table B.3', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification.*
[273] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.

The Spanish Tragedy and *King Leir*, which feature courtly language and much Latinate diction (for example, *ex-* prefixes frequently attach to Latin bases), in comparison to the largely colloquial language of the English plays *Arden of Faversham* and (to a lesser extent) *Fair Em*, for, as I mentioned in Chapter Two,[274] Kyd essentially attunes his diction according to context. Vickers notes that 'Vocabulary computations for attribution purposes are, by necessity, global, treating all the words in a literary text irrespective of which characters use them'.[275] Indeed, an author's vocabulary will display some stable characteristics, but Kyd is unlikely to have had recourse to as many Latin words for his Kentish tragedy as he would for plays such as *King Leir* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. Nonetheless, there are some affinities between the four texts analysed by Elliott and Valenza, particularly in terms of the frequencies for *dis-* and *fore-* prefixes, as well as *-less* and *-ish* suffixes, per 20,000 words.[276] However, it is worth noting that analysis of this kind is problematized by the fact that the text of *Fair Em* is undoubtedly corrupt and is very short at just 12497 words.

Prefix/suffix	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*King Leir*	*Arden of Faversham*	*Fair Em*
where-/there-	27	9	14	54
dis-	60	53	36	73
fore-	4	6	3	7
un-	58	58	30	76
ex-	46	60	14	31
-able	14	12	11	33
-less	46	20	15	14
-ish	14	13	7	16
-ly	140	141	110	236
-ment	22	17	8	28

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[274] See the section entitled 'Vocabulary', pp. 26-27.
[275] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 79.
[276] http://www1.cmc.edu/pages/faculty/welliott/ATTWNrev.pdf

Function Words

Following Thomas Merriam, I computed all instances of the function word 'But' in *Fair Em* and the other plays in the 'expanded' Kyd canon.[277] All of these texts are remarkably consistent in terms of the 'much higher word frequency of "but"' in Kyd's plays, in comparison to contemporaries such as Marlowe and Shakespeare.[278] As we saw in Chapter Two, this sub-stylistic marker operates 'below an author's conscious process of shaping words and concepts into coherent utterances'.[279] Significantly, Kyd used 'But' once every 109 words in *The Spanish Tragedy* and 110 words in *Fair Em*:

Play	Total word count	Total instances of 'But'	Frequency (every x words)
The Spanish Tragedy	22227	203	109
Soliman and Perseda	18800	208	90
Cornelia	15661	128	122
King Leir	22488	191	118
Arden of Faversham	21108	202	104
Fair Em	12497	114	110

I agree with Vickers that 'the function word test is a perfectly reliable tool, if used properly'.[280] It is also remarkable that of the 114 instances of 'But' in *Fair Em*, 71 feature at the beginning of verse lines (at a rate of one 'But' in the initial iambic position every 12 lines). The high total for 'But' in *Fair Em*, and the frequency with which the dramatist employed this function word at the beginning of verse lines, is in accordance with Kyd's practice.

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[277] See the section entitled 'Function Words' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 22-23.
[278] Merriam, 'New Light', p. 340.
[279] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 22.
[280] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 98.

Verbal Links

Martin Mueller demonstrated in 2009 that *Fair Em* and *King Leir* are 'in the top quartile for shared two-play N-grams by the same author', with a percentage of 98, which lends 'support to Vickers's argument' that these plays were written by the same author.[281] Furthermore, Mueller lists the top three dozen plays with the highest values for N-grams in comparison to *Fair Em*. Mueller's list of repetitions, allowing 'for over 50,000 pairwise comparisons',[282] demonstrates that, in terms of overall repetitions (regardless of length or rarity), *Fair Em* is closest to *Arden of Faversham*, with a value of 6.68.[283] *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* are not far behind with values of 5.34 and 4.78 respectively. *Fair Em* and *King Leir* have a value of 3.05 repetitions. Mueller's data for unique N-grams, weighted by length, shared between *Fair Em* and other early modern plays, also supports Vickers's attribution. The top four plays in this list include *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Arden of Faversham*, with values of 2.51 and 2.07. In comparison to *Fair Em*, *Soliman and Perseda* and *King Leir* have values of 1.54 and 1.22 respectively. Mueller's Discriminant Analysis tests give *Fair Em* a staggering 99.5% chance of having been authored by Kyd.[284] Mueller concludes that 'if *The Spanish Tragedy* is the clearest case of a play by Kyd, the three English plays are, so to speak, a little more Catholic than the Pope'.[285]

Given that *Fair Em* 'seems to be a cut' and 'badly mangled' play,[286] it is quite extraordinary that it shares fifteen rare tetragrams with *The Spanish Tragedy*, six with *Soliman and Perseda*, eleven with *King Leir*, and fourteen with *Arden of Faversham*:

Play pair	Combined word count	Total number of matches	Percentage of matches

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[281] Mueller, 'N-grams and the Kyd Canon'.

[282] https://nuconfluence.northwestern.edu/pages/viewpage.action?pageId=27754620&navigatingVersions=true

[283] I am grateful to Martin Mueller for sending me his unpublished document, 'Fairemrepvalues'.

[284] https://nuconfluence.northwestern.edu/display/~mmueller/Discriminant+Analysis+explained+non-technically

[285] Mueller, 'Vickers is right'.

[286] Henning, 'Another View', p. 348.

Fair Em / The Spanish Tragedy	34724	15	0.04
Fair Em / Soliman and Perseda	31297	6	0.02
Fair Em / King Leir	34985	11	0.03
Fair Em / Arden of Faversham	33605	14	0.04

Many of these matches 'take the form of single-line utterances' that suggest a common

author's habits of mind:[287]

> **To** dim **the brightness of the** day with frowns (*FE*, i.8)
> **To** over-cloud **the brightnes of the** Sunne. (*Sp. T.*, II.iv.2)

We might note the striking six-word sequence shared between *Fair Em* and *The Spanish*

Tragedy below:

> I would desire **you to take the pains to** bear this (*FE*, xiv.41)
> My Lord, let me entreat **you to take the paines**
> **To** exasperate and hasten his revenge. (*Sp. T.*, III.iv.30-31)

Other matching phrases are inobtrusive, but equally useful as authorship indicators:

> Any ways to **rid my hands of** them (*FE*, xvii.187)
> And I will cleanly **rid my hands of** her. (*AF*, viii.43)

Some matching N-grams recur in more than one Kyd play, giving us an insight not only into

Kyd's patterns of self-repetition but also the manner in which he incorporated verbal

formulae in the structure of his verse:

> Bright Blanch, **I** come; sweet fortune, favor **me**,
> **And I will** laud thy name eternally (*FE*, i.80-81)
> That as **I** am, you will accept of **me**,
> **And I will** have you whatsoe're you be (*KL*, vii.719-720)
> How causeless they have injured her and **me**.
> **And I will** lie at London all this term. (*AF*, i.357-358)

As we shall see in the next section, *Fair Em* shares many links of thought and dramaturgy

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[287] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.

with Kyd's oeuvre.

Overall Dramaturgy

Fair Em features clever intrigue plots, which are characteristic of Kyd's interest in dramatic situation and complex causality. Henning notes that *Fair Em* 'depends for its structure on the intrigues used by various characters to arrive at desired ends'.[288] William and Lubeck decide to 'travel in disguise, / To bring' Blanch 'to our Britain Court' (*FE*, i.70-71). In *King Leir*, the Gallian King and Mumford disguise themselves and, upon meeting Cordella, travel to France so that the King and Cordella can marry. Cordella is King Leir's daughter, while the heroine of *Fair Em* is of the gentry, for she is the daughter of Sir Thomas Goddard. Both female protagonists have been banished; both Leir and William the Conqueror recognize that banishment is unjust and therefore revoke it, concluding the respective plays happily. *Fair Em* and *King Leir* contain separate plotlines which eventually interconnect in a happy conclusion. The dramatic structures and plot situations in these plays could hardly be more alike. However, William and Blanch's disguises threaten the play's happy resolution. Zweno of Denmark is furious that William (who is disguised as Sir Robert of Windsor) has stolen his daughter Blanch away. William, however, believes that he has eloped with Mariana. Zweno vows:

> **Not** all the protestations thou canst use
> **Shall** save thy **life. Away with him** to prison! (xii.34-35)

Zweno and William have been duped by Mariana, who devised the 'substitution plot' with 'Machiavellian skill'.[289] This moment duplicates Kyd's thought process in *The Spanish Tragedy*. The Viceroy is convinced by the scheming villain Villuppo that Alexandro is responsible for his son's death. He orders:

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[288] *Fair Em*, ed. Standish Henning, pp. 94-95.
[289] Kevin A. Quarmby, *The Disguised Ruler in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), p. 109.

> **Away with him**; his sight is second hell.
> Keepe him till we determine of his death:
> If Balthazar be dead, he **shall not live**. (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.89-91)

Fortunately, the characters involved in both plays realize that they have been deceived.

Another aspect of *Fair Em* that recalls *The Spanish Tragedy* and *King Leir* in particular is the illicit opening of a letter (or a box, in the case of Kyd's tragedy). Blanch, like Gonorill, takes a letter from a Messenger that is not addressed to her (the letter was to be delivered to Mariana) and, just as Ragan does at the conclusion of *King Leir*, she tears the letter in pieces. Similarly, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'Hieronimo tears up the petitions given by the commoners'.[290] *Fair Em* and *King Leir* share the stage business of intercepted letters, while Kyd, 'Through Bel-imperia's letters' in *The Spanish Tragedy*, investigates 'the meanings of circulating, intercepting, and authenticating documents'.[291] Mariana, upon gathering together the fragments of the letter, discovers Sir Robert of Windsor's true identity, while Hieronimo identifies his son's murderers. Hieronimo decides upon a judicious course of action:

> **I** therefore **will** by circumstances trie
> What I can **gather**, **to** confirme this writ. (*Sp. T.*, III.ii.48-49)

Mariana is also conscious of the ambiguities surrounding letters, in a passage that, it seems to me, clearly came from the same pen:

> Yet **will I**
> **gather** up the pieces, which haply may show **to** me the intent
> thereof, though not the meaning. (*FE*, vi.59-61)

Here we see similar devices, albeit employed to serve different generic requirements.

Much of the play's comedy revolves around the character of Trotter, the miller's man. He is typical of Kyd's comic characters in that he is well integrated into the structure of the play. Like Mumford in *King Leir*, Trotter 'stands counter to the dominant romantic tone'

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[290] Jordi Coral, *The Subjectivity of Revenge: Senecan Drama and the Discovery of the Tragic in Kyd and Shakespeare* (Doctoral thesis: University of York, 2001), p. 206. Available at http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.249367 [accessed 20 August 2015].
[291] Cunningham, *Imaginary Betrayals*, p. 111.

of the play and, like Basilisco in *Soliman and Perseda*, he tries to woo the play's heroine.[292]

Trotter deliberately misinterprets Em, who 'promised to do anything to recover my health'

(v.21), and attempts to get her hand in marriage. This device of misinterpreting a character's

words for comic effect suggests a common author's mind, for, as in the examples I have

given from *King Leir* and *Arden of Faversham*, there is a discourse of illness. Trotter tells Em

that he is sick (it is in fact love-sickness and the comic technique is employed somewhat

more successfully here) but that 'the phismicary tells me that you can / help me' (v.12-13).[293]

The role of Trotter as servant-clown and confidant is perhaps traceable to the role of the

Zanni in the Italian comedies, which, as I have noted, appear to have influenced Kyd

throughout his career.[294]

Despite its generic status as a romantic comedy, there are indications that *Fair Em*

is influenced by Seneca's revenge tragedies. Many of the play's characters lust for revenge.

Zweno vows revenge against Lubeck and Sir Robert of Windsor for stealing away his

daughter. Demarch speaks of 'revengement of a private grudge / By Lord Dirot lately

proffered me' (xiii.40-41), while Valingford seeks revenge against Manvile. As we have

seen, the admixture of 'comic methods with tragic materials' is characteristic of Kyd's

drama.[295] There are also indications of Seneca's influence in the play's language. Bart Van Es

notes that 'Kyd combines classical drama with the traditions of Renaissance love poetry' in

The Spanish Tragedy, while the author of '*Fair Em* had followed exactly this form for the

furtive dialogue between the lovers Mariana and Lubeck'.[296] Mariana and Lubeck converse in

Senecan stichomythia:

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[292] Martin Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of His Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 64.
[293] One also gets the sense that the dramatist is showing off his legal knowledge, for Trotter, somewhat uncharacteristically for a clown (although the Zanni could be shrewd), tells the female protagonist that 'the ending of an old indenture is the beginning / of a new bargain' (*FE*, v.17-18).
[294] See K. M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'arte, 1560-1620, with Special Reference to the English Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), II.401.
[295] Harbage, 'Intrigue', p. 37.
[296] Van Es, *Company*, p. 68.

> *Mariana.* But Lubeck now regards not Mariana.
> *Lubeck.* Even as my life, so love I Mariana.
> *Mariana.* Why do you post me to another then?
> *Lubeck.* He is my friend, and I do love the man.
> *Mariana.* Then will Duke William rob me of my love?
> *Lubeck.* No, as his life Mariana he doth love.
> *Mariana.* Speak for yourself, my lord; let him alone.
> *Lubeck.* So do I, madam, for he and I am one. (viii.58-65)

Like the exchanges between Bel-imperia, Balthazar, and Lorenzo in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Lubeck and Mariana's dialogue centres 'on the overbearing claims' of an unwanted suitor 'on a loyal woman's love', for Lubeck is forced by William the Conqueror to woo by proxy.[297] Indeed, there are a number of scenic correspondences between this play and other plays that I ascribe to Kyd.

In Scene Four, Manvile enters in disguise and speaks of his love for Em. Valingford enters at another door, also in disguise, and delivers his own speech about Em, while Manvile, concealing himself, eavesdrops. Manvile − like Lorenzo in *The Spanish Tragedy*; Soliman and Piston in *Soliman and Perseda*; Mumford and the Gallian King in Scene Seven, and the Messenger in Scene Nineteen of *King Leir*; as well as the murderers near the conclusion of *Arden of Faversham* (*AF*, xiv.226-229) − speaks in asides as he spies on the unwitting character. Mountney, also disguised, subsequently enters and he too professes his love for the miller's daughter. The combination of intrigue, disguise (Lorenzo and his cronies, of course, are also in disguise when they spy on the lovers in *The Spanish Tragedy*, just like Mumford and the Gallian King in *King Leir* when they spy on Cordella), the discourse of love (as in *The Spanish Tragedy* and Scene Seven of *King Leir*), the unheeded asides, and the complex multi-layered stage action all point towards common authorship. One is also reminded of Michael's euphuistic love letter in Scene Three of Kyd's Kentish tragedy, which is overheard by Franklin and Arden. Finally, the quarrel between Manvile and Em, in Scene Five, is strikingly similar, in terms of dramatic structure, language, and convergence of

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[297] Van Es, *Company*, p. 68.

thoughts, with the confrontations between Erastus and Perseda in Act Two Scene One of *Soliman and Perseda*, and Alice and Mosby in Scene Eight of *Arden of Faversham*. To the best of my knowledge, no scholar has pointed out the similarities between Manvile and Em's quarrel and these plays.

Manvile takes the role of Perseda in his erroneous accusations against Em. He believes that she has been unfaithful and 'hadst talk and conference' (*FE*, v.100) with other suitors:

> But time and fortune **hath** bereaved **me of that,**
> **And** I, an abject in those gracious eyes
> That with remorse erst saw into my grief,
> May sit and sigh the sorrows of my heart. (v.60-63)

Alice Arden tells Mosby: ''tis thou **hast** rifled **me of that, / And** made me sland'rous to all my kin' (*AF*, viii.74-75). Perseda accuses Erastus of unfaithfulness, for the carcanet she gave him has been discovered in the possession of Lucina:

> my heart will breake:
> But inward cares are most pent in with greefe.
> Ah, that my moyst and cloud compacted braine
> Could spend my cares in showers of weeping raine;
> But scalding sighes, like blasts of boisterous windes,
> Hinder my teares from falling on the ground. (*S&P*, II.i.85-90)

Perseda's line, 'Could **spend my** cares **in** showers of weeping raine' (II.i.88), shares the sequence, 'spend my', and the preposition 'in' – 'occupying the' exact 'same place in the structure of the verse' – with Manvile's line, 'To **spend my** time **in** grief and vex my soul' (*FE*, v.93).[298] Manvile accuses Em of being 'impudent and shameless in thy ill, / That with thy cunning and defraudful tongue, / Seeks to delude the honest meaning mind' (v.74-76). Similarly, Perseda accuses Erastus of being 'graceless' and 'wicked', for he 'can forge alluring looks / And faine deep oathes to wound poor silly maides' (*S&P*, II.i.115-118). She criticizes his 'fraudful countenance' (II.i.120) and vilifies the opposite sex. Manvile abhors

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[298] F. G. Hubbard, 'Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama Author(s)', *Modern Language Association*, 20 (1905), 360-379 (p. 361).

'all women kind' (*FE*, v.95). In *Arden of Faversham*, Mosby also curses 'women', for they 'can insinuate / And clear a trespass with your sweet-set tongue' (*AF*, viii.146-147). He tells Alice that

> thy sorrow is my sore;
> Thou know'st it well, and 'tis thy policy
> To forge distressful looks to wound a breast
> Where lies a heart that dies when thou art sad. (viii.54-57)

Em ponders, 'Indeed, my Manvile hath some cause to **doubt,** / When **such a** swain is rival in his love' (*FE*, v.64-65). Erastus, confused by Perseda's accusations, wonders: 'But wherefore makes Perseda **such a doubt,** / As if Erastus could forget himselfe?' (*S&P*, II.i.112-113). Manvile protests:

> If sight do move offence, it is better **not to see**.
> But thou didst more, unconstant as **thou art**. (*FE*, v.98-99)

Mosby states, 'It grieves me **not to see** how foul **thou art**' (*AF*, viii.102). This practically identical insult ('unconstant' and 'foul' are interchangeable), combined with the corresponding characters' linking 'sight' with 'offence', suggests a common author's mental repertoire of collocations. Em concludes, 'Witness, my God, without desert of me, / For only Manvile honor I in heart, / Nor shall unkindness cause me from him to start' (*FE*, v.116-118). Alice shares the same thought process in her speech: 'Nothing shall hide me from thy stormy look. / If thou cry war, there is no peace for me; / I will do penance for offending thee' (*AF*, viii.113-115). Em calls upon God to witness her devotion to Manvile, while Alice tears a prayer book to show that she is devoted to Mosby.[299] As is characteristic of Kyd's drama, 'all worldly action is viewed by the divine spectator'.[300] These emotional confrontations thus share many lexical choices, images, thought processes, and distinctive verbal patterns. As Vickers puts it, 'such a series of matching interlinked collocations far exceeds the bounds of

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[299] Another of Kyd's antagonistic female characters, Ragan, similarly tears a letter at the conclusion of *King Leir* (1589). As we shall see in the following chapter, the tearing of documents is characteristic of Kyd's drama.
[300] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 52.

coincidence'.[301] The case for Kyd's authorship of *Fair Em* seems extremely solid.

Part Three: The Claim for Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*

In his monograph, *Determining the Shakespeare Canon: Arden of Faversham & A Lover's Complaint*, MacDonald P. Jackson argues for Shakespeare's authorship of scenes Four to Nine (the middle section of the play) of *Arden of Faversham*. He ascribes the rest of the play to an unknown co-author (he also sees Shakespeare's hand in parts of Scene Two and Scene Three). Jackson acknowledges that 'The omission' of the domestic tragedy 'from the First Folio argues against Shakespeare's sole authorship'.[302] However, he dismisses the overwhelming evidence for Kyd's sole authorship put forward by Crawford, Miksch, Rubow, and Carrère (he gives impressionistic evaluations of some parallels collected by Sykes, the least comprehensive of the five independent scholars who identified Kyd's hand) and criticizes twentieth-century scholars' 'haphazard' searches for verbal parallels, which were purportedly 'biased by the scholar's preconceptions'.[303] Jackson notes that 'We need to know how rare such formulas are and who among all dramatists within an appropriate time frame used them'.[304] This is a sensible notion, but Jackson uses *LION* to test the rarity of utterances that he himself has cherry-picked. Jackson concedes that this process of determining 'whether a parallel is close enough to be recorded' involves 'an element of subjectivity' and that 'no doubt some relevant data have been accidentally overlooked'.[305] Plagiarism software, on the other hand, is entirely objective; it often highlights low-level formations that a reader would likely overlook. Jackson's case for Shakespeare's authorship on the basis of verbal parallels is therefore compromised by 'the scholar's preconceptions'.[306] Moreover, as Eric Rasmussen

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[301] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 21.
[302] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 38.
[303] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 16.
[304] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 16.
[305] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 19.
[306] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 16.

has pointed out, 'Jackson seems to have made the mistake of trusting *LION* without verifying, and the results are unfortunate'.[307] Rasmussen demonstrates that Jackson's sole use of *LION* to check the rarity of matches is inadequate, for some of the supposedly rare parallels listed by Jackson can be found in the larger database *EEBO*.

Jackson gives a summary of *LION* links to *Arden of Faversham*'s Quarrel Scene (Scene Eight) and observes that 'Links to plays by Shakespeare are overwhelmingly predominant. It is surely of further significance that four of the five plays with the most links to the Quarrel Scene' are Shakespeare's 'earliest, according to the Oxford chronology'.[308] However, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, this is not a strong argument for Shakespeare's authorship, given that two of these early plays listed by Jackson share a number of unique matches with plays in Kyd's accepted canon, according to Mueller's database.[309] As we have seen, *Henry VI Part Three* shares ten unique N-grams with *The Spanish Tragedy* and nine with *Soliman and Perseda*. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* shares seven unique word sequences with *Soliman and Perseda*.[310] Jackson admits that 'It is probable that no Shakespeare play tabled above was written before *Arden of Faversham*', but he gives little credence to the notion that Shakespeare was the debtor.[311] However, the chronology currently being produced by Martin Wiggins (*British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*) allows us to give more precise dating than has yet been available. Wiggins assigns *Arden of Faversham* to 1590, and thus, as Jackson concedes, it antedated the whole of Shakespeare's corpus.[312] This fact enables us to see that the Shakespeare matches with *Arden of Faversham* are indicative of its influence on him, rather than his authorship.

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[307] Eric Rasmussen, 'Review of MacDonald P. Jackson, *Determining the Shakespeare Canon: Arden of Faversham & A Lover's Complaint*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 66.2 (2015), 226-229 (p. 227). I should like to thank Eric Rasmussen for sharing his thoughts with me in email correspondence, 2 May 2015.

[308] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 20.

[309] See Darren Freebury-Jones, '"A raven for a dove": Kyd, Shakespeare, and the Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*'s Quarrel Scene', *Archiv fuer das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (forthcoming).

[310] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312

[311] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 23.

[312] See Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue: 1590-1597* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), III.11.

Jackson lists just four rare links between the Quarrel Scene and Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* respectively. In my own investigation of the Quarrel Scene, I listed around twenty instances of dislegomena shared with *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*, as well as additional matches with *Cornelia*.[313] Some of these matches are of a trivial nature, and thus define Kyd's idiolect, such as the line, 'It is not love that loves **to murder love**' (*AF*, viii.59), which matches Cornelia's lament: 'Hence-forth forbeare **to** seeke my **murdring love**' (*Corn.*, II.66). Similarly, the following low-level phrase is unlikely to have been plagiarized by another dramatist:

> When I have bid thee **hear or see** or speak (*AF*, viii.129)
> Hinder me not what ere you **heare or see**. (*Sp. T.*, II.i.38)

Other matches share complex verbal patterns, as we can see in the examples below:

> But **I will** break thy spells and exorcisms
> And put another **sight** upon **these eyes** (*AF*, viii.95-96)
> And **ile** close up the glasses of his **sight**,
> For once **these eyes** were onely my delight. (*Sp. T.*, II.v.102-103)

> **And burn** this prayerbook, where I here use
> The holy word that had converted me.
> See, Mosby, **I will** tear away **the leaves** (*AF*, viii.116-118)
> **And burn** the roots from whence **the** rest is sprung.
> **I will** not leave a roote, a stalke, a tree,
> A bough, a branch, a blossome, nor a **leafe**. (*Sp. T.*, IV.ii.9-11)

> And **thereon** will I **chiefly meditate** (*AF*, viii.121)
> But **whereon** doost thou **chiefly meditate**? (*Sp. T.*, II.ii.26)

Yet Jackson can find only eight phrases shared with Kyd's plays that occur no more than five times during the period 1580-1600. We must seriously question Jackson's dismissal of Kyd's candidature on the basis of measures of quantity, given the deficiencies of his search methods. One can only assume that Jackson has failed 'to notice statistically significant relationships, or there may be conflicts of interest that tend to "bury" significant findings'.[314]

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[313] See Freebury-Jones, '"A raven for a dove"' (forthcoming).

[314] John P. A. Ioannidis, 'Why Most Published Research Findings Are False', *PLoS Medicine,* 2.8 (2005). Available at http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pmed.0020124 [accessed 2 June 2015].

Jackson records just one rare link between plays attributed to Kyd and Arden's dream in

Scene Six, despite the fact that, as William Wells highlighted in 1939,[315] the scene most

closely parallels *Cornelia* and *King Leir* in terms of dramatic structure and homogeneity of

style.[316] Evidently, Jackson has 'overlooked' more than just 'some relevant data'.[317] His list of

parallels for this scene, in particular, is disturbingly incomplete, consisting of matches in lines

5-31 (there are forty-six lines in total), and failing to register numerous verbal links with

plays in Vickers's 'extended' Kyd canon (in fact, he frequently skips over lines with Kyd

matches, perhaps because they would be inconvenient to his argument for Shakespeare's

authorship).[318] Jackson claims that 'the results point clearly to Shakespeare's authorship of

Arden's narrative of his dream'.[319] I find it impossible to share his conviction.[320]

As we have seen, Mueller's tests demonstrate that Jackson's argument that the

accepted Kyd plays are like each other and 'the putatively Kydian plays' are not is

unfounded.[321] *Arden of Faversham* shares more unique N-grams with *Soliman and Perseda*

than with any other play in Mueller's corpus. Jackson explores the possibility that

'Shakespeare, enthralled by the surviving play' of another 'dramatist, absorbed the imagery

and phrasing of the Quarrel Scene' to such an extent 'that for a decade they affected his

writing far more than they affected somebody else's', but he considers this possibility

'remote'.[322] However, as I have noted elsewhere: 'Jackson's investigation of supposedly non-

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[315] See Wells, '*King Leir*', pp. 435-437.

[316] In a paper entitled '"Fearful Dreams" in *The History of King Leir*, *Arden of Faversham*, and the Plays of Thomas Kyd', given at Cardiff University on 21 July 2015, I listed three rare verbal matches between Arden's dream and a passage of just seventeen lines, in the scene when Leir relates his ominous dream to Perillus; yet the whole of *King Leir* (1589) does not make Jackson's list, which has a range of six links with *Henry VI Part Three* (1591) to two links with Ben Jonson's *A Tale of a Tub* (1596). See Darren Freebury-Jones, '"Fearful Dreams" in Thomas Kyd's Restored Canon', *Studies in History, Archaeology, Religion and Conservation* (forthcoming).

[317] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 19.

[318] See 'Appendix 2', in Jackson, *Determining*, pp. 237-239.

[319] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 59.

[320] Jackson also points out that one of 'the highest positions on the table' is occupied by Yarington's *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1595). The fact that Yarington was apprenticed to Kyd's father could help to explain the verbal affinities between these plays. Jackson, *Determining*, p. 22.

[321] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 114.

[322] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 23.

Shakespearean passages in *Arden* is limited to collocations contained within 76 lines of scene 14'.[323] Jackson seems to accept evidence which confirms his existing hypothesis and dismisses that which contradicts it. Moreover, he is guilty of ignoring negative evidence that he has previously presented.

In his paper 'New Research on the Dramatic Canon of Thomas Kyd', Jackson lists (according to my count) forty unique triples between *Henry VI Part Two* and scenes that he does not attribute to Shakespeare in *Arden of Faversham*. He lists only ten matches between Shakespeare's play and the middle portion of the domestic tragedy.[324] He also lists thirty-eight matches between *The Taming of the Shrew* and scenes outside of the middle portion of *Arden of Faversham*, with just six matches between Shakespeare's comedy and the portions he ascribes to Shakespeare.[325] If we take Jackson's figures and adjust them to composite word counts, we are given an average of 0.03 matches between scenes Four to Nine of *Arden of Faversham* and *Henry VI Part Two* (combining the overall word count for these scenes in *Arden of Faversham* with the total word count for Shakespeare's play gives us a total of 30972) and 0.09 matches with the 'non-Shakespeare' scenes (which give us a composite count of 42480 words). There are three times as many matches with *Henry VI Part Two* in scenes that Jackson gives to an unknown co-author, in comparison to the supposedly 'Shakespearean' scenes. Similarly, *The Taming of the Shrew* averages 0.02 matches with the middle portion of the play (with a combined total of 26720 words) and 0.10 with the 'non-Shakespeare' scenes (38228 words). The overall pattern of unique matches (five times as many matches between *The Taming of the Shrew* and the 'non-Shakespearean' scenes of *Arden of Faversham*) does not support Jackson's hypothesis.

The Shakespeare play with the most matches with *Arden of Faversham*, according to

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[323] Darren Freebury-Jones, 'Review of MacDonald P. Jackson, *Determining the Shakespeare Canon*', *Archiv fuer das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 252.1 (2015), 197-198 (p. 198).
[324] See Jackson, 'New Research', pp. 110-112.
[325] See Jackson, 'New Research', pp. 115-116.

Mueller's database, is *Richard III*, which William Wells regarded as 'a study in Kydian methods'.[326] These plays share eight unique N-grams in total.[327] Six of these N-grams occur in scenes that Jackson does not ascribe to Shakespeare. The evidence therefore supports my theory that Shakespeare appropriated or absorbed phrases from the domestic tragedy as a whole. The next Shakespeare play with the most unique links with *Arden of Faversham*, according to Mueller's database, is *The Merchant of Venice* (1597), with seven matches. Only one of these N-grams recurs in a scene that Jackson assigns to Shakespeare. The third and final Shakespeare play with a high number of unique matches in Mueller's corpus is *Troilus and Cressida* (1602), which also shares seven N-grams of four or more words, four of which occur in scenes that Jackson does not attribute to Shakespeare. Had Jackson conducted a full analysis of scenes outside of those he wishes to give to Shakespeare, he would have found that his argument for Shakespeare's authorship of the middle portion of the play, on the basis of 'overall patterns', can be dismissed as groundless.[328]

Let us examine some of the N-grams shared between *Richard III* and *Arden of Faversham*. The majority of these matching phrasal structures occur in the opening scene of the domestic tragedy, which Jackson assigns to an unknown co-author. Thomas Arden speaks of 'the Lord Clifford, he **that loves not me**' (*AF*, i.32), while Queen Elizabeth complains of Richard Gloucester, 'A man **that loves not me** – nor none of you' (*R3*, I.iii.13). Later in the opening scene of *Arden of Faversham*, Alice speaks of Mosby, her lover:

I know he loves me well but dares not come. (*AF*, i.133)

Hastings repeats this verbal formulation in the following lines:

I thank his grace; **I know he loves me well**.
But for his purpose in the coronation. (*R3*, III.iv.14-15)

Shakespeare is unlikely to have repeated this striking heptagram (seven-word sequence)

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[326] Wells, 'Chronicle-History', p. 243.
[327] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[328] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 124.

without having at least seen *Arden of Faversham* during performance. In Scene Fourteen, which Jackson considers to be 'one of the least Shakespearean' scenes in the play, we find the unique four-word unit, 'me he was murdered'.[329] Arden's corpse has been discovered behind the Abbey. Franklin tells the Mayor, 'I fear **me he was murdered** in this house' (*AF*, xiv.392). In Shakespeare's play, Richard asks York, 'what should you fear?' (*R3*, III.i.143). York proceeds to speak of his uncle's ghost, residing in the Tower of London: 'My grannam told **me he was murdered** there' (III.i.145). Both Alice and Richard have committed murder and are confronted by these characters (Richard fears that York has been instructed by his mother). These parallel phrases thus serve a similar purpose.

In Scene Five of *Arden of Faversham*, which Jackson ascribes to Shakespeare, Franklin asks Michael, 'Is he himself already **in his bed?**' (*AF*, v.56), to which Michael says of Arden: '**He is** and fain would have the light away' (v.57). Michael is involved in the plot to murder Arden. Richard asks of his brother, 'What, is he **in his bed?**', and Hastings responds, '**He is**' (*R3*, I.i.143). Richard, of course, wants the King dead so that he can mount the throne. This match could have been stimulated by Shakespeare's recollection of the plot against Arden's life. It seems the Shakespeare matches with *Arden of Faversham* are no different from those with other plays in the 'expanded' Kyd canon, in terms of quantity, quality, or patterns of distribution. Mueller points out that 'there is no good reason to assume that relations between *Arden* and Shakespeare are particularly dense'.[330]

Jackson argues that Shakespeare parallels contained in the middle portion of *Arden of Faversham* must be authorial, for Shakespeare 'could not have played a role in both' Scene Six and Scene Eight of the domestic tragedy.[331] As I demonstrated in Chapter One, Shakespeare's verbal borrowings from *Soliman and Perseda* and *King Leir* are not confined to scenes in which he could have acted. Jackson queries, 'Even if' Shakespeare 'had been an

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[329] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 72.
[330] I should like to thank Martin Mueller for his advice, given in email correspondence, 9 January 2014.
[331] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 122.

actor in *Arden of Faversham*, why should it be so much more influential than all the other plays in which he acted?'[332] Let us once again compare the totals, according to Mueller's database, for unique N-grams between Shakespeare's plays and those attributed to Kyd by Vickers, but this time including *Arden of Faversham*:

Play	The Spanish Tragedy	Soliman and Perseda	King Leir	Arden of Faversham
Henry VI Part Three	10	9	10	
Titus Andronicus	7			
Richard III	7		8	8
The Two Gentlemen of Verona	7	7		
Henry IV Part One			8	
King John			8	
The Merchant of Venice				7
Much Ado About Nothing			7	
Troilus and Cressida				7
Cymbeline	7			
Henry VIII	7			

According to these totals, Shakespeare was no more influenced by *Arden of Faversham* than he was by other plays assigned to Kyd. Jackson contends that Shakespeare is unlikely to have 'imbibed an anonymous playwright's words through hearing them'.[333] How, then, is Jackson to account for the numerous parallels between Shakespeare's plays and *King Leir*, which does not appear to have been printed until 1605? According to Jackson's argument, Shakespeare could have had a hand in *King Leir* and/or *Soliman and Perseda*, which, let us remember, is 'generally assumed to have been printed not long after it was entered in the Stationers' Register in November 1592'.[334]

Jackson claims that 'it seems almost certain that more than one playwright was involved' in the composition of *Arden of Faversham*.[335] I find this argument unconvincing.

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[332] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 24.
[333] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 122.
[334] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 157.
[335] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 83.

Elsewhere I have listed almost forty verbal matches between the Quarrel Scene and scenes that Jackson does not attribute to Shakespeare in *Arden of Faversham*.[336] Some of these complex collocations of words and ideas surely belong to a single mind, as we can see in Alice's declarative, 'Ay, **now I see**, **and too** soon **find** it **true**, / Which often hath been told me by my friends, / **That** Mosby loves me not but for my wealth, / **Which**, too incredulous, **I** ne'er believed' (*AF*, viii.106-109), which gives us an internal match with the lines, 'Ungentle and unkind Alice, **now I see** / **That which I** ever feared **and find too true**' (i.205-206). It seems highly improbable that two authors would share this remarkable cluster of ten words (now/I/see/and/too/find/true/That/which/I). These lines belong to Kyd's mental repertoire and parallel *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Madame, tis **true**, **and now I** find **it** so' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.35). Vickers estimates that 'about twenty phrases that occur in scene 8 are repeated elsewhere in the play, with a total of about eighty repetitions in all. Whoever wrote scene 8 wrote the rest of the play'.[337]

Jackson observes that in M. L. Wine's list of parallels between *Arden of Faversham* and other contemporary plays, 'Within scenes 4-9, covering 23.6 percent of the play's total number of lines, there are twenty-seven references to works of Shakespeare'.[338] Jackson argues that this consolidates his theory that Shakespeare is responsible for the middle portion of the play. However, Jackson ignores the distribution of parallels with Kyd's three accepted plays in M. L. Wine's 'Appendix I'. There are three matches with Kyd in the first scene of *Arden of Faversham*, according to Wine's list of 'interesting possibilities' for determining authorship;[339] there are four matches in scenes Two and Three; ten matches in scenes Four to Nine; nine in scenes Ten to Thirteen; and eleven in scenes Fourteen to Eighteen (these segments are based on act divisions in older editions). What we see here is a consistent

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[336] See Freebury-Jones, '"A raven for a dove"' (forthcoming).
[337] Vickers, 'Shakespeare Reflex', p. 11.
[338] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 65.
[339] See 'Appendix I', in *Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine, pp. 141-147.

distribution of Kyd matches. This distribution suggests that either both Shakespeare and his unknown co-author replicated language from Kyd's canon to a symbiotic degree, or that Kyd is the play's sole author.

It is impressive that, as Jackson notes, in the middle portion of the play, there are only 'thirteen' references 'to works by other writers' in Wine's 'Appendix I',[340] but it is more impressive that, with the exception of references to *The Murder of John Brewen* (1592) and *King Leir*, all of these parallels are with Kyd's three accepted plays. If we take these figures from Wine's list, and compare them to the overall word count of Shakespeare's Folio and Quarto plays (1321468 words in fifty-seven plays), and to Kyd's accepted plays (57304 words in three plays), we find that Shakespeare averages 0.002 matches in the 23.6 percent of *Arden of Faversham* ascribed to him by Jackson, while Kyd averages ten times as many matches: 0.02. We can therefore see that, according to Wine's 'Appendix I', there are more matches with Kyd in the middle portion of *Arden of Faversham*, in relation to overall canon size, than there are with Shakespeare. Jackson also notes that, in Wine's list, there are 'thirty-one references to works by Shakespeare' in the remainder of the play, and 'forty-six to the works of other writers', which he considers to be a 'disparity'.[341] Jackson does not acknowledge that of these forty-six references, twenty-seven are to Kyd's accepted plays. Kyd therefore averages 0.05 matches in the remainder of the play, while Shakespeare averages 0.002 matches.[342]

In an article entitled 'Exploring Co-Authorship in *2 Henry VI*', I tested a selection of

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[340] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 65.
[341] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 65.
[342] Adding the overall word count of the middle portion of the play to the respective dramatists' canon counts also gives Shakespeare an average of 0.002 matches in scenes Four to Nine, and Kyd an average of 0.02. Applying the same test to the remainder of the play once again gives Shakespeare an average of 0.002, and Kyd a slightly adjusted figure of 0.04. On this basis, there are more links with Kyd than there are with Shakespeare in both the 'Shakespeare' portions and the 'non-Shakespeare portions', while the disparity that Jackson speaks of appears to be fallacious.

Shakespeare's early sole authored plays and collaborative plays for internal rare tetragrams.[343]

I discovered that passages ascribed to Peele and Shakespeare respectively in *Titus Andronicus*

shared few extended verbal details, while the N-grams that were shared between the

dramatists suggested separate authorial cognitive processes. For example, the Peele and

Shakespeare portions of *Titus Andronicus* share just three N-grams of four or more words,

giving us a percentage of 0.02. Conversely, when passages in Shakespeare's sole authored

plays were tested against each other, there were a substantial number of matches, which

indicated associative groupings at the forefront of Shakespeare's memory as he composed his

work. In 1950, Eric Laughton analysed such repetitions within the works of Cicero; he

concluded that 'this psychological factor may, with due caution, be invoked to aid in the

establishment of a disputed text'.[344] When scenes Four to Nine (constituting Act Three in

older editions) of *Arden of Faversham* (4800 words in total) are tested against the remainder

of the play, *WCopyfind* highlights twelve rare repeated phrases distributed between

'Shakespeare' and Jackson's conjectured unknown co-author, which gives us a figure of

0.25.[345] The evidence thus suggests that the domestic tragedy is the product of a single

author's verbal memory. The word sequences in *Arden of Faversham* seem to have been

'repeated unconsciously because of their persistence' in Kyd's mind as he composed the

play.[346] We find a similar pattern of self-repetition in *Soliman and Perseda*. When I tested Act

Three of Kyd's Turkish tragedy (amounting to 2226 words in total) against the remainder of

the play, plagiarism software highlighted eight repetitions, with an overall percentage of 0.36.

These results suggest a single author's working memory as he composed these plays, and

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[343] See Darren Freebury-Jones, 'Exploring Co-Authorship in *2 Henry VI*', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 5 (2016), 201-216. Available at http://www.fupress.net/index.php/bsfm-jems/article/view/18106/16855 [accessed 16 March 2016].

[344] See Eric Laughton, 'Subconscious Repetition and Textual Criticism', *Classical Philology* (1950), 73-83.

[345] For the complete list of rare repetitions see Darren Freebury-Jones, 'Rare Internal Tetragrams between "Shakespeare" (Scenes 4-9) and "Non-Shakespeare" Scenes in *Arden of Faversham*' https://cardiffshakespeare.wordpress.com/?p=3067&preview=true&preview_id=3067 [accessed 27 August 2015].

[346] H. M. Poteat, 'The Functions of Repetition in Latin Poetry', *The Classical Weekly*, 12.19 (1919), 145-150 (p. 150).

therefore attest to the uniformity of both Kyd texts.

Some of the internal repetitions in *Arden of Faversham* could be explained by collaborating authors 'writing dialogue for the same characters in the same settings in a shared plot'.[347] For example, the match, 'Now, **Master Franklin, let us go** walk in Paul's' (*AF*, iii.33), and '**Come, Master Franklin, let us go** to bed' (iv.105), with '**Come Master Franklin let us go** softly' (ix.68), could be accidental (although it is worth noting that all three lines share the same syntactical formula). However, the majority of these repetitions reveal a single author's verbal formulae, for the N-grams recur in the same place in the verse line. To instance just one example: Jackson's hypothesized unknown co-author is responsible for the line, '**To let thee know** all that **I** have contrived' (i.536), while Jackson would have us believe that Shakespeare was responsible for the line, '**To let thee know I** am no coward, I' (v.25). What we see here is a single author drawing upon his repertoire of ready-made phrases. This tetragram (which also embraces the subject pronoun 'I') cannot be found in Shakespeare's entire dramatic corpus. Kyd employs it as a formulaic line-ending in his Turkish tragedy: '**I** have persevered **to let thee know**' (*S&P*, I.ii.21).

Despite the overwhelming evidence that *Arden of Faversham* is a tightly woven play written by a single author, Jackson states that 'If, as seems almost certain, more than one author participated in *Arden of Faversham*, collaboration must have been close, with the co-authors sharing the same grim vision, though one enlivened by humour'.[348] As I suggested earlier, the mixture of comedy and tragedy in *Arden of Faversham* is characteristic of Kyd's drama. If *Arden of Faversham* is a collaborative effort, the dramatists must have shared the same thought-processes, rhyme forms, metrical characteristics, and distinct verbal details. Furthermore, as Crawford put it, 'Boas and others have pointed out Kyd's frequent imitations of John Lyly', so 'we should not be surprised to find Lyly's similes and his Euphuistic

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[347] Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney, 'Methods', in *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, eds. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 15-39 (p. 33).
[348] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 84.

mannerisms appearing also in *Arden of Faversham*'.[349] Mueller's database once again

supports Crawford's theory, expounded over a century ago, for *Arden of Faversham* shares

seven unique phrases with Lyly's *Endymion, the Man in the Moon* (1588); *King Leir* also

shares seven N-grams with Lyly's play. Two of these borrowings from Lyly's play feature in

the 23.6% of *Arden of Faversham* that Jackson attributes to Shakespeare, while the rest occur

in the remainder of the tragedy. We do not find a high quantity of matches between

Shakespeare and Lyly's comedy until *Cymbeline* (1609).[350] The patterns of influence thus

argue against collaboration, unless we are to suppose that both authors selected Lyly's

comedy to inform the verbal details of their respective portions.[351] The more feasible

explanation is, of course, that Kyd, who imitated Lyly throughout his career, was influenced

by *Endymion* when he wrote *King Leir*, and these influences subsequently found their way

into *Arden of Faversham*.

Other evidence that Jackson cites for the play's supposedly collaborative nature, such

as the distribution of 'Tush' and 'Ay, but', may also be called into question. Jackson notes

that the exclamation 'Tush' is 'confined' to the 'earliest and latest scenes' of *Arden of

Faversham*.[352] He suggests it 'can hardly be coincidental that' this non-Shakespearean feature

occurs in scenes outside of the middle portion of the play.[353] However, this exclamation is not

to be found in the second act of *The Spanish Tragedy* (there are four instances in total), while

the two instances within *Soliman and Perseda* are confined to the play's opening two acts.

Are we then to believe that Kyd did not write the remaining scenes in these plays? Jackson

also argues that as 'none of the nine instances' of 'Ay, but' feature in the middle portion of

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[349] Crawford, *Collectanea*, pp. 123-124.

[350] My colleague Johann Gregory has suggested in personal correspondence that '*Cymbeline* seems to be harking back to these earlier Romances of Lyly's' performed by the Children of Paul's at Blackfriars Theatre. He notes that '*Cymbeline* was written for the Globe but (unlike *Pericles*) also for Blackfriars, which the King's Men had just started performing in'. Perhaps Shakespeare, mindful of genre and audience expectations, consulted Lyly's drama as he composed *Cymbeline* (1609).

[351] In 1963, Jackson himself pointed out some links to Lyly's play in both 'Shakespeare' and 'Non-Shakespeare' portions. See Jackson, 'Material for an edition', p. 77.

[352] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 78.

[353] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 79.

Arden of Faversham, and given that Shakespeare 'seldom used' this colloquialism, the play must have been written by Shakespeare and another dramatist.[354] All six instances of 'Ay, but' in *The Spanish Tragedy* feature in the play's second act, so, according to Jackson's argument, the remaining acts could have been written by Shakespeare. Moreover, on the basis of Jackson's argument, Shakespeare could have written the third and fourth acts of *Soliman and Perseda*.

Similarly, Jackson's claim that compound adjectives in *Arden of Faversham* are 'more like the early plays of Shakespeare than like those of Marlowe, Greene, or Peele' is symptomatic of the scant attention he has afforded Kyd's candidature.[355] Here Jackson is following Alfred Hart, who argued in 1934 that Shakespeare had a higher rate of use than his contemporaries.[356] However, as Alexander Maclaren Witherspoon pointed out a decade earlier, Kyd's chief influence (next to Seneca), Garnier, showed considerable 'fondness for compound formations',[357] and Kyd's 'translation of Garnier's *Cornélie*' is 'brimful of them'.[358] Nor are Kyd's compounds without variety: in *The Spanish Tragedy* we find such formations as 'ever-glooming' (*Sp. T.*, I.i.56) and 'stately-written' (IV.i.158). *Soliman and Perseda* contains such inventive examples as 'gold-abounding' (*S&P*, I.iii.59), 'cloud-compacted' (II.i.87), 'ever-thirsting' (IV.i.218), and 'marrow-burning' (V.ii.14). *King Leir* has 'sea-beaten' (*KL*, vi.543) and 'tongue-whip' (xii.1048), while *Cornelia* gives us 'flaxen-hair'd' (*Corn.*, I.i.59), 'thorny-pointed' (II.i.269), and 'fire-darting' (V.i.179). The examples Jackson gives for Shakespeare's authorship, such as 'soft-mettled' (*AF*, iii.98), 'dry-sucked' (iii.111), and 'hunger-bitten' (iii.193), are hardly beyond Kyd's capacity, while the latter

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[354] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 79.
[355] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 76.
[356] See Alfred Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homilies* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1934), pp. 232-239.
[357] Witherspoon, *Robert Garnier*, p. 168.
[358] Witherspoon, *Robert Garnier*, p. 171.

formation can be found twice in the anonymous play *Locrine* (1591).[359] In total, there are

forty-two compound adjectives in *Arden of Faversham*, which we might compare to the total

of thirty-seven (by my count) in *The Spanish Tragedy* and fifty-seven in *Soliman and*

Perseda. The dramatist responsible for *Arden of Faversham* thus averages one compound

adjective every 503 words, which is slightly more frequent than *The Spanish Tragedy*'s one

every 601 words, but not as frequent as *Soliman and Perseda*'s one every 330 words.[360]

Jackson counts ten examples of compound adjectives formed by noun plus participle in

Arden of Faversham, in the belief that this is a valid Shakespeare marker.[361] However, this

total is very close to the seven instances I can find in *Soliman and Perseda*. Jackson might

have reconsidered his dismissal of Kyd had he included the Turkish tragedy in his enquiry.

We can see, therefore, that Jackson's case for Shakespeare's part authorship of the

domestic tragedy is severely weakened when Kyd's candidature is properly acknowledged.

Nevertheless, he criticizes Tarlinskaja's 2008 paper 'entitled "Kyd Canon"', which was

'posted on the London Forum for Authorship Attribution Studies website' but 'cannot

currently be viewed'.[362] He informs readers that 'she argued, on metrical grounds, in favour of

Vickers's expansion of the Kyd canon'.[363] He calls Tarlinskaja's analysis 'subjective',[364] and

refers readers to her monograph, which supposedly reveals that 'certain scenes of *Arden*,

including 4-8, share metrical features with early Shakespeare'.[365] Jackson does not mention

the fact that Tarlinskaja's latest research shows that Scene Nine is 'definitely not by

Shakespeare', for it has a dip on position 8, whereas 'early Shakespeare preferred a "dip" on

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[359] 'The hunger-bitten dogs of Acheron' (*Locrine*, IV.ii.67); 'And with them feed thy hunger-bitten limmes' (V.i.38). See *Locrine*, in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908).
[360] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of my method, p. 25.
[361] See Jackson, *Determining*, pp. 76-77.
[362] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 114.
[363] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 114.
[364] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 115.
[365] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 116.

6'.[366] Unfortunately, the subjectivity that Jackson accuses Tarlinskaja of has been increased, for Jackson edited the manuscript and offered advice on her monograph. Tarlinskaja has no doubt been influenced by Jackson, for she now suggests that the 'stress profile' of Scene Eight, with its 'deep "dip" on syllable 6', points to Shakespeare.[367] This is a frankly baffling conclusion, given that earlier in the monograph Tarlinskaja points out that Kyd 'consolidated the stress "dip" on position 6' in Elizabethan drama.[368] However, Tarlinskaja acknowledges that Scene Eight contains '155 (maybe 156) iambic pentameter lines, not enough for a conclusion based on versification analysis'.[369] She notes that 'Scenes 4-8 contain a substantial "dip" on syllable 6', which 'could indicate a typical early Elizabethan text' or 'early Shakespeare, and Kyd'.[370] The dip on position 6 in these scenes therefore provides no evidence whatsoever for an attribution to Shakespeare and/or deattribution to Kyd. In fact, Tarlinskaja's figure of 71.8 for the strong syllabic position 6 in scenes Four to Eight is very close to the figure of 75.7 in scenes One to Three, and 78.7 in the remainder of the play. This figure also accords with *The Spanish Tragedy*'s 69.2; *Soliman and Perseda*'s 68.6; *King Leir*'s 69.2; *Fair Em*'s 70.6; and *Cornelia*'s (minus Chorus) 70.4.[371] Tarlinskaja also makes an 'argument for Shakespearean authorship' on the basis that 'Run-on lines prevail' in scenes Four to Eight.[372] If we consult Tarlinskaja's 'Appendix B', we find that she records an

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[366] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 106.

[367] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 106.

[368] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 67.

[369] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 106.

[370] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 109.

[371] Accoring to Tarlinskaja's figures, Kyd prefers a dip on position 6 in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587) and *Soliman and Perseda* (1588), while the later plays contain almost equal stressing on positions 6 and 8; *King Leir* (1589) has a figure of 69.8 for the syllabic position 8, *Fair Em* (1590) a figure of 69.6, and *Cornelia* (1593) a figure of 76.0. See 'Appendix B: Table B.1', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification*. Tarlinskaja has informed me in email correspondence (21 March 2016) that *Arden of Faversham* (1590) has an almost equal percentage of missing stresses on 6 (73.3) and 8 (74.5) overall, just like *King Leir* and *Fair Em*, which are closest to the domestic tragedy in terms of chronology. I should like to thank Tarlinskaja for kindly sending me her figures for the play per scene, which show that the 'non-Shakespearean' scenes Twelve and Thirteen also feature a dip on 6, while scenes Fifteen to Eighteen and the Epilogue feature a substantial dip on 6, just like scenes Four to Eight. It seems to me that Tarlinskaja's data suggests *Arden of Faversham* is wholly by Kyd.

[372] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 110.

average of 10.8 run-on lines in these scenes.[373] However, she also records an average of 9.5

run-on lines in *The Spanish Tragedy*; 9.9 in *Soliman and Perseda*; 9.2 in *King Leir*; 14.1 in

Fair Em; and 13.6 in *Cornelia*. We might ask ourselves: how does the figure of 10.8, which

is in fact lower than Kyd's undoubted play, *Cornelia*, suggest Shakespeare's authorship

rather than Kyd's? The fact is that Tarlinskaja was correct in her argument 'on metrical

grounds, in favour of Vickers's expansion of the Kyd canon'.[374] It is a pity that she has since

been influenced by Jackson (and Kinney). Nonetheless, none of her data supports an

attribution to Shakespeare, as opposed to Kyd, while her analysis effectively quashes

Jackson's argument that Shakespeare was responsible for Scene Nine.

Jackson does not acknowledge Timberlake's findings in his monograph, which also

attest to the uniformity of the play and Kyd's authorship. Given that Shakespeare and Kyd are

the only known dramatists of the period with comparably high figures for feminine endings in

their dramatic works, we might expect to see such variation in feminine endings between

'Shakespeare' portions and those of an unknown co-author as to identify the presence of two

dramatists (as we can perceive in *Titus Andronicus*, for example).[375] This is certainly not the

case. Feminine endings are used liberally throughout *Arden of Faversham*. For example, the

'Shakespeare' scenes have high figures of 10.7 and 12.9 in Scene Seven and Scene Nine,

while the Quarrel Scene (Scene Eight) has a comparably low figure of 5.7. However, the

highest figures are to be found in the play's last act: 28.5 and 20.5 in Scene Seventeen and

Scene Eighteen respectively. In my computations, the 'Shakespeare' scenes average 6.4%

feminine endings, while Jackson's conjectured co-author averages a strikingly similar

percentage of 6.1, which would be too high for any known Elizabethan playwright except

Kyd or Shakespeare (it is worth mentioning that Jackson would have us believe that

Shakespeare was responsible for the scene with the lowest percentage of feminine endings in

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[373] See 'Appendix B: Table B.3', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification*.
[374] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 114.
[375] See Vickers, *Co-author*, pp. 163-164.

the whole play: 0.9). I reproduce Timberlake's findings in the table below in order to show

the similarities between percentages for the scenes that constitute Act Three, which Jackson

gives to Shakespeare, and the remainder of the domestic tragedy:

Act, Scene	Full Lines	All Feminine Endings	Feminine Endings Strict Count	Total %	Strict %
I.i	607	35	25	5.7	4.1
II.i	55	5	5	9.1-	9.1-
II.ii	138	11	11	7.9	7.9
III.i	103	3	1	2.9	0.9
III.ii	59	5	2	8.4	3.3
III.iii	46	2	2	4.3	4.3
III.iv	28	3	3	10.7	10.7
III.v	157	15	9	9.5	5.7
III.vi	131	25	17	19.0	12.9
IV.i	65	3	3	4.6	4.6
IV.ii	Prose	Prose	Prose	Prose	Prose
IV.iii	31	2	2	6.4	6.4
IV.iv	142	9	8	5.6	4.6
V.i	332	22	19	6.6	5.7
V.ii	11	1	1	9.9	9.9
V.iii	21	5	3	23.8	14.2
V.iv	14	4	4	28.5	28.5
V.v	34	9	7	26.4	20.5
V.vi	16	2	2	12.5	12.5

Arden of Faversham was surely written by a single dramatist. The overall range in the play,

0.9-28.5, is consistent with Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*: 0.0-34.4. Egan praises Jackson for

being 'virtually alone in using a statistical understanding of chance'.[376] It would be interesting

to determine the probability of Shakespeare and a co-author sharing so many distinctive

Kydian habits, for the theory that *Arden of Faversham* is a collaborative play seems deeply

flawed.

Jackson relies most heavily on Kinney's conclusion that '*Arden of Faversham* is a

collaboration; Shakespeare was one of the authors; and his part is concentrated in the middle

portion of the play'.[377] Kinney's attribution to Shakespeare derives from the results of lexical

and function-word tests; I begin with the former. Even Jackson criticizes Kinney's failure to

recognize Quarto spelling variants (Kinney's lexical-word tests do not give Scene Eight to

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[376] Gabriel Egan, 'What is not collaborative about early modern drama in performance and print?' http://gabrielegan.com/publications/Egan2013b.htm [accessed 10 June 2015].
[377] Kinney, 'Authoring', p. 99.

Shakespeare), though Jackson asserts, apodictically, that 'Whether or not anomalous spellings affected Craig and Kinney's lexical tests of Arden's Scene 8, the multiplicity of evidence presented' in his monograph 'vindicates Kinney's conclusion'.[378] The question is how are we to trust the results for any single scene in *Arden of Faversham* if the 'Craig-Kinney software' was 'flummoxed' by 'unusual spellings' when it came to Scene Eight?[379] Moreover, Peter Kirwan points out that the 'lexical-word tests employed by Kinney are questionable', for 'only 112 of 174 single-author plays from the period are tested, as opposed to the entire' *LION* corpus, and that 'rather than use the 2000-word chunks that Kinney's team claim are necessary for tests', he 'begins with individual scenes, which he admits are too short for reliable results'.[380] It is widely accepted in scientific research that, as John P. A. Ioannidis puts it, 'small sample size means smaller power'.[381] I concur with Kirwan that 'The confidence of' Kinney's conclusion is 'not justified',[382] but I should like to highlight additional methodological issues that invalidate Kinney's claims.

Kinney's interpretation of his data regards function words leads him to claim that *Arden of Faversham* shows 'no sustained affinities with Kyd'.[383] However, Lene Petersen has applied 'discriminant analysis' to 'principal data components' with 'cross-validation'.[384] According to Petersen's use of Principal Component Analysis, '*Arden of Faversham* cross-validates as Kyd'.[385] Petersen concludes, sensibly, that 'these classifications are by no means to be taken as truths'.[386] Nevertheless, Jackson emphasizes the significance of Kinney's findings throughout his monograph, while ignoring the findings of other teams, such as those of Petersen and Marcus Dahl, who have used similar quantitative analysis of function words.

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[378] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 51.

[379] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 51.

[380] Peter Kirwan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Apocrypha: Negotiating the Boundaries of the Dramatic Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 150-151.

[381] http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pmed.0020124

[382] Kirwan, *Idea of the Apocrypha*, p. 151.

[383] Kinney, 'Authoring', p. 99.

[384] Petersen, *Errant*, p. 213.

[385] Petersen, *Errant*, p. 214.

[386] Petersen, *Errant*, p. 214.

Dahl has also questioned the verifiability of Kinney's evidence.[387] The problem seems to be that Kinney's function-word tests may be as unreliable as his lexical-word tests, for he does not acknowledge the inherent subjectivity in his interpretation of the Principal Component Analysis. As Dahl puts it:

> In computational stylistics the counts of word frequencies which constitute the raw data are processed by techniques known as "Principal Component Analysis" (PCA) which is a data reduction method. When data has been obtained on a target number of variables (such as the relative frequency of occurrence of 200 function words in a number of play texts) it is often seen that they contain some redundancy. PCA helps the experimenter to develop a smaller number of artificial variables (called principal components) that will account for most of the observed variance. A number of observed variables, each having a score, are grouped together to form a principal component, which has a numerical value. The first component extracted in such an analysis accounts for a maximum amount of total variance in the observed variables and correlates with some or many of them. The second component accounts for a maximal amount of variance in the data set that was not accounted for by the first component, and correlates with some of the observed variables that did not display strong correlations with component 1. Further, component 2 is *uncorrelated* with the first component, which means that both components can be plotted independently on the horizontal and vertical axis of a graph. A principal component analysis proceeds in this fashion, with each new component accounting for progressively smaller and smaller amounts of variance, which is why only the first few components are usually retained and interpreted.[388]
>
> It might seem as if this whole procedure (geared towards social science research) were neutral and objective. However, as one authority describes it, "Principal Component analysis is normally conducted in a sequence of steps with somewhat subjective decisions being made at many of those steps" (p. 21). Researchers must decide how many variables to load on each retained component, it being "good practice to write at least five items for each constant" to be measured (p. 12). They must also fix the sample size (p. 13), and determine how many meaningful components should be retained for interpretation (p. 22). When the values for each component are plotted on a graph, the resulting curve sometimes shows a clear break after the second or third variable, but in other cases no such break is visible, and researchers have to solve the "ambiguity" as best they can (pp. 24-25). They must also account for the proportion of variance covered by the components they have included. If, for example, the first component alone accounts for 38 percent, the second component alone accounts for 33 percent and the third component accounts for 13 percent, then the cumulative percent of variation covered accounts for 84 percent of the variance, an acceptable coverage. Researchers often set 70 percent as a minimum, and would never rely on a group of components that, combined, account for only a minority of the variance in the data set, say 30% (pp. 25-26). Finally, researchers must meet the "interpretability criterion": interpreting the substantive meaning of the

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[387] I should like to thank Marcus Dahl for offering his thoughts in email correspondence, 10 June 2015.

[388] Dahl cites the following book throughout his review: Norm O'Rourke, Larry Hatcher, and Edward J. Stepanski, *A Step-by-Step Approach to Using SAS for Univariate & Multivariate Statistics*, 2nd edn (Cary, NC: SAS Institute, 2005).

retained components and verifying that this interpretation makes sense in terms of what is known about the constructs under investigation (p. 26). If more than one solution can be justified, researchers must ask themselves "which of the solutions is the most interpretable?" (p. 27).

This is a very schematic outline of the processes that go on behind the scenes, as it were, in the laboratory and in the mind of the researcher using PCA. Readers of the Craig-Kinney collection will look in vain for any acknowledgement of the subjectivity involved in this, as in so many statistical procedures.[389]

Statistical analysis, like literary analysis, can aspire to objectivity, but it always relies upon an interpretative position.[390] Kinney's analysis more closely resembles a magic trick than a scientific endeavour. He does not weigh up other empirical evidence; he does not consider the falsification conditions for his assumptions, nor consider the possibility that his results might be ambiguous or misleading. Hugh Craig and Arthur Kinney's *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship* is a fundamentally flawed project, while the support that their claims (it seems clear to me that they merely interpret their data to suit existing hypotheses, such as those expounded by Jackson since 1963) have gained from respected scholars, such as Jackson, has more directly led to a 'crisis in authorship studies'.[391] Unfortunately, *The New Oxford Shakespeare* will be including *Arden of Faversham* in their next edition, while assigning parts of all three Henry VI plays to Christopher Marlowe, on the basis of results from recent computational stylistic studies.[392] I am certain that scholars using sound attribution methodologies will prove these ascriptions to be spurious, and I submit that Kyd remains by far the strongest candidate for the authorship of *Arden of Faversham*.

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[389] I should like to thank Marcus Dahl for giving me permission to quote from his unpublished review of *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*.

[390] See, for example, the ludicrous conclusions drawn from stylometric investigations in Hartmut Ilsemann, *William Shakespeare – Dramen und Apokryphen: Eine stilometrische Untersuchung mit R.* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2014).

[391] Brian Vickers, 'Review of Martin Wiggins, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue. Volumes I-III*', in *The Spenser Review*. Available at http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/45.1.2/#_ftn32 [accessed 2 June 2015].

[392] Gabriel Egan announced these ascriptions in his paper, 'Old and New Methods for Identifying Authorship', 23 January 2016, London, 'Authorship and Attribution in Early Modern Drama: Marston and Others', Birkbeck, University of London.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the whole weight of corroborating evidence supports the hypothesis that Kyd was responsible for these six plays. As we have seen, these ascriptions have been anticipated by generations of reliable scholars, many of whom have conducted mutually-enforcing authorship tests, which, combined with my own tests, provide an overwhelming case for common authorship. Moreover, the arguments against Vickers's 'extended' Kyd canon are weak, and can be easily disproved by careful analysis of Kyd's prosody, characterization, the verbal texture of his plays, and so forth. Kyd, on this account, emerges as a much more prolific playwright than is usually suggested, and one who appears to have deeply influenced Shakespeare. I also propose that Kyd contributed to some of Shakespeare's early work. Having established Kyd's dramatic oeuvre, I survey the evidence for Kyd's part authorship of Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part One* in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

***Henry VI Part One* by Nashe, Kyd, and Shakespeare**

Introduction

Having argued in Chapter Three that there are six extant sole authored plays written by Thomas Kyd, this chapter contends that Kyd's is the main hand in Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part One*. Through a combination of close reading and anti-plagiarism software, as well as a survey of relevant scholarship, this chapter also endorses the attribution of Act One to Thomas Nashe, and argues that Shakespeare added Act Two Scene Four, Act Four Scene Two, and Act Four Scene Five to Nashe and Kyd's play, as part of a revision for the Lord Chamberlain's Men. This chapter therefore aims to re-examine the authorship problem that has plagued studies of the Henry VI plays for centuries. Identifying Kyd as the primary author of *Henry VI Part One* enables us to see that Shakespeare engaged with the older playwright's work in the capacity of a reviser, which contributed to his extensive knowledge of Kyd's drama.

Part One: *Henry VI Part One*: Relation to Shakespeare's Second and Third Parts

Philip Henslowe recorded a performance of 'Harey the vj' (known as *Henry VI Part One* in the First Folio) by the Lord Strange's Men, on 3 March 1592.[1] The play dramatizes events leading up to the Wars of the Roses, as depicted in Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part Two* and *Henry VI Part Three*. John Dover Wilson described the play thus: 'One of the worst plays in the canon, it is also one of the most debatable. Date, occasion, authorship, all are in doubt',[2] while Alan C. Dessen notes that it is 'the most maligned of the three' Henry VI plays.[3] Scholarly opinion has diverged over whether the play was written first in the Henry VI

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[1] Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, p. 16.
[2] *The First Part of King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. ix.
[3] Alan C. Dessen, 'Stagecraft and Imagery in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*', in *Shakespeare's Histories*, ed. Emma Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 272-288 (p. 277).

trilogy, or as a prequel.

Stanley Wells notes that 'When Shakespeare's history plays were gathered together in the 1623 Folio' they 'were printed in the order of their historical events', but 'No one supposes that this is the order in which Shakespeare wrote them'.[4] Wells elaborates that there is 'good reason to believe that' *Henry VI Part One* 'was written after' *Henry VI Part Two* and *Henry VI Part Three*.[5] Close reading of the plays themselves supports this hypothesis; for example, rose symbolism is common in the first and third parts but does not feature in the second part. As Gary Taylor puts it: 'If the three parts of the play were written in their chronological order, why should the author go to such trouble to initiate the roses symbolism in *Part One* only to ignore it in *Contention* (*Part Two*)—just as he ignored Talbot and his own inventive dramatization of Mortimer?'[6] Other inconsistencies between *Henry VI Part One* and *Henry VI Part Two* include, as Ronald Knowles points out, 'the surrender of Anjou and Maine as part of the Henry—Margaret marriage treaty, a condition which is bitterly resented throughout *2 Henry VI*' but 'not mentioned as part of the treaty in *1 Henry VI*: conversely, in *1 Henry VI* we are reminded that Henry is already betrothed to the Earl of Armagnac's daughter, a detail seemingly forgotten' in the second part. Additionally, 'there are details such as Suffolk's being addressed by the King as an earl at the end of *1 Henry VI*, yet he has the title of marquess at the beginning of *2 Henry VI*'.[7] Finally, Greene paraphrased York's line, 'O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide' (*3H6*, I.iv.138), from *Henry VI Part Three*, in his diatribe against Shakespeare in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, which suggests that the second and third parts were well known in 1592.

Nashe alluded to 'Harey the vj' in his *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil* (1592), which was entered in the Stationers' Register on August 8 1592:

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[4] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 55.
[5] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 125.
[6] Gary Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others: The Authorship of *Henry the Sixth Part One*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 7 (1995), 145-205 (p. 150).
[7] *King Henry VI Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles, 2nd edn (London: Thomson Learning, 2001), p. 114.

> How would it have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times), who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding![8]

Edmond Malone noted that Nashe's phrase, 'terror of the French', is 'expressly spoken of in the play (as well as in Hall's Chronicle)', while 'Holinshed, who was Shakespeare's guide, omits the passage in Hall, in which Talbot is thus described; and this is an additional proof that the play is not our author's'.[9] Significantly, the phrase, 'terror of the French' (*1H6*, I.vi.20), occurs in the play's opening act, which can be attributed to Nashe with confidence, as we shall see.[10] I argue that the second and third Henry VI plays were written solely by Shakespeare for Pembroke's Men as a two-part play, akin to Marlowe's Tamburlaine plays, and that 'Harey the vj' was designed by Lord Strange's Men to capitalize on their success.

This theory was advanced by E. K. Chambers in 1930, who suggested that *Henry VI Part One* 'was put together in 1592, to exploit an earlier theme which had been successful' with Shakespeare's audiences.[11] C. A. Greer, writing in 1942, argued that another dramatist (who was not Shakespeare) 'adapted' the play 'to *2* and *3 Henry VI*'.[12] Greer noted that this adaptation was not a total success, for '*1 Henry VI* often varies from the other plays to the point of showing downright inconsistency'.[13] Warren Chernaik summarizes thus: 'After Pembroke's Men had performed *The Contention* and *True Tragedy*, versions of the plays given the titles *2* and *3 Henry VI* in the 1623 Folio, Strange's Men commissioned a history

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[8] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil*, in *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. J. B. Steane (London: Penguin, 1972), p. 113.

[9] Edmond Malone, 'A Dissertation on the *Three Parts of King Henry VI*. Tending to show that those plays were not written originally by Shakespeare', in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. James Boswell, 21 vols (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1821), XVIII.562-597 (p. 565).

[10] It is perhaps also worth noting that Nashe appears to have used the Bishops' Bible for his biblical allusions, while his co-author Kyd seems to have used the Geneva version. See *The First Part of King Henry VI*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 19-20.

[11] E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), I.292-293.

[12] C. A. Greer, 'Revision and Adaptation in *1 Henry VI*', *Studies in English*, 22 (1942), 110-120 (p. 114).

[13] Greer, 'Revision', p. 112.

play on a related subject with a leading role designed for Edward Alleyn'.[14] Roslyn Lander

Knutson notes a 'principle of duplication in operation in a set of plays on the War of the

Roses', for 'The Strange's men had *Henry VI*' (the play known as 'Harey the vj' in

Henslowe's diary, and *Henry VI Part One* in the First Folio), while 'Pembroke's men had the

first part of *The Contention between York and Lancaster* and its sequel, *The True Tragedy of*

Richard Duke of York' (called *Henry VI Part Two* and *Part Three* in the First Folio). She

observes that 'the Chamberlain's men gathered the serial parts that Pembroke's men had put

into their repertory, adding the original play from the repertory of Strange's men' in 1594.[15]

Henry VI Part Two and *Henry VI Part Three* were originally 'Separated from the seminal

play of *Henry VI*' and 'do not advertise themselves as sequels to that original play'.[16] It seems

Shakespeare was commissioned by the Chamberlain's Men, founded in summer 1594, to

adapt the original 'Harey the vj' text in order to turn the Henry VI plays, previously

unconnected, into a three-part serial.

Henry VI Part One: Authorship

Edmond Malone argued in 1787 that *Henry VI Part One* 'was the production of some old

dramatist'.[17] Peter Alexander, writing in 1929, agreed that Shakespeare 'cannot very well then

be considered the author of the play put on at the Rose for the first time on 3 March 1592 by

Strange's men',[18] while Allison Gaw suggested that Shakespeare was not involved with the

play until 1594.[19] The theory that Shakespeare's contributions to the play known as *Henry VI*

Part One in the First Folio were minimal was also explored by scholars such as H. C. Hart in

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[14] Warren Chernaik, 'Shakespeare as Co-author: the case of *1 Henry VI*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama*, 27 (2014), 192-220. Available at http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Shakespeare+as+co-author%3A+the+case+of+1+henry+VI.-a0384642841 [accessed 9 December 2014].

[15] Roslyn Lander Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company 1594-1613* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), p. 48.

[16] Knutson, *Repertory*, p. 73.

[17] Malone, 'Dissertation', p. 577.

[18] Alexander, *Henry VI and Richard III*, p. 189.

[19] See Allison Gaw, *The Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI in Relation to Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, and Greene* (Los Angeles, CA: University of Southern California Press, 1926), pp. 146-157.

1909,[20] and John Dover Wilson in 1952.[21]

Stanley Wells notes that 'a variety of evidence suggests that Shakespeare wrote it in collaboration with at least two other authors; Nashe himself was probably responsible for Act I'.[22] Vickers agrees that 'As a candidate for the authorship of Act 1, Thomas Nashe was the strongest of those considered by H. C. Hart in 1909' and in studies conducted by 'Archibald Stalker in 1935, John Dover Wilson in 1952, Marco Mincoff in 1965 and 1976, Gary Taylor in 1995, and Paul Vincent in 2002'.[23] Nashe was certainly not the sole author of the original 'Harey the vj' play, for Chambers identified 'several styles in the play', which led him to conclude that at least three authors (including Shakespeare) were involved.[24] W. W. Greg argued in 1955 that 'Unless different portions of the play be assigned to appreciably different dates their very disparate styles can only be ascribed to difference of authorship'.[25] My evidence supports Vickers's argument that three authors were responsible for the play now known as *Henry VI Part One*: Thomas Kyd was Nashe's co-author on the original 'Harey the vj' play (Kyd wrote the remaining four acts), and Shakespeare added Act Two Scene Four, Act Four Scene Two, and Act Four Scene Five for the Chamberlain's Men.[26]

Part Two: Thomas Nashe's Part Authorship of 'Harey the vj': Act One

Thomas Nashe's only (universally accepted) surviving play is *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, which was performed at Croydon Palace in October 1592. Nashe was at the centre of controversy, alongside Ben Jonson, for the satirical work *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), but the play is no longer extant. It seems that Nashe was involved not only in *Henry VI Part One* but

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[20] See *The Works of Shakespeare: The First Part of King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart (London: Methuen, 1909).

[21] See *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson.

[22] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 125.

[23] Brian Vickers, 'Coauthors and Closed Minds', *Shakespeare Studies*, 36 (2008), 101-113 (p. 107).

[24] Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.290.

[25] W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 186.

[26] See Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.

also in the composition of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1588). His name appeared

on the title page of the latter play when it was published in 1594, although there seems to be

little to no textual affinity between the play and Nashe's hand. I suggest that Nashe supplied

Marlowe with an author-plot, as sometimes occurred during the production of Elizabethan

plays, from which a playwright 'could easily write a play from the drafted scenario'.[27]

Nashe's contributions to *Henry VI Part One* recall his claim (in which he attempted to shift

blame onto Ben Jonson and the players, Gabriel Spencer and Robert Shaa) concerning *The*

Isle of Dogs, which was that he authored 'but the induction and first act of it, the other foure

acts without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope, by the players were

supplied'.[28] In the sections below, I survey the evidence for Nashe's verse style, idiolect, and

vocabulary in the opening act of *Henry VI Part One*.

Verse Style

In 1935, Archibald Stalker criticized the staccato form and the disconnection of ideas in the

opening act of *Henry VI Part One*,[29] which are also a feature of *Summer's Last Will and*

Testament. Similarly, Dover Wilson described Nashe's style in *Henry VI Part One* as 'dull,

miserably commonplace, and often unmetrical verse'.[30] He went so far as to claim that if a

reader were to 'Print this as prose' and 'read it without metrical pauses at the end of the

lines', they could not 'possibly guess it to be verse'.[31] *Summer's Last Will and Testament*

reveals Nashe's proclivity for internal rhyme, grammatical inversions, and excessive

alliteration. MacDonald P. Jackson notes that 'Evidence that Nashe was responsible for Act

1' of *Henry VI Part One* 'is compelling', for the 'idiosyncratic phraseology is his; the jerky,

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[27] Vickers, *Co-author*, p. 27.

[28] Thomas Nashe, *Nashe's Lenten Stuff*, in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), III.154.

[29] See Archibald Stalker, *Shakespeare and Tom Nashe* (Stirling: A. Learmonth and Son, 1935), pp. 133-166.

[30] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxvii.

[31] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxvii.

disconnected verse with its superabundant grammatical inversions', and 'the numerous biblical and classical allusions (much less frequent in the rest of the play) are in his manner'.[32] Indeed, Paul J. Vincent, in his exemplary PhD thesis, points out that 'Of the 109 instances of the targeted kinds of inversions in *1 Henry VI*, 73, or two thirds, are found in Act 1. Even more astonishing is the fact that the first scene of Act 1 alone exhibits only six fewer inversions than the combined total for Acts 2-5'.[33] The evidence therefore strongly suggests that Nashe wrote the play's opening act but not the remainder of the play.

Furthermore, Marco Mincoff noted in 1965 that 'the sentence only seldom' exceeds 'two or three lines at most' in Nashe's portions of *Henry VI Part One*.[34] Vickers elaborates that there are key differences 'in preferred sentence lengths' between the opening act and the remainder of the play; on his count Nashe averages a period every 1.8 lines in Act One Scene One, while 'Shakespeare's scenes in 4.2-4 have 48 periods, at an average length of 3.2 lines'.[35] Vickers has reassessed his attribution of these scenes to Shakespeare, and my evidence suggests that Kyd wrote Act Four Scene Three and Act Four Scene Four, but Vickers's figures here serve to show that the author of Act One had a very different verse style from his collaborators. Additionally, Tarlinskaja has identified verse features that differentiate the opening act from the remainder of the play.[36] For example, Act One 'has a "dip" of stresses on syllable 8, as in *Summer's Last Will*, while the rest of the text has a dip on 6'.[37] The dip on syllable 8 is indicative of an older dramatist's metrical profile, and provides supplementary evidence for Nashe's hand, although, as I noted in the previous chapter, Kyd's sole authored plays fluctuate between dips on these strong syllabic positions.

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[32] MacDonald P. Jackson, 'Collaboration', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 31-53 (p. 48).
[33] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 216.
[34] Marco Mincoff, 'The Composition of *Henry VI, Part 1*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 16 (1965), 279-287 (p. 281).
[35] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 332.
[36] For an overview of Tarlinskaja's method, see the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 20-22.
[37] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 104.

Furthermore, Tarlinskaja records an average of 5.3 run-on lines in Act One, which she compares to *Summer's Last Will and Testament*'s 2.8. These figures are much lower than Kyd's scenes, which average 13.5 run-on lines and correspond to *Fair Em*'s 14.1 and *Cornelia*'s 13.6.[38]

Verbal Links

Vickers notes that 'Act 1 of *1 Henry VI* depicts the violent skirmishes in England between the rival factions of Gloucester and Winchester (1.1, 1.3). It then moves to France to show the French attempt to lift the English siege of Orleans, their first defeat (1.2), their regrouping under Joan la Pucelle, their consequent victory, the death of Salisbury, and the English defeat (1.4–1.6)'.[39] Considering the plays' generic differences, we might note the difficulties in attempting to find matching collocations between the opening act of *Henry VI Part One* and *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, which 'is a debate or verbal dispute between the four seasons, interspersed with lyrics, and involving no fighting'.[40] However, Dover Wilson identified 'parallels with' Nashe's 'pamphlets' and asserted that Nashe and 'the man who wrote *1 Henry VI*, act I, stole their ideas from the same books'.[41] I therefore also investigate some of the distinct parallels, long-recorded by H. C. Hart and Dover Wilson, with Nashe's non-dramatic works: *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil*, *The Terrors of the Night*, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), and *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (1596).

In Act One Scene One, Exeter accuses the French of being taken in by witchcraft,

Conjurers **and** sorcerers, that, afraid **of him**,
By magic verses have contrived his end (I.i.26-27)

to which Winchester responds, 'Unto the French the dreadful **Judgement** Day' (I.i.29).

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[38]See 'Appendix B: Table B.3', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification.*
[39] Brian Vickers, 'Shakespeare and Authorship Studies in the Twenty-First Century', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 62 (2011), 106-142 (p. 122).
[40] Vickers, 'Authorship', p. 122.
[41] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxiii.

Plagiarism software highlights the same collocation of words in Nashe's comedy: 'Yourself be **judge**, **and** judge **of him by** them'.[42] If we consider the dramatic context in which this word sequence is utilized, we find some similarities that indicate an individual mind. For example, Bedford speaks of 'magic **verses**' (I.i.27), while Winter speaks of 'a black poison' (*SLWT*, l. 1254) that comes from Cerberus's mouth, 'whereof ink was made' (l. 1255) that poets used to 'write in **verse** all that they knew' (l. 1269). Dover Wilson observed that Bedford's 'repulsive image' of 'mothers' moistened **eyes**', which 'babes shall **suck**' (*1H6*, I.i.49), matches, 'Not raging Hecuba, whose hollow **eyes** / Gave **suck** to fifty sorrows at one time' (*SLWT*, ll. 1782-1783).[43] The trigram (three-word sequence), 'of their lords', occurs in Bedford's line,

> Four **of their lords** I'll change for one of ours (*1H6*, I.i.151)

and Autumn's speech:

> So make ill servants sale **of their Lords**' wind. (*SLWT*, l. 1223)

Bedford and Autumn's speeches concern an exchange or sale, such as the Dauphin's crown being 'the ransom of my friend' (*1H6*, I.i.150), or 'Witches for gold' that 'sell a man a wind' (*SLWT*, l. 1220). We can see that the triple serves a similar purpose in these examples, and thus suggests a common author's associative memory.

H. C. Hart identified a distinct parallel between Charles's opening line, '**Mars** his **true moving**' (*1H6*, I.ii.1), and Nashe's *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (both passages echo James Sandford's 1569 translation of H. Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*),[44] in which Nashe states, 'you are as ignorant of the true movings of my Muse as the Astronomers are in the **true movings** of **Mars**, which to this day they could

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[42] Thomas Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, l. 1253, in *Thomas Nashe's Summer's Last Will and Testament: A Critical Modern-Spelling Edition*, ed. Patricia Posluszny (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1989). All further references are to this edition and will be given parenthetically.

[43] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxiii.

[44] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xxi.

never attaine to'.[45] Charles continues: 'At pleasure **here we lie** near Orleans' (I.ii.6). This line

is matched in Nashe's comedy: 'And **here we lie**, God knows, with little ease' (*SLWT*, l.

1777). Hart recognized that Alencon's line, 'And **have** their **provender** tied to their **mouths**'

(*1H6*, I.ii.11), is akin to Nashe's: 'Except the camel **have** his **provender** / Hung at his

mouth' (*SLWT*, ll. 1152-1153).[46] Furthermore, he noted that Charles's line, 'Was

Mohammed inspired with a **dove**?' (*1H6*, I.iii.119),[47] parallels Nashe's, 'and the **Dove**

wherewith the Turks hold **Mohamet** their Prophet to be **inspired**'.[48] These lines appear to

have been lifted from Henry Howard's *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed*

Prophecies (1583), which Shakespeare does not seem to have read.

Hart pointed out that Talbot's lines, 'Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels

/ And make **a quagmire** of your mingled **brains**' (I.vi.86-87), provide an imagistic parallel

with Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller*,[49] in which we get a gruesome description of the

Battle of Marignano: 'The plain appeared like **a quagmire**, overspread as it was with

trampled dead bodies' and 'The French King himself in this conflict was much distressed; the

brains of his own men sprinkled in his face'.[50] The verbal collocation, 'come, 'tis I that', in

Joan's line,

Come, **come, 'tis** only **I that** must disgrace thee (I.vii.8)

also occurs in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, in the line, 'Spirits, **come** up; **'tis I that**

knock for you' (*SLWT*, l. 1777). Joan provokes Talbot:

Go, go, **cheer up thy** hungry-starved men. (*1H6*, I.vii.16)

This line uniquely parallels Bacchus's speech:

a dram of my juice to **cheer up**

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[45] Nashe, *Saffron*, p. 20.
[46] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xxi.
[47] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xxii.
[48] Nashe, *Terrors*, p. 214.
[49] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xxii.
[50] Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, in *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, ed. J. B. Steane (London: Penguin, 1972), pp. 276-277.

thy spirits. (*SLWT*, ll. 1104-1105)

Many of the rare or unique verbal matches between the opening act of *Henry VI Part One*

and *Summer's Last Will and Testament* do not appear to constitute what Marcus Dahl refers

to as 'influential phrases which may be copied or imitated between authors'; they are low-

level '(i.e. less noticeable) authorial phrases which might indicate the presence of one

author'.[51]

In Act One Scene Eight, we find the unique tetragram, 'shall hear how we', in

Alencon's line, 'When they **shall hear how we** have played the men' (*1H6*, I.viii.16), which

matches, 'and you **shall hear how we** will purge' (*SLWT*, l. 627), from *Summer's Last Will*

and Testament. Another line that provides evidence for Nashe's authorship is the allusion to

'The rich-jewelled coffer of Darius' (*1H6*, I.viii.25). Nashe writes of Darius in the line,

'following Darius in the Persian wars' (*SLWT*, l. 595), while 'The rich-jewelled coffer' (*1H6*,

I.viii.25) refers to a coffer that Alexander the Great carried, containing the works of Homer.

The author must have utilized either North or Puttenham as a source for this allusion, which

Nashe repeats in *The Terrors of the Night*: 'devouring his jewel-coffer'.[52]

Vocabulary

It is also worth citing Vickers's overview of words and phrases that provide supporting

evidence for Nashe's authorship and distinguish the play's opening act from Shakespeare's

vocabulary:

> These include "otherwhiles" ("now and then"), which Shakespeare never used, but
> Nashe used nine times; "intermissive" or "intermissively" (1.1.88; Nashe, 2:140,
> 234); "at first dash" (1.2.71; Nashe, 1:364, 3:16); "proditor" or "proditoriously"
> (1.3.31; Nashe, 3:210); "every Minute while" (1.4.54) and "another-while" (Nashe,
> 3:28); and "hungry-starved" (1.5.16; Nashe, 1:374, 2:306, 3:224, 3:225, 3:241).
> Nashe's Act 1 also includes words used in un-Shakespearean senses; compare Dover
> Wilson's notes on "infused" (1.2.85), "peeled" (1.3.30), "rests" (1.3.70), and

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[51] I am grateful to Marcus Dahl for sending me his unpublished document, '*1-3 HVI* vs. Nashe Plagiarism Results', from which I quote.

[52] Nashe, *Terrors*, p. 222.

"overpeer" (1.4.11).[53]

Single words do not provide solid evidence for authorship, for they cannot give us an insight into a writer's 'convergence of thoughts' or 'mental associations', as we might find with the repetition of 'words over several lines of verse'.[54] Nevertheless, the differences in vocabulary highlighted by Vickers provide compelling evidence for Nashe's authorship. My tests have led me to agree that Nashe remains the strongest candidate for the authorship of the play's opening act. I now present my evidence for Kyd's authorship of the remainder of the original 'Harey the vj' play.

Part Three: Identifying Thomas Kyd as Nashe's Co-author

Despite the small size of Kyd's traditionally accepted corpus, the dramatist's name has often been linked with the authorship of *Henry VI Part One*. For example, F. G. Fleay suggested in 1886 that 'coincidences with the known work of' Kyd 'point to' his part authorship,[55] and in 1897 Gregor Sarrazin identified similarities between the play and Kyd's drama, particularly in Talbot and his son's relationship.[56] In 1930, John Mackinnon Robertson recognized the 'diction and versification of Kyd' within the play.[57] He assigned all of Act Two Scene Five to Kyd and identified Kyd's hand in Act Two Scene One, Act Three Scene One, and Act Five Scene Four.[58] Robertson's colleague Marley Denwood, using 'his uncommon powers of verbal and phrasal memory in the field of Elizabethan drama',[59] identified Kyd's hand in Act Five Scene Six.[60] In 1940, William Wells contended that Kyd's 'seems to have been the main

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[53] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 336.
[54] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 328.
[55] Fleay, *A Chronicle*, p. 258.
[56] See Gregor Sarrazin, *William Shakespeares Lehrjahre* (Weimar: E. Felber, 1897), p. 10.
[57] J. M. Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon Part IV: The Henry VI Plays: Division I*, 5 vols (London: Routledge, 1930), IV.31.
[58] See Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.131.
[59] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.ix.
[60] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.88-89.

hand' in *Henry VI Part One*.[61] My evidence for Kyd's rhyme forms, verse style, linguistic

idiosyncrasies, and use of function words, discussed below, supports these conclusions.

Rhyme Forms

The portions that Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One* partly accord with Kyd's

distinct rhyme patterns:

Rhyme	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and Perseda*	*King Leir*	*Arden of Faversham*	*Fair Em*	Kyd *Henry VI Part One*
Aca	11	3	6	8	18	7	9
Abab	7	20		2		1	
Aaa	3	4	1	3	1	2	
Abba		3		1			1
Acaa	1		2	1	1		
Aaaa	1			2			2
Totals	23	30	9	17	20	10	12

The strongest evidence for Kyd's rhyming patterns can be found in the Bordeaux sequence.

To give just one example: William Wells identified a distinct parallel between *King Leir*'s

(we might note the *aca* scheme in these lines), 'Deserves an everlasting memory, / To be

inrol'd in Chronicles of fame, / By never-dying perpetuity' (*KL*, i.70-72), and *Soliman and*

Perseda:

> It may be left to the reader to judge whether any of these (or, indeed, all of them)
> comes so close to the *Leir* passage as *Soliman and Perseda*, IV, i, 62: To be enrolled
> in the brass-leaved book Of never-wasting perpetuity.[62]

As far as I can see, no scholar has linked these parallel passages with Talbot's rhyming

speech at the beginning of Act Four Scene Seven: 'Coupled in bonds of perpetuity, / Two

Talbots winged through the lither sky / In thy despite shall scape mortality' (*1H6*, IV.vii.20-

22). I also add the following lines from *Cornelia* for comparative analysis: 'His glory spred

abroad by Fame, / On wings of his posteritie / From obscure death shall free his name, / To

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[61] Wells, 'Chronicle-History', p. 219.
[62] Wells, '*King Leir*', p. 434.

live in endless memorie' (*Corn.*, IV.i.200-203). These examples suggest a single author's rhyming habits, as well as his repertoire of words and ideas.

Verse Style

Timberlake provided strong evidence for Kyd's authorship in his study of feminine endings, discussed in chapters Two and Three of this thesis.[63] He recorded an overall range of 0.0-17.5 in scenes that Vickers attributes to Kyd (Act Two to Act Five, with the exception of Shakespeare's Act Two Scene Four, Act Four Scene Two, and Act Four Scene Five),[64] which we can compare to *Soliman and Perseda*'s 0.0-34.4; *Cornelia*'s 2.4-13.1; *King Leir*'s 0.0-25.4; *Arden of Faversham*'s 0.9-28.5; and *Fair Em*'s 0.0-15.9.[65] Timberlake pointed out that 'the wide range' of feminine endings in the play provided 'good evidence' that at least 'two hands were concerned in the existing text'.[66] He noted that Act Two Scene Five, Mortimer's death scene, is 'full of Shakespearean phrases', but that 'the verse has none of the varied movement of Shakespeare's', for it 'is monotonously regular and largely end-stopped'.[67] He also highlighted the low percentage of 0.9 feminine endings in the last scene of the play and concluded that 'it is hard to admit that the lines are Shakespeare's'.[68] The Kyd scenes in *Henry VI Part One* (in my computations) average 4.7% feminine endings, which effectively rules out authorship contenders such as Marlowe, who 'did not like a line with an unstressed syllable at the end unless it coincided with a natural pause', and Robert Greene.[69] Marcus Dahl notes that 'the only author on this basis who comes close to the average' of feminine

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[63] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.

[64] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 85.

[65] The range in scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One* (1592) is quite unlike history plays produced by other authorship candidates, such as Greene's *James IV* (1590): (0.0-5.9); Peele's *Edward I* (1591): (0.0-7.7); and Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592): (0.0-11.1). See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 23-41.

[66] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 84.

[67] Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 85-86.

[68] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 86.

[69] Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, p. 453.

endings in *Henry VI Part One*, 'apart from Shakespeare himself', is 'Thomas Kyd'.[70]

In addition, Tarlinskaja argues that the verse features of scenes Vickers attributes to Kyd resemble 'Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* most of all'.[71] She demonstrates that these scenes share the same stress patterns as Kyd's accepted plays, 'with a "dip" on syllable six', while 'The ratio of enclitic micro-phrases in *Fair Em* and "Kyd's" scenes in *1 Henry VI* is almost the same as in *The Spanish Tragedy*'.[72] She also cites Author Y's 'use of clusters [bl], [gl], and [nr] as syllables, particularly in the middle of a word', as an 'Additional proof that "Author Y" in *1 Henry VI* was Kyd'.[73] Tarlinskaja's statistical analyses of versification features thus reveal stylistic homogeneity between plays in the 'expanded' Kyd canon and scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One*.[74]

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

In 2002, Paul J. Vincent 'demonstrated more clearly than ever before that Greene, Marlowe, and Peele played no part in the composition of *harey the vj*', but he conceded that 'this chapter has had little success in identifying the author of the bulk of that play'.[75] However, Vincent attempted to identify the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the dramatist (whom, following Gary Taylor, he referred to as Author Y) responsible for scenes not attributed to Shakespeare or Nashe. He concluded that 'this particular linguistic test' of examining preferences, such as 'Betwixt' or 'Between' and 'Amongst' or 'Among', 'may well be able to shed light on the

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[70] Marcus Dahl, 'The Authorship of *The First Part of Henry Sixth*: New Light Through Old Windows', p. 6. Available at
http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fies.sas.ac.uk%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Ffiles%2FNetworks%2FLFAS%2FAuthorshipofHenryIV%2FNew%2520Notes%2520and%2520Old%2520on%25201HVI.doc&ei=2z6-VMCrH8rV7QaPtoCYCw&usg=AFQjCNEJdqfPWVDwAE92NqeBJtZ0LbleVw&sig2=FkrePRfbkHRN-kgm9v1Pdg&bvm=bv.83829542,d.ZWU [accessed 20 January 2014]. See also Marcus Dahl, 'The Authorship of *The First Part of Henry Sixth*: An Examination of Some Traditional and Non-Traditional Methods of Stylometric Attribution, in relation to the First Folio history play' (Doctoral thesis: Bristol University, 2004).
[71] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 111.
[72] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 102.
[73] Tarlinskaja, *Versification*, p. 104.
[74] For an overview of Tarlinskaja's method, see the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 20-22.
[75] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 294.

tenebrous limbo of anonymity so many Early Modern plays inhabit'.[76] Here we can consider

the ratios for scenes that Vickers attributes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One*, in relation to the

other plays in the 'extended' Kyd canon:

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither
The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0
King Leir	1/5	5/1	2/2	9/2
Arden of Faversham	2/0	3/2	2/1	0/1
Fair Em	1/1	2/1	2/0	1/1
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	6/2	5/3	1/6	3/2

The scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One* share the same preference for

'Betwixt' over 'Between' with *Cornelia* and *Arden of Faversham* (but not *The Spanish*

Tragedy), and the same preference for 'Amongst' over 'Among' with all of the Kyd texts.

However, as I noted in Chapter Two, the ratios fluctuate considerably between the three

accepted Kyd plays, as well as the plays Vickers ascribes to Kyd.[77] Nevertheless, it is worth

noting that these preferences differ somewhat from Nashe's uses, for Nashe does not use

'Among' or 'Beside' at all in *Henry VI Part One* and *Summer's Last Will and Testament*.

Vincent also examined compound adjectives and noted that Shakespeare's 'Rose

Plucking scene (2.4) is in no way distinguished from' Kyd's (by my argument) '2.2 and 2.5

by the frequency and inventiveness of its compound adjectives'.[78] As I demonstrated in the

previous chapter, Kyd was not unlike Shakespeare in that he used compound formations with

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[76] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 300.
[77] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.
[78] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 190.

some frequency and inventiveness (a fact ignored by Jackson). According to my calculations, the Kyd scenes in *Henry VI Part One* average one compound adjective every 602 words, which is remarkably close to *The Spanish Tragedy*'s rate of one every 601 words.

I also counted all instances of the expression 'Tush', which Jackson notes is 'rare in Shakespeare's plays',[79] and the colloquialism 'Ay, but', which Shakespeare 'seldom used',[80] in scenes Vickers attributes to Kyd (amounting to 15041 words in total).[81] I reproduce my findings in the table below:

Play	Tush	Ay, but	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	4	6	10	0.05
Soliman and Perseda	2	8	10	0.05
Cornelia	0	0	0	0
King Leir	0	7	7	0.03
Arden of Faversham	12	9	21	0.10
Fair Em	0	0	0	0
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	4	1	5	0.03

The dramatist's partiality for 'Tush' and 'Ay, but' is unlike Shakespeare, but accords with some of Kyd's other plays. Significantly, we find an identical average (according to overall word counts) to *King Leir*. Furthermore, his use of the intensifiers 'Most' and 'Very' corresponds to other plays in the 'extended' Kyd canon. The total is very close to that found for Kyd's Turkish tragedy, while the overall percentage is once again closest to *King Leir*:

Play	Most	Very	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	3	1	4	0.02

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[79] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 78.
[80] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 79.
[81] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 24-25.

Soliman and Perseda	5	9	14	0.07
Cornelia	5	0	5	0.03
King Leir	13	13	26	0.12
Arden of Faversham	3	15	18	0.09
Fair Em	6	0	6	0.05
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	11	4	15	0.10

Function Words

The dramatist responsible for scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Henry VI Part One* uses the word 'But' at a much higher rate than Nashe does in Act One.[82] The total in the play's opening act is 28, with a frequency of one 'But' every 183 words. Conversely, the figure for Kyd's scenes is consistent with other plays in the 'extended' Kyd canon. This test, detailed in Chapter Two, therefore differentiates Nashe and Kyd's portions of the play and provides supporting evidence for Kyd's authorship:

Play	Total word count	Total instances of 'But'	Frequency (every x words)
The Spanish Tragedy	22227	203	109
Soliman and Perseda	18800	208	90
Cornelia	15661	128	122
King Leir	22488	191	118
Arden of Faversham	21108	202	104
Fair Em	12497	114	110
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	15041	110	137

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[82] See the section entitled 'Function Words' in Chapter Two of this thesis, pp. 22-23.

Verbal Links

In 2009, Martin Mueller demonstrated in his examination of 'two-play shared N-grams' that

Henry VI Part One and *The Spanish Tragedy* fit into 'the framework of expectations' for

plays written by the same author: they are placed above the median with a percentage of 96.[83]

Mueller explains that the 'interquartile range' (a measure of variability, based on dividing

data into quartiles) for plays by the same author, in his list of all pairwise combinations

involving *Henry VI Part One* (weighted according to the lengths of repetitions), is 'between

17 and 50' and that 'anything over 51 is in the 90th percentile or higher'.[84] It is surely of

significance that *Henry VI Part One* and *Soliman and Perseda* are given a value of 67.22,

while *Henry VI Part One* and *The Spanish Tragedy* have a value of 60.19. *Henry VI Part One*

and *Arden of Faversham* have a weighted value of 52.61.[85] The fact that three of Kyd's plays

are within the 90th percentile for plays by the same author provides strong evidence that

Kyd's hand can be found in *Henry VI Part One*. According to Marcus Dahl's plagiarism test

results, N-grams shared between *Henry VI Part One* and Kyd's corpus are concentrated

mainly in Act Three and Act Five, which Vickers argues are the only acts in which Nashe and

Shakespeare's hands cannot be found.[86] This is unlikely to be a coincidence.

I now provide a comprehensive examination of each scene that Vickers attributes to

Kyd in order to highlight the numerous links of thought, language, and dramaturgy that I

have identified between these portions and the six sole authored Kyd plays established in the

previous chapter. Vickers's ascription has yet to receive widespread support in modern

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[83] Mueller, 'N-grams and the Kyd Canon'.
[84] I should like to thank Martin Mueller for sharing his data with me.
[85] *Henry VI Part One* (1592) and *King Leir* (1589) have a value of 43.61. Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594) also makes the list of plays that share verbal affinities with *Henry VI Part One*, with a value of 41.16; *Fair Em* (1590) has a value of 35.01.
[86] Marcus Dahl was kind enough to send me 'a work in progress' document entitled '*The First Part of Henry VI* – marked up', which highlights collocation matches with candidates throughout *Henry VI Part One* (1592).

attribution studies. His argument for Kyd's authorship of these scenes has been dismissed by

scholars such as Hugh Craig and MacDonald P. Jackson,[87] despite the fact that Vickers has

provided only preliminary evidence.[88] However, my independent research has led me to

endorse Vickers's argument.

Kyd's Part Authorship of 'Harey the vj': Act Two

Kyd's first scene in *Henry VI Part One*, Act Two Scene One, reveals the dramatist's

inclination 'to take clues from his earlier plays'.[89] A French Sergeant and his band, along with

two Sentinels, guard Orleans. The First Sentinel complains that they are 'Constrained **to**

watch in darkness, rain, and cold' (*1H6*, II.i.7) while 'others sleep upon their quiet beds'

(II.i.6). In Scene Twenty-Seven of *King Leir*, the Captain of the Watch and two fellow

watchmen guard the ramparts of a British town. The Captain informs the watchmen that

> My honest friends, it is your turne to night,
> **To watch in** this place, neere about the Beacon,
> And **vigilantly** have regard,
> If any fleet of ships passe hitherward (*KL*, xxvii.2434-2437)

while the Sergeant in *Henry VI Part One* tells the Sentinels to 'take your places and be

vigilant' (*1H6*, II.i.1). The dramatic situation is practically identical in these plays. The

French are easily surprised when the English mount 'a farcically small-scale' attack,[90] just as

the Watch, who have been drinking on duty, are easily surprised by Mumford in *King Leir*.

The triple, 'to watch in', thus does duty in a remarkably similar context and also embraces the

lexical choice 'vigilant', which suggests that both scenes belong to the same dramatist's

lexicon of collocations. This match gives us an example of what J. R. Firth has called

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[87] See Hugh Craig, 'The Three Parts of *Henry VI*', in *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, eds. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 40-77; Jackson, 'New Research', 107-127.
[88] See Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.
[89] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 215.
[90] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns (London: Thomson Learning, 2000), p. 162.

recurrent 'contexts of situation'.[91]

Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, and some soldiers enter with scaling ladders and prepare to attack the French. Talbot intends to 'quittance their deceit' (II.i.14). John Dover Wilson highlighted the 'Non-Sh.' verb 'quittance' in Talbot's line.[92] In *Arden of Faversham* we find the same link between 'quittance' and the notion of 'deceit' in Michael's soliloquy: 'Now must I quittance with betraying thee' (*AF*, iii.198). Talbot vows, 'Now Salisbury, for thee, and for the right / Of English Henry, shall this night appear / How much in **duty I am bound** to both' (*1H6*, II.i.35-37). The same collocation of words occurs in *Fair Em*: '**I am** / **bound** by **duty**' (*FE*, xvi.49-50). The English launch their attack, and the Bastard, Alencon, Rene, and Anjou enter, '*half ready and half unready*' (*1H6*, II.i.40 SD), which recalls the surprise attack in Scene Twenty-Nine of *King Leir* and the stage direction: '*Alarum, with men and women halfe naked*' (*KL*, xxix.2476 SD).[93] The enemies in both plays are surprised because they 'sleep, and so neglect their charge' (xxix.2485). Here we see what David Lake refers to as a 'Sequence of verbal ideas retrieved intact by the memory of an author'.[94]

The surprise attack results in a squabble between the French. Alencon tells Charles, '**Had** all your quarters been as safely kept / As that where**of I** had the government, / We **had not been** thus shamefully surprised' (*1H6*, II.i.64-66). We find this highly distinctive collocation of words and ideas in *Soliman and Perseda*, when Lucina cries, 'But why was **I** so carelesse **of** the Chaine? / **Had** I not lost it, my friend **had not been** slaine' (*S&P*, III.ii.10-11). Alencon's speech is typical of Kyd's bawdy humour, for, as Edward Burns points out, the word 'quarters', meaning apartment, is given 'a sense also of the body (as in "hindquarters")', which suggests that 'Joan and the Dolphin have been sleeping together'.[95]

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[91] J. R. Firth, *Papers in linguistics 1934-1951* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 35.
[92] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 138.
[93] The stage direction, '*The French soldiers leap o'er* **the walls in** *their shirts*' (*1H6*, II.i.40 SD), uniquely parallels *Soliman and Perseda* (1588): '*Perseda comes upon* **the walls in** *mans apparell*' (*S&P*, V.iv.17 SD).
[94] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 147.
[95] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, p. 166.

Charles tells his companions that he was busy relieving the sentinels '**most part of all** this

night' (*1H6*, II.i.68). This line matches *Cornelia*: 'He hath unpeopled **most part of** the earth'

(*Corn.*, IV.i.106). The tetragram, 'most part of all', also occurs in Act Five Scene Six of

Henry VI Part One: 'Have we not lost **most part of all** the towns' (*1H6*, V.vi.108). This

example of internal repetition suggests that the four-word sequence was at the forefront of

Kyd's verbal memory when he composed his portions of the play. Dover Wilson also drew

attention to the 'Non-Sh. sense' of the word 'platforms' in Joan's line, '**And lay** new

platforms to endamage them' (II.i.78), which closely parallels *Arden of Faversham*: '**And** I

will **lay** the **platform** of his death' (*AF*, ii.96).[96]

In the following scene, Bedford, Burgundy, and Talbot mourn the death of Salisbury,

before Talbot is invited to the Countess of Auvergne's castle by 'the usual Senecan figure of

the Messenger'.[97] Bedford opens the scene thus:

> **The day** begins to break and **night** is fled,
> Whose pitchy mantle **overveiled the earth**. (*1H6*, II.ii.1-2)

Kyd opens Scene Five of *Arden of Faversham* in the exact same manner:

> Black **night** hath hid the pleasures of **the day**,
> And sheeting darkness **overhangs the earth**. (*AF*, v.1-2)

Talbot (speaking of Salisbury) declares – in a manner typical of the Senecan revenge figures

in Kyd's drama – that

> **For every drop of blood** was drawn from him
> There hath at least five Frenchmen died **tonight**. (*1H6*, II.ii.8-9)

We find the discontinuous six-word sequence, 'For every drop of', with 'blood', and 'night',

in Alice's speech from *Arden of Faversham*:

> Ah, sirs, had he **yesternight** been slain,
> **For every drop of** his detested **blood**. (*AF*, xiv.76-77)

Talbot declares, '**hereafter ages** may behold / What ruin happened in **revenge** of **him**' (*1H6*,

[96] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 139.
[97] John Bell Henneman, 'The Episodes in Shakespeare's *I. Henry VI*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 15 (1900), 290-320 (p. 305).

II.ii.10-11). We find the same thought process in *Cornelia*: '**after ages** shall adore, / And honor **him** with hymnes therefore' (*Corn.*, IV.i.204-205). Similarly, in *King Leir*, Cambria determines to 'make' Cordella 'an example to the world, / For **after-ages** to admire her penance' (*KL*, xxii.1984-1985) in order to 'prosecute **revenge**' (xxii.1988). Bedford speaks of Charles's confederates being 'Roused **on the sudden from** their drowsy beds' (*1H6*, II.ii.23). This line matches: 'To warn him **on the sudden from** my house' (*AF*, i.351). In both passages the tetragram, 'on the sudden from', is utilized in relation to a warning that banishes the subjects in question from lodgings. In *Henry VI Part One*, Charles, Joan, and their confederates are forced to 'Leap o'er the walls for refuge in the field' (*1H6*, II.ii.25), while, in *Arden of Faversham*, Thomas Arden refuses 'To warn' Mosby 'from my house' (*AF*, i.351). Mosby is having an affair with Arden's wife, while the Englishmen similarly accuse Charles of having a concupiscent relationship with Joan:

> When **arm in arm** they **both** came swiftly running,
> **Like** to a pair of **loving** turtle-doves. (*1H6*, II.ii.29-30)

Burgundy's lines are matched in another passage from *Arden of Faversham*:

> You and I **both** marching **arm in arm**,
> **Like loving** friends. (*AF*, xii.67-68)

The image of the French being 'Roused on the sudden from their drowsy beds' (*1H6*, II.ii.23) recalls the moment that Hieronimo is plucked 'from' his 'naked bed' (*Sp. T.*, II.v.1), as well as the 'dismal outcry' that 'calls' Franklin 'from' his 'rest' (*AF*, iv.87) in *Arden of Faversham*. What we see here, as Muriel St Clare Byrne put it in 1932, is 'parallelism of thought coupled with some verbal parallelism'.[98]

There are a number of other close collocation matches with Kyd's plays in this scene, such as Bedford's line, 'They did amongst the **troops of armed men**' (*1H6*, II.ii.24), which parallels *Cornelia*: 'Had hee amidst huge **troopes of Armed men**' (*Corn.*, II.i.173). Here we

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[98] Muriel St. Clare Byrne, 'Bibliographic Clues in Collaborate Plays', *Library*, 13 (1932), 21-48 (p. 24).

see a single dramatist's idiosyncratic grammatical usage, for both lines include the prepositions 'amongst' and 'amidst'. Talbot's line, '**Ne'er trust me** then, for when a world of men' (*1H6*, II.ii.48), shares a rare line-opening with '**Ne'er trust me** but the doors were all unlocked' (*AF*, iv.101), while Bedford's line, 'And **I have heard it said**' (*1H6*, II.ii.55), parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: '**I** tell thee, Sonne, my selfe **have heard it said**' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.67). The final line of the scene, delivered by the Captain, '**I do, my lord, and** mean accordingly' (*1H6*, II.ii.60), matches, '**I doe, my Lord, and** joy to see the same' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.42). This range of matching collocations leaves little doubt about Kyd's authorship of the scene.

Act Two Scene Three is typical of Kyd's intrigue plots. The Countess of Auvergne is a Machiavellian character in the mould of Gonorill, Ragan, and Alice Arden. She practises deception through the device of an invitation, just as Ragan invites Leir to meet her two miles from the court, with the intention of having him murdered. Similarly, Alice and Mosby lure Arden to his death through an invitation to play backgammon. In Kyd's traditionally accepted plays, Soliman invites Erastus to visit him so that he can have him executed, while Hieronimo lures his enemies to their deaths by inviting them to act in his play.

The Countess is somewhat disappointed by Talbot's appearance. She asks: 'Is this the scourge of France? / Is this the Talbot, so much feared abroad?' (*1H6*, II.iii.14-15).[99] Here we see an example of Kyd's use of anaphora (the repetition of a phrase at the beginning of successive clauses). Kyd invariably reserves the repetition of 'Is this the' for female characters. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, Bel-imperia asks, 'Is this the love thou bearst Horatio, / Is this the kindnes that thou counterfeits? / Are these the fruits of thine incessant teares?' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.1-3). We find the same authorial thought process in Alice's speech in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Is this the end of all thy solemn oaths? / Is this the fruit thy reconcilement

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[99] We find similarities with the Countess's complaint, in terms of thought and structure, in *Fair Em* (1590), when William says: 'Is this the colour of your quarrel, Zweno? / I well perceive the wisest men may err' (*FE*, xvii.49-50).

buds?' (*AF*, i.185-186). Moreover, there is a thought pattern shared between the Countess's complaint,

> I see report is fabulous and false.
> **I** thought I **should have seen** some Hercules,
> A second Hector (*1H6*, II.iii.17-19)

and Caesar's description of 'Pompey, that second Mars, whose haught renowne / And noble deeds were greater then his fortunes' (*Corn.*, IV.ii.59-60). The collocation, 'I', with 'should have seen', recurs in *Henry VI Part One*, in another scene that Vickers assigns to Kyd: '**I** fear we **should have seen** deciphered there' (*1H6*, IV.i.184). The triple, 'should have seen', also occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, once again in the context of martial prowess: 'You **should have seene** him foile and overthrow' (*S&P*, III.i.29). A remarkably similar thought process occurs in *Fair Em*, in which we also find resemblances in situation. William the Conqueror becomes enamoured with Blanch's picture on Lubeck's shield, but when he sees her he is, like the Countess, who has Talbot's picture 'in my gallery' (*1H6*, II.iii.36), thoroughly disappointed:

> May this be she for whom I crossed the Seas?
> I am ashamed to think I was so fond.
> In whom there's nothing that contents my mind:
> Ill head, worse featured, uncomely, nothing courtly,
> Swart and ill-favored, a collier's sanguine skin. (*FE*, iii.24-28)

Furthermore, the line, 'Should **strike such** terror **to** his enemies' (*1H6*, II.iii.23), parallels *King Leir*: 'Nor **strike such** feare **into** our aged hearts' (*KL*, xix.2558). We might note that the words 'terror' and 'fear' serve the same syntactical and semantic function.

The Countess of Auverge attempts to take Talbot prisoner. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the King interrogates Lorenzo and Horatio as to who captured Balthazar. The following lines are linked in terms of dramatic situation and prosodic characteristics:

> If thou be he, then **art thou Prisoner** (*1H6*, II.iii.32)
> To which of these twaine **art thou prisoner**? (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.153)

Warren Chernaik claims that this trigram 'is appropriate to a different context in each play'.[100]
I find Chernaik's argument puzzling, for this match suggests a common author's verbal habits
and the context is strikingly similar: both passages concern prisoners of war (the only real
difference is that Talbot is being captured, while Balthazar has already been captured).
Furthermore, Kyd utilizes the three-word sequence, 'then art thou', in a strikingly similar
context in *King Leir*: 'Oh, then art thou for ever tyed in chaynes' (*KL*, xix.1735). The triple,
'the like and', in the Countess's lines, 'But now the substance shall endure **the like**, / **And** I
will chain these legs and arms of thine' (*1H6*, II.iii.37-38), can also be found in *King Leir*,
where it serves the same purpose in the structure of the verse: 'will hardly do **the like**; / **And**
only crave' (*KL*, xxiv.2151-2152). It is perhaps worth highlighting the word choice
'captivate' in the lines, 'Wasted our country, slain our citizens, / And sent our sons and
husbands captivate' (*1H6*, II.iii.40-41).[101] Kyd employs this verb (also at the end of the verse
line) in a similar context in *Soliman and Perseda*: 'And Rhodes it selfe is lost, or els
destroyed: / If not destroide, yet bound and captivate' (*S&P*, IV.i.19-20).

The triple, 'shall turn to', suggests a common author's verbal memory in the context
of 'mirth/joy' and 'moane/griefes', in the Countess's threat, 'Thy mirth **shall turn to** moan'
(*1H6*, II.iii.43), and Cicero's line (which also features a possessive pronoun) in *Cornelia*:
'That your desastrous griefes **shall turne to** joy' (*Corn.*, II.i.118). Talbot tells the Countess:
'No, no, I am **but shadow of myself**' (*1H6*, II.iii.50). This line matches *King Leir*: 'And
think me **but** the **shaddow of my selfe**' (*KL*, xiv.1111). The phrase, 'shadow of myself',
constitutes a unique triple irrespective of its prosodic position, but its usefulness as an
authorship marker is increased by the fact that the formation is employed to complete end-

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[100] http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Shakespeare+as+co-author%3A+the+case+of+1+henry+VI.-a0384642841
[101] Kyd repeats this word in Act Five Scene Five: 'Tush, women have been captive ere now' (*1H6*, V.v.63).
Shakespeare uses 'captivates' and 'captivated', but never 'captivate', which features three times in Kyd's
traditionally accepted plays.

stopped lines in both Talbot and Leir's speeches.[102] Talbot elaborates, 'You are deceived; my substance is not here' (*1H6*, II.iii.51). In *Fair Em*, Lubeck tells William that 'The same is Blanch, daughter to the king, / The substance of the shadow that you saw' (*FE*, iii.22-23). The Countess is confused by Talbot's riddling. She says, 'He will be here, and yet **he is not here**' (*1H6*, II.iii.58). This line parallels *King Leir*: 'But say so only 'cause **he is not here**' (*KL*, xviii.1385). The unique triple, 'did mistake the', in Talbot's lines, 'you **did mistake** / **The** outward composition of his body' (*1H6*, II.iii.74-75), also matches *King Leir*: 'I feare, we **did mistake the** place, my Lord' (*KL*, xix.1477). We might also observe that Talbot's request to 'Taste of your wine **and see what** cates **you keep**' (*1H6*, II.iii.79) has an idiosyncratic relationship with Mosby's line, 'Now, Alice, let's in **and see what** cheer **you keep**' (*AF*, i.636), in *Arden of Faversham*. These lines share a unique discontinuous five-word sequence according to my searches. In my view, the scene is undoubtedly Kyd's.

John Mackinnon Robertson considered the authorship of Act Two Scene Five to be 'the hardest nut of all to crack', but he came to the conclusion that 'the scene is by Kyd'.[103] Robertson identified the 'amorphous quality of feeling and diction' shared by the scene and Kyd's drama,[104] as well as 'actual homologies of individual phrase and figure in the Mortimer scene and Kyd's known works'.[105] He argued that Kyd's metre 'is a world beneath the winged motion of Shakespeare; and it is the early metre, diction, and manner that stamp the Mortimer death scene',[106] but he also acknowledged that 'Kyd stands out from the rest as the man with the strongest "instinct" for variety and nexus in dramatic construction'.[107]

Edmund Mortimer is brought in a chair by his Keepers, for his feet are 'Unable **to**

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[102] We find a similar phrase in the line, 'That Talbot is but **shadow of himself**' (*1H6*, II.iii.62), which parallels: 'Must he be then as **shadow of himself**?' (V.vi.133). This matching collocation provides strong evidence for common authorship of Act Two Scene Three and Act Five Scene Six.

[103] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV. 97.

[104] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.97.

[105] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.102.

[106] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.106.

[107] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.107.

support this clay' (*1H6*, II.v.14). This line parallels *Fair Em*: 'With settled patience **to support this** chance' (*FE*, ii.22). Close textual analysis of these passages enables us to identify similarities in language and situation that reveal a common author's mental associations. Mortimer speaks to the 'Kind keepers of my weak decaying **age**' (*1H6*, II.v.1) and notes that he has 'no other **comfort**' (II.v.16) but the prospect of death, while Em offers '**comfort** to' her father's '**aged** soul' (*FE*, ii.23). Mortimer's 'feet—whose strengthless stay is numb' are 'Unable to support this lump of clay' (*1H6*, II.v.14-15). Em associates her 'hands' with 'toils' (*FE*, ii.26). In both speeches, the elderly characters discuss comfort and age with their younger relatives. These semantic clusters seem to have been stimulated by the analogous contexts of situation, for Mortimer is imprisoned and denied his birthright by the Lancastrians, while Sir Thomas Goddard has been forced to flee his native home and disguise himself as a miller.

Mortimer's line, '**Swift-winged with desire to** get a grave' (*1H6*, II.v.15), recalls Kyd's Turkish tragedy: 'Pricks me **with desire** / **To** trie thy valour' (*S&P*, III.i.104-105). The compound adjective, 'Swift-winged', also occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*: 'Thou great commander of the **swift wingd** winds' (II.ii.33). Mortimer repeatedly asks the Keepers for his nephew, Richard Plantagenet: 'But tell me, keeper, will my nephew come?' (*1H6*, II.v.17); 'Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come' (II.v.18); 'And answer was returned that he will come' (II.v.20); 'My lord, your loving nephew now is come' (II.v.33); 'Richard Plantagenet, my friend, is he come?' (II.v.34); and 'Your nephew, late despised Richard, comes' (II.v.36). Such needless repetition is quite unlike Shakespeare. Moreover, Vincent points out that Shakespeare's '*2 Henry VI* locates, according to "actual historical fact", Mortimer's death in Wales (II.ii.41-2), when *1 Henry VI* has the same character dying onstage, in the Tower of London, at the close of a long, unhistorical scene (2.5)'.[108]

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[108] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 67.

Plantagenet enters and tells Mortimer to 'lean thine aged back against mine arm, / And in that ease I'll tell thee my dis-ease' (II.v.43-44). This is a favourite verbal trick of Kyd's, who frequently employs the rhetorical devices polyptoton (the repetition of words derived from the same root) and antanaclasis (the repetition of a word with different meanings in each case), as we can see in such identically structured lines as: 'Then rest we here a while in our unrest' (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.5), 'Dissembling quiet in unquietness' (III.xiii.30), and 'Rest thee, for I will sit to see the rest' (III.xvi.37). Robertson pointed out that Plantagenet's lines recall, 'Come in, old man' and 'Lean on my arm' (III.xiii.169-170).[109] Plantagenet complains about Somerset, who 'did upbraid me with **my father's** death; / Which obloquy set bars before my tongue, / Else **with the like** I had requited him' (*1H6*, II.v.48-50). These lines share a distinct verbal pattern with *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'To entertaine **my father with the like**' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.64). Mortimer tells Plantagenet of the rival claims for the throne. He explains that 'I **was the next** by birth and parentage' (*1H6*, II.v.73). Here Kyd is drawing upon the same verbal formulae he had used during Hieronimo's account of English history. The King asks him: 'But say, Hieronimo, what **was the next**?' (*Sp. T.*, I.v.35). Mortimer speaks of '**John of Gaunt**' (*1H6*, II.v.77) and says: 'But **as the rest,** so fell that noble earl' (II.v.90). Hieronimo explains: 'Was, **as the rest,** a valiant Englishman, / Brave **John of Gaunt**, the Duke of Lancaster' (*Sp. T.*, I.v.48-49). Plantagenet's lines, '**Thy** grave admonishments prevail **with me**. / **But** yet methinks' (*1H6*, II.v.98-99), match: 'Let dangers goe, **thy** warre shall be **with me** / **But** such' (*Sp. T.*, II.ii.32-33). Following Mortimer's death on stage, Plantagenet determines, 'I **myself** / **Will see** his burial' (*1H6*, II.v.120-121), which matches the contextually similar line, '**My selfe will see** the body borne from hence' (*S&P*, II.i.337), in *Soliman and Perseda*. Modern attribution methods therefore validate Robertson's argument for Kyd's authorship.

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[109] Robertson, *The Shakespeare Canon*, IV.102.

Kyd's Part Authorship of 'Harey the vj': Act Three

In the opening scene of Act Three, Kyd dramatizes a confrontation between Gloucester and

Winchester. This scene duplicates the quarrel between Gloucester and Winchester from

Nashe's Act One Scene Three. However, Nashe depicts Winchester as a Cardinal, whereas

Kyd depicts him as a bishop; he is not promoted until Act Five. Unlike Nashe, Kyd (by my

argument) recognized that 'delaying the elevation of Winchester to the rank of cardinal until

5.1' was 'the dramatically more effective alternative'.[110] Act Three Scene One features

'highly patterned and rhetorical language' indicative of Kyd's hand, particularly during

Gloucester and Winchester's verbal sparring.[111] For example, we find Kyd's rapid repartee

when Gloucester asks, 'Am I not Protector, saucy priest?' (*1H6*, III.i.46), to which

Winchester retorts, 'And am not I a prelate of the Church?' (III.i.47), while parallelism

occurs in Somerset's line, 'Methinks my lord should be religious' (III.i.55), and Warwick's

response, 'Methinks his lordship should be humbler' (III.i.57). Kyd had made something of a

specialty out of quarrel scenes by 1592, and H. C. Hart seems to have been justified when he

praised the 'dignity and continuity of purpose' in this scene.[112] Nonetheless, the scene is

written in a manner altogether different from Shakespeare. Dover Wilson identified

fundamental differences in characterization between *Henry VI Part One* and Shakespeare's

Henry VI Part Two. For example, Gloucester 'is very conscious of his responsibilities and

exercising the greatest restraint upon his feelings at moments of extreme provocation' in

Henry VI Part Two, but in *Henry VI Part One* 'he shows neither dignity nor self-control, but

conducts himself like a common brawler'.[113] Furthermore, the scene, which begins with the

tearing of a document (we might recall the snatching and tearing of letters/documents in *The*

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[110] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 106.
[111] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 182.
[112] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xvii.
[113] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 155.

Spanish Tragedy, *King Leir*, and *Fair Em*), reads like the work of a dramatist acquainted with 'the drafting of legal documents'.[114] As Sykes pointed out, Kyd often 'ostentatiously parades his legal knowledge by dragging in references to the technical processes of the English law'.[115] The phrase, 'ink-horn mate' (III.i.102), meaning a 'low-status scribe',[116] could very well be used by a dramatist whose father had served as Warden of the Company of Scriveners.

Act Three Scene One also contains a number of matching collocations with Kyd's other plays. Warwick's interrogative, 'Is not his **grace** Protector **to the King**?' (III.i.61), provides a close verbal match with *King Leir*: 'You, Madam, **to the King** of Cornwalls **Grace**' (*KL*, ii.137). Dover Wilson pointed out that Plantagenet's aside, 'Else would **I have a fling at** Winchester' (*1H6*, III.i.65), parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'And heere **Ile have a fling at** him, thats flat' (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.21).[117] Henry's charge, '**To** hold your slaught'ring hands **and keep the** Peace' (*1H6*, III.i.90), matches Lorenzo's line, '**To** smooth **and keepe the** murder secret' (*Sp. T.*, III.x.10). Both lines open with the infinite marker 'To', and there is a distinct association of the triple, 'and keep the', with the synonyms 'murder' and 'slaughter'. The Third Servingman's line, '**Inferior to none** but to his Majesty' (*1H6*, III.i.99), parallels *Cornelia*: 'For as I am **inferior to none**' (*Corn.*, IV.ii.96). However, this line also matches, 'yet she is **inferior to none**' (*Shr.*, Induction 2.66), from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. Nevertheless, if we examine the dramatic context of the Third Servingman's speech we find a similar thought process in the line, 'And have our bodies slaughtered by thy foes' (*1H6*, III.i.104), and a subsequent line in *Cornelia*: 'And Crowes are feasted with theyr carcases' (*Corn.*, IV.ii.99). In both passages the triple, 'inferior to none', is employed in the context of civil dissension, as 'Th'impatient people runne along the streets /

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[114] Crawford, *Collectanea*, p. 105.
[115] Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 55.
[116] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, p. 199.
[117] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xii.

And in a route against thy gates they rushe' (IV.ii.78-79). The Kyd match is therefore much closer than the match with Shakespeare. I have also discovered another verbal link between the Servingman's line, 'Inferior **to none but to** his Majesty' (*1H6*, III.i.99), and a line in *Fair Em*: 'yield the other **to none but to** my **father**, as I am / bound by duty' (*FE*, xvi.49-50). The Servingman's subsequent lines in *Henry VI Part One*,

> And ere that we will suffer such a prince,
> So kind a **father** of the commonweal (*1H6*, III.i.100-101)

suggest Kyd's networks of association, as he activates what Ian Lancashire refers to as 'schemata in long term-memory' and relates concepts such as duty, inferiority, and fatherhood.[118]

> Gloucester entreats Winchester's skirmishing Servingmen:

> **And if you love me as you** say you **do**,
> **Let me** persuade **you to forbear** awhile. (III.i.107-108)

In the Induction to *Soliman and Perseda*, Death orders Love and Fortune:

> I commaund **you to forbeare** this place. (*S&P*, I.i.4)

Perillus shares a long collocation with Gloucester's line in *King Leir*:

> O, **if you love me**, **as you do** professe. (*KL*, xxiv.2124)

In *Arden of Faversham*, Arden tells Michael:

> Get you to bed; **and**, **if you love** my favour,
> **Let me** have no more such pranks as these. (*AF*, iv.103-104)

Henry's line, 'My **sighs and tears**, and will not once relent' (*1H6*, III.i.111), matches *Cornelia*,

> Of pyning ghosts, twixt **sighes**, and sobs, **and teares** (*Corn.*, II.i.22)

and Kyd's Turkish tragedy:

> But ere he went, with many **sighes and teares**. (*S&P*, II.ii.24)

Gloucester's aside, 'Ay, but **I fear me** with a hollow **heart**' (*1H6*, III.i.139), parallels *Fair*

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[118] Lancashire, *Muses*, p. 4.

Em: 'it would go very near / her **heart**, **I fear me**' (*FE*, xvi.7-8).

The scene concludes with Exeter remaining on stage to 'sum up the true situation'.[119] Exeter serves as a choric figure here, commenting on the action of the play. Like Seneca's choruses, he prepares 'the audience' for 'an outrageous calamity',[120] with an emphasis on 'fatal prophecy' (*1H6*, III.i.199) and divine providence. He says, 'This late dissension grown betwixt the peers / Burns under feigned ashes of forged love, / And will at last break out into a flame' (III.i.193-195). These lines provide an imagistic parallel with *Soliman and Perseda*:

> This title so augments her beautie, as the fire,
> That lay with honours hand rackt up in ashes,
> Revives againe to flames, the force is such. (*S&P*, IV.i.189-191)

We might also compare these passages to Mosby's declarative in *Arden of Faversham*, 'Fire divided burns with lesser force' (*AF*, viii.47), which seems to have been drawn from the proverb: 'The closer the fire the hotter'. The numerous verbal collocations and the convergence of thoughts in this scene provide strong evidence for Kyd's authorship.

Act Three Scene Two exhibits Kyd's concern with intrigue and disguise as Joan and four French soldiers pretend to be 'market men / That come to gather money for their corn' (*1H6*, III.ii.4-5) in order to infiltrate Rouen. This moment is akin to the scene in *King Leir* when the Gallian King, Mumford, and Cordella disguise themselves as country folk. Joan's line, '**Through which our** policy must make **a** breach' (III.ii.2), matches *Soliman and Perseda*: '**Through which our** passage cannot find **a** stop' (*S&P*, I.v.15). Both of these examples concern a gate: 'That Key will serve to open all the **gates**' (I.v.14), and 'These are the city **gates**, the gates of Rouen' (*1H6*, III.ii.1). We might also note parallels of language and situation in Joan's speech, '**Take** heed. Be **wary** how **you** place your words / Talk **like the** vulgar sort of market men' (III.ii.3-4), and Greene's (here he is setting a trap for Thomas Arden) speech in *Arden of Faversham*:

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[119] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 349.
[120] Coral, *The Subjectivity of Revenge*, p. 47.

> Well, **take** your fittest standings, and once more
> Lime well your twigs to catch this **wary** bird.
> I'll leave **you**, and at your dag's discharge
> Make towards, **like the** longing water-dog. (*AF*, ix.38-41)

The Soldier's crude attempt at paronomasia in the line, 'Our sacks shall **be a mean to** sack the city' (*1H6*, III.ii.10), gives us a match with *King Leir*: 'Should I **be a mean to** exasperate his wrath' (*KL*, xviii.1415).

In Act Three Scene Three, Joan and her confederates revel at their 'happy stratagem' (*1H6*, III.iii.1).[121] Joan declares triumphantly, 'Behold, **this** is the **happy wedding** torch' (III.iii.9), while Rene tells his companions to '**Defer** no time' (III.iii.16). A similar passage occurs in *King Leir*: 'King Leirs three daughters were **wedded** in one day: / The celebration of **this happy** chaunce, / We will **deferre**, untill we come to Fraunce' (*KL*, vii.735-737). Joan thrusts out the 'Senecan emblem of phallocentric power, the wedding torch', which 'is indeed a comet, not of revenge – but, in true Senecan fashion, of Revenge'.[122] Kyd employs this emblem in *The Spanish Tragedy*, when Revenge reassures the Ghost of Don Andrea that

> The two first the nuptiall torches boare
> As brightly burning as the mid-daies sunne:
> But after them doth Himen hie as fast.
> Clothed in Sable and a Saffron robe,
> And blowes them out, and quencheth them with blood. (*Sp. T.*, III.xv.29-33)

Charles says, '**Now** shine it like a comet of revenge, / A prophet to **the fall of** all our foes' (*1H6*, III.iii.14-15). Hieronimo, having set the fatal trap for Horatio's murderers, shares the same thought process: '**Now** shall I see **the fall of** Babylon, / Wrought by the heavens in this confusion' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.194-195).

Act Three Scene Four is (according to the Oxford edition's division of scenes) very

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[121] *Arden of Faversham* (1590) and *Fair Em* (1590) share sixty-six examples of stage directions featuring the bigram, 'Here enters' (there are sixty-two instances in *Arden of Faversham* and four in *Fair Em* by my count). In Act Three Scene Three of *Henry VI Part One* (1592), the Bastard says, '**Here entered** Pucelle' (*1H6*, III.iii.3). The abundance of 'Here' directions in Kyd's Kentish tragedy suggests the hand of a scribe or reporter, but this bigram could also indicate authorial influence.
[122] M. L. Stapleton and Stephen F. Austin, '"Shine It like a Comet of Revenge": Seneca, John Studley, and Shakespeare's Joan la Pucelle', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 31 (1994), 229-250 (pp. 232-233).

short, at just five lines. The scene features Talbot, *solus*, who, like an avenger of the Senecan type, swears retribution. He says, 'France, thou **shalt rue this** treason with thy **tears**' (*1H6*, III.iv.1). In *Arden of Faversham*, Susan says, 'My brother, you, and I **shall rue this** deed' (*AF*, xiv.330), to which Alice responds: 'Come, Susan, help to lift his body forth, / And let our salt **tears** be his obsequies' (xiv.331-332). This match is indicative of Kyd's networks of association, which would seem to operate below the level of the author's consciousness.

Joan continues to goad the English in the following scene. Burgundy vows revenge: '**I trust ere long to** choke thee with thine own' (*1H6*, III.v.6). We find a parallel of both language and thought in *King Leir*, when the Ambassador states that 'God and my king, **I trust**, **ere** it be **long**, / Will find a meane **to** remedy this wrong' (*KL*, xxii.1969-1970). Burgundy's subsequent line uniquely parallels the Quarrel Scene in *Arden of Faversham*:

> And **make** thee curse the **harvest** of that **corn** (*1H6*, III.v.7)
> To **make** my **harvest** nothing but pure **corn**. (*AF*, viii.25)

Talbot is determined to 'get the town again **or die**. / **And** I' (*1H6*, III.v.38-39). These lines give us a match with *King Leir*'s, '**Whether** their aged parents **live or dye**; */* **And** so' (*KL*, iii.295-296), which in turn matches *Arden of Faversham*: 'But, mistress, tell her, **whether** I **live or die**' (*AF*, i.170). The dying Bedford urges Talbot to let him remain on the battlefield. His request, '**Lord** Talbot, **do not so dishonour me**' (*1H6*, III.v.49), shares a discontinuous six-word sequence with Leir's imperative, 'Then **do not so dishonour me**, my **Lords**' (*KL*, vi.510). Bedford tells Talbot that he will 'sit before the walls of Rouen, / And will be **partner of your** weal or woe' (*1H6*, III.v.50-51). These lines share a unique triple with Mumford's speech: 'As make me **partner of your** Pilgrimage' (*KL*, iv.357). Sir John Fastolf deserts Talbot in the midst of battle.[123] The Captain asks him, 'What, will you fly, and leave Lord

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[123] Vincent notes that 'The dramatizing of Fastolf's desertion before Rouen' is 'puzzling to say the least; any self-respecting coward would run away just once after all'. He elaborates that 'In the first account of the battle of Patay (near Orléans) given by the third messenger at 1.1.103-161, Talbot has the same number of troops as he specifies above but the odds are more like four to one (112-3), as described in the chronicles. There is further disagreement over the timing of Fastolf's flight: in 1.1 the battle had already been raging for some time,

Talbot?' (*1H6*, III.v.66), to which Fastolf responds: 'Ay, **all the** Talbots in the **world**, **to save** my **life**' (III.v.67). Fastolf's line gives us a discontinuous six-word match with *King Leir*: 'The monarchy of **all the** spacious **world** / **To save** his **life**' (*KL*, xix.1713-1714).

Act Three Scene Six stages the English recovery. Talbot acknowledges that 'kings and mightiest potentates must **die**. / **For that**'s the end of human misery' (*1H6*, III.vi.22-23). Drawdy argues that, in Kyd's works, death is 'nothing more than the final scene of a play for which there is no encore', and Kyd's characters feel 'no sense of fear or dread'.[124] Soliman expresses a similarly content view of death when he says, 'Yet some thing more contentedly I **die** / **For that** my death was wrought by her devise' (*S&P*, V.iv.130-131). Matches of this kind also reveal the ways in which Kyd incorporated ready-made phrases into his verse.

The following scene begins with the French spying on the English as they march towards Paris. Joan, rather like Kyd's voyeuristic antagonist Lorenzo, decides to reveal herself in order to serve a villainous purpose: she aims to convince Burgundy to defect. Alencon's line, 'And not have **title of an** earldom here' (*1H6*, III.vii.26), gives us a match with the Quarrel Scene in *Arden of Faversham*: 'From **title of an** odious strumpet's name' (*Arden* viii.72). Joan tells her companions: '**Your** honours **shall** perceive how **I will work** / **To** bring this matter to the wished end' (*1H6*, III.vii.27-28). In *Fair Em*, Mariana also makes a promise: 'Madam, begone, and you **shall** see **I will work to your** / desire and my content' (*FE*, viii.99-100). Joan and Mariana reassure their companions that they will satisfy their desires; their companions will be able to perceive the fulfilment of these deeds. The thought process is practically identical in these passages. Joan's phrase, 'There goes the', in the line,

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according to the messenger, before the knight "played the coward" (131), but in 4.1 Talbot testifies that Fastolf fled "Before we met or that a stroke was given" (22). It would seem that either F preserves two narrations of the same episode by one playwright, who for some reason failed to harmonize them, or, as seems more likely, two playwrights have interpreted the chronicles differently; one following Holinshed's (following Halle's) description of Fastolf fleeing an engaged battle "without anie stroke stricken", the other applying the phrase to the English and French armies instead, presumably in an effort to make Fastolf's desertion seem even more cowardly. Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 109. The evidence suggests that two authors dramatized these episodes (Nashe was responsible for the account of the battle of Patay), and that Kyd was the author responsible for Act Three Scene Five (as labelled in the Oxford edition).

[124] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 11.

'**There goes the** Talbot, with his colours spread' (*1H6*, III.vii.31), can also be found in Hieronimo's line, '**there goes the** hare away' (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.24), and in *Fair Em*: '**There goes the** miller's daughter's wooers' (*FE*, v.91).

Charles tells Joan to 'enchant' Burgundy '**with thy words**' (*1H6*, III.vii.40). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the Viceroy is taken in by Villuppo's lies: 'No more, Villuppo, thou hast said enough, / And **with thy words** thou staiest our wounded thoughts' (*Sp. T.*, III.i.25-26). Joan's line, 'Which **thou thyself hast** given her woeful breast' (*1H6*, III.vii.51), matches: 'So counsell I, as **thou thyselfe hast** said' (*S&P*, I.v.22). H. C. Hart pointed out that Joan's line, 'Besides, all French and France **exclaims on thee**' (*1H6*, III.vii.60), parallels: 'To heare Hieronimo **exclaime on thee**' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.70).[125] Joan asks Burgundy, 'Who join'st thou with but with a lordly nation / That **will not trust thee**' (*1H6*, III.vii.62-63). Hieronimo protests: 'Vice-roy, I **will not trust thee** with my life' (*Sp. T.*, III.vii.159). Joan tells Burgundy that 'Charles and the rest will take **thee in their** arms' (*1H6*, III.vii.77), which parallels: 'Do waite for to receive **thee in their** jawes' (*S&P*, V.iv.39). In both examples, the triple is followed by a plural (body-related) noun. Joan says, rather uncharacteristically:

Done **like a Frenchman**—turn and turn again. (*1H6*, III.vii.85)

Joan's satiric aside is jarring and undermines the strength of her character. In his jingoistic appeal to English audiences, Kyd reveals that he does not have the same mastery of characterization as Shakespeare. Similarly, in *King Leir*, the Messenger protests:

do I looke **like a Frenchman**? (*KL*, xix.1572)

Burgundy defects and Alencon asserts that 'Pucelle hath bravely played **her part in this**' (*1H6*, III.vii.88). This line parallels, 'Poor Bel-imperia mist **her part in this**' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.140). Chernaik dismisses this parallel: '"Poor Bel-imperia mist her part in this" (*Sp. T.*, 4.4.140) refers literally to playing a role in a play-within-a-play, where "Pucelle hath bravely

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[125] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. 96.

play'd her part in this" (*1H6*, 3.3.88) refers to her prowess in battle'.[126] Once again, Chernaik's argument suggests inattention, for the line refers to Joan's success in convincing Burgundy to join the French cause and has nothing to do with her prowess in battle; rather, like Bel-imperia, she is 'appointed to' play a 'part' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.138).[127] Furthermore, there is a unique thought process shared between Burgundy's acknowledgement that 'These haughty words of hers / Have battered me like roaring cannon-shot' (*1H6*, III.vii.78-79) and Mosby's speech in *Arden of Faversham*:

> Such deep pathaires, like to a cannon's burst
> Discharged against a ruinated wall,
> Breaks my relenting heart in thousand pieces. (*AF*, viii.51-53)

These passages also reveal Kyd's techniques of characterization, for both female antagonists, Joan and Alice Arden, are manipulative and attempt to use persuasive language for their own ends.

In the final scene of Act Three, Henry arrives at Paris and creates Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. As soon as Henry and Talbot exit, Vernon confronts Basset, who has been 'Disgracing of these colours **that I wear**' (*1H6*, III.viii.29). The formulaic line-ending, 'that I wear', is unique to this play and Mumford's speech in *King Leir*: 'For all the shirts and night-geare **that I weare**' (*KL*, vii.623). Speaking of Somerset, Basset asks, '**Why, what is he?**—as good a man as York' (*1H6*, III.viii.36). We find this unique tetragram in Franklin's interrogative, '**Why, what is he?**' (*AF*, i.24), to which Arden responds: 'A botcher, and no better at the first' (i.25). Basset, having been struck by Vernon, says, 'Villain, thou know'st **the** law of arms is such / **That whoso draws** a sword 'tis present death' (*1H6*, III.viii.38-39). We find a parallel of language and thought in *Arden of Faversham*:

> **That whoso** looks upon **the** work he **draws**
> Shall, with the beams that issue from his sight,
> Suck venom to his breast and slay himself. (*AF*, i.230-232)

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[126] http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Shakespeare+as+co-author%3A+the+case+of+1+henry+VI.-a0384642841

[127] Similarly, 'Lucina plaies **her part**, / And wooes apace **in** Solimans behalfe' (*S&P*, V.ii.144-145), in Kyd's Turkish tragedy.

Basset continues thus:

> **I may have liberty to venge this wrong**. (*1H6*, III.viii.42)

In *Soliman and Perseda*, Erastus says:

> **I may have libertie to** live a Christian. (*S&P*, III.i.97)

In *Cornelia*, we find the interrogative:

> What shall I doe, or whether shall I flye
> **To venge this** outrage, or revenge my **wrongs**? (*Corn.*, V.i.340-341)

These lines surely derive from a single author's storehouse of iambic formulae. Basset vows

vengeance against Vernon: 'When **thou shalt see I'll** meet thee to thy cost' (*1H6*, III.viii.43).

In Kyd's Kentish tragedy, the murderers, like Basset and Vernon, make for a foolish and

competitive pairing. Black Will tells Shakebag that '**thou shalt see I'll** do as much as

Shakebag' (*AF*, v.33). The verbal evidence strongly suggests that Kyd is the sole author of

the third act of 'Harey the vj'.

Kyd's Part Authorship of 'Harey the vj': Act Four

Act Four opens with Henry's coronation. Gloucester reads a letter from Burgundy, which

reveals his defection. Gloucester exclaims: 'O monstrous treachery! **Can this be** so? / That in

alliance, amity, **and** oaths / There should be found such false **dissembling** guile?' (*1H6*,

IV.i.61-63). We find the same verbal pattern in Mariana's speech in *Fair Em*: 'Yea, sworn

the same, **and** I believed you, too. / **Can this be** found an action of good faith, / Thus to

dissemble where you found true love?' (*FE*, viii.36-38). The King, scandalized by

Burgundy's defection, orders Talbot to speak with him:

> Why then, Lord Talbot there shall talk with **him**
> **And give him** chastisement. (*1H6*, IV.i.68-69)

The formation, 'him and give him', occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, during Love's speech:

'follow **him**. / **And give him** aide' (*S&P*, II.iii.13-14). Henry's caveat, '**And** you, my lords,

remember **where we are**' (*1H6*, IV.i.137), matches the line, '**And** look about this chamber

where we are' (*AF*, xiv.396). The trigram, 'forget this quarrel', occurs in the line, 'Quite to

forget this quarrel and the cause' (*1H6*, IV.i.136), and the Quarrel Scene in *Arden of*

Faversham: 'I will **forget this quarrel**, gentle Alice' (*AF*, viii.148). We might also note the

unique pentagram, 'what offence it is to', in the King's speech:

> Let him perceive how ill we brook his treason,
> And **what offence it is to** flout his friends. (*1H6*, IV.i.74-75)

We find the same verbal formula employed by Kyd when Soliman, like Henry, expresses his

displeasure:

> Coye Virgin, knowest thou **what offence it is**
> **To** thwart the will and pleasure of a king? (*S&P*, IV.i.103-104)

Vickers notes that pentagrams are very 'rare in any collocation study'.[128] Basset declares that

'I crave the benefit of **Law of Arms**' (*1H6*, IV.i.100), to which Vernon retorts, '**And** that is

my petition' (IV.i.101). Cornelia scolds the traitors who have 'basely broke the **Law of**

Armes, / **And** out-rag'd over an afflicted soule' (*Corn.*, III.iii.37-38). Vernon's line, '**To set**

a gloss upon his bold intent' (*1H6*, IV.i.103), gives us a rare match with *King Leir*: '**To set a**

glosse on your invasion' (*KL*, xxx.2572). Henry ponders:

> what madness rules in brainsick men
> When **for so slight** and frivolous **a cause**
> Such factious emulations shall arise? (*1H6*, IV.i.111-113)

We find the rare four-word sequence, 'so slight a cause', in *Cornelia*, in the line, 'In Caesars

hart upon **so slight a cause**' (*Corn.*, V.i.383), while the word string, 'for so slight a', occurs

in *Soliman and Perseda*: 'May soon be levied **for so slight a taske**' (*S&P*, I.v.28). This line

matches *Arden of Faversham*: 'In following **so slight a task** as this' (*AF*, xii.54). Here we

can see an 'inter-related set of collocations' suggesting common authorship.[129] Similarly, the

line, 'That **for a trifle** that was **bought with blood**' (*1H6*, IV.i.150), matches both *King*

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[128] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 30.
[129] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 116.

Leir's, 'Who **for a trifle** (falsely) I dare say' (*KL*, xiv.1149), and *Cornelia*'s, 'Nor thirsted I **for** conquests **bought with blood**' (*Corn.*, IV.ii.84).

Henry's declarative, 'I see no reason, if **I wear this** rose' (*1H6*, IV.i.152), uniquely parallels: 'all the while / **I weare this** chaine' (*S&P*, II.i.289-290). The King, speaking of Somerset and York, asserts that 'Both are my kinsmen, and **I love them both**' (*1H6*, IV.i.155). In Kyd's Turkish tragedy, Soliman informs the audience that '**I love them both**, I know not which the better' (*S&P*, IV.i.171), before telling Erastus and Perseda to '**come you hether** / And both give me your hands' (IV.i.175-176). Henry tells his subjects to '**Come hither**, **you** that would be combatants' (*1H6*, IV.i.134) and 'Go cheerfully together and digest / Your angry choler **on your enemies**' (IV.i.167-168), which gives us a unique match with *King Leir*, when Mumford, in a comparable speech, tells his countrymen to 'Shew your selves now to be right Gawles indeed, / And be so bitter **on your enemies**' (*KL*, xxvi.2421-2422). H. C. Hart identified a similar train of thought between Henry's speech and a choral lyric in *Cornelia*:[130]

> Wicked Envie, feeding still
> Foolish those that doe thy will.
> For thy poysons in them poure
> Sundry passions every houre;
> And to choller doth convart
> Purest blood about the heart,
> Which (ore-flowing of their brest)
> Suffreth nothing to digest. (*Corn.*, IV.ii.216-223)

York says, 'but yet **I** like it not / In **that he wears** the badge of Somerset' (*1H6*, IV.i.176-177). These lines share a unique collocation of words with Hieronimo's declarative, 'Those garments **that he weares I** oft have seen' (*Sp. T.*, II.v.13). Exeter's line, 'I **fear we should** have seen' (*1H6*, IV.i.184), parallels *Cornelia*: 'for **feare we should** be gone' (*Corn.*, V.i.86). The verbal evidence for Kyd's authorship of this scene is substantial.

I have experienced much difficulty with the next scene that Vickers attributes to Kyd,

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[130] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. 108.

Act Four Scene Three, for I was initially persuaded by Dover Wilson's argument that there is a 'blend of two distinct styles'.[131] I agreed with Marco Mincoff, who noted in 1965 that 'IV.iii.1-16 in particular' may have been preserved by Shakespeare when he rewrote the sequence for a revival.[132] Indeed, the opening sixteen lines display outmoded authorial habits, such as the *-ed* inflection – which is often given syllabic value in Kyd's plays – in 'discoverèd' (*1H6*, IV.iii.6), 'promisèd' (IV.iii.10), and 'Renownèd' (IV.iii.12). However, subsequent research has led me to attribute the entire scene to Kyd.

York complains that he is unable to aid Talbot, for Somerset has delayed his supply of horsemen. He says, '**If he miscarry**, farewell wars in France' (IV.iii.17). This line is remarkably similar to Leir's lament: 'Oh, **if he** should **miscarry** here and dye, / Who is the cause of it, but only I?' (*KL*, xix.1709-1710). York's use of the plural noun 'cornets' (meaning a company of cavalry, or a troop of horsemen), in the line, 'Doth stop my cornets' (*1H6*, IV.iii.25), provides compelling evidence for non-Shakespearean authorship, for this word cannot be found elsewhere during character dialogue in his corpus (Shakespeare sometimes employs this word in stage directions, and with a very different meaning: a cornet is also a brass instrument). I can detect this word twice, employed in almost identical dramatic situations, in Kyd's plays: during the General's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*, when he relates news from the war against Portugal,

Did with his Cornet bravely make attempt (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.41)

and in *Cornelia*, when the Messenger delivers a speech concerning the battle of Thapsus:

Thryce did the Cornets of the souldiers (cleerd). (*Corn.*, V.i.198)

Vickers notes that 'Kyd regularly amplified the force of lamentations by adding gestures to tears'.[133] We find this idiosyncrasy in York's declarative, 'Mad ire and **wrathful fury** makes me weep' (*1H6*, IV.iii.28), which recalls Soliman's threat: 'Speak not a word, lest in my

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[131] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 178.
[132] Mincoff, 'Composition', p. 283.
[133] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 107.

wrathful fury / I doom you to ten thousand direful torments' (*S&P*, V.ii.122-123). Sir

William Lucy enters and pleads with York to 'send some **succour** to the **distressed** lord'

(*1H6*, IV.iii.30). This line parallels Kyd's Turkish tragedy: 'give him aid and **succour** in

distress' (*S&P*, II.iii.14). Vincent argues that Lucy's 'name marks him as a peculiarly

Shakespearean character'.[134] However, as T. W. Baldwin pointed out, Sir William Lucy can

be found in both Edward Hall's *The Union of the Families of Lancastre and York* (1548) and

Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1587), where he

reportedly made great haste to join the battle of Northampton, which took place on 10 July

1460, but arrived too late and was killed with an axe by his wife's Yorkist lover.[135] It seems

that Kyd simply drew the name from his sources; there is no significant evidence to suggest

that he is a Shakespearean character designed 'to honour a Stratford worthy'.[136] It is possible,

as Elihu Pearlman suggests, that Shakespeare altered the speech headings in these scenes and

transformed a depersonalized Messenger and/or Herald into Lucy.[137] However, as I aim to

show in my analysis of Act Four Scene Seven, the presence of this Senecan character

throughout the Bordeaux sequence suggests that he was always part of Kyd's dramatic

intentions, for he is given 'choric authority'.[138] Furthermore, York and Lucy's exchanges are

written in Kyd's 'seemingly random alternation of rhyme and blank verse'.[139] We might note,

for example, the couplet in York's declarative: 'vexation almost stops my breath / That

sundered friends greet **in the hour of death**' (*1H6*, IV.iii.41-42). These lines are matched in

Kyd's Turkish tragedy: 'Even **in the houre of death**' (*S&P*, V.iv.96). York weeps '**cause I**

cannot aid the man' (*1H6*, IV.iii.44). This line parallels *Cornelia*: '**cause I cannot** dry / Your

ceaslesse springs' (*Corn.*, II.i.3-4).

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[134] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 247.
[135] See Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 352.
[136] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 249.
[137] See Elihu Pearlman, 'Shakespeare at Work: The Two Talbots', *Philological Quarterly*, 75.1 (1996), 1-22 (p. 21).
[138] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, p. 239.
[139] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 25.

Lucy, like Exeter in Act Three Scene One and Act Four Scene One, is given

'"structural" prominence' and is left alone on stage to voice his concerns about England to

the audience.[140] He details 'The Tudor horror of civil war in a Promethean setting' in the

lines, 'Thus while the vulture of sedition / Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders'

(*1H6*, IV.iii.47-48).[141] Lucy's imagery recalls such classical figures as Prometheus and

Tityus. Tityus's fate is transferred to the Duke of Castille at the conclusion of *The Spanish*

Tragedy. Kyd also alludes to the myth in *Cornelia*: 'Or his whose soule the Vulter seizeth on'

(*Corn.*, I.i.204). Similarly, the Chorus in *Cornelia* speak of 'Spightful hate' that 'pecks'

men's 'brest' (IV.ii.233) and makes 'their soules' as 'sore / As Prometheus ghost' (IV.ii.238-

239). Vincent points out that 'the author constructs an image that is intelligible to groundling

and noble alike' in *Henry VI Part One*, as opposed to including the Greek names, which

'would distract his audience from the main purpose of the speech, which is to foreshadow

that the factious English nobility, not the might of France, will be responsible for the loss of

the dead king's French conquests'.[142] I had originally suspected that Lucy's speech was an

addition by Shakespeare. We might note similarities in idiom and structure (although this is

not an uncommon formula in early modern plays) between Lucy's line, 'Lives, honours,

lands, and all hurry to loss' (*1H6*, IV.iii.53), and Shakespeare's: 'Words, life, and all' (*R2*,

II.i.151); 'Our lands, our lives, and all' (III.ii.147); 'my house and lands and wife and all'

(*2H6*, I.iii.19); and 'And lose it, life and all, as Arthur did' (*Jn.*, III.iv.144). However, this

sequence is also akin to *Arden of Faversham*'s, 'You shall command my life, my skill, and

all' (*AF*, i.263), which, unlike the Shakespeare examples, incorporates the word 'command',

as in 'great commanders' (*1H6*, IV.iii.47). Moreover, Michael's soliloquy in Scene Three of

Arden of Faversham begins in the same manner as Lucy's speech, '**Thus** while **the** vulture of

sedition / **Feeds** in the bosom of such great commanders' (*1H6*, IV.iii.47-48), as we can see

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[140] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 352.

[141] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 180.

[142] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 197.

in the line, '**Thus feeds the** lamb securely on the down' (*AF*, iii.191).[143]

A comparison between Lucy's speech and the remainder of *Henry VI Part One* reveals authorial thought patterns shared with Kyd's Act Four Scene One. For example, the lines, 'sedition / Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders' (*1H6*, IV.iii.47-48), recall, 'Of such as your oppression feeds upon' (IV.i.58). In both examples the verb 'feeds' follows an abstract noun. The line, 'The conquest of our scarce-cold conqueror' (IV.iii.50), echoes the King's plea, 'O, think upon the conquest of my father' (IV.i.148), while 'they each other cross' (IV.iii.52) stresses 'This shouldering of each other in the court' (IV.i.189) in Lucy and Exeter's respective choric utterances. Courtly corruption is, of course, a key element of *The Spanish Tragedy*, while *Cornelia* deals with 'a corrupt society dominated by powerful contending forces'.[144] Such repetitions of ideas in Lucy's speech emphasize the 'furious raging broils' (IV.i.185) that will inevitably lead, in the wake of Henry V's death, to the Wars of the Roses. These speeches reveal, as is characteristic of Kyd's drama, the 'providential universe in which the play operates'.[145] Kyd is likely to have written Act Four Scene Three shortly after he composed Act Four Scene One. The repetitions I have noted here are perhaps indicative of words, phrases, and ideas at the forefront of Kyd's mind as he wrote these scenes. It seems that Lucy's speech was always part of the original 'Harey the vj' play.

Erne notes that Kyd 'does not construct his plots to represent events with naturalistic fidelity, but to highlight a process of cause and effect'.[146] It is therefore significant that Alan C. Dessen has pointed out that the dramatist responsible for Lucy's seven-line speech in Act Four Scene Three 'plays fast and loose with neo-classic sense of place or scene division by having' Lucy 'provide two parallel pleas and a soliloquy in between without leaving the

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[143] Sykes, *Sidelights*, p. 57.
[144] Howard R. Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England* (Newark, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2009), p. 228.
[145] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 11.
[146] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 172.

stage'.[147] I suggest that these scenes reveal Kyd's 'emphasis on haste' and that – as Erne observes in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda* – the action 'forms a causal sequence. The causality of the action rather than a precise duration is expressed through the apparent temporal juxtaposition of the different scenes'.[148] Lucy disrupts scenic illusion and, like Revenge and the Ghost of Andrea, 'casts a shadow of fatality over the unwitting characters'.[149] In my view, the numerous links of language, thought, style, and manner demonstrate that Kyd is the sole author of Act Four Scene Three.

In Act Four Scene Four, Somerset says, 'All our general force / **Might with a** sally of the very town / **Be** buckled with' (IV.iv.3-5). We find the formulaic line-opening, 'Might with a', in *Cornelia*: '**Might** (**with a** byting brydle) **bee** restraind' (*Corn.*, II.i.108). Lucy provides a parallel plea, which is similarly refused by Somerset. The messenger personifies death in the line, 'To beat assailing **death from his** weak regions' (*1H6*, IV.iv.16), which uniquely parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Could win pale **death from his** usurped right' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.39). Somerset, speaking of York, tells Lucy, '**I owe him** little duty and less love' (*1H6*, IV.iv.34), which matches *Soliman and Perseda*: '**I owe him** chastisement' (*S&P*, IV.ii.63). Furthermore, as Dover Wilson pointed out in 1952: 'In the first scene of Part II Gloucester gives a list of those who had shed their blood in France to preserve what Henry V had won, and overlooks the name of Talbot altogether'.[150] Gloucester does, however, list Somerset and York, 'who are represented in Part I as factious traitors responsible for Talbot's death'.[151] These fundamental differences between the traitorous Somerset and York of *Henry VI Part One* and the celebrated figures in Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part Two* suggest that Shakespeare was not responsible for Act Four Scene Three and Act Four Scene Four of the

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[147] Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 94.
[148] Erne, *Beyond*, pp. 191-192.
[149] Coral, 'Seneca, what Seneca?', p. 16.
[150] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xiii.
[151] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xiii.

first part.

Act Four Scene Six features Talbot and his son John, in the midst of battle, and is written in heroic rhyming couplets throughout. Talbot attempts to persuade his son to leave the battlefield, but to no avail. The scene, as Dover Wilson put it, is marred by 'forced rhymes […] unnecessary line-filling words', and 'poverty-stricken diction'.[152] Vickers, before he had identified Kyd as the author of this scene, pointed out that 'the author of 4.6 was oblivious to the effect that too many *th* sounds can have in quick succession' and that there are 'seven *th*'s in three lines', which is 'compounded by the triple alliteration on *f* in line 56, and the double-consonant alliteration on *pr* in the last line'.[153] I would like to take Vickers's observation a little further by highlighting the opening of *The Spanish Tragedy* as a comparable example of Kyd's use of multiple alliteration. The Ghost of Andrea tells the audience that

> I *p*ast the *p*erils of the *f*ormost *p*orch.
> Not *f*arre *f*rom hence amidst ten thousand soules. (*Sp. T.*, I.i.31-32)

Here we have three *p* sounds in one line and three *f* sounds in quick succession (we might note the predominance of *r* sounds in 'perils', 'formost', 'porch', 'farre', and 'from' also). The 'poverty-stricken diction' that Dover Wilson complained of is indicative of Kyd's hand, when judged critically.[154]

Robert B. Pierce points out that 'The verse technique' in this scene is 'closest' to 'Seneca, and the neo-Senecan plays like Gascoigne and Kinwelmershe's *Jocasta*'.[155] I would argue that the scene is most certainly the product of a 'Senecan playwright'.[156] Michael Taylor notes that 'the rhyming dialogue' in this scene 'shapes a kind of noble flyting match, a competition as to who can out-*oblige* the other, as each attempts to persuade the other to flee

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[152] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xlv.
[153] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 341.
[154] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xlv.
[155] Pierce, *Family and the State*, p. 44.
[156] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 222.

from certain death, neither of course able to accept the other's self-sacrifice'.[157] We might

recall Leir and Cordella's attempts to 'outbid one another in expressions of indebtedness',[158]

or Perillus and Leir's ludicrous debate concerning which of them should be murdered, in

Scene Nineteen of *King Leir*. The unique bigram, 'hemmed about', occurs in the opening

stage direction of Act Four Scene Six: '*John **is hemmed about** by French soldiers*' (*1H6*,

IV.vi.1 SD). This phrase also occurs in Act Four Scene Three, in Lucy's lines, 'Who now **is**

girdled with a waste of iron / And **hemmed about** with grim destruction' (IV.iii.20-21),

which argues for common authorship. Talbot complains that 'The Regent hath with Talbot

broke his word, / **And left us** to the rage of France his sword' (IV.vi.2-3). Kyd utilizes this

formulaic line-opening in *King Leir*: '**And left us** not a penny in our purses' (*KL*, xxiii.2000).

Kyd also uses the phrase, 'take thy breath', in Talbot's imperative, 'Pause **and take thy**

breath' (*1H6*, IV.vi.4), as a line-ending in *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Or this, **and** then thou

needst not **take thy breth**' (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.15). Talbot's line, 'Which **thou didst force** from

Talbot' (*1H6*, IV.vi.24), uniquely parallels: 'Horatio, **thou didst force** him' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.182).

The trigram, 'was lost and', in the line, 'The life thou gav'st me first **was lost and** done'

(*1H6*, IV.vi.7), co-occurs with *Soliman and Perseda*: '**was lost**, / **And** Rhodes it selfe is lost'

(*S&P*, IV.i.18-19).

Kyd continues to employ rhyming couplets at the beginning of Act Four Scene Seven,

which dramatizes the poignant death of Talbot and his son. The couplets continue for another

twenty-eight lines after Talbot's death. Vickers argues (against Taylor and Vincent, who

assign the first thirty-two lines to Shakespeare) that there is 'no discernible difference

between the two sections' and 'the same writer wrote both couplet sequences and that he was

not Shakespeare'.[159] Talbot's image of 'Triumphant death smeared with captivity' (*1H6*,

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[157] Michael Taylor, 'Introduction', in *Henry VI, Part One*, ed. Michael Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1-78 (p. 66).
[158] Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, p. 221.
[159] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 341.

IV.vii.3) recalls Balthazar's line, 'I, but thats slaundred by captivitie' (*Sp. T.*, II.i.20), while the line, '**When he perceived** me shrink' (*1H6*, IV.vii.5), shares the formulaic utterance, 'When he perceived', with *Cornelia*: '**When he perceiv'd** the labour' (*Corn.*, V.i.176). Talbot concedes that 'My spirit can **no longer bear** these harms' (*1H6*, IV.vii.30). This line matches, 'Rhodes must **no longer beare** the Turkish yoake' (*S&P*, V.ii.59). Talbot says, 'Come, come, and lay him **in his father's** arms' (*1H6*, IV.vii.29). Hieronimo grieves because 'Horatio' was 'murdered **in his Fathers** bower' (*Sp. T.*, IV.v.3). Here we see verbal parallels combined with corresponding plot situations and character relationships. I can find no significant internal evidence to support Gary Taylor's argument that the first thirty-two lines of this scene are 'characteristic of Shakespeare'.[160] Talbot's grief for the loss of his son echoes *The Spanish Tragedy*, while 'the intensity of the tragic experience', as Erne puts it, perhaps owes something to the influence of Seneca's *Troades* over Kyd, in which Andromache grieves for the murder of her son Astyanax.[161] Following his success with the father-son relationship in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd would have been well-equipped to write the scenes dealing with Talbot and his son John, and this scene in particular was lauded by Nashe as part of the original 'Harey the vj' play. Internal and external evidence does not support the theory that Shakespeare was responsible for Talbot's speech.

I agree with Vincent that Talbot's speech reveals 'psychological poignancy' (as do many passages in Kyd's plays), but I do not believe that Talbot's Icarus allusions in this scene and in Act Four Scene Six are 'of a different order'.[162] Kyd simply extends the metaphor of Talbot's being 'thy desp'rate sire of Crete' and his son 'Icarus' (*1H6*, IV.vi.54-55) in the lines, 'there died / My Icarus' (IV.vii.15-16).[163] However, Shakespeare's possible use of this myth in Act Four Scene Five reveals the subtlety that distinguishes the dramatist's

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[160] Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others', p. 167.
[161] See Erne, *Beyond*, pp. 80-81.
[162] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 199.
[163] Kyd also makes use of this myth in *King Leir* (1589), when the Servant wishes his master 'had old Daedalus' waxen wings, / That he might fly, so I might stay behind' (*KL*, v.416-417).

work; unlike Kyd, he does not elucidate the names of the classical figures. Talbot tells his son that he intended to 'tutor thee in stratagems of war' (IV.v.2), just as Daedalus instructed Icarus how to fly; both John and Icarus meet their tragic downfalls as a direct consequence of their high-flying ambitions. It seems that this myth was very much in Kyd's mind when he composed his portions of the play, for the dramatist returns to it in Act Five Scene Five, when Suffolk says, 'Thou mayst not wander in that labyrinth' (V.v.144). Furthermore, I propose that Act Two Scene Five – in which Mortimer is imprisoned for his political ambitions, and is indeed, as Richard puts it, 'Choked with ambition of the meaner sort' (II.v.123) – was influenced in part by the tale of Daedalus's having been shut up in a tower, so that he could not divulge the secrets of the labyrinth. Perhaps Kyd recognized some dramatic potential in treating the labyrinth as a metaphor for the political betrayals that culminated in the Wars of the Roses.

Shortly after Talbot's death, the French enter victorious. Balwin argued that 'The fourth act' in the First Folio should 'end properly with the death of Talbot' and that the entrance and 'the victory' of the French should open the play's fifth act.[164] Such a division would explain why Talbot's corpse is described by Joan as 'Stinking and flyblown' (IV.vii.76) a mere forty-four lines after Talbot draws his last breath. Charles concedes that 'Had York and Somerset brought rescue in, / We **should have found** a bloody day of this' (IV.vii.33-34), which parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Least that his highnes **should have found** you there' (*Sp. T.*, III.x.61). Lucy enters in order 'to survey the **bodies of the dead**' (*1H6*, IV.vii.57). This line matches, 'The passage choakt with **bodies of the dead**' (*Corn.*, V.i.285). Lucy asks, 'But **where's** the great **Alcides** of the field' (*1H6*, IV.vii.60), which closely parallels Kyd's Turkish tragedy: '**where is** that **Alcides**' (*S&P*, V.iii.67). Joan's line, 'For God's sake let him have **him**. **To keep** them here' (*1H6*, IV.vii.89), recalls another of

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[164] Baldwin, *Literary Genetics*, p. 352.

Kyd's female antagonists, Ragan: ''Twere best for **him to keepe** him from my hands' (*KL*, xxv.2387). In Act Four Scene Four, Lucy states that 'Too late comes rescue', for Talbot 'is ta'en or slain' (*1H6*, IV.iv.42). In Act Four Scene Seven, Lucy comes 'to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en' (IV.vii.56). He does not have, as Vincent claims, 'a different expectation of the battle's outcome from that of the Lucy of 4.3 and 4.4'.[165] I therefore disagree with Vincent's argument that 'inconsistencies generated by his appearance in 4.7' show that 'Lucy was clearly not part of the original conception of the sequence and it is just as clear that the copy for F presented an incomplete authorial revision of apparently two very minor roles into that of Sir William Lucy'.[166] Even if one were to consider Lucy an inconsistent character, as Vincent does, he still follows 'an identifiable' Senecan (and therefore Kydian) 'pattern, which consists of a movement' on the part of the Chorus 'from an almost complete detachment from the tragic events to a total identification with them'.[167] He grieves for Talbot and wishes 'that I could but call these dead to life' (IV.vii.80).

Vincent suggests that Lucy's lengthy panegyric description of Talbot and the mention of Lord Strange in this scene (IV.vii.60-71) serves to 'flatter the patron of the commissioning acting company' Lord Strange, descendant of Talbot.[168] Dover Wilson argued that Talbot's vow in Act Two Scene Two to 'erect / A tomb' (II.ii.12-13) 'in revenge' (II.ii.11) of Salisbury 'Anticipates the implicit reference to Talbot's tomb at Rouen', which suggests that Lucy's lines were part of the original 'Harey the vj' play.[169] Following Lucy's speech, Joan says, 'Here's a silly, **stately** style indeed. / The Turk, that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath, / **Writes** not so tedious **a** style as this' (IV.vii.72-74). These lines recall Hieronimo's speech, as he prepares to put on his play about Soliman the Turkish Emperor: 'Give me **a stately**

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[165] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 250.
[166] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 135.
[167] Coral, 'Seneca, what Seneca?', p. 17.
[168] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 136. For further discussion see Manley and Maclean, *Lord Strange's Men*, pp. 283-284.
[169] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 140.

written Tragedie' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.158). I assign all of Act Four Scene Seven to Kyd and conclude that Shakespeare had no hand in it.

Kyd's Part Authorship of 'Harey the vj': Act Five

Act Five Scene One, which dramatizes peace-making efforts, is replete with rare verbal matches suggesting Kyd's authorship. Henry tells Gloucester, '**I** shall be well **content with any** choice' (*1H6*, V.i.26). This line matches Ragan's speech in *King Leir*: 'To say, **I** am **content with any** one' (*KL*, ii.184). Both passages concern an arranged marriage. Gloucester wants his nephew to marry the Earl of Armagnac's daughter in order to establish peace; Leir intends to match his daughter with the Cambrian prince. Close attention to the dramatic context in which this phrase is used thus helps to establish common authorship. Similarly, the line, 'Tends to God's glory **and my country's** weal' (*1H6*, V.i.27), parallels, '**and my Countries** health' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.115), in both language and thought. An additional match suggesting Kyd's authorship is 'thou shalt **well perceive** / **That**' (*1H6*, V.i.58-59) with 'I **well perceive** / **That**' (*S&P*, IV.i.169-170). These passages share the same verbal construction. David Lake noted in his examination of verbal parallels differentiating the hands of Dekker and Middleton that 'the collocations themselves are so unremarkable that imitation is very unlikely'.[170] The same can be said for many of the matches with plays in Kyd's 'extended' canon in *Henry VI Part One*. There is also something to be said for the 'insipidity, diffuseness, and prosiness of the verse' in this scene, which does not recall Shakespeare.[171] I attribute the scene to Kyd.

In the following scene, Kyd adopts 'the full' Senecan 'convention of the addressee inviting the narrator to deliver his news'.[172] Charles asks the Scout: 'What tidings send our scouts? I prithee speak' (*1H6*, V.ii.10). The Scout delivers bad news, for the English army 'is

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[170] Lake, *Middleton's Plays*, p. 85.
[171] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 190.
[172] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 106.

now conjoined in one, / And means to bid you battle presently' (V.ii.12-13). The Scout's message is characteristic of Kyd's 'use of conventions representing changing fortunes on the battlefield'.[173] The scene actually begins with French optimism. Charles says:

These news, my lords, may cheer our **drooping spirits**. (V.ii.1)

This line gives us a match with *Fair Em*:

Advance your **drooping spirits**, and revive. (*FE*, i.49)

Joan, speaking of the Parisians who are joining the French cause, says, 'Peace be amongst **them if they** turn to us; / Else, ruin **combat** with their palaces' (*1H6*, V.ii.6-7). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo makes a similar threat: 'Graunt me the **combat** of **them**, **if they** dare' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.141). Charles's line, 'But **we will presently** provide for them' (*1H6*, V.ii.15), parallels, '**we will presently** take horse and away' (*FE*, xiv.48-49). Joan tells Burgundy that '**Now**' Talbot 'is gone, **my lord, you need not** fear' (*1H6*, V.ii.17). This line gives us a double match with *King Leir*,

And **now**, **my** gracious **Lord, you need not** doubt (*KL*, xxx.2523)

and *Fair Em*:

My Lord, you know **you need not** to entreat. (*FE*, viii.6)

Collocation matching provides solid evidence in favour of Kyd's authorship.

In Act Five Scene Three, Joan appeals to the fiends for aid. The scene takes place before Angiers and we learn that 'The Regent conquers' (*1H6*, V.iii.1). Joan is akin to Hieronimo in that, as Erne puts it, 'Expecting to see heavenly justice accomplished' she 'despairs' and thus 'turns to the infernal deities instead'.[174] M. L. Stapleton and Stephen F. Austin argue that Joan's character is partly inspired by John Studley's 1566 translation of Seneca's *Medea*, for 'Joan's image of self-mutilation seems most allusive to Medea's horrific triumph in recounting the castration of her brother: *artus…secuisse* (and the Studlean "lop

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[173] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.
[174] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 111.

off") creeps into Joan's despairing attempt at self-preservation: "I'll lop a member off.""[175]

Joan's appeal thus fits the profile of Kyd as a 'Senecan playwright'.[176] Moreover, Alan C.

Dessen has noted that 'In her scene with the fiends, Joan', like Talbot, 'is deserted' and

'denied by those who formerly supported her'. In this way, 'The denial by the fiends is here

equivalent to the squabble between York and Somerset that undoes Talbot'.[177] Such scenic

mirroring supports Vickers's attribution of these scenes (Act Two Scene Three, Act Four

Scene Three, Act Four Scene Four, and Act Five Scene Three) to Kyd, as part of the original

play known as 'Harey the vj', performed by the Lord Strange's Men.[178]

The verbal details of Act Five Scene Three also suggest Kyd's authorship. Joan

requests the fiends' aid:

> Now help, ye charming spells **and** periapts,
> And ye choice spirits **that** admonish **me**
> **And give me** signs of future accidents. (V.iii.2-4)

This passage enables us to identify Kyd's 'unconscious pattern matching'.[179] In *The Spanish*

Tragedy, we find the same association of words over several lines of verse. Lorenzo requests

Pedringano's aid:

> Let this be all **that** thou shalt doe for **me**:
> Be watchfull when **and** where these lovers meete.
> **And give me** notice in some secret sort. (*Sp. T.*, II.ii.98-100)

We might also compare Joan's offer of sacrifice, 'Where I was wont to **feed you with my**

blood' (*1H6*, V.iii.14), with Cornelia's imperative, 'Come, wrathfull Furies, with your Ebon

locks, / And **feed your** selves **with mine** enflamed **blood**' (*Corn.*, V.i.342-343). Joan's

declarative, 'My ancient incantations are **too weak,** / **And** hell' (*1H6*, V.iii.27-28), parallels

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[175] Stapleton and Austin, 'Comet', p. 235.
[176] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 222.
[177] Dessen, 'Stagecraft', p. 279.
[178] It seems that providential forces are denying the French victory, for a storm begins to brew when Joan begins her incantations, just as a storm intercedes when the Messenger proposes to murder Leir and Perillus in *King Leir* (1589).
[179] Lancashire, *Muses*, p. 4.

Michael's speech in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Faith, 'tis **too** / **weak, and** therefore thou too weak' (*AF*, x.71-72).

Joan is captured by York in the following scene. York's line, '**See how** the ugly witch doth **bend her brow**s' (*1H6*, V.iv.5), has an idiosyncratic relationship with a line in *King Leir*: '**See how** she knits **her brow**' (*KL*, xv.1175). This line also matches *Cornelia*: 'shee **bends her** angry **browe**' (*Corn.*, III.iii.156).[180] The trigram, 'can please your', in the line, 'No shape but his **can please your** dainty eye' (*1H6*, V.iv.9), also occurs in *Arden of Faversham*: 'There's nothing that I do **can please your** taste' (*AF*, i.368). Joan curses her captor: 'A plaguing **mischief light on** Charles **and** thee' (*1H6*, V.iv.10). This line uniquely parallels *Soliman and Perseda*: '**And mischiefe light on** me, if I sweare false' (*S&P*, V.ii.74).

In the next scene, Suffolk captures Margaret and the play takes a peculiar detour into the genre of romantic comedy. Vincent points out that the episode 'echoes the dramaturgy, diction and prosody' of Act Two Scene Three, in which the Countess captures Talbot, and that 'In addition to the dramaturgical correspondences, and the use of split verse lines which is rare in the play, there is a telling duplication of phrasing and vocabulary in the immediate surrounds of the two exchanges'.[181] I agree with Vincent that this episode must have been 'conceived and executed by the same playwright'.[182] In 1958, Thomas H. McNeal, despite avoiding 'any discussion of multiple authorship',[183] observed that

> the number of devices common to the meeting of Cordella and the Gallian King in *Leir* and the meeting of Margaret and Suffolk in *I Henry VI* is impressive. Cordella has been driven from her father's house by the machinations of the Wicked Sisters. She is discovered in a lonely wood by the young Gallian King, come to England to view with matrimony in mind the renowned daughters of King Leir.[184]

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[180] York regards Joan as ugly in Kyd's scene, while Nashe depicts her as a 'Fair maid' (*1H6*, I.iii.43) who, though 'black and swart before, / With those clear rays which she infused on me / That beauty am I blest with, which you may see' (I.iii.63-65), in the play's opening act.

[181] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 98. Vincent also points out that the 'author used the technique of split verse lines habitually in infrequent short, high-density clusters'. Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 233. I suggest that analysis of this technique in Kyd's plays could provide further evidence for his authorship.

[182] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 99.

[183] McNeal, 'Margaret', p. 1.

[184] McNeal, 'Margaret', p. 4.

Alongside 'parallels in character and action',[185] McNeal identified 'a few rather definite

likeness of phrase and thought which are not so easy to explain as coincidence or as mere

Elizabethan repetition'.[186] The most logical explanation is that the dramatist responsible for

King Leir was also responsible for the wooing scene in *Henry VI Part One*. We might

contrast Kyd's characterization of Margaret in *Henry VI Part One* with her character in

Shakespeare's sole authored plays:

> Margaret in the plays which follow Part I completely lacks any damsel-in-distress appeal. No longer is her range limited and confused by a romantic interlude designed originally for the lovely Cordella. She is as Shakespeare first found her: "England's bloody scourge" of Part II; "She-wolf of France", with a "tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" of Part III; and that "hateful wither'd hag" of *Richard III*. We are certainly surprised at her excessive duplicity when she appears as Henry's stormy queen.[187]

Inconsistencies in Margaret's character can be explained by the hypothesis that Kyd, and not

Shakespeare, was responsible for this episode in the first part of the trilogy. Vincent

highlights additional incongruences:

> First, nothing is said in the explicit instructions Henry gives Suffolk in *1 Henry VI* (5.5.79-101) to the effect that the latter is to marry Margaret by proxy, yet upon his return with Margaret in *2 Henry VI*, he has done exactly that with the apparent approval of the King (I.i.1-16). Second, in *1 Henry VI* the King himself proposes that Suffolk get a "tenth" for matching him with Margaret (5.5.92-3), but in *2 Henry VI* it is Suffolk who demands instead a "whole fifteenth" (I.i.133) for playing matchmaker.[188]

Vincent also points out that 'Suffolk's character' is 'discontinuous; at the very end of *1*

Henry VI he declares his intentions to rule Margaret, the King, and the realm, whereas early

in *2 Henry VI* he tells Margaret with unmistakable sincerity that "one by one, we'll weed

them all at last, / And you yourself shall steer the happy helm" (I.iii.99-100)'. Vincent

concludes that 'The playwright who conceived the Suffolk and Margaret of *1 Henry VI* could

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[185] McNeal, 'Margaret', p. 4.
[186] McNeal, 'Margaret', p. 4.
[187] McNeal, 'Margaret', p. 8.
[188] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', pp. 99-100.

hardly have had *2 Henry VI* before him'.[189]

Act Five Scene Five shares Kyd's 'concern with elaborate symmetries and dissonances of language' and 'patterns of chiasmus, paronomasia, and echo'.[190] Kyd uses stichomythia as a vehicle for Margaret's unheeded asides and Suffolk's soliloquy. The verbal interplay between these characters closely resembles the line-by-line exchanges between Lubeck and Mariana in *Fair Em*. Lubeck finds himself in a similar situation to Suffolk when he is forced to woo by proxy his own lover, Mariana, for William the Conqueror. Furthermore, the quality and quantity of matching N-grams and thought-parallels with Kyd in this scene provide substantial evidence for his authorship. Suffolk tells Margaret that he will 'touch thee but **with** reverent hands / **And lay them** gently on thy tender side' (*1H6*, V.v.3-4). We also find the formulaic line-opening, 'And lay them', in Kyd's *Cornelia*: '**And lay them** levell **with** the charged earth' (*Corn.*, V.i.281). There is an association of ideas shared between Suffolk's lines, 'Be not offended, nature's **miracle**, / Thou art allotted to be ta'en by me. / **So** doth the **swan** in downy cygnets save' (*1H6*, V.iv.10-12), and Soliman's speech:

> I should have deemd them lunoes goodly **Swannes**,
> Or Venus milke white Doves, so milde they are.
> And **so** adornd with beauties **miracle**. (*S&P*, IV.i.70-72)

Soliman, like Suffolk, is bewitched by his captive. He decides that Perseda's 'captivitie may turne to blisse' (IV.i.75). Both characters assemble 'several stock ingredients of Renaissance catalogues of feminine charms'.[191] Suffolk's lines, 'She's beautiful, **and therefore to be** wooed, / **She** is a woman, therefore **to be won**' (*1H6*, V.v.34-35), match *King Leir*'s, 'In fayth content, **and therefore to be** briefe' (*KL*, v.435), and *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'And saw **she** was not otherwise **to be wonne**' (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.119).

Suffolk's simile, 'As plays the sun upon the glassy stream, / Twinkling another counterfeited beam, / So seems this gorgeous beauty to mine eyes' (*1H6*, V.v.18-20), recalls

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189 Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 100.
190 Van Es, *Company*, p. 68.
191 Erne, *Beyond*, p. 177.

an image in Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581): 'qual raggio in onda, le

scintilla un riso ne gli umidi occhi tremulo e lascivo'.[192] Samuel Johnson, having pointed out

this link with Tasso (Kyd, of course, had translated Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* a few years

prior to his work on 'Harey the vj'), observed that the comparison 'is intended to express the

softness and delicacy of Lady Margaret's beauty'.[193] A similar image thread occurs in

Soliman and Perseda:

> And if I thrive in valour, as the glasse
> That takes the Sun-beames burning with his force,
> Ile be the glasse and thou that heavenly Sun,
> From whence He borrow what I do achieve:
> And, sweet Perseda, unnoted though I be,
> Thy beauty yet shall make me knowne ere night. (*S&P*, I.ii.69-74)

Suffolk is tempted to 'woo her, yet **I dare not speak**' (*1H6*, V.iii.21). This line is matched in

Kyd's Turkish tragedy: 'The rest **I dare not speake**, it is so bad' (*S&P*, V.ii.53).

Furthermore, Suffolk's aside, 'Before thou **make a** trial **of her love**' (*1H6*, V.v.32), shares a

unique collocation of words with the lines, 'But **make a** challenge **of her love** with me' (*KL*,

iii.262), and 'Nor **make** no question **of her love** to thee' (*AF*, i.49). He considers the reaction

from 'our **nobility**' (*1H6*, V.v.52) to a match between Henry and Margaret: 'For though her

father **be the King of** Naples' (V.v.50). Cicero, speaking of Caesar, asks, 'Think'st thou to

signiorize, or **be the King / Of** such a number **nobler** then thy selfe?' (*Corn.*, III.ii.72-73).

Suffolk eventually decides to win Margaret for King Henry. Here he resembles

Lorenzo and Mosby, Kyd's earlier villainous matchmakers. Margaret responds, '**I am

unworthy to** be Henry's wife' (*1H6*, V.v.78). Leir tells the Messenger: '**I am unworthy** for

to live' (*KL*, xix.1587). Suffolk seeks Margaret's father's consent: '**We'll** crave a parley **to

confer with** him' (*1H6*, V.v.86). This line parallels *Fair Em*: '**We** are come **to confer with**

you' (*FE*, x.3). Suffolk tells Margaret's father that '**Thy daughter shall be wedded to my**

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[192] Torquato Tasso, *The Gerusalemme Liberata of Tasso: With Explanatory Notes on the Syntax*, 2 vols (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1786), I.356.

[193] *The Plays of William Shakespeare, with Notes by Johnson and Steevens*, eds. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 10 vols (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1773), VI.239.

king' (*1H6*, V.v.93). The triple, 'thy daughter shall', does duty in an identical dramatic situation in Kyd's comedy. Valingford promises that 'Father Miller, **thy daughter shall** have honor by granting me her love' (*FE*, xvi.37-38). Moreover, the tetragram, 'be wedded to my', can be found in *Cornelia*: 'But if yee once **be wedded to my** love' (*Corn.*, II.i.71). We find a neat pattern in the match, '**And those two** counties I will undertake' (*1H6*, V.v.114), with '**And those two** Scipios' (*Corn.*, II.i.262), while Suffolk's lines, 'in traffic of **a King. / And yet**' (*1H6*, V.v.120-121), also parallel *Cornelia*: 'And liveth subject to **a king. / And yet**' (*Corn.*, II.i.381-382). Suffolk's allusion to Daedalus's labyrinth in the lines, 'O, wert thou for myself!—but Suffolk, stay. / Thou mayst not wander in that labyrinth' (*1H6*, V.v.143-144), derives from the same poetic imagination as the line, 'I am in such a laborinth of love' (*KL*, vii.629). He determines to return to England and '**make this marriage** to be solemnized' (*1H6*, V.v.124). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the King of Spain tells Don Ciprian to 'Advise thy King to **make this marriage** up, / For strengthening of our late confirmed league' (*Sp. T.*, II.iii.10-11). Suffolk will ensure that the marriage goes ahead by soliciting 'Henry with' Margaret's '**wondrous praise**' (*1H6*, V.v.146). Kyd employs the bigram, 'wondrous praise', as a line-ending in *King Leir*: the Gallian King also heads to England 'to see if flying fame / Be not too prodigal in the **wondrous praise**' (*KL*, iv.345-346). H. C. Hart noted that the word 'princely' is repeated 'Five times in' this 'one scene', and that 'In Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*' the Ambassador 'repeats "kingly" three or four times in a few lines' (the word is repeated three times according to my count, in III.xii.32-47).[194] Such clumsy repetition is uncharacteristic of Shakespeare. This is hardly clinching evidence for Kyd's authorship but, taken together with the other evidence presented here, we can be confident in the ascription. Incidentally, the one appearance of the word 'kingly' in *Henry VI Part One* occurs during this scene (*1H6*, V.v.119).

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[194] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. 144.

Act Five Scene Six dramatizes the condemnation of Joan and has been a 'source of embarrassment for several centuries'.[195] The scene begins with Joan rejecting the Shepherd who claims to be her father. He laments, 'Ah, Joan, **this kills** thy father's heart **outright**' (V.vi.2). This line matches *Cornelia*: 'Or **kill out-right this** cause of our distresse' (*Corn.*, IV.i.185). The Shepherd's declarative, 'God knows thou art **a collop of my** flesh' (*1H6*, V.vi.18), parallels: 'They lopt **a collop of my** tendrest member' (*S&P*, IV.ii.23). Vickers explains that 'Kyd echoed *Soliman and Perseda* frequently in his scenes for *I Henry VI*, the most bizarre instance of self-plagiarism being the Old Shepherd's insistence that Joan of Arc is his daughter: "God knows, thou art a collop of my Flesh" (a collop is "a bit of meat"). In Kyd's Turkish tragedy Basilisco, a *Miles gloriosus,* describes his enforced conversion to Islam: the Turks tied him to a pillar, and then "They lopt a collop of my tendrest member"'.[196] The Shepherd's imperative, 'Kneel down, and take my blessing, **good my girl**' (*1H6*, V.vi.25), matches *Fair Em*: 'Blanch, bid this stranger welcome, **good my girl**' (*FE*, iii.16). Joan tells her captors that she is '**issued from the** progeny of kings' *(1H6,* V.vi.38). In *Cornelia*, the Romans are 'Ignobly **issued from the** Carte and Plough' (*Corn.*, I.i.133). She also tells York and Warwick that they are stained with 'guiltless **blood of innocents**' (*1H6*, V.vi.44), which matches *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'and **blood of innocents**' (*Sp. T.*, III.xi.29). She argues that they fail to believe she is holy 'Because you want the grace **that others have** / You judge it straight a thing impossible' (*1H6*, V.vi.46-47). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo, seeking justice, says, 'And though my selfe cannot receive the like, / Yet will I see **that others have** their right' (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.37-38). York is unsympathetic; he orders, '**away with her to** execution' (*1H6*, V.vi.54). In *Fair Em*, Zweno, believing that his daughter has been stolen away, commands: '**Away with her to** prison' (*FE*, xii.39).

Joan changes her tactics. She tells the English that '**I am with child**' (*1H6*, V.vi.62).

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[195] Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', p. 15.
[196] Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', p. 15.

This tetragram occurs in *King Leir*: '**I am with child** until you utter it' (*KL*, ii.132).

Nonethleless, Warwick and York are determined to have her executed. York scoffs, '**Why,**

here's a girl' (*1H6*, V.vi.80), for Joan cannot name the father of her child, 'there' being 'so

many' (V.vi.81) lovers. The Messenger in *King Leir* delights in crude sexual humour: '**Why,**

heres a wench that longs to have a stabbe' (*KL*, xv.1227). Joan's final line of the play, 'Drive

you to break your necks or **hang** yourselves' (*1H6*, V.vi.91), uniquely parallels the

exchange between the Hangman and Pedringano in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

> Ped. What, doe **you hang** by the howre? if you doo, I may
> chance to break your olde custome.
> Hang. Faith, you have reason; for I am like **to break your**
> yong **necke**. (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.57-60)

Winchester enters and tells York and Warwick that the King is '**Moved with remorse of**

these outrageous broils' (*1H6*, V.vi.97). This line parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*'s, 'Marrie,

thus: **mooved with remorse of** his misdeeds' (*Sp. T.*, IV.1.128), and no other play first

performed in London during the period 1580-1600. York entreats Winchester to speak

further:

> **Speak**, Winchester; for boiling choler chokes
> **The** hollow **passage of my** poisoned voice. (*1H6*, V.vi.120-121)

In *Arden of Faversham*, Franklin complains that

> A heavy blood is gathered at my heart,
> And on the sudden is my wind so short
> As hindereth **the passage of my speech**. (*AF*, ix.64-66)

The totality of verbal evidence thus suggests that it was Kyd, and not Shakespeare, who

'blackened' Joan's 'character beyond anything he found in his sources'.[197] David Bevington

points out that 'Kyd is not above catering to his audience's jingoistic faith in England's

national superiority',[198] and it is worth noting that 'the general, late sixteenth-century attitude

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[197] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxxiii.
[198] David Bevington, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 1-15 (p. 2).

toward' Joan 'had no love for a character who is Catholic, French, and a woman'.[199]

In the final scene of the play, Suffolk convinces Henry to marry Margaret of Anjou. This scene is also permeated by idiosyncratic groupings of words and ideas that suggest Kyd's authorship. In 1893, John W. Cunliffe observed that the King 'expresses his passion with the ardour' of Seneca's 'Phaedra' at the beginning of Act Five Scene Seven,[200] while in 1973 M. L. Wine highlighted 'a train of thoughts' shared between Henry's fervent speech, 'So am I driven by breath of her renown, / Either to suffer shipwreck or arrive / Where I may have fruition of her love' (*1H6*, V.vii.7-9), and *Arden of Faversham*:[201]

> Is this the fruit thy reconcilement buds?
> Have I for this given thee so many favours,
> Incurred my husband's hate, and—out alas!—
> **Made shipwreck of** mine **honour** for thy sake? (*AF*, i.186-189)

The association of 'renown' or 'honour' with a 'shipwreck' can also be found in *King Leir*:

> Then do not so **dishonour** me, my Lords,
> As to **make shipwrack of** our kingly word. (*KL*, vi.510-511)

This collocation can also be found in a passage from *Soliman and Perseda*, which, like Henry's speech, connects these ideas with the subject of love:

> And in loves shipwrack will my life miscarrie.
> Take thou the honor, and give me the chaine. (*S&P*, I.iv.118-119)

Suffolk's line, 'And is **a pattern of** celestial peace' (*1H6*, V.vii.65), matches, 'That maketh me **a patterne of** her power' (*KL*, vii.604). The King, as is characteristic of Kyd's principal characters, anticipates his downfall through a premonition. He feels 'such sharp dissension in my breast' (*1H6*, V.vii.84). Similarly, Leir exclaims, 'Oh, what a combat feeles my panting heart, / 'Twixt childrens love, and care of common weale' (*KL*, iii.202-203). Henry also tells his subjects that he feels

> Such **fierce alarums both of hope and fear**. (*1H6*, V.vii.85)

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[199] Annie Pepreck King, 'Shaw's Saint Joan and Shakespeare's Joan la Pucelle', in *Text & Presentation*, ed. Stratos E. Constantinidis (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2007), pp. 109-121 (p. 111).

[200] Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca*, p. 75.

[201] *Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine, p. 16.

This line matches the General's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

> Both furnisht well, **both** full **of hope and feare**. (*Sp. T.*, I.i.25)

We find the bigram, 'fierce alarums', in Kyd's *Cornelia*: 'For oft he search't amongst the **fierce allarms**' (*Corn.*, V.i.164). Henry's concluding lines, 'This sudden execution of **my will**. / **And so** conduct me' (*1H6*, V.vii.99-100), share a distinct verbal pattern with *King Leir*: 'The States are all obedient to **my will**; / **And** looke what ere I say, it shall be **so**' (*KL*, xi.931-932).

Suffolk is left alone on stage '**With hope to** find the like event in love' (*1H6*, V.vii.105). The triple, 'With hope to', is unique to this play and *Cornelia*, in which it is also employed as a formulaic line-opening: '**With hope to** have him be reviv'd by them' (*Corn.*, II.i.248). Kyd repeats this word sequence (we might also note the parallel of thought in 'reviv'd' and 'rise') in the line, 'Descends to hell, **with hope to** rise againe' (III.i.146). Suffolk tells the audience that 'Margaret shall now be queen and **rule the king**' (*1H6*, V.vii.107). This line shares the unique three-word unit, 'rule the king', with Ragan's speech in *King Leir*: 'I **rule the King** of Cambria as I please' (*KL*, xi.930). It seems that Kyd drew upon his mental repertoire of collocations in order to represent both Suffolk and Ragan as Machiavellian power-seekers.

I submit that Kyd is the author of all of the scenes I have examined in this section. I now investigate the evidence for Shakespeare's hand in *Henry VI Part One*, in order to show that Shakespeare's scenes were later additions to Nashe and Kyd's 'Harey the vj'.

Part Four: Shakespeare's Additions to 'Harey the vj': Act Two Scene Four

The dispute between Plantagenet and Somerset within the Temple Garden has been attributed to Shakespeare by generations of scholars. William Spalding, writing in 1833, suggested that 'Shakespeare may have written a single scene' in 'The pretended *First Part of King Henry*

VI', and that scene must have been 'Act II. Scene 4. The plucking of the roses'.[202] In 1876, F. G. Fleay also argued that 'Shakespeare wrote ii.4'.[203] In 1900, John Bell Henneman pointed out that the scene 'contains the usual stylistic and metrical characteristics of the undoubted early Shakespeare plays'.[204] Thirty years later, E. K. Chambers argued that 'Shakespeare's presence' is 'clear' in 'the Temple garden scene'.[205]

In 1931, Philip Timberlake recorded an average of 18.5% feminine endings in this scene.[206] Kyd's Act Two Scene Five (with a total of 121 lines according to Timberlake) is around the same length as the Temple Garden scene (124 lines), and yet it has a considerably lower percentage of 3.3.[207] Timberlake recorded twenty-four feminine endings in Act Two Scene Four and just four in the subsequent scene.[208] Similarly, Act Three Scene Two has a total of 130 lines, and yet it averages 3.8 percent feminine endings.[209] Timberlake's data proves beyond reasonable doubt that these scenes were written by different dramatists. Shakespeare consistently used a higher proportion of feminine endings than any of his Elizabethan contemporaries, including Kyd. According to my calculations, the three Shakespeare scenes average 15.5 percent feminine endings, which is high for Kyd but strikingly close to the 15.3 percent that Timberlake found in *The Comedy of Errors* (1593) and the 16.8 percent for *Richard III*.[210]

John Dover Wilson agreed that 'the Temple Garden scene, is entirely' Shakespeare's in 1952.[211] This view has prevailed in modern scholarship; as Gary Taylor put it in 1995: 'the

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[202] William Spalding, *A Letter on Shakespeare's Authorship of The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1833), p. 8.
[203] F. G. Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual* (London: Macmillan, 1876), p. 31.
[204] Henneman, 'Episodes', p. 314.
[205] Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.291.
[206] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 85. See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.
[207] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 85.
[208] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 85.
[209] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 85.
[210] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 95-98, pp. 101-103.
[211] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xxx.

startling contrast between II.iv and the rest of act II can hardly be explained away'.[212] I argue

that Act Two Scene Four was added to the playbook by Shakespeare for the Chamberlain's

Men, around 1594. Paul J. Vincent provides an overview of some of the inconsistencies

caused by the insertion of this scene into the old 'Harey the vj' text:

> If 2.4 was not part of the original conception of the play, or more precisely, if scenes 2.3 and 2.5 were written before 2.4, Richard Plantagenet would presumably have appeared for the first time in the play in 2.5. There are strong indicators in the text that originally this was indeed so. It seems that as far as the author of 2.5 was concerned, not only Mortimer but also Plantagenet was new to the audience. At line 2 Mortimer introduces himself as "dying Mortimer" and repeats his name in full, "Edmund Mortimer" in line 7. He asks for his "nephew" (17) and the keeper answers, "Richard Plantagenet, my lord, will come".[213]

Vincent elaborates that, in Act Two Scene Five, 'Mortimer is deliberately named twice,

Richard Plantagenet is named in full twice and twice more as Richard only', and that 'The

dramatist is obviously introducing both of them to the audience as new characters. If the

Tower scene had always preceded the Rose Plucking scene, in which Richard is the central

character, there would be no need for such deliberate repetition'.[214] Vincent provides an

enlightening hypothesis on Shakespeare's methods of revision:

> Conversely, one can easily identify the seeds which Shakespeare took from the older 2.5 and germinated into the Temple Garden of 2.4. Lines 45-50 of the Tower scene refer to a quarrel between York and Somerset arising from an "argument upon a case" (45) and are not so much an echo of 2.4 as an explanation for Richard's desire to hear the full story of his father's death. This passage, it would seem, together with the keeper's earlier speech telling Mortimer that they had "sent unto the Temple, unto his chamber" (19) presented Shakespeare with the basic situation and action for the Rose Plucking scene.[215]

Vincent also highlights 'the discontinuity between the Vernon who appears in 2.4 and the one

who takes the stage in 3.4 and 4.1. In each of the latter two scenes a private disagreement

between Vernon and Basset disrupts the proceedings of Henry's court. On both occasions

their quarrelling is childish and utterly devoid of wit', while Shakespeare 'was not concerned

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[212] Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others', pp. 164-165.
[213] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 113.
[214] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 114.
[215] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 115.

to link the discord of England's nobles with that of their servants', and 'all of the parts in 2.4 are for learned and witty nobles and gentlemen'.[216] Dover Wilson suggested that 'the brawls between Vernon and Basset' were 'clearly introduced to prepare us for the Wars of the Roses'.[217] However, the contrast between the intelligent dialogue delivered by the 'Good Master Vernon' (*1H6*, II.iv.43) of Shakespeare's addition and the childish quarrelling in Kyd's scenes indicates different authors' hands. Kyd seems to have made some effort to link his portions with Shakespeare's Henry VI plays, for roses are mentioned in Act Four Scene One. Basset tells the court that Vernon mocked him by saying that 'the sanguine colour of the leaves / Did represent my master's blushing cheeks' (IV.i.92-93). Nonetheless, Kyd's use of colour symbolism to foreshadow England's internal conflict is comparatively clumsy; Shakespeare's Act Two Scene Four is probably the finest scene of the play. The Temple Garden scene fully transforms 'Harey the vj' into a play about the Wars of the Roses (thus linking the play with the second and third parts), for the scene depicts the 'original plucking of red and white roses which led to the York-Lancaster conflict'.[218]

Malone observed in 1790 that in Shakespeare's 'genuine plays, he frequently borrows from himself, the same thoughts being found in almost the same expressions in different pieces'.[219] My tests provide overwhelming evidence that Act Two Scene Four's 'phraseognomy' is Shakespeare's.[220] Plantagenet enters and asks, '**what means this silence**' (II.iv.1). This line matches Buckingham's interrogative in *Richard III*: '**what meant this** wilful **silence**?' (*R3*, III.vii.28). Plantagenet continues thus: '**Then say at once** if I maintained the truth' (*1H6*, II.iv.5). This line shares a unique line-opening in the pre-1601 corpus with *Romeo and Juliet*'s (1595), '**Then say at once** what thou dost know in this' (*Rom.*, V.iii.227), and *Richard III*'s, '**Then say at once**, what is it thou requests?' (*R3*,

[216] Vincent, 'When *harey* Met Shakespeare', p. 116.
[217] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. x.
[218] Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', p. 15.
[219] Malone, 'Dissertation', p. 34.
[220] Sinclair, *Trust the Text*, p. 177.

II.i.99). Suffolk declares, '**I have been a truant**' (*1H6*, II.iv.7), which is matched in '**I have a truant been**' (*1H4*, V.i.94), and 'myself **have been an** idle **truant**' (*TGV,* II.iv.62). Warwick's line, 'which hath the **merriest eye**' (*1H6*, II.iv.15), shares the distinctive image of the 'merry eye' with Gray's line, 'quick and **merry eyes**' (*R3*, I.iii.5).

Plantagenet requests that those who believe he has pleaded truth '**From off this** briar pluck a white rose with me' (*1H6*, II.iv.30). Somerset asks those who side with him to 'Pluck **a** red **rose from off this** thorn with me' (II.iv.33). The rare three-word sequence, 'from off this', can also be found in Shakespeare's *King John*: 'Would I might never stir **from off this** place' (*Jn.*, I.i.145). Kyd associates the bigram, 'from off', with the subject's arm in the lines, 'This scarfe I pluckt **from off** his liveles arme' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.42), and 'How got he this **from of** Lucinas arme' (*S&P*, II.ii.10). Here we can perceive different habits of mind. The match with *King John* is closer, for Shakespeare associates this word string with 'a rose', as we can see in the Bastard's line, 'That in mine ear I dare not stick **a rose**' (*Jn.*, I.i.142). Somerset's line, 'Hath not thy rose a canker' (*1H6*, II.iv.68), reveals 'One of Shakespeare's commonest metaphors' of the cankerous rose, which can be found in such examples as: 'Some to kill cankers in the musk-rose buds' (*MND*, II.ii.3), and 'I had rather be a canker in a hedge than a / rose in his grace' (*Ado*, I.iii.25-26).[221]

Plantagenet responds, 'Ay, **sharp and piercing**' (*1H6*, II.iv.70). Plantagenet's response parallels, 'Thy woes will make them **sharp and pierce** like mine' (*R3*, IV.iv.125). The bigram, 'thy scorns', is unique to this scene and *Richard III*: 'And with **thy scorns** drew'st tears from his eyes' (*R3*, I.iii.173). We should not be surprised at the large number of matches between this scene and Shakespeare's conclusion to the Wars of the Roses tetralogy. Shakespeare likely added Act Two Scene Four to 'Harey the vj' within a year or so of having written *Richard III*. We might also note the unique trigram, 'book of memory', shared

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[221] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. 62.

between Plantagenet's line, 'I'll note you in my **book of memory**' (*1H6*, II.iv.101), and '**Blotting** your names from **books of memory**' (*2H6*, I.i.97). Warwick reassures Plantagenet that 'This **blot** that they object against your house / Shall be wiped out' (*1H6*, II.iv.116-117). An examination of collocations in Act Two Scene Four therefore gives us an insight into Shakespeare's associative memory.

Shakespeare's Additions to 'Harey the vj': Act Four Scene Two

Act Four Scene Two has been attributed to Shakespeare for over a century. H. C. Hart identified Shakespeare as the author in 1909,[222] while Chambers asserted that the 'unrhymed Talbot scene' was 'written' by Shakespeare 'in or later than 1594'.[223] Dover Wilson also argued that Shakespeare's 'hand' in this scene 'is indeed unmistakeable'.[224] In 1976, Marco Mincoff suggested that this scene was a later insertion, for it 'is in a style distinctly different from' Nashe and his co-author's portions.[225] Gary Taylor observes that this scene is 'most confidently and generally linked with Shakespeare, on purely stylistic grounds'.[226] Vickers notes that the ascription to Shakespeare 'is uncontroversial'.[227] My examination of rare collocations supports the attribution to Shakespeare.

In this scene, Talbot orders the General of Bordeaux to yield the town. However, the General informs Talbot that he is surrounded. Talbot's situation, as Dover Wilson pointed out, closely resembles 'that of Henry V "engrounded" before Agincourt'.[228] The General calls Talbot a 'fearful **owl of death**' (IV.ii.15). In *Richard III*, a group of messengers informs the King that his enemies are advancing. Richard scolds them: 'Out on ye, **owls**! Nothing but songs **of death**?' (*R3*, IV.iv.438). The General also refers to Talbot as 'Our nation's terror

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[222] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. xviii.
[223] Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.291.
[224] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xliii.
[225] Marco Mincoff, *Shakespeare, The First Steps* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1976), p. 82.
[226] Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Others', p. 162.
[227] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 338.
[228] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. 178.

and their **bloody scourge**, / **The** period **of** thy tyranny approacheth' (*1H6*, IV.ii.16-17). These lines share the same construction with 'Outcast of Naples, England's **bloody scourge**! / **The** sons **of** York' (*2H6*, V.i.116-117). The General tells the English that 'Ten thousand French **have ta'en the sacrament**' (*1H6*, IV.ii.28). This tetragram recurs in *Richard II* (1595), in the exact same place within the verse line: 'A dozen of them here **have ta'en the sacrament**' (*R2*, V.ii.97). The line, '**Of an invincible** unconquered **spirit**' (*1H6*, IV.ii.32), parallels *Henry VI Part Two*. Bolingbroke tells Master Hume: 'I have heard her reported to be a woman / **of an invincible spirit**' (*2H6*, I.iv.6-7). Moreover, Talbot's lines, 'Sell every man his **life as dear as** mine / And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends' (*1H6*, IV.ii.53-54), contain 'a favourite quibble in Shakespeare'.[229] Shakespeare also employs the rhetorical device antanaclasis in Titus's association of 'dear Lavinia, dearer than my soul' (*Tit.*, III.i.102) with a 'deer, and he that wounded her / Hath hurt me more than had he killed me dead' (III.i.91-92). The formation, 'life as dear as', is unique to Talbot's speech and *Richard III*: 'I hold my **life as dear as** you do yours' (*R3*, III.ii.74). My tests have led me to endorse the attribution of this scene to Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's Additions to 'Harey the vj': Act Four Scene Five

In 1952, John Dover Wilson pointed out that Act Four Scene Five and Act Four Scene Six 'pursue the same course; 4.6 being virtually a repetition of 4.5. Not only is the action almost identical (the father urging the son to save himself by flight; the son refusing to desert his father: both going forward into battle resolved to die together), but the two speakers repeat the same arguments, even at times in nearly the same words'.[230] In Act Four Scene Five, Talbot says, 'Come, side by side together live and die / And soul with soul from France to heaven fly' (*1H6*, IV.v.54-55). Act Four Scene Six concludes thus: 'If thou wilt fight, fight

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[229] *King Henry the Sixth*, ed. H. C. Hart, p. 114.
[230] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xlvii.

by thy father's side, / And commendable proved, let's die in pride' (IV.vi.56-57).

Additionally, the lines, 'Fly to revenge my death if I be slain' (IV.v.18), and 'Fly to revenge

my death when I am dead' (IV.vi.30), replicate each other, as do 'O, if you love my mother, /

Dishonour not her honourable name' (IV.v.13-14), and 'In thee thy mother dies, our

household's name' (IV.vi.38). Wilson suggested that these scenes revealed Shakespeare 'in

the very act of beautifying the plumage' of another dramatist's work.[231] In 1996, Elihu

Pearlman agreed with Wilson that Act Four Scene Five was intended as a replacement for

Act Four Scene Six, which should have been deleted:

> In the course of the sequence that so affected Elizabethan audiences, a single event is dramatized two consecutive times—the repetitions a curious departure from Shakespeare's usual economy. In both act 4, scene 5 and scene 6, Talbot the father and John Talbot the son choose loyalty to each other—even at the cost of certain death in combat—to the safety of flight. The apparent blemish usually passes without comment, perhaps because editors and critics tacitly dismiss it as a mark of what they seem to regard as Shakespeare's still immature craftsmanship. But it is worth considering that the obvious redundancy may not be an error of artistry but a flaw of transmission. There are a number of well-known cases in Shakespeare's works in which scholars assert that both a preliminary and a later form of an action have been accidentally preserved—such as the successive reports of Portia's death in *Julius Caesar* and the erroneous printing of two versions of Berowne's great manifesto.[232]

It seems clear to me that Act Four Scene Six was written by Kyd and that Shakespeare

intended Act Four Scene Five as a replacement. Vickers points out that the rhyming couplets

in Shakespeare's Act Four Scene Five are

> end-stopped as couplets normally should be, run easily from first to last, and though displaying no obvious signs of genius are unexceptionable in metre and diction. Those of 4.6, on the other hand, are looser, often overrun, not without forced rhymes and unnecessary line-filling words.[233]

He notes that 'Shakespeare treats each couplet as a self-contained unit, the first line raising an

issue, the second settling it'.[234] Conversely, in Kyd's Act Four Scene Six and Talbot's dying

speech in Act Four Scene Seven, 'the run-on lines, functionally used in blank verse to convey

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[231] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, p. xlvi.
[232] Pearlman, 'Shakespeare at Work', p. 2.
[233] *First King Henry VI*, ed. John Dover Wilson, pp. xlv-xlvi.
[234] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 342.

immediacy and movement, have a counterproductive effect in rhymed couplets, destroying

their rationale'.[235] We are now in a position to determine whether Vickers's observations,

made before he had identified Kyd as the author of Act Four Scene Six, accord with his

attribution. To instance just one example, we might compare Kyd's use of enjambed couplets

in *Cornelia*. Kyd added the following material to Garnier's closet drama:

> And whose first fortunes (fild with all distresse)
> Afford no hope of future happinesse.
> But what disastrous or hard accident
> Hath bath'd your blubbred eyes in bitter teares,
> That thus consort me in my myserie?
> Why doe you beate your brests? why mourne you so?
> Say, gentle sisters, tell me, and believe
> It grieves me that I know not why you grieve. (*Corn.*, III.i.17-24)

The effect is practically identical; it seems that these enjambed rhyming couplets came from

the same pen. I suggest that these passages demonstrate Kyd's growing tendency towards

run-on lines. Collocation matching also provides strong evidence that it was Shakespeare, and

not Kyd, who wrote Act Four Scene Five.

Talbot warns his son that he has come to 'A terrible **and unavoided danger**' (*1H6*,

IV.v.8). We find this collocation of words in *Richard II*, when Lord Ross states, '**And**

unavoided is the **danger** now' (*R2*, II.i.269). John's line, 'O, **if you love my** mother' (*1H6*,

IV.v.13), parallels, '**If you** do **love my** brother' (*R3*, I.iv.221), while the line, '**Dishonour not**

her honourable name' (*1H6*, IV.v.14), matches, '**dishonour not** your mothers' (*Henry V*,

III.i.22). In both examples, Shakespeare associates the noun 'dishonour' with the subject of

the mother. John pleads with his father not

> **To make a** bastard **and a slave of me**. (*1H6*, IV.v.16)

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Bianca asks her sister not

> **To make a** bondmaid **and a slave of me**. (*Shr.*, II.i.2)

John tells his father that '**He that flies** so will **ne'er return again**' (*1H6*, IV.v.19), which

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[235] Vickers, 'Incomplete', p. 343.

matches, '**he that flies** shall die' (*3H6*, I.i.30), and 'Or **ne'er return again**' (*TGV,* IV.iv.58). The phrase, 'are sure to die', in Talbot's assertion that 'we both **are sure to die**' (*1H6*, IV.v.20), also occurs in the line, 'we **are sure to die**' (*3H6*, IV.v.35), from *Henry VI Part Three*, which, as in *Henry VI Part One*, features as part of a rhyming couplet with 'fly'. The scene can be assigned to Shakespeare with a high degree of probability.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Vickers is correct in attributing Act Two to Act Five of 'Harey the vj' to Thomas Kyd, for the evidence of Kyd's recurring phraseology is truly overwhelming. In this respect, the chapter has departed from some attribution scholars, such as Craig, Jackson, and Egan – who have dismissed Vickers's arguments on the basis of measures of quantity – by combining modern methods of collecting verbal matches with close attention to the verbal and dramatic contexts in which these word sequences occur.

The chapter has also combined modern attribution techniques with close textual analysis in order to validate the attribution of Thomas Nashe to Act One and Shakespeare to Act Two Scene Four, Act Four Scene Two, and Act Four Scene Five of *Henry VI Part One*. Moreover, the chapter has engaged with the work of previous attribution scholars in order to show that Shakespeare almost certainly played no part in the original composition of 'Harey the vj'. Shakespeare's additions enable us to recognize him as a man of the theatre, who was not above contributing to other playwrights' works. Such an undertaking would have been perfectly normal in the context of Elizabethan theatre. Laura J. Rosenthal notes that theatre 'companies in Shakespeare's time' often 'employed writers to revise old plays in the company's possession'.[236] Having argued that Shakespeare was commissioned by the Lord Chamberlain's Men to add scenes to Kyd's portions of 'Harey the vj', the following chapter

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[236] Laura J. Rosenthal, '(Re)Writing Lear: Literary Property and Dramatic Authorship', in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 323-338 (p. 327).

suggests that *Edward III* shows a different relationship between the dramatists, for they appear to have collaborated directly on that play.

Chapter Five

***Edward III* by Kyd and Shakespeare**

Introduction

This chapter agrees with the scholarly consensus that Shakespeare wrote the Countess

episode in *Edward III* (Scene Two and Scene Three in the Oxford edition) and the scene in

which Audley meditates on death (Scene Twelve). However, the chapter argues against the

idea that Shakespeare revised a play written by another dramatist/s, for internal evidence

suggests that Shakespeare planned and composed the play with Thomas Kyd. The chapter

therefore contends that Shakespeare's dramatic relationship with Kyd extends beyond the

theory that he revised the older dramatist's work in *Henry VI Part One*, and that Kyd was one

of Shakespeare's earliest co-authors.

Part One: *Edward III*: A Shakespearean Collaboration

Edward III was entered in the Stationers' Register on 1 December 1595 by Cuthbert Burby. It

was published the following year (printed by Thomas Scarlet) with no allusion to the play's

authors or by which acting company it had been 'sundry times played about the City of

London'.[1] Martin Wiggins suggests that Shakespeare 'contributed to the play at the end of

1593, not long after finishing *Richard III*, during a short-lived period working for Derby's

Men', after Pembroke's Men collapsed.[2] Shakespeare's hand in *Edward III* is now universally

accepted in modern authorship studies, and it seems fair to say that the play 'has as much

right to "canonic rank" as the earliest Folio histories'.[3]

 The Reign of King Edward III has an appropriate place in Shakespeare's canon as 'the

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[1] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 257.
[2] Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642*, III.228. We should remember that *Titus Andronicus* (1592) was played by Derby's Men according to the 1594 Quarto text.
[3] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 3.

natural prelude to the second Shakespearean historical cycle, from *Richard II* to *Henry V*'.[4]

Richard Proudfoot suggests that Shakespeare 'ought to have written a play about the

philoprogenitive monarch whose seven sons and factious descendants supplied the matter for

eight of the ten plays printed as his "Histories" in 1623'.[5] There are a number of possibilities

as to why *Edward III* was omitted from the First Folio and Francis Meres's list of

Shakespeare's works in his *Palladis Tamia*. John Heminges and Henry Condell seem to have

favoured works that Shakespeare wrote without the aid of fellow dramatists, omitting

Pericles, Prince of Tyre (1608), written by Shakespeare and George Wilkins, and *The Two*

Noble Kinsmen (1613), written by Shakespeare and John Fletcher. Meres does not account

for every play in his list of Shakespeare's early works, for he omits the entire Henry VI

trilogy and *The Taming of the Shrew*, which 'may reflect that they were no longer in the

London repertory'.[6] Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that *Edward III* contains insults

aimed towards the Scottish, such as descriptions of the 'confident and boist'rous boasting'

(*E3*, ii.75) Scots as 'Vile, uncivil' (ii.12). A letter written by George Nicolson in 1598

complains of such negative depictions of the Scottish on stage, which could 'stir the King and

country to anger threat'.[7] Proudfoot notes that 'once James VI of Scotland' became 'James I

of Great Britain, only a hardy stationer would have risked his ears by venturing' the play

'into print'.[8]

Stanley Wells points out that the play was 'attributed to' Shakespeare 'in a totally

unreliable catalogue of 1656'.[9] The unreliable catalogue that Wells refers to was appended to

an edition of *The Careless Shepherdess*, published in 1656 by Richard Rogers and William

Ley; the play was registered as Shakespeare's by Humphrey Moseley. In 1760, Edward

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[4] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 2.
[5] Richard Proudfoot, '*The Reign of King Edward the Third* (1596) and Shakespeare', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 71 (1985), 159-185 (p. 160).
[6] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 4.
[7] See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), I.323.
[8] Proudfoot, '*King Edward the Third*', p. 183.
[9] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 257.

Capell was responsible for 'the first critical attribution of a play to Shakespeare on entirely internal grounds'.[10] Capell assigned the whole play to Shakespeare and noted that 'Something of proof arises from resemblance between the style of his earlier performances and the work in question'.[11] However, in 1874, F. G. Fleay argued convincingly that Shakespeare was not the play's sole author:

> I recommend anyone who has been deluded by Capell, or his German copiers, or his English reproducers at third hand, into the belief that this work is all Shakespeare's, to read from the entrance of the King in Act i. Sc. 2, to the end of Act ii. by itself, and judge if that part be Shakespeare's, as I say it is; then to stop awhile, and read all the rest of the play by itself, noting the monotonous thud of the antique stop-line and the un-Shakespearean words I have given above, and judge if any part of that be Shakespeare's. If he say yes, he is not one I should care to argue the point with, for to such a one even the scientific metrical test would be of no avail for his enlightenment.[12]

Fleay's argument that Shakespeare and his co-author's portions were 'distinctly different in general style and poetic power' was validated in 1931 by Philip Timberlake,[13] who recorded an average (according to my calculations) of 10.1% feminine endings for the Countess episode, in which King Edward falls in love with, but is ultimately rejected by, the Countess of Salisbury.[14] The verse in Shakespeare's portions does indeed contrast with 'the monotonous thud of the antique stop-line' found in the remainder of the play.[15] Timberlake highlighted the Countess's opening speech in Scene Two as being distinctly Shakespearean, with its 'feminine endings, mid-line sentence ending', and 'variation of caesura', and concluded that 'the whole structure of the verse is of a different order'.[16] Timberlake's study provided solid evidence that 'two hands are to be found in the play'.[17] Jonathan Bate notes that the 'intensely honed, sometimes showy poetry' of Shakespeare's contributions contrasts

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[10] Kirwan, *Idea of the Apocrypha*, p. 39.

[11] Edward Capell, *Prolusions; or select pieces of antient Poetry* (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1760), p. ix.

[12] Fleay, *Manual*, p. 306. See also F. G. Fleay, 'On *Edward the Third*', *Academy*, 25 April 1874.

[13] Fleay, *Manual*, p. 303.

[14] See Timberlake, *Feminine*, pp. 78-79. See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.

[15] Fleay, *Manual*, p. 306.

[16] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 79.

[17] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 79.

with the 'brisk and workmanlike verse' of his co-author's scenes.[18] The Countess scenes have been securely attributed to Shakespeare by scholars such as G. C. Moore Smith,[19] E. K. Chambers,[20] and Valdemar Østerberg.[21] Nonetheless, it is clear that 'the difference in verse style between the two portions of the play is so great that they cannot possibly have been written by the same dramatist'.[22]

Moreover, Eliot Slater considered the play to be '"broken-backed", falling into two irreconcilable halves'.[23] Will Sharpe agrees that the Countess scenes are 'tangential to the thrust of the French narrative established in the first scene and resumed in Act 3'.[24] The play is marred by inconsistencies in character continuity and dramaturgy. For example, Lodowick, King Edward's secretary, appears in the Countess episode but nowhere else in the play. The non-Shakespearean portions of the play closely resemble the 'misfit' Kyd scenes in *Henry VI Part One*, for they are unlike Shakespeare's 'autumnal and pessimistic' sole authored history plays in their 'comparative optimism and jingoism'.[25] However, there seems to have been some attempt by Shakespeare and his co-author to guarantee some kind of continuity, for Shakespeare also wrote Act Four Scene Four (Scene Twelve in the Oxford edition), which deals with the battle of Poitiers and therefore, I argue, demonstrates that Shakespeare was involved in the early phases of the play's treatment. In this scene, Prince Edward is taunted by the French heralds, which anticipates the taunting of the English King by the French Dauphin in *Henry V* (1599). The divisions of authorship are akin to *Titus Andronicus*, in that Shakespeare, like Peele, is responsible for much of the beginning of the play and a single

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[18] *William Shakespeare & Others*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, pp. 133-134.
[19] See *Edward III*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1897).
[20] See Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.516.
[21] See Valdemar Østerberg, 'The "Countess Scenes" of *Edward III*', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 65 (1929), 49-91.
[22] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 103.
[23] Eliot Slater, *The Problem of the Reign of King Edward III: A Statistical Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 2.
[24] Will Sharpe, 'Authorship and Attribution', in *William Shakespeare & Others: Collaborative Plays*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2013), pp. 641-730 (p. 664).
[25] Sharpe, 'Authorship', p. 666.

scene in the play's fourth act.[26] E. K. Chambers linked the authorship of Scene Twelve with the Countess episode in 1930. He proposed that 'as this scene is also of better quality than the rest and again has a fairly large number of feminine endings, it may possibly be due to the hand of Act ii'.[27] Timberlake pointed out that 'the high percentage' of 9.1 feminine endings in this scene revealed a 'fundamental difference' to the verse style of Scene Thirteen, in which the 'earlier style' of Shakespeare's co-author returns.[28] Similarly, Kenneth Muir observed that the distribution of iterative imagery 'would support the theory that' Shakespeare 'was mainly responsible for the Countess scenes and IV.iv'.[29]

Will Sharpe 'feels it impossible to state dogmatically whether *Edward III* was written originally in collaboration or whether Shakespeare was revising or adding to an earlier substrate text'.[30] Jonathan Bate notes that 'the name of Warwick is missing from the roll-call of courtiers in the opening entry direction' of the first scene, 'yet in the middle of the first scene the king turns to Warwick and asks him about his daughter, the Countess of Salisbury. We learn that she is besieged by the Scots in her castle at Roxburgh'. Bate hypothesizes that 'his character' could have been 'introduced at a late stage in the writing, so as to pave the way for the Countess of Salisbury sequence'.[31] However, the fact that either the dramatist or a compositor neglected Warwick in the opening stage direction hardly provides strong evidence that the character's lines were not part of the original scene. I propose that if Warwick was indeed inserted into this scene it occurred when the authors' portions were merged together, for the 1596 Quarto appears to have been based on 'a final rough copy of the whole play compiled by one of the collaborators'.[32] Shakespeare's co-author could have

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[26] Vickers assigns Act One Scene One, Act Two Scene One, Act Two Scene Two, and Act Four Scene One to Peele, and the rest of *Titus Andronicus* (1592) to Shakespeare. See Vickers, *Co-Author*, pp. 148-243.
[27] Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.516.
[28] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 79.
[29] Kenneth Muir, *Shakespeare as Collaborator* (London: Routledge, 1960), p. 30.
[30] Sharpe, 'Authorship', p. 670.
[31] *William Shakespeare & Others*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, p. 133.
[32] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 174.

simply inserted the speeches of Edward and Warwick during this process in order to link the

opening scene with Shakespeare's contributions. Furthermore, there are allusions to

Shakespeare's Countess episode in the main plot of the play. For example, in Scene Six,

which is patently not by Shakespeare, the King of France states that Edward 'th'other day

was almost dead for love' (vi.156), while Edward feels the need to justify that he is 'No love-

sick cockney' (viii.101) in Scene Eight. I suggest that these allusions to the Countess episode

show that Shakespeare and his co-author worked together in close collaboration. Proudfoot

notes that the Earl of Salisbury's 'search for a passport to travel to Calais, in the third phase

of the action' (written by Shakespeare's co-author) 'stands in thematic relation to the

countess episode in the first', which argues for 'care in plotting and unity of conception'.[33]

Once again, the evidence suggests that Shakespeare's Countess scenes were part of the

original play, as opposed to later additions. During the plotting phase of *Edward III*, Giorgio

Melchiori suggests that Shakespeare and his co-author 'drew the outlines of the play at first

from Holinshed's chronicles of the reign of Edward III, soon integrated with those of

Froissart', and that Shakespeare 'took into account a novel of Painter's' when he wrote the

Countess episode.[34] In my view, the argument that Shakespeare's Countess scenes were part

of a process of 'replacing, extending, and re-elaborating one or two scenes in an earlier

version now lost' seems weak.[35] I can find no significant internal evidence to support the

theory that Shakespeare decided to 'replace Froissart's narrative' of a hypothesized 'ur-

Countess episode' with 'the version in Painter's novel'.[36] Shakespeare simply consulted both

sources when he wrote his scenes. As R. M. Smith put it in 1911: 'the dramatist merely

followed the order of events that Froissart had established, and selected only certain details

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[33] Proudfoot, '*King Edward the Third*', p. 168.
[34] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 15.
[35] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 37.
[36] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 38.

from Painter for the Countess scenes'.[37] I submit that Shakespeare's portions were part of the original play; they must have been planned by Shakespeare and his co-author before they wrote their respective scenes.

During my investigations of internal self-repetition in Shakespeare's early plays, I could detect zero rare tetragrams between Shakespeare and his co-author's portions of *Edward III*.[38] Similarly, scenes attributed to Shakespeare and Peele in *Titus Andronicus* shared just three rare N-grams of four or more words. Contemporary evidence, such as Robert Daborne's letters to Henslowe, indicates that playwriting could be a relatively hasty task during the Elizabethan period, so as to supply theatre companies with material.[39] Dramatists were therefore unlikely to have had the opportunity to scrutinize each other's portions in order to ensure stylistic continuity. Indeed, the nature of internal verbal parallels within *Titus Andronicus* and *Edward III* provide little to no evidence that the dramatists had read each other's portions, although they are likely to have had lengthy discussions prior to initiating their respective writing processes. I therefore consider *Edward III* to have been written originally by Shakespeare and one other dramatist, as opposed to a Shakespearean revision. Here I explore the linguistic details of the Countess episode and Scene Twelve, which I hope will broaden our understanding of Shakespeare's contributions to *Edward III*.

Part Two: Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Edward III*: Scenes Two and Three

Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor propose that 'Shakespeare was responsible only for Scene 2 (from the entrance of Edward III)',[40] and 'Scene 3, and for Scene 12' of the play.[41]

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[37] R. M. Smith, '*Edward III* A study of the authorship of the drama in the light of a new source', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 10 (1911), 90-104 (p. 101).

[38] See Freebury-Jones, 'Exploring Co-Authorship', 201-216..

[39] Brian Vickers gives a detailed overview of Robert Daborne's letters to Philip Henslowe. See Vickers, *Co-Author*, pp. 28-32.

[40] Here the Oxford editors are following E. K. Chambers, who argued that Shakespeare's contribution begins 'not I think before l. 94'. Chambers, *William Shakespeare a Study*, I.516.

[41] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 257.

Conversely, I ascribe all of Scene Two to Shakespeare, including the Countess's opening speech. I agree with Jonathan Bate that the 'texture of the language changes remarkably' from the beginning of Scene Two.[42] I suspect that attempts to deny Shakespeare the opening eighty-nine lines of this scene are intrinsically linked with the fact that these passages contain provocative insults aimed at the Scottish. We might ask ourselves: if these lines are too distasteful for Shakespeare, why would he rewrite the entire 'ur-Countess episode', yet retain these barbs? Collocation matching provides overwhelming evidence for Shakespeare's self-repetition throughout the Countess episode.

The Countess's opening line, 'Alas, how much in vain my **poor eyes** gaze' (ii.1), matches, 'That all the tears that thy **poor eyes** let fall' (*Tit.*, III.ii.18), 'I pour the helpless balm of my **poor eyes**' (*R3*, I.ii.13), and 'Draw those heaven-moving pearls from his **poor eyes**' (*Jn.*, II.i.169). The phrase, 'poor eyes', is unique to Shakespeare. The pentagram, 'the king in my behalf', occurs in the Countess's line, 'With vehement suit **the King in my behalf**' (*E3*, ii.5), and during Warwick's speech in *Henry VI Part Three*: 'Bearing **the King in my behalf** along' (*3H6*, II.i.115). Melchiori pointed out that 'the same association of "barren" and "fruitless"',[43] in the line, 'Even in the barren, bleak, and fruitless air' (*E3*, ii.14), occurs later in this scene: 'Seems barren, sere, unfertile, fruitless, dry' (ii.151). This instance of repetition provides strong evidence that the whole scene came from the same pen. The King of Scotland enters and insists that 'never shall our bonny riders rest, / Nor rusting **canker** have **the** time to **eat**' (ii.26-27). Shakespeare collocates the words 'canker' and 'eat' in the lines, 'Is **eaten** by **the canker** ere it blow' (*TGV*, I.i.46), 'Whiles thy consuming **canker eats** his falsehood' (*1H6*, II.iv.71), and 'Full soon **the canker** death **eats** up that plant' (*Rom.*, II.ii.30). The five-word unit, 'I take my leave and', in the line, '**I take my leave, and** fairly will return' (*E3*, ii.38), can also be found in *The Taming of the Shrew*: 'And

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[42] *William Shakespeare & Others*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, p. 133.
[43] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 67.

so **I take my leave, and** thank you both' (*Shr.*, II.i.394). The King of Scotland tells Douglas

that '**I** do bespeak **her for myself**' (*E3*, ii.44). This line shares the unique phrase, 'her for

myself', with Petruchio's declarative, '**I** choose **her for myself**' (*Shr.*, II.i.298). These

parallel phrases pertain to the same scene in Shakespeare's comedy in which Petruchio

attempts to woo Katharina. These formations were perhaps restimulated by the similar scenic

context of Douglas and the King of Scotland's attempts to win the Countess, and King

Edward's subsequent attempt to woo her.

The Scots flee from the English, who march 'hitherward' with 'a mighty host of men'

(*E3*, ii.49-50). Douglas's imperative, 'saddle my bonny black' (ii.57), shares the association

of 'bonny' and a horse with *Henry VI Part Two*: 'Even of the bonny beast he loved so well'

(*2H6*, V.ii.12). Montague declares that 'The King himself is **come in person hither**' (*E3*,

ii.86). In *The Comedy of Errors*, Adriana asserts that she will 'never rise until my tears and

prayers / Have won his grace to **come in person hither**' (*Err.*, V.i.116-117). The King's

interrogative, 'What, are **the stealing foxes** fled and gone' (*E3*, ii.90), parallels Suffolk's

warning about Gloucester: '**The fox** barks not when he would **steal** the lamb' (*2H6*, III.i.55).

The Countess of Salisbury's speech, 'Let not thy presence, like the April sun, / Flatter our

earth and suddenly be done' (*E3*, ii.141-142), gives us an imagistic parallel with *The Two

Gentlemen of Verona*. Shakespeare also emphasizes the temporality of the April sun in

Proteus's speech:

> O, how this spring of love resembleth
> The uncertain glory of an April day;
> Which now shows all the beauty of the sun,
> And by and by a cloud takes all away. (*TGV,* I.iii.84-87)

Lodowick realizes that King Edward has fallen in love with the Countess. He comments, 'I

might perceive his eye in her eye lost, / His ear to drink her **sweet tongue's** utterance' (*E3*,

ii.167-168). The bigram, 'sweet tongue', also occurs in *Titus Andronicus*, when Marcus

discovers the raped and mutilated Lavinia and states that had her rapists 'heard the heavenly

harmony / Which that **sweet tongue** hath made', they 'would have dropp'd' their weapons 'and fell asleep' (*Tit.*, II.iv.48-50). Shakespeare is unique in collocating the words 'gross' and 'palpable', which we find during King Edward's evaluation of Lodowick's love poem: 'That line hath two faults, **gross** and **palpable**' (*E3*, ii.309). This line can be matched in 'This **palpable**-**gross** play' (*MND*, V.i.360), '**gross** as a mountain, open, **palpable**' (*1H4*, II.iv.230), and 'Who is so **gross** / That cannot see this **palpable** device' (*R3*, III.vii.10-11). The King scolds Lodowick for comparing the Countess to 'the **pale queen of night**' (*E3*, ii.310). Silvia also invokes Diana in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 'by this **pale queen of night** I swear' (*TGV,* IV.ii.97). The Countess says, '**Sorry I am to** see my liege so sad' (*E3*, ii.361). This formulaic line-opening can also be found in *Henry VI Part Two*, when Gloucester tells the King, '**Sorry I am to** hear what I have heard' (*2H6*, II.i.205), and in *Richard III*, when Buckingham states that '**Sorry I am** my noble cousin' (*R3*, III.vii.88). We might note that in the first two examples Shakespeare associates this word string with a sensory verb.

King Edward's line, 'And therefore, Warwick, if **thou art thyself**' (*E3*, ii.508), gives us a double match with Shakespeare. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholus of Syracuse acknowledges that 'Thou art Dromio, thou art my man, **thou art thyself**' (*Err.*, III.ii.76), while, in *Romeo and Juliet*, Juliet tells her lover: '**Thou art thyself**, though not a Montague' (*Rom.*, II.i.81). The unique bigram, 'vassal fear', in the Earl of Warwick's line, 'When **vassal fear** lies trembling at his feet' (*E3*, ii.565), also occurs in *Henry IV Part One*, when King Henry says, 'Thou that art like enough, through **vassal fear**' (*1H4*, III.ii.124). King Henry speaks of 'the lion's armed jaws' (III.ii.102), which is akin to Warwick's image of 'the lion' that 'doth become his bloody jaws' (*E3*, ii.563). The close proximity of these imagistic parallels and the co-occurrence of the phrase, 'vassal fear', suggests Shakespeare's specific idiolect. We might note the similar prosodic characteristics shared between the Countess's

lament, 'Unnatural besiege! Woe **me unhappy,** / **To** have escaped the danger of my foes' (ii.580-581), and Queen Margaret's comparable expression of grief: 'This get I by his death. Ay **me**, **unhappy,** / **To** be a queen, and crowned with infamy' (*2H6*, III.ii.70-71). The line, 'poison shows worst **in a golden cup**' (*E3*, ii.617), gives us a match with *Henry VI Part Three*: 'His viands sparkling **in a golden cup**' (*3H6*, II.v.52). My evidence suggests that the phraseology of Scene Two, from beginning to end, is Shakespeare's.[44]

The next scene traditionally attributed to Shakespeare, Scene Three, also dramatizes the King's attempt to woo the Countess. The Earl of Derby's greeting, 'Thrice-noble Audley, **well encountered here**' (*E3*, iii.1), matches Prince John's line, 'You are **well encountered here**' (*2H4*, IV.i.227). The phrase, 'muster men', in Audley's line, 'What time he hath sent me forth to **muster men**' (*E3*, iii.3), occurs in *Richard III*, in the lines, 'Go, **muster men**' (*R3*, IV.iii.56), and 'Go then and **muster men**' (IV.iv.425), as well as in *Richard II*: 'will you go **muster men**' (*R2*, II.ii.108). Shakespeare consistently associates this bigram with war. The rare phrase, 'all but one', in the line, 'Well, **all but one** is **none**' (*E3*, iii.29), recurs in *Richard II*, when Richard states that Christ 'Found truth in **all but one**; I, in twelve thousand, **none**' (*R2*, IV.i.162). The bigram, 'sweet lines', in King Edward's line, 'And I will teach it to conduct **sweet lines**' (*E3*, iii.50), can also be found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, when Proteus exclaims, 'Sweet love, **sweet lines**, sweet life!' (*TGV*, I.iii.45), while the imperative, 'hang him in the braces of his **drum**; / For now we think it an uncivil thing / To trouble heaven with such **harsh resounds**' (*E3*, iii.57-59), shares the same verbal groupings as 'so roused up with boist'rous untuned **drums**, / With **harsh-resounding** trumpets' dreadful bray' (*R2*, I.iii.128-129). A unique tetragram occurs in the line,

Shall serve me as **the vantage of the** wind (*E3*, iii.64)

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[44] Although I have limited my comparisons to plays performed during the period 1580-1600, the numerous verbal matches with Shakespeare's sonnets and non-dramatic poems in these scenes have been well documented in Shakespeare studies, such as the line, 'Lillies that fester smell far worse than weeds' (*E3*, ii.452), which replicates the last line of Sonnet 94.

and in *Richard III*:

> Let us survey **the vantage of the** field. (*R3*, V.iii.15)

Shakespeare drew from his mental repertoire of phrases concerning battle in these passages. The association of judgement and eyesight, in Edward's assertion that 'love hath **eyes** as **judgement** to his steps' (*E3*, iii.69), can also be seen in Theseus's speech: 'Rather your **eyes** must with his **judgement** look' (*MND*, I.i.57). The King gives us yet another verbal match with *Richard II* in the line, '**looking wistly on me** make me blush' (*E3*, iii.87), which matches Exton's description of the King: 'he **wistly looked on me**' (*R2*, V.iv.7).

Edward's aside, 'Dost **put it in my mind** how foul she is' (*E3*, iii.107), parallels *Richard III*: 'Had so much grace to **put it in my mind**' (*R3*, II.i.121). In these examples, Edward III prepares to dispatch his wife, while Edward IV laments the murder of his brother. The formulaic line-opening, 'now my soul's', is unique to Edward's line, '**Now, my soul's** playfellow, art thou come' (*E3*, iii.118), and *Henry VI Part Three*: '**Now my soul's** palace is become a prison' (*3H6*, II.i.74). The Countess's line, 'With their heart bloods that keep **our love asunder**' (*E3*, iii.155), shares a unique cluster with Helena's interrogative: 'will you rent **our** ancient **love asunder**' (*MND*, III.ii.218). We find another unique match with *Richard III* in the line, 'And gives in evidence **that they shall die**' (*E3*, iii.158), which parallels: 'Say, have I thy consent **that they shall die**?' (*R3*, IV.ii.24). If we study these matching phrases in context we discover a parallel of thought as well as language, for King Edward is contemplating the murder of his wife and Salisbury, while Richard orders Buckingham to organize the murder of young Edward. Another unique sequence of words is shared between the Countess's line, '**When they are gone, then I'll** consent to love' (*E3*, iii.174), and King Richard's assertion that '**When they are gone, then** must **I** count my gains' (*R3*, I.i.162). Once again, the repetition of this sequence of words seems to have been stimulated by the dramatic context of organized murder. The image, 'For ere **the sun** shall **gild the eastern**

sky' (*E3*, iii.206), closely parallels, '**The sun** begins to **gild the western sky'** (*TGV*, V.i.1). We should note the similar metrical characteristics in this match. The verbal evidence I have collected, ranging from trivial phrases to strikingly long word sequences, provides further affirmation of Shakespeare's hand in *Edward III*.

Shakespeare's Part Authorship of *Edward III*: Scene Twelve

Scene Twelve dramatizes Prince Edward's preparations for battle and features a powerful speech delivered by Audley, in which he meditates on death. Helen Vendler observes that 'As soon as' Shakespeare 'thinks of one thing, he thinks of something that is different from it'.[45] Audley's speech is permeated by imagery redolent of Shakespeare's imagination, in which one image gives birth to another with remarkable speed, in lines such as 'the aspiring hill' that 'Shows like a silver quarry' (*E3*, xii.17-18), the 'new-replenished pennants' that 'cuff the air' (xii.20), and the 'gilded upright pikes', which resemble 'Straight **trees** of gold' (xii.25-26), akin to the 'orchard of **the Hesperides**' (xii.29). This last simile recalls the line, 'Still climbing **trees** in **the Hesperides**' (*LLL*, IV.iii.317).

The phrase, '**all-ending** night' (*E3*, xii.9), matches, '**all-ending** day' (*R3*, III.i.78), from *Richard III*. Shakespeare repeats the unique bigram, 'several strengths' (*E3*, xii.53), in *Henry IV Part Two* (*2H4*, I.iii.76), while the phrase, 'bloody colours', in the line, 'He straight will fold his **bloody colours** up' (*E3*, xii.72), occurs in *Henry VI Part Three*: 'let our **bloody colours** wave' (*3H6*, II.ii.173). Shakespeare employs the bigram, 'bloody colours', to describe the *oriflamme* in both passages (that is, banners signalling the beginning of battle and the fact that the victor will give no quarter to opponents). The Prince of Wales defies the French King and says, 'Tell him my **colours** are **as red as** his' (*E3*, xii.84). Mistress Quickly observes that Doll Tearsheet's '**colour**, I warrant you, is **as red as** any rose' (*2H4*, II.iv.23).

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[45] Helen Vendler, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 33.

The Prince's scornful response to the Second Herald, 'Back with the beast unto **the beast**

that sent **him**' (*E3*, xii.95), shares the three-word unit, 'the beast that', with Clifford's line in

Henry VI Part Three, 'Not to **the beast that** would usurp **his** den' (*3H6*, II.ii.12), as well as

Marcus's Ovidian speech in *Titus Andronicus*: 'O that I knew thy heart, and knew **the beast**, /

That I might rail at **him**' (*Tit.*, II.iv.34-35). The Prince's line, 'How confident **their strength**

and number makes them' (*E3*, xii.125), shares the triple, 'their strength and', with *Henry VI*

Part Three: 'Have robbed my strong-knit sinews of **their strength**, / **And**, spite of spite,

needs must I rest a while' (*3H6*, II.iv.4-5). The verbal evidence I have collected suggests that

Shakespeare and his co-author worked together in order to plot the play. Shakespeare's hand

is not limited to the Countess episode, for he was also responsible for a scene from the

martial main plot. I now present my evidence for Kyd as Shakespeare's co-author.

Part Three: Identifying Thomas Kyd as Shakespeare's Co-author

In 1892, Gregor Sarrazin drew attention to the striking similarities between the Mariner's

account of the naval battle of Sluys (in Scene Four of the Oxford edition) and the General's

account of the battle with the Portuguese in *The Spanish Tragedy* (modelled partly on the

Messenger's account of the battle of Thapsus in Garnier's *Cornélie*), which he argued could

only be the result of close imitation or common authorship.[46] During the twentieth century,

John Mackinnon Robertson was the first scholar to follow up Sarrazin's observation.

Robertson argued that 'it is hardly conceivable that anyone else could have produced such an

actual copy' of Kyd's 'constrained style and matter as is constituted' by the Mariner's

speech, and 'It may be that other speeches' are 'also by Kyd'.[47] In 1940, William Wells

judged the 'work to be entirely Kyd's'.[48] Guy Lambrechts also gave the whole play to Kyd in

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[46] See Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd*, p. 124.
[47] Robertson, *Titus*, pp. 384-385.
[48] Wells, 'Chronicle-History', p. 218.

1963.[49] Vickers presented the 'London Forum for Authorship Studies' with his evidence that

Kyd was only part author in 2008,[50] which he expanded on in an article entitled 'The Two

Authors of *Edward III*' in 2014. Vickers showed that Shakespeare's co-author was indebted

to the works of Seneca, as well as Garnier's *Cornélie*. He also identified 'an extraordinary

number of collocations, sequences of three or more words that' *Edward III* 'shares with *The*

Spanish Tragedy and *Cornelia*',[51] arguing that 'we may conclude, with a high degree of

probability, that Shakespeare wrote the four scenes in *Edward III* traditionally attributed to

him, but that the remainder of the play should be ascribed to Thomas Kyd'.[52]

Scholars since the eighteenth century have also noted authorial links between *Edward*

III and *Henry VI Part One*. For example, Richard Farmer observed that '*Henry the sixth* hath

ever been doubted' and that 'I have no doubt but *Henry the sixth* had the same Author with

Edward the third'.[53] In 1960, Karl Wentersdorf commented on the 'many points of

resemblance in diction, imagery and the treatment of subject matter in the play about

Talbot'.[54] Eliot Slater argued in 1988 that the 'communalities and resemblances between the

vocabularies of *1 Henry VI* and *Edward III*' provided 'objective factual evidence connecting

two plays'.[55] Slater examined a range of linguistic evidence, including prefix words,

compound forms, and once-only nouns in *Edward III* and *Henry VI Part One*, concluding that

'There is no important point in which their vocabulary can be distinguished. In this respect

there is nothing to show that they could not be by the same author'.[56] In particular, Slater

noted that 'The strength of the linking' with scenes not traditionally ascribed to Shakespeare

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[49] See Guy Lambrechts, '*Edward III*, Oeuvre de Thomas Kyd', *Etudes anglaises*, 16 (1963), 160-174.
[50] Brian Vickers, 'The Co-authors of *Edward III*'. This paper was given at the Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, Senate House, London, on 1 December 2008.
[51] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 109.
[52] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 116.
[53] Richard Farmer, *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1767), p. 88.
[54] Karl Wentersdorf, 'The Authorship of *Edward III*' (Doctoral thesis: University of Cincinnati, 1960), p. 231.
[55] Slater, *Problem*, p. 7.
[56] Slater, *Problem*, p. 79.

in *Edward III*, which he termed 'part B', was 'phenomenal'.[57] As I show in this chapter, the evidence for common authorship of the scenes Vickers attributes to Kyd in both plays is significant; the high degree of community between these texts is surely due to Kyd's being their main author. I now present some of the internal evidence I have collected suggesting Kyd's authorship.

Rhyme Forms

Shakespeare uses 'rhyming couplets, a traditional medium for the poetry of courtship' in the Countess episode.[58] Conversely, we often find Kyd's 'seemingly random alternation of rhyme and blank verse' in the main plot of the play.[59] The total for Kyd's distinctive rhyme forms is higher than that found for *Soliman and Perseda*, *King Leir*, *Arden of Faversham*, *Fair Em*, and Kyd's scenes in *Henry VI Part One*. It seems fair to say that the scenes assigned to Kyd by Vickers in *Edward III* are 'at one with' the other Kyd plays in their 'use of such unusual and whimsically varied rime schemes set at random in the texture of the verse':[60]

Rhyme	*The Spanish Tragedy*	*Cornelia*	*Soliman and Perseda*	*King Leir*	*Arden of Faversham*	*Fair Em*	Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	Kyd *Edward III*
Aca	11	3	6	8	18	7	9	17
Abab	7	20		2		1		2
Aaa	3	4	1	3	1	2		
Abba		3		1			1	
Acaa	1		2	1	1			
Aaaa	1			2			2	
Totals	23	30	9	17	20	10	12	19

Kyd's distinct use of interrupted rhyme can be seen in the very first lines of the play, when Edward tells Artois that 'banished though thou be / From France thy native country, yet with us / Thou shalt retain as great a seigniory: / For we create thee Earl of Richmond here. / And

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[57] Slater, *Problem*, p. 111.
[58] *William Shakespeare & Others*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, pp. 133-134.
[59] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 25.
[60] Routh Jr., 'Rime Schemes', p. 50.

now go forward with our pedigree' (*E3*, i.1-5). The verse style of these portions also indicates Kyd's authorship.

Verse Style

In his quantitative study of feminine endings,[61] Philip Timberlake demonstrated that Shakespeare's co-author averaged (in my computations) 2.7% eleven-syllable lines, with a range of 0.0-11.7, which accords with the ranges for Kyd's late plays, *Fair Em* (0.0-15.9) and *Cornelia* (2.4-13.1). Timberlake's data therefore supports the attribution to Kyd and shows that it is 'at least certain that two men were concerned in the play'.[62] I present his findings for *Edward III* in the table below in order to show the distinct differences between percentages for Shakespeare's Act One Scene Two, Act Two, and Act Four Scene Four, and the Kyd scenes:

Act, Scene	Full Lines	All Feminine Endings	Feminine Endings Strict Count	Total %	Strict %
I.i	159	4	4	2.5	2.5
I.ii	116	13	10	9.4	8.6
II.i	414	52	44	12.5	10.6
II.ii	196	24	20	12.2	10.0
III.i	180	4	2	2.2	1.1
III.ii	69	3	3	4.3	4.3
III.iii	221	5	3	2.2	1.3
III.iv	11	0	0	0.0	0.0
III.v	111	2	2	1.8	1.8
IV.i	42	4	2	9.4	4.7
IV.ii	81	4	2	4.9	2.5-
IV.iii	75	4	3	5.3	4.0
IV.iv	154	17	14	11.0	9.1-
IV.v	116	12	8	10.3	6.9-
IV.vi	15	1	1	6.6	6.6
IV.vii	34	6	4	17.6	11.7
IV.viii	8	1	0	12.5	0.0
IV.ix	52	3	3	5.7	5.7
V.i	237	5	2	2.1	0.8

In the next section, I present my data for linguistic idiosyncrasies in scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd.

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[61] See the section entitled 'Verse Style' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of Timberlake's method, pp. 18-19.
[62] Timberlake, *Feminine*, p. 78.

Linguistic Idiosyncrasies

The ratio for 'Betwixt' and 'Between' (see Chapter Two for an overview of this linguistic

test)[63] in scenes Vickers ascribes to Kyd in *Edward III* is identical to *Soliman and Perseda*

and *Fair Em*, while the dramatist responsible for these portions shares the same preference

for 'Hither' over 'Thither' with *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, *King Leir*, and

Kyd's scenes in *Henry VI Part One*:

Play	Betwixt/Between	Amongst/Among	Besides/Beside	Hither/Thither
The Spanish Tragedy	3/6	4/1	4/1	4/0
Soliman and Perseda	1/1	3/1	2/2	2/0
Cornelia	1/0	10/1	4/1	0
King Leir	1/5	5/1	2/2	9/2
Arden of Faversham	2/0	3/2	2/1	0/1
Fair Em	1/1	2/1	2/0	1/1
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	6/2	5/3	1/6	3/2
Kyd *Edward III*	1/1	0/1	3/3	2/1

It is also worth noting that, in my computations, the Kyd scenes average one compound

adjective every 395 words, which roughly corresponds to the rate of use in *Soliman and*

Perseda: one every 330 words.[64]

Moreover, the frequency with which the dramatist uses the intensifiers 'Most' and

'Very' is close to other plays assigned to Kyd. Adjusting the total according to the overall

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[63] See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies', p. 24.

[64] I have taken my figures for compound adjectives in these scenes from Richard Proudfoot's document entitled, '*Edward III* compound epithets'. See the section entitled 'Linguistic Idiosyncrasies' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of my method, p. 25.

word count of scenes Vickers attributes to Kyd in *Edward III* (12249 words in total) gives us

an identical percentage with *Soliman and Perseda*, and is only slightly lower than *Arden of*

Faversham:

Play	Most	Very	Total	Word count %
The Spanish Tragedy	3	1	4	0.02
Soliman and Perseda	5	9	14	0.07
Cornelia	5	0	5	0.03
King Leir	13	13	26	0.12
Arden of Faversham	3	15	18	0.09
Fair Em	6	0	6	0.05
Kyd *Henry VI Part One*	11	4	15	0.10
Kyd *Edward III*	8	1	9	0.07

Function Words

Richard Proudfoot has brought it to my attention that the frequency of 'But' at the start of

verse lines 'varies vastly' in *Edward III*.[65] By my count, there are 62 instances in Kyd's

portions (104 instances of 'But' in total), which we can compare to the 33 instances at the

beginning of verse lines in Shakespeare's scenes (74 in total). The Kyd scenes thus average

one 'But' placed in the initial iambic foot every 24 lines, which is very close to the average in

Soliman and Perseda and *King Leir*: one every 23 lines. Shakespeare averages one 'But' in

the initial position every 30 lines in his scenes, which accords with the rate of use in *Henry VI*

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[65] I should like to thank Richard Proudfoot for sharing his thoughts with me in email correspondence, 8 December 2015. See the section entitled 'Function Words' in Chapter Two of this thesis for an overview of my method, pp. 22-23.

Part Two: one every 29 lines.[66]

Verbal Links

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, play pairs exceeding a value of 51, in Martin

Mueller's corpus of over 500 early modern texts, are within the 90th percentile for works

written by the same author. According to Mueller's list of all pairwise combinations

involving *Edward III*, *Henry VI Part One* and *Edward III* have a weighted value of 81.59;

The Spanish Tragedy and *Edward III* have a value of 70.51.[67] Similarly, the weighted value of

52.26 for *King Leir* and *Edward III* indicates common authorship. It is also notable that

Kyd's Turkish tragedy and *Edward III* share a value of 48.10. *Cornelia* and *Edward III* have

a value of 41.12, while *Arden of Faversham* and the latter play have a value of 30.60. *Fair*

Em is not far behind with a value of 29.53. The argument for Kyd's part authorship of

Edward III, according to N-gram repetitions, is strong.

Marcus Dahl has recorded twenty rare occurrences (I have discovered considerably

more, as I demonstrate in this chapter) between plays in Kyd's 'extended' canon and *Edward*

III. Dahl counts *Henry VI Part One* as a Shakespeare text in his analysis, but it is surely of

significance that five of the eight rare N-grams he lists between *Henry VI Part One* and the

non-Shakespeare scenes in *Edward III* co-occur with Kyd's scenes in the former play.[68] Dahl

also records 1159 trigrams (both rare and common) shared with Kyd's canon. This

accumulation of verbal matches provides overwhelming evidence that Kyd was part author of

Edward III.

I now examine parallels of language and thought in these scenes in order to show that

an individual mind was responsible for the non-Shakespearean portions of *Edward III* and the

Kyd plays I have established in previous chapters.

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[66] Line totals for these plays are taken from 'Appendix B: Table B.1', in Tarlinskaja, *Versification.*
[67] I should like to thank Martin Mueller for sharing his data with me.
[68] I am grateful to Marcus Dahl for sending me his unpublished document, '*Edward III* Marked Up'.

Kyd's Part Authorship of *Edward III*: Scene One

Edward III begins, like Shakespeare's *Henry V*, with the King discussing his claim to the French throne. This opening scene shares a considerable number of rare collocations with plays in Kyd's 'extended' canon. Robert of Artois tells the King that Philippe of Beau's sons 'died and left **no issue of** their loins' (i.9). The triple, 'no issue of', can be found in two other plays first performed during the period 1580-1600. In *Romeo and Juliet*, the heroine threatens to stab herself if Friar Laurence does not help her: 'Which the commission of thy years and art / Could to **no issue of** true honour bring' (*Rom.*, IV.i.64-65). Juliet's lines are contextually dissimilar to Artois' speech. Conversely, in *King Leir*, the King reprimands Cordella thus: 'Peace, bastard Impe, **no issue of** King Leir' (*KL*, iii.312). The *King Leir* example therefore provides the closest parallel with Artois' line. If we investigate further, we discover that the bigram, 'no issue', appears in only one other play first performed during the specified period. In Kyd's unhistorical dramatization of Mortimer's death in *Henry VI Part One*, Mortimer tells Richard Plantagenet that 'I **no issue** have' (*1H6*, II.v.94). Another authorial association can be seen in Artois' description of King Edward as '**the flower of** Europe's **hope**' (*E3*, i.15), which parallels *King Leir*: 'And weeds of rancour chokt **the flower of** grace. / Then what remainder is of any **hope**' (*KL*, xxiii.2062-2063). Artois calls upon heaven to witness his fidelity to Edward:

> But **heaven** I call to **record of my** vows. (*E3*, i.32)

In *King Leir*, the Gallian King reassures Cordella that his intentions are honourable:

> Let **heaven** and earth beare **record of my** words. (*KL*, vii.674)

Artois is loyal to Edward because

> You are **the** lineal **watchman of our** peace. (*E3*, i.36)

In *Henry VI Part One*, the King refers to Gloucester and Winchester as

The special **watchmen of our** English weal. (*1H6*, III.i.66)

The word choices 'peace' and 'weal' are practically interchangeable in these lines, and thus suggest a common author's idiolect.

We find the rare triple, 'what then should', in Artois' interrogative, '**What then should** subjects but embrace their king?' (*E3*, i.38), and Soliman's speech, 'They love each other best: **what then should** follow' (*S&P*, IV.i.172), while King Edward's declarative, 'Hot courage is **engendered in** my **breast**' (*E3*, i.45), gives us another unique match with *Henry VI Part One*: 'And that **engenders** thunder **in** his **breast**' (*1H6*, III.i.39). A similar line occurs in *Cornelia*: 'Till jealous rage (**engendered** with **rest**)' (*Corn.*, V.i.211). Vickers points out that 'These are the only instances in' his 'pre-1596 corpus that combine the past participle "engendred" with an emotion (also echoing "brest" and "rest"); in both plays it forms the prelude to war'.[69]

Vickers also observes that 'both Hieronimo and King Edward formulate a vow of violent action while considering, and rejecting, an alternative course' in the match, '**But how? Not** servilely disposed to bend' (*E3*, i.74), with '**But how? not** as the vulgare wits of men' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.21).[70] The King asserts that ''Tis **not a petty** dukedom that I claim' (*E3*, i.82). The trigram, 'not a petty', is unique to this play and Kyd's *Cornelia*: 'Perceive we **not a petty** vaine' (*Corn.*, II.i.370). We find a unique tetragram shared between the subsequent line, '**But all the whole** dominions of the realm' (*E3*, i.83), and '**But all the whole** inheritance I give' (*1H6*, III.i.168). King Henry gives Richard Plantagenet 'the whole inheritance', which 'doth belong unto the house of York, / From whence you spring by lineal descent' (III.i.168-170), while King Edward seeks the French crown, for he is 'the lineal watchman of' France's 'peace' (*E3*, i.36). This match suggests a common author's cognitive processes. Edward's line, '**To set a gloss upon his** arrogance' (i.78), shares a unique six-

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[69] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 117.
[70] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.

word unit with *Henry VI Part One*: '**To set a gloss upon his** bold intent' (*1H6*, IV.i.103).

This line is also matched in *King Leir*: '**To set a glosse on** your invasion' (*KL*, xxx.2572).

Edward is scandalized by the French King, who demands fealty. The English King vows:

I'll **take away** those borrowed **plumes of his**. (*E3*, i.85)

Joan, following defeat at the hands of Talbot and his forces, tells her French companions that

We'll pull **his plumes** and **take away** his train. (*1H6*, III.iii.7)

We might also note the line-opening contractions 'I'll' and 'We'll' in that unmistakeable verbal match. Lorraine tells the King: 'Then, Edward, here, **in spite of all thy** lords, / I do pronounce defiance to thy face' (*E3*, i.87-88). At the conclusion of *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo refuses to reveal 'The thing which I have vowd inviolate' (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.187) to the King, the Viceroy, and the Duke: 'And therefore **in despight of all thy** threats' (IV.iv.188). The bigram, 'silly ladies', in the line, 'But **seely ladies** with thy threat'ning arms' (*E3*, i.137), can also be found in Mariana's speech in *Fair Em*: 'Put **silly ladies** often to their shifts' (*FE*, viii.34).[71] The repetition of this phrase reveals a single author's verse cadences, for the two-word sequence follows the phonetically similar line-openings 'But' and 'Put'. The Black Prince declares, 'As cheerful sounding to my **youthful spleen** / This tumult is of **war's** increasing broils' (*E3*, i.159-160). Talbot describes the moment he rescued John: 'Quicken'd with **youthful spleen** and **warlike** rage' (*1H6*, IV.vi.13). The quality and quantity of matching collocations provide solid evidence for Kyd's authorship of this scene.

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[71] Kyd never seems to tire of the adjective 'silly': by my count it features twice in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587); twice in *Soliman and Perseda* (1588); once in *Cornelia* (1594); twice in *King Leir* (1589); twice in *Arden of Faversham* (1590); once in *Fair Em* (1590); twice in Kyd's scenes in *Henry VI Part One* (1592), and three times in his portions of *Edward III* (1593).

Kyd's Part Authorship of *Edward III*: Scenes Four to Eleven

In Scene Four, Kyd dramatizes preparations for Crécy and provides a vivid description of the sea-battle of Sluys.[72] The King of France's interrogative, 'How **hast thou heard that** he provided is / Of martial furniture for this exploit' (*E3*, iv.5-6), recalls *Fair Em*, when Demarch (not aware of the disguised Norman King's true identity) asks William the Conqueror:

> Why, dost thou neither know, nor **hast thou heard**
> **That** in the absence of the Saxon Duke
> Demarch is his especial Substitute. (*FE*, xiii.27-29)

The King of France declares arrogantly that '**There comes a** harebrained nation, decked in pride, / The spoil of whom will be a treble gain' (*E3*, iv.51-52). In *Arden of Faversham*, Greene recalls Aesop: 'Whilst two stout dogs were striving for a bone, / **There comes a** cur and stole it from them both' (*AF*, ix.31-32). This match gives us an insight into Kyd's highly individual thought processes, for he employs the formulaic utterance, 'There comes a', in the context of goods being stolen or forcibly taken. The King states, 'And now **my hope** is **full**, my joy complete' (*E3*, iv.53). However, his confidence is misplaced and the French will inevitably lose the battle. The King of France will soon share the same state of mind as Erastus, who, fearing that Rhodes has been destroyed, tells the audience that '**My hope full** long agoe was lost' (*S&P*, IV.i.18).

The formulaic line-opening, 'Near to the', occurs in the Messenger's declarative, '**Near to the coast** I have descried, my lord' (*E3*, iv.62), and the Sergeant's line in *Henry VI Part One*: '**Near to the** walls, by some apparent sign' (*1H6*, II.i.4). The tetragram, 'Near to the coast', also occurs in *Cornelia*: 'And casts him up **neere to the Coasts** of Hyppon' (*Corn.*, V.i.195). We find a parallel of language and thought in Scene Ten, when Edward declares, 'I'll pitch my tent **near to the** sandy shore' (*E3*, x.61). These lines provide strong

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[72] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 201.

evidence that Kyd was responsible for both Scene Four and Scene Ten of *Edward III*. The

line-ending, 'sails with wind', is unique to the Mariner's speech,

No otherwise than were their **sails with wind** (iv.87)

and Fortune's speech in *Soliman and Perseda*:

Meane time I fild Erastus **sailes with winde**. (*S&P*, IV.iii.12)

We might compare the King of France's line, 'That we **may cheer our** stomachs with repast'

(*E3*, iv.115), with 'These news, my lords, **may cheer our** drooping spirits' (*1H6*, V.ii.1).

Both lines follow seemingly positive news concerning battle and are delivered by the

Dauphin and King of France respectively. We find a more complex structure in the King's

image of '**The earth**, **with** giddy trembling when **it shakes**' (*E3*, iv.127), which shares the

same verbal groupings as two passages in *Arden of Faversham*:

Each gentle starry gale doth **shake** my bed
And makes me dread my downfall to **the earth** (*AF*, viii.17-18)
But that **it shakes with** every blast of wind,
And, being touched, straight falls unto **the earth**. (x.95-96)

The Mariner re-enters and is 'formally invited, in the proper Senecan mode' to deliver

'a vivid description' of the French naval defeat.[73] The dramatic structure of this scene is

almost identical to Act Five Scene Two of *Henry VI Part One*; both scenes reveal Kyd's 'use

of conventions representing changing fortunes on the battlefield', for French optimisim is

quashed by the arrival of a messenger.[74] Kyd, like Seneca, recognized 'the importance of

messenger speeches as a fundamental component of tragedy that allows the tragic poet to

include an essentially epic element in the work'.[75] The King of France's allusion to 'angry

Nemesis' (*E3*, iv.120), the spirit of divine retribution, prepares the audience for a speech in

which Kyd 'claims Seneca emphatically as his ancestor'.[76] The Mariner's line,

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[73] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 109.
[74] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.
[75] Christopher V. Trinacty, *Senecan Tragedy and the Reception of Augustan Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 165.
[76] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 81.

   Both full of angry spleen, **of hope and fear** (iv.146)

uniquely parallels *Henry VI Part One*,

   Such fierce alarums **both of hope and fear** (*1H6*, V.vii.85)

as well as the General's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

   Both furnisht well, **both** full **of hope and feare**. (*Sp. T.*, I.i.25)

The unique four-word sequence, 'each other in the', in the line, 'Hasting to meet **each other in the** face' (*E3*, iv.147), also occurs in Exeter's speech in *Henry VI Part One*: 'This shouldering of **each other in the** court' (*1H6*, IV.i.189). The collocation, 'earnest' with 'of a further', is unique to the Mariner's line, 'Give **earnest**-penny **of a further** wrack' (*E3*, iv.151), and Joan's conjuration: 'In **earnest of a further** benefit' (*1H6*, V.iii.16). The triple, 'reft of life', in the line, 'As those that were but newly **reft of life**' (*E3*, iv.157), can also be found in *Soliman and Perseda*: 'Whom I in honours cause have **reft of life**' (*S&P*, III.i.137). The grotesque descriptions of 'a head dissevered from the trunk' and 'mangled arms and legs' (*E3*, iv.165-166) would seem to stem from the same author's imagination as the General's account of the battle with the Portuguese in *The Spanish Tragedy*, as we can see in lines such as 'Heere falles a body scindred from his head, / There legs and armes lye bleeding on the grasse' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.59-60), and the Messenger's account of the battle of Thapsus in *Cornelia*: 'every where / Lay Armed men, ore-troden with theyr horses, / Dismembred bodies drowning in theyr blood' (*Corn.*, V.i.248-250), and 'Here lay an arme, and there a leg lay shiver'd' (V.i.258). Kyd collocates the words 'tried' and 'valour' in the lines, 'All shifts were **tried**, both for defense and hurt. / And now the effect of **valour** and of fear' (*E3*, iv.172-173), and in *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'And captaines strove to have their **valours tride**' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.39), and 'your **valour** is already **tride**' (II.iv.52). We find another unique Kyd match when the Mariner declares that '**Thus my tale** is done' (*E3*, iv.183). Perseda prepares to battle Soliman at the conclusion of Kyd's Turkish tragedy: 'And **thus my tale** begins' (*S&P*,

V.iv.36).

Scene Five provides additional evidence of Kyd's lexicon of phrases. The scene depicts the meeting of French citizens near Crécy who discuss 'How the French navy is destroyed at sea, / And that the English army is arrived' (*E3*, v.8-9), and a friar's prophecy, 'Whenas a lion roused in the West / Shall carry hence the fleur-de-lis of France' (v.42-43), which, along with 'such like surmises, / Strike many Frenchmen cold unto the heart' (v.44-45). Melchiori points out that 'No trace of this prophecy is found in the known sources of the play. It is probably an invention of the dramatist'.[77] I suggest that Kyd's debt to Seneca is patent in this scene, for the dramatist follows his classical ancestor by emphasizing 'prophetic visions and supernatural signs that heighten or intensify the role of fate'.[78] We might compare the First Frenchman's lines,

> Ay, so the grasshopper doth spend the time
> **In** mirthful **jollity**, till **winter** come,
> And then, too late, he would redeem his time,
> When frozen cold hath **nipped** his careless head (v.16-19)

with the Ghost of Andrea's speech: 'But **in** the harvest of my sommer **joyes** / Deaths **winter nipt** the blossomes of my blisse' (*Sp. T.*, I.i.12-13). We might also note the parallel of thought in the contrast between winter and joy. These passages match *King Leir*,

> Ye florishing branches of a Kingly stocke,
> Sprung from a tree that once did flourish greene,
> Whose **blossomes** now are **nipt** with **Winters** frost,
> And pale grym **death** doth wayt upon **my** steps,
> And summons me unto his next Assizes (*KL*, iii.225-229)

and *Arden of Faversham*: 'And **nips me** as the bitter northeast wind / Doth check the tender **blosoms** in the spring' (*AF*, viii.5-6). The triple, 'when we would', is unique to the First Frenchman's line, 'Lest, **when we would**, we cannot be relieved' (*E3*, v.25), and Alice Arden's line: 'Hinder our meetings **when we would** confer' (*AF*, i.136). The Fleeing

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[77] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 115.
[78] Norland, *Neoclassical*, p. 160.

Frenchman's lines, 'All which, though distant, yet **conspire in one** / **To** leave a desolation when they come' (*E3*, v.67-68), share the tetragram, 'conspire in one to', with *Fair Em*. We might note the placing of this identical word sequence in the respective verse lines: 'Could heaven or hell, did both **conspire in one** / **To** afflict my soul, invent a greater scourge' (*FE*, xiii.2-3). I should like to draw attention to the phrase, 'ransack-**constraining war**' (*E3*, v.49), which closely parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Woe to the cause of these **constrained warres**' (*Sp. T.*, III.vii.61). We might also compare the Fleeing Frenchman's admission, 'Ah, wretched **France**, I greatly fear thy fall; / **Thy glory** shaketh like a tottering wall' (*E3*, v.76-77), with Joan's acknowledgement in *Henry VI Part One* that 'Now, **France**, **thy glory** droopeth to the ground' (*1H6*, V.iii.29). The co-occurrence of these words and ideas – embracing two intransitive verbs ending in an *-eth* inflection – is surely the result of a common author's deployment of individual phrases within his mental repertoire. Moreover, Robertson pointed out that 'The verse movement' in the Fleeing Frenchman's speech 'lacks Shakespeare's poetry' and most closely resembles Kyd's 'careful rhetoric'.[79] There can be little doubt that Kyd was responsible for this scene.

In the subsequent scene, the French prisoner Gobin is rewarded for helping the English cross the river Somme, which is followed by an unhistorical verbal altercation between the English and their French foes. We find compelling evidence for Kyd's authorship in King Edward's line, 'Hast **thou not seen the** usurping **King** of France*?*' (*E3*, vi.34), which closely parallels *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Back, **seest thou not the King** is busie*?*' (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.28). We also find evidence of a common author's lexicon of collocations in the Prince of Wales's line, 'He **means to** bid us **battle presently**' (*E3*, vi.44), and the Scout's message in *Henry VI Part One*: 'And **means to** give you **battle presently**' (*1H6*, V.ii.13). The King of France enters and complains that Edward slays

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[79] Robertson, *Titus*, p. 383.

His faithful subjects, **and subverts** his **towns**. (*E3*, vi.48)

Eric Sams (arguing that both plays were written solely by Shakespeare) observed in 1996 that the 'same sense and context' can be found in *Henry VI Part One*, during Talbot's meeting with the Countess of Auvergne (in a scene I ascribe to Kyd):[80]

Razeth your cities **and subverts** your **towns**. (*1H6*, II.iii.65)

The triple, 'thee with thine', is unique to the French King's line, 'Upbraids **thee with thine** arrogant intrusion' (*E3*, vi.50), and Burgundy's declarative: 'I trust ere long to choke **thee with thine** own' (*1H6*, III.v.5). The phrase, 'shall fall into', occurs in King Edward's line, 'Or one of us **shall fall into** his grave' (*E3*, vi.95), and *Arden of Faversham*: 'I **shall fall into** some ditch' (*AF*, xii.5). King Edward attempts to bargain with the French King: 'Before **the sickle's** thrust into **the corn**' (*E3*, vi.111). This line recalls Revenge's assertion in *The Spanish Tragedy* that '**The Sickle** comes not, till **the corne** be ripe' (*Sp. T.*, II.vi.9). Vickers claims that 'The words "sickle" and "corn" are collocated in these plays and nowhere else in the pre-1596 drama corpus'.[81] However, I can detect this distinct mental association in two other plays performed prior to 1596, both of which belong to the 'extended' Kyd canon. Kyd had already used this combination of words in *Soliman and Perseda*, in the line, 'That **thrust his sickle in** my harvest **corne**' (*S&P*, IV.i.223), while the other example occurs in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Why should he **thrust his sickle in** our **corn**' (*AF*, x.83).[82] We should note that these lines share a unique discontinuous sequence of five words, while the trigram, 'thrust into the', can also be found in *Fair Em*: 'it was my chance to be **thrust into the** arm' (*FE*, vi.12-13).

We might compare the Prince of Wales's speech, 'Ay, that approves **thee, tyrant, what thou art**. / **No father**, king, **or shepherd of** thy realm' (*E3*, vi.117-118), with

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[80] *Shakespeare's Edward III: An Early Play Restored to the Canon*, ed. Eric Sams (London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 119.

[81] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 113.

[82] Vickers does, however, cite these instances in 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.

Soliman's resolution to combat the disguised Perseda. He tells her that 'I will combate **thee, what** ere **thou art**' (*S&P*, V.iv.28), but before they combat Perseda provides a further verbal link by denouncing him as a 'wicked **tirant**' (V.iv.36). These lines also match Joan's dismissal of the Shepherd in *Henry VI Part One*: '**Thou art no father nor** no friend **of** mine' (*1H6*, V.vi.9). Audley's interrogative, 'You peers of France, why do **you follow him** / **That** is so prodigal to spend your lives?' (*E3*, vi.121-122), shares a unique tetragram (we might note the negative connotations in these lines) with Franklin's speech in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Why, Master Arden, know you what you do? / Will **you follow him that** hath dishonoured you?' (*AF*, xiii.135-136). No comparable collocation of language and thought can be found in plays first performed during the period 1580-1600. The King of France's line, 'And, Edward, when thou dar'st, **begin the fight**' (*E3*, vi.166), shares the trigram, 'begin the fight', with *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'From out our rearward to **begin the fight**' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.36).

The unique triple, 'Let us resolve', in the line, 'And, English lords, **let us resolve** the day' (*E3*, vi.168), occurs in Talbot's speech: '**Let us resolve** to scale their flinty bulwarks' (*1H6*, II.i.27). In both passages the triple is used as a call to arms. The Prince's speech, 'Or **use** them not to glory **of my God** / **To patronage** the fatherless **and** poor' (*E3*, vi.212-213), recalls Cordella's speech in *King Leir*: 'In going to the Temple **of my God**, / **To** render thanks for all his benefits' (*KL*, xiii.1063-1064). The rare verb 'patronage' (never used by Shakespeare) also occurs in Gloucester's line, '**And useth** it **to patronage** his theft' (*1H6*, III.i.48), as well as in Basset's speech: 'Yes, sir, as you dare patronage / The envious barking of your saucy tongue' (III.viii.32-33). The Prince of Wales's speech at the conclusion of the scene,

> Be numb my joints, **wax** feeble both mine **arms,**
> **Wither** my heart **that**, like **a sapless** tree (*E3*, vi.215-216)

recalls Mortimer's self-description in *Henry VI Part One*:

> These eyes, like lamps whose wasting oil is spent,

> **Wax** dim, as drawing to their exigent;
> Weak shoulders, overborne with burdening grief,
> And pithless **arms**, like to **a withered** vine
> **That** droops his **sapless** branches to the ground. (*1H6*, II.v.8-12)

These extended semantic clusters provide overwhelming evidence that both passages belong to an individual's lexicon. Kyd also seems to have drawn from his stock of verbal formations concerning battle in the line, 'That courage **and** experience**, joined in one**' (*E3*, vi.222), which gives us a unique match with the General's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Friendship **and** hardie valour**, joynd in one**' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.75).

Scene Seven features the French King and Duc de Lorraine, who despair as their men flee from battle. The scene is very short at only thirteen lines in the Oxford edition, but plagiarism software highlights the rare triple, 'them to stay', which is employed as a formulaic line-ending in the King of France's lament: 'O, hapless fortune! Let us yet assay / If we can counsel some of **them to stay**' (*E3*, vii.12-13). This word string serves an almost identical purpose in *The Spanish Tragedy*, during the General's report of battle: '**Brought rescue** and encouragde **them to stay**' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.69). We should also note that the bigram, 'brought rescue', is unique to the General's speech and Charles's admission in *Henry VI Part One* that 'Had York and Somerset **brought rescue** in, / We should have found a bloody day of this' (*1H6*, IV.vii.33-34). Lorraine's line, 'More **in the clustering** throng are pressed to death' (*E3*, vii.10), also recalls *Henry VI Part One*. Talbot describes how his son John 'Suddenly made him from my side to start / **Into the clust'ring** battle of the French' (*1H6*, IV.vii.12-13). The word 'clustering' is not associated with battle in any other play within my pre-1601 corpus.

In the following scene, King Edward tells Audley that he intends to 'Withdraw our powers unto this **little hill**' (*E3*, viii.2). This line parallels the dream sequence in *Arden of Faversham*: 'And I upon a **little** rising **hill**' (*AF*, vi.8). As is characteristic of the 'providential

universe in which' Kyd's plays operate,[83] Edward calls upon 'Just-dooming heaven, whose

secret providence / To our gross judgement is inscrutable' (*E3*, viii.5-6). Artois enters and

tells Edward that the Black Prince is surrounded by French forces. Nonethless, Edward

refuses to give his son aid:

> *King Edward.* Rescue, Artois? What, is he prisoner,
> Or fell by violence beside his horse?
> *Comte d'Artois.* Neither, my lord, but narrowly beset
> With turning Frenchmen, whom he did pursue,
> As 'tis impossible that he should scape
> Except your highness presently descend.
> *King Edward.* Tut, let him fight. We gave him arms today,
> And he is labouring for a knighthood, man!
> *Enter the Earl of Derby*
> *Earl of Derby.* The Prince, my lord, the Prince! O succour him!
> He's close encompassed with a world of odds. (*E3*, viii.11-20)

This passage recalls Lucy's pleas in Act Four Scene Three and Act Four Scene Four of *Henry*

VI Part One. Alongside parallels in action, we find distinct phraseology shared by Derby and

Lucy, in the lines, '**O succour** him' (viii.19), and '**O**, send some **succour** to the distressed

lord' (*1H6*, IV.iii.30), while 'He's close encompassed with **a world of odds**' (*E3*, viii.20)

shares the unique tetragram, 'a world of odds', with Lucy's speech: 'Yield up his life unto **a**

world of odds' (*1H6*, IV.iv.25). These word sequences appear to have been triggered in

Kyd's mind by the similarities in scenic context.

> There is an authorial association of ideas shared by King Edward's speech,
>
> This is **the** day ordained by **destiny**
> **To** season his green courage with those grievous thoughts
> That, if he breaketh out, Nestor's years **on earth**
> Will make him savour still of this exploit (*E3*, viii.35-38)

and Black Will's assertion in *Arden of Faversham* that

> I am **the** very man,
> Marked in my birth-hour by the **Destinies**,
> **To** give an end to Arden's life **on earth**. (*AF*, iii.159-161)

Both passages accord with Kyd's drama in that his characters seem to be 'entirely at the

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[83] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 11.

mercy of supernatural powers', and yet they also 'shape their own destiny'.[84] Edward acknowledges that 'Some **will return with** tidings, good or bad' (*E3*, viii.60), which uniquely parallels *Soliman and Perseda*: 'We **will returne with** all speede possible' (*S&P*, V.i.42). Ambiguity pervades both passages, for the King awaits news of the battle, while Erastus is requested by Soliman to leave his beloved Perseda 'Without inquirie what should be the cause' (V.i.29). The Earl of Derby's greeting, '**Welcome, brave prince**' (*E3*, viii.61), matches *The Spanish Tragedy*: '**Welcome, brave Prince**, the pledge of Castiles peace' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.108). We find a similar pattern of thought shared between the Prince of Wales's lines, 'This sacrifice, the first fruit of my sword, / Cropped and cut down even at the gate of death' (*E3*, viii.71-72), and the crude metaphor of John Talbot's 'maidenhood' being lost in the sexual initiation of his first battle:

> The ireful Bastard Orleans, that drew blood
> From thee, my boy, and had the maidenhood
> Of thy first fight. (*1H6*, IV.vi.16-18)

The Prince of Wales's line, '**the first fruit of my** sword' (*E3*, viii.71), matches the Shepherd's description of Joan as '**the first fruit of my** bachelorship' (*1H6*, V.vi.13). The triple, 'made me fresh', is unique to the Prince's line, '**And** then **new courage made me fresh** again' (*E3*, viii.83), and *King Leir*: '**And made me fresh**, as earst I was before' (*KL*, xxiv.2205). The bigram, 'new courage', can also be found in *Henry VI Part One*: 'And doth beget **new courage** in our breasts' (*1H6*, III.vii.87). Close reading of the *Henry VI Part One* passage suggests that this bigram was stimulated by Charles's preceding line: 'Thy friendship **makes** us **fresh**' (III.vii.86). Interconnected collocations of this kind give us an insight into Kyd's word linkages, for the dramatist appears to have unconsciously associated the words 'courage' and 'fresh'. This distinct mental association can also be found in *Cornelia*, in the lines, 'And thrice recomforted they **bravely** ranne. / And fought as **freshly** as they first

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[84] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 103.

beganne' (*Corn.*, V.i.201-202), and in *Soliman and Perseda*: '**And add fresh courage to my** fainting **limmes**' (*S&P*, I.ii.52). We might note the discontinuous six-word sequence shared between the *Soliman and Perseda* example and *King Leir*: '**And adde fresh** vigour **to my** willing **limbs**' (*KL*, xxx.2546), as well as the verbal actions 'fainting' and 'willing'. These lines are comparable to Franklin's image in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Pouring **fresh** sorrow on his weary **limbs**' (*AF*, iv.52). These are the only examples in my pre-1601 corpus of the word 'fresh' being collocated with 'limbs'. Edward declares, 'Ay, **well thou hast deserved** a knighthood, Ned' (*E3*, viii.88). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the King tells Horatio, '**well thou hast deserved** to be honoured' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.131) for his exploits in battle. The line, '**With blood of** those that fought **to** be **thy bane**' (*E3*, viii.90), shares the formulaic line-opening, 'With blood of', with Kyd's Turkish tragedy, as we can see in the line, '**With blood of** Moores, and there in three set battles' (*S&P*, I.iii.57), while the phrase, 'to thy bane', occurs in the line, 'Let not my beauty prick thee **to thy bane**' (I.ii.80).

Scene Nine dramatizes a conversation between Comte de Monfort and the Earl of Salisbury, during which Montfort gives Salisbury a coronet 'For this kind furtherance of **your king and you**' (*E3*, ix.5). The tetragram, 'your king and you', is unique to Kyd. It can be found in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in the line, 'That which may comfort both **your King and you**' (*Sp. T.*, I.v.33), and in *King Leir*: 'There is good packing twixt **your king and you**' (*KL*, xxii.1932). The line-opening, 'And I again', in the declarative, '**And I again** am quietly possessed' (*E3*, ix.3), is unique to this play and *Henry VI Part One*: '**And I again** in royal Henry's name' (*1H6*, V.v.116). Montfort's resolution, 'To **swear allegiance to his majesty**' (*E3*, ix.6), shares a unique pentagram with York's line in *Henry VI Part One*: 'Then **swear allegiance to his majesty**' (*1H6*, V.vi.169). Salisbury tells Villiers that '**thou** know'st **thou art my prisoner**' (*E3*, ix.19). Suffolk tells Margaret: 'Be what **thou** wilt, **thou art my prisoner**' (*1H6*, V.v.1). The line, '**And this it is:** procure me but a passport' (*E3*, ix.25),

matches, '**And this it is:** in case the match goe forward' (*Sp. T.*, II.iii.18), while Salisbury's

declarative, 'He and thou **were** students **once together**' (*E3*, ix.31), recalls Bradshaw's

description of Black Will in Kyd's Kentish tragedy: 'Though we **were once together** in the

field' (*AF*, ii.16). Salisbury says, 'Thou wilt return my prisoner back **again**, / **And that** shall

be sufficient warrant for me' (*E3*, ix.38-39). Bassianus explains to Lucina why he is not

wearing his Turkish bonnet: 'Because I now am Christian **againe**. / **And that** by naturall

meanes' (*S&P*, V.iii.15-16). The verbal evidence supports the attribution of this scene to

Kyd.

In Scene Ten, King Edward encounters poor inhabitants who have been devastated

by the siege of Calais. Derby asserts that the lack of aid will make the French '**repent them**

of their stubborn will' (*E3*, x.9). In *King Leir*, the Mariner fears that Leir and Perillus will

'**repent them of their** bargayne anon' (*KL*, xxiii.2032). Derby describes the six poor

Frenchmen as '**gliding ghosts** / Crept from your graves to walk upon the earth' (*E3*, x.13-14).

The earliest example of the association of words 'ghost' and 'gliding' can be found in

Soliman and Perseda: 'When as my **gliding ghost** shall follow thee' (*S&P*, V.iv.150). This

collocation recurs in *Cornelia*: 'And loe (me thought) came **glyding** by my bed / The **ghost**

of Pompey, with a ghastly looke' (*Corn.*, III.i.75-76). Vickers observes that 'Garnier doesn't

actually call him a ghost; Kyd does, and adds a verb of his own to describe the spectre's

movement'.[85] This collocation is unique in Vickers's pre-1596 corpus, although in my

extended corpus it can also be found in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: 'why all these **gliding**

ghosts' (*JC*, I.iii.63). Shakespeare likely read *Cornelia*, which deals with the defeat of the

Pompeians, prior to composing *Julius Caesar*. Boas pointed out that the dialogue 'between

Cassius and Decimus Brutus, anticipates curiously in general spirit, and at times even in

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[85] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 115.

expression, that between' Shakespeare's 'Cassius and Marcus Brutus'.[86] It is therefore plausible that Shakespeare appropriated this image. Either way, Kyd was the first Elizabethan playwright to collocate these words.

We might compare the Poor Man's speech, 'The **Captain of the** town hath thrust us forth' (*E3*, x.20), with a line in *Henry VI Part One*: 'That, being **captain of the** watch tonight' (*1H6*, II.i.62). Melchiori pointed out that the King's declarative, 'Edward's sword must flesh itself' (*E3*, x.34), recalls the Bastard's description of young John Talbot, who 'did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood' (*1H6*, IV.vii.36).[87] The verb 'flesh' can also be found in *Cornelia*: 'Proud Cynna, Marius, and Carbo flesh'd / So long, till they gan tiranize the Towne' (*Corn.*, II.i.139-140). King Edward's interrogative, 'What was he **took him prisoner** in the field' (*E3*, x.48), matches *The Spanish Tragedy*'s, 'Thats none of mine, but his that **tooke him prisoner**' (*Sp. T.*, II.iii.34), while Percy's inversion, 'John Copland **is his name**' (*E3*, x.49), closely parallels the line, 'Black Will **is his name**' (*AF*, ii.7), from *Arden of Faversham*. The contiguous sequence, 'though they would I', in King Edward's lines, '**They** shall **not** have it now, **although they would**. / **I** will accept of naught but fire and sword' (*E3*, x.71-72), can also be found in Kyd's *Cornelia*: 'But (**though they would**) **I** know **they cannot** give / A second life to Pompey that is slaine' (*Corn.*, II.i.160-161).

Scene Eleven also provides strong evidence for Kyd's authorship. The Dauphin's speech,

> What bird that hath escaped the fowler's gin
> Will not beware how she's ensnared again (*E3*, xi.21-22)

shares a distinctive hunting metaphor with Lorenzo's speech in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

> I set the trap: he breakes the worthies twigs.
> And sees not that wherewith the bird was limde.
> Thus hopefull men, that meane to holde their owne,
> Must look like fowlers to their dearest freends. (*Sp. T.*, III.iv.41-44)

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[86] *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, ed. Frederick S. Boas, p. lxxxiii.
[87] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 137.

Greene's speech in *Arden of Faversham* also shares Kyd's vocabulary of a trap: 'Lime well your twigs to catch this wary bird' (*AF*, ix.39). Villiers's response, 'Or else a kingdom should **not draw me** hence' (*E3*, xi.28), shares the unique triple, 'not draw me', with *King Leir*: 'ten teame of horses shall / **not draw me** away, till I have full and whole possession' (*KL*, xxi.1843-1844). The Dauphin asks Villiers, 'Why, **is it lawful for a man** to kill' (*E3*, xi.35). Cicero refuses to surrender 'Now, as **it is** not **lawfull for a man**' (*Corn.*, II.i.223). The line, 'Thy suit **shall be no longer** thus deferred' (*E3*, xi.47), shares the unique tetragram, 'shall be no longer', with *Soliman and Perseda*: 'Rhodes now **shall be no longer** Solymans' (*S&P*, V.iii.57). The Dauphin's profession of love for Villiers, prior to granting his suit, in the line, 'Hereafter **I'll embrace thee as** myself' (*E3*, xi.50), gives us a unique match with Reigner's speech in *Henry VI Part One*, following the match between his daughter and the King by proxy: '**I** do **embrace thee as** I would embrace / The Christian prince King Henry, were he here' (*1H6*, V.v.127-128). We might also note the verbal formula (as well as the possessive nouns 'highness'' and 'lordship's', accompanied by the phonetically similar word choices 'pleasure' and 'leisure') in Villiers's line, 'And then **I will attend your** highness' pleasure' (*E3*, xi.54), and the Legate's declarative in *Henry VI Part One*: '**I will attend** upon **your** lordship's leisure' (*1H6*, V.i.55).

Kyd continues to 'intensify the role of fate',[88] through having the Dauphin relate a prophecy in which 'feathered fowl shall make' the French army 'tremble' and 'flinstones rise and break the battle 'ray' (*E3*, xi.68-69).[89] The King of France asserts that 'By this revenge that loss will **seem the less.** / **But** all are frivolous' (xi.82-83), which parallels: 'And make your late discomfort **seeme the lesse.** / **But** say, Hieronimo, what was the next?' (*Sp. T.*, I.v.34-35). The King's dismissal of the Dauphin's prophecy is reminiscent of the dream

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[88] Norland, *Neoclassical*, p. 160.
[89] Melchiori notes that the episode of the ravens is reported by Holinshed and in Jean Froissart's *Le premier volume de Froissart de Chroniques de Frances* (1513). See *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 150.

sequences in *King Leir*, *Arden of Faversham*, and *Cornelia*. He 'makes the wrong diagnosis'

of the prophecy and scorns 'frivolous fancies, toys and dreams' (*E3*, xi.83).[90] Similarly, in

Cornelia, the Chorus ask the heroine, 'Why suffer you vayne dreames your heade to trouble?'

(*Corn.*, III.i.62), while Perillus reassures Leir that 'dreames are but fantasies, / And slight

imaginations of the brayne' (*KL*, xix.1481-1482). Franklin tells Thomas Arden that 'To such

as note their nightly fantasies, / Some one in twenty may incur belief' (*AF*, vi.38-39). My

examination of verbal parallels indicates that these passages came from a single authorial

imagination.

Kyd's Part Authorship of *Edward III*: Scenes Thirteen to Eighteen

As we might expect of Kyd's drama, the prophecy dismissed by the King of France in Scene

Eleven turns out to be 'truly predictive'.[91] In the next scene that Vickers attributes to Kyd,

Scene Thirteen, 'A flight of ugly ravens / Do croak and hover o'er' the French 'soldiers'

heads' (*E3*, xiii.28-29). Stanley Wells suggests that Shakespeare is 'possibly' responsible for

'Scene 13',[92] but my tests, combined with close textual analysis, provide overwhelming

evidence for Kyd's authorship through highlighting a number of 'highly individual verbal

combinations'.[93] The Dauphin's line, 'Our **men with open** mouths and staring eyes' (xiii.9),

shares the unique triple, 'men with open', with Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'But how? not as

the vulgare wits of **men**, / **With open**, but inevitable ils' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.21-22). The unique

triple, 'his princely son', occurs in the King of France's line, 'To put **his princely son**, black

Edward, in' (*E3*, xiii.11), and in *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'First, for the marriage of **his Princely**

Sonne' (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.39). We find an instance of Kyd's self-reminiscence in the King of

France's exclamation, 'Hark, what a deadly outcry do I hear!' (*E3*, xiii.19), which recalls

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[90] Presson, 'Two Types of Dream', p. 239.
[91] Presson, 'Two Types of Dream', p. 239.
[92] *Oxford Shakespeare*, p. 257.
[93] Vickers, *Co-Author*, p. 63.

Hieronimo's famous line in *The Spanish Tragedy*, 'What out-cries pluck me from my naked bed' (*Sp. T.*, II.v.1), as well as his line at the conclusion of the play: 'His dismall out-cry eccho in the aire' (IV.iv.109). As I have noted earlier, we find another example of Kyd's self-repetition (as opposed to allusion or parody) in *Arden of Faversham*: 'What dismal outcry calls me from my rest?' (*AF*, iv.87).

The collocation, 'hath hid the', with 'of', 'And', and 'night', in Prince Philippe's description of a fog, 'Which now **hath hid the** airy floor **of** heaven, / **And** made at noon a **night** unnatural' (*E3*, xiii.31-32), uniquely parallels *Arden of Faversham*. Black Will describes 'Black **night**', which '**hath hid the** pleasures **of** the day, / **And** sheeting darkness overhangs **the earth**' (*AF*, v.1-2). These lines are matched in *Cornelia*: '**Hath hid** them both embowel'd in **the earth**' (*Corn.*, II.i.266). Another matching phrase occurs in the King of France's line, 'For **when we see** a horse laid down **to** die' (*E3*, xiii.50), and *Cornelia*: 'why feare we, **when we see** / The thing we feare lesse then the feare **to** be?' (*Corn.*, II.i.322-323). Kyd employs this trigram to serve similar dramatic purposes: the King of France tells Philippe that he is not afraid of the ominous ravens, while Cornelia provokes 'the heavens' (II.i.326) when she tells Cicero that she is not afraid to die. However, in an aside, the French King acknowledges that divine forces may affect the battle's outcome: '**now I call to mind the** prophecy' (*E3*, xiii.39). Leir, realizing his folly at the conclusion of the play, tells Cordella, '**now I call to mind**, / **The** modest answer, which I tooke unkind' (*KL*, xxxii.2649-2650). The line, '**Dispose** of **him as please** your majesty' (*E3*, xiii.60), parallels Kyd's Kentish tragedy: 'There take him and **dispose him as** ye **please**' (*AF*, iii.185). The King of France considers 'a tree in France **too good**, / **To be** the gallows of an English thief' (*E3*, xiii.63-64). Mosby tells Alice that he is '**Too good to be** thy favourite' (*AF*, viii.105). We find a parallel of thought shared between the King's line and the moment that Joan is sent to execution in *Henry VI Part One*: 'O burn her, burn her! Hanging is too good' (*1H6*, V.vi.33).

The King of France asserts, '**Nor** that same man doth never break his word / That keeps it **to the utmost of** his **power**. / **The breach** of faith dwells in the soul's consent' (*E3*, xiii.85-87). Zweno's speech in *Fair Em* shares these distinctive word clusters:

> And should that peace forever have been kept,
> Had not thyself been author of **the breach**.
> **Nor** stands it with the honor of my state,
> Or nature of a father to his child,
> That I should so be robbed of my daughter,
> And not **unto the utmost of** my **power**
> Revenge so intollerable an injury. (*FE*, xvii.42-48)

We might also note the contiguous word sequence, 'Which of these twain', in the line, '**Which of these twain** is greater infamy' (*E3*, xiii.82). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the Spanish King asks Balthazar, 'To **which of these twain** art thou prisoner?' (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.152).

Scene Fourteen, in which Artois and the Black Prince have a brief exchange during the battle, is only seventeen lines in length, but there are distinct associations of words that suggest common authorship of this scene and Kyd's scenes in *Henry VI Part One*. For example, I have detected a discontinuous four-word sequence shared between the Prince's line, 'And **to it with stones**: away, Artois, away!' (*E3*, xiv.16), and 'Nay, if we be forbidden **stones**, we'll / fall **to it with** our teeth' (*1H6*, III.i.92-93). Artois states that 'were our quivers full of shafts again, / Your grace **should see a** glorious **day of this**' (*E3*, xiv.6-7). In *Henry VI Part One*, Charles believes that 'Had York and Somerset brought rescue in, / We **should** have found **a** bloody **day of this**' (*1H6*, IV.vii.33-34). There is also a unique triple shared between the line, 'What need **we fight and** sweat and keep a coil' (*E3*, xiv.11), and *Cornelia*: 'For Rome **we fight**, **and** those that fled for feare' (*Corn.*, V.i.124). We might note the identical position of this three-word unit in the verse line.

Drawdy notes that in Kyd's drama 'military and political success' is able to 'impart knowledge of the divine will'.[94] Scene Fifteen emphasizes the inevitability of the French

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[94] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 10.

defeat, for 'heaven' is 'opposed' and they must 'lose the day' (*E3*, xv.34-35). The French defeat is 'orchestrated by God' and is 'indicative of His' displeasure.[95] The French King laments that '**Swift**-starting **fear** / Hath buzzed a cold dismay **through all our** army' (xv.2-3). The phrase, 'Swift-starting fear' (xv.2), matches, '**swift**-foote **feareles** Porters' (*Corn.*, III.ii.4), while the unique triple, 'through all our', performs a similar duty in *King Leir*: 'And scoure about **through all our** Regiment' (*KL*, xxii.1885). The King of France exclaims, '**O, that** I **were some other** countryman!' (*E3*, xv.26). This line gives us a unique match with *King Leir*: '**Oh, that** there **were some other** mayd that durst' (*KL*, iii.261). Philippe's line, 'No hope but death, **to bury** up **our** shame' (*E3*, xv.30), matches Cicero line: 'And we have time **to burie our** annoy' (*Corn.*, II.i.119). I should also like to draw attention to the King of France's line, 'The feeble handful on **the adverse part**' (*E3*, xv.33), and a passage in *King Leir*, in which Cornwall similarly laments the loss of battle: 'And joyne against us with **the adverse part**' (*KL*, xxxi.2617).

In the next two scenes, Audley receives a 'mortal scar' (*E3*, xvi.3) and dies on stage. We find the formulaic line-opening, 'But say, what', in the Prince of Wales's line, '**But say, what** grim discouragement comes here?' (*E3*, xvii.18), and Perseda's interrogative: '**But say, what** death dyed my poore Erastus?' (*S&P*, V.iii.27). We might also compare the lines, 'My arms shall be thy grave. What may I do / **To win thy life** or to revenge thy **death**?' (*E3*, xvii.29-30), with Soliman's lines: 'Could ransome thee from fell **deaths** tirannie. / **To win thy life** would Soliman be poore' (*S&P*, I.v.90-91). Prince Edward's image, '**My arms** shall be thy **grave**' (*E3*, xvii.29), matches a line in Act Four Scene Seven of *Henry VI Part One*: 'Now **my** old **arms** are young John Talbot's **grave**' (*1H6*, IV.vii.32). It is fitting that Kyd would repeat the same formula he had used in his dramatization of Talbot's death, for

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[95] Drawdy, 'Providence and The Theatrum Mundi', p. 10.

Audley, as Jonathan Bate notes, is 'a reincarnation of brave Talbot'.[96] Like Talbot, Audley acknowledges that his death 'ends but a mortal man' (*E3*, xvi.5) and, as with Talbot, the dramatist associates his final moments with smiles, in the line, 'I'll smile and tell him that this open scar / Doth end the harvest of his Audley's war' (xvi.9-10). Talbot looks upon the corpse of his son and says, 'Poor boy, he smiles, methinks, as who should say / "Had death been French, then death had died today"' (*1H6*, IV.vii.27-28). Furthermore, like Lucy in *Henry VI Part One*, who vows that Talbot will be avenged by 'A phoenix that shall make all France afeard' (IV.vii.93), the Black Prince shares Seneca and Kyd's emphasis on revenge as he seeks to 'win' Audley's 'life or to revenge thy death' (*E3*, xvii.30). The line, 'And **as thou lov'st me,** Prince' (xvii.55), gives us a double match, for Kyd repeats the verbal formulation, 'as thou lovest me', in *Soliman and Perseda*,

Brusor, **as thou lovest me,** stab in the marshall (*S&P*, V.ii.134)

and *Fair Em*:

and **as thou lovest me**. (*FE*, xi.36)

In the final scene of the play, we find a distinct combination of thought and language in the King's lines, 'Shall find displeasure written **in our looks**. / **And** now, unto this proud, resisting town' (*E3*, xviii.3-4), and Henry's speech in *Henry VI Part One*: 'If they perceive dissension **in our looks**, / **And** that within ourselves we disagree' (*1H6*, IV.i.139-140). Both monarchs express the idea that the enemy will be able to perceive their displeasure or dissent. We also find the unique tetragram, 'I will no longer', shared by the King's command, 'Soldiers assault! **I will no longer** stay / To be deluded by their false delays' (*E3*, xviii.4-5), and Em's speech: '**I will no longer** hide from you' (*FE*, xvi.74-75). The First Supplicant tells the English that '**And we are come** with willingness to bear' (*E3*, xviii.16) punishment or death. This line matches *King Leir*: '**And we are come** in justice of his right' (*KL*, xxx.2561).

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[96] *William Shakespeare & Others*, eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, p. 136.

The unique line-opening, 'For what the', occurs in the lines, '**For what the** sword cuts down' (*E3*, xviii.46), and '**For what the** Father hath deserv'd, we know, / Is spar'd in him, and punisht in the Sonne' (*Corn.*, I.i.168-169). Salisbury reports that King Edward intends 'To quittance those displeasures he hath done' (*E3*, xviii.24). As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the non-Shakespearean verb form 'quittance' can be found in *Henry VI Part One*, in the line, 'quittance their deceit' (*1H6*, II.i.14), and in *Arden of Faversham*: 'Now must I quittance with betraying thee' (*AF*, iii.198).

The line, '**To contradict our** royal Queen's desire' (*E3*, xviii.71), uniquely parallels *Cornelia*: 'Who dares **to contradict our** Emporia' (*Corn.*, IV.i.121). The three-word unit, 'my desert, and', in Copland's line, 'But **my desert, and** public law at arms' (*E3*, xviii.73), co-occurs with 'A man of **my desert and** excellence' (*S&P*, IV.ii.10). The triple, 'your gracious self', in the line, 'Had but **your gracious self** been there in place' (*E3*, xviii.83), occurs twice in this play, in Kyd's scenes,[97] and gives us a unique match with *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'Yes, to **your gratious selfe** must I complaine' (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.93). Here we find Kyd drawing on his store of 'polite formulae, courteous phrases expressing deference and respect'.[98] We might also compare Salisbury's report, 'Wand'ring **at last we** climbed unto a hill' (*E3*, xviii.128), with Alice Arden's line, 'Mosby, **at last we** grew' (*AF*, i.564).

We find strong evidence for Kyd's authorship in Salisbury's description of the English victory in Brittany:

The **battles join, and** when we could no more. (*E3*, xviii.151)

This line matches the General's battle report in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

Both **battailes joyne and** fall to handle blowes. (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.47)

Salisbury mistakenly reports that he has witnessed 'Edward's fall' (*E3*, xviii.157). His forty-seven line speech concerning the fate of the Black Prince is characteristic of Seneca's

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[97] '**Your gracious self**, the flower of Europe's hope' (*E3*, i.15).
[98] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 117.

revenge tragedies, in which the action is often 'retrospectively related'.[99] Vickers notes that 'Salisbury metamorphoses into the Senecan messenger, deeply conscious of the effect his news will have', in the line, 'I must sing of doleful accidents' (xviii.107).[100] King Edward is deeply upset by this news. He exclaims, 'He bids me to provide his **funeral**! / **And so** I will, but **all** the peers in France / Shall **mourners** be' (*E3*, xviii.167-169). These lines match Mortimer's dying words in *Henry VI Part One*: '**Mourn** not, except thou sorrow for my good. / Only give order for my **funeral**. / **And so** farewell, and fair be **all** thy hopes' (*1H6*, II.v.111-113). There is a unique triple shared between the lines, 'Until their empty veins be dry **and sere**. / **The** pillars of his hearse shall be their bones' (*E3*, xviii.170-171), and *King Leir*: 'Withered **and sere the** branch must needes remaine' (*KL*, xvi.1243). We find evidence of Kyd's repertoire of phrases concerning intense sorrow, in King Edward's line, 'Away with mourning, Philip! **Wipe thine eyes**' (*E3*, xviii.186), and Hieronimo's line, 'Heere, take my handkercher, and **wipe thine eies**' (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.83). Both examples concern a father's grief for the loss of his son. The tetragram, 'I render to your', is unique to the Prince's line, 'And herewithal **I render to your** hands' (*E3*, xviii.198), and *Fair Em*: 'Most humble thanks **I render to your** grace' (*FE*, xv.29). King Edward ponders, 'How many civil towns had stood untouched / That now **are turned to** ragged heaps of stones' (*E3*, xviii.204-205), while Cornelia mourns, 'Tyme past with me that am to teares converted; / Whose mournful passions dull the mornings joyes, / Whose sweeter sleepes **are turnd to** feareful dreames' (*Corn.*, III.i.14-16). There is a rare line-opening shared between the line, '**To see what** entertainment it affords' (*E3*, xviii.212), and *King Leir*: '**To see what** industry and paynes they tooke' (*KL*, xxiv.2100). The triple is followed by an abstract noun in both examples and thus suggests an individual author's grammatical patterning. The King of France states, '**Of this I** was **foretold**, / But **did** misconstrue what **the** prophet told' (*E3*, xviii.215-216). Leir

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[99] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 80.
[100] Vickers, '*Edward III*', p. 109.

wakes from his prophetic dream: 'And with **the** feare **of this I did** awake' (*KL*, xix.1500).

Perillus reminds the eponymous character: 'Remember well the dream you had of late, / And

thinke what comfort it **foretels** to us' (xix.1784-1785). I should also like to highlight the

unique triple in the Prince of Wales's speech,

> So **that hereafter ages**, when they read
> The painful traffic of my tender youth
> Might thereby be inflamed (*E3*, xviii.230-232)

and a passage in *Henry VI Part One*: 'And **that hereafter ages** may behold / What ruin

happened in revenge of him' (*1H6*, II.ii.10-11). Both English warriors (the Prince of Wales

and Talbot) associate the concepts of posterity and revenge in these passages. As I pointed

out in the previous chapter, we find the same thought process in *King Leir* when Cambria

seeks to 'make' Cordella 'an example to the world, / For **after-ages** to admire her penance'

(*KL*, xxii.1984-1985), so that he can 'prosecute revenge' (xxii.1988). The line, '**traffic of my**

tender youth' (*E3*, xviii.231), shares a unique four-word sequence with 'fortunes **of my**

tender youth' (*Sp. T.*, I.i.7), and also parallels: 'in **traffic of** a King' (*1H6*, V.v.120). My

examination of verbal matches with plays in the 'extended' Kyd canon, considered in

context, have led me to concur with Vickers that these scenes can be assigned to Kyd with a

high degree of probability. My evidence suggests that Shakespeare's contributions to *Edward*

III do not extend beyond the Countess episode and Scene Twelve, for the verbal fabric of the

remaining scenes is infused with Kyd's phrasing throughout.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the linguistic evidence for Shakespeare's authorship of the

entire Countess episode and Scene Twelve is overwhelming, and that these scenes almost

certainly belonged to the original play. As such, *Edward III* can now be acknowledged as one

of Shakespeare's earliest collaborative plays, which shows that Shakespeare was appreciative

of Kyd's dramatic capabilities. The chapter has expanded arguments for Kyd's part

authorship of *Edward III* through detailing the numerous parallels of language and thought

that permeate the non-Shakespeare scenes. One hopes that the evidence presented here will

lead to a definite attribution of parts of this play to Kyd.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis has been to add to the critical and scholarly discussion that seeks

to establish Thomas Kyd's dramatic corpus, and to indicate where and how Kyd contributed

to the development of Shakespeare's drama, both through influence and collaboration. A

further, complementary aim has been to demonstrate various ways in which it is possible to

combine statistical analysis with reading the plays as historical documents. As far as possible

I have not sought to take a negative stance towards previous discussions or to treat the plays

as mere sources of data. I have also tried to exercise caution and avoid overstating. This is not

always the case in attribution studies. For example, as we have seen in Chapter Three, Arthur

F. Kinney's confident assertion that '*Arden of Faversham* is a collaboration' and that

'Shakespeare was one of the authors; and his part is concentrated in the middle portion of the

play', does not stand up to analysis.[1] Again, Gabriel Egan and Brett D. Hirsch have recently

examined Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, using 'John Burrows' Zeta test', in

search of 'evidence for stratification as an alternative to the currently dominant theory that

the play's irregularities and unevenness are due to the dramatist's immaturity', but without

sifting Burrows' methodology rigorously.[2] Hugh Craig has also attempted to take much of

Henry VI Part Two away from Shakespeare,[3] but with little or no objectively verifiable

evidence. In my view, there can be no doubt that close reading of *The Two Gentlemen of

Verona* and *Henry VI Part Two*, along with analyses of prosody, verse style, rhetoric, verbal

parallels, Shakespeare's use of sources, and so forth, would show that Shakespeare is the sole

author of these plays. Also, I am more than hopeful that further work on Kyd's canon, such as

an examination of the dramatist's use of rhetorical devices, split verse lines, and other aspects

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[1] Kinney, 'Authoring', p. 99.
[2] Gabriel Egan and Brett D. Hirsch, 'The Date and Authorship of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*' http://gabrielegan.com/publications/Egan+Hirsch2014i.htm [accessed 15 January 2016].
[3] See Craig, 'The Three Parts of *Henry VI*', pp. 40-77.

of his linguistic habits, will confirm Brian Vickers's argument that Kyd was responsible for the plays discussed in the preceding chapters.

Gabriel Egan – who has aligned himself with MacDonald P. Jackson, Craig, and Kinney – has, however, dismissed Vickers's attributions. Responding to the latter's proposal for a new Kyd canon,[4] Egan has asserted that Vickers 'continues his reattribution of plays that Shakespeare had a hand in'.[5] Egan shows little awareness of the fact that Vickers, following the standard procedure in attribution studies, has checked his Kyd matches using what Jackson refers to as 'an appropriate time frame'.[6] Egan himself cites parallels with *Arden of Faversham* that occur in texts (including non-dramatic works, which are so generically different from early modern plays as to constitute inadmissible counter-evidence) dated as late as 1625 (decades after the play's publication in 1592 and Kyd's death in 1594) in order to show that the Kyd matches highlighted by Vickers are not unique. Egan does not, however, critique such matters as Jackson's criteria for checking the rarity of verbal matches (as we have seen, Jackson lists parallels that occur no more than five times in drama of the period 1580-1600), and he has failed to acknowledge the considerable flaws in Jackson's monograph, such as, to instance just one example, his reliance on *LION*.

In the chapters above I have tried to argue that Vickers's attributions can be of great use for early modern literary studies. Acceptance of an 'expanded' Kyd canon will broaden our understanding of his contribution to the development of Shakespeare's dramatic art, and the influence of his work on early modern drama. By way of example, I look below briefly at *Edward III*, and at the possible ways in which Shakespeare's collaboration with Kyd influenced *Henry V*. I then touch upon Shakespeare's adaptation of *King Leir*, as well as the relationships between Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, the lost *Hamlet* play, and Shakespeare's

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[4] See Vickers, 'Secret Sharer', pp. 13-15.
[5] Gabriel Egan, 'Year's Work in English Studies 2008: Shakespeare: Editions and Textual Studies' http://gabrielegan.com/publications/Egan2010a.htm [accessed 15 December 2014].
[6] Jackson, *Determining*, p. 16.

Hamlet (1600).

The similarities between *Edward III* and *Henry V* are so apparent that, according to Kent T. van den Berg, the 1599 Quarto of *Edward III* 'may have been deliberately issued to coincide' with 'performances of *Henry V*'.[7] Shakespeare evidently recalled Kyd's opening scene of *Edward III* when he composed *Henry V*. The correspondences between this scene and Act One Scene Two of *Henry V* are striking. King Edward ponders his right to the French throne in the lines, 'And now go forward with our pedigree: / Who next succeeded King Philippe of Beau' (*E3*, i.5-6), while King Henry states that 'We would be resolved, / Before we hear him, of some things of weight / That task our thoughts, concerning us and France' (*Henry V*, I.ii.4-6). The Count of Artois explains that Edward is entitled to the French throne, for Edward's mother is the sister of King Philippe of Beau's deceased sons, who 'Did sit upon their father's regal throne, / Yet died and left no issue of their loins' (*E3*, i.8-9), while Canterbury tells King Henry that 'There is no bar / To make against your highness' claim to France' (*Henry V*, I.ii.35-36) with the exception of the *Lex Salica*, a law of agnatic succession preventing females from inheriting the throne. Canterbury refers to the events of *Edward III* in the lines, 'Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb, / From whom you claim; invoke his warlike spirit, / And your great uncle's, Edward the Black Prince, / Who on the French ground played a tragedy' (I.ii.103-106). Van den Berg points out that 'Throughout *Henry V*, Englishmen and Frenchmen alike refer to Henry's expedition as a re-enactment of Edward's'.[8] Additionally, the English in both scenes are conscious that if they invade France they must also 'defend / Against the Scot, who will make raid upon us' (I.ii.137-138). Edward acknowledges that 'We shall have wars / On every side' (*E3*, i.156-157); Harry reminds the audience that 'my great-grandfather / Never unmasked his power unto France / But that the Scot on his untarnished kingdom / Came pouring' (*Henry V*, I.ii.146-149).

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[7] Kent T. van den Berg, *Playhouse and Cosmos: Shakespearean Theater as Metaphor* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1985), p. 104.

[8] Berg, *Playhouse and Cosmos*, p. 107.

Inevitably, the English in both plays 'repulse the traitorous Scot' (*E3*, i.155) and defeat the French, for Shakespeare, like Kyd, suggests that 'heaven' is 'opposed' to England's enemies and that they will thus 'lose the day' (xv.34-35).

However, Elizabethan audiences watching *Henry V* for the first time would no doubt be aware that Henry's son would lose, as Kyd puts it, 'The conquest of our scarce-cold conqueror' (*1H6*, IV.iii.50). The Chorus in *Henry V*, like the choric figures of Exeter and Lucy in *Henry VI Part One*, foreshadows England's downfall and reminds the audience that 'oft our stage hath shown' (*Henry V*, Epilogue.13) the disasters of Henry VI's reign. *Henry V* thus recalls and anticipates the events of *Edward III* and *Henry VI Part One*. Edward Burns notes that 'in *Henry V* Shakespeare returns to the material of the two earlier plays, *1 Henry VI* and *Edward III*', and that 'he constructs the new play in revisionary reference to them'.[9] He elaborates that 'Burgundy's peace-making speech' in *Henry V* parallels 'those with which Joan Puzel wins him over in *1 Henry VI*', while 'Henry's wooing of Katherine is similarly placed structurally to Suffolk's of Margaret'.[10] Both marriages form part of a peace treaty between England and France, and both females are characterized as chaste maidens. Katherine alerts Henry to the fact that 'It is not a fashion for the maids in France / to kiss before they are married' (V.ii.264-265). After Suffolk kisses Margaret, she tells him that 'I will not so presume / To send such peevish tokens to a king' (*1H6*, V.v.141-142). Additionally, Giorgio Melchiori points out that *Edward III* and *Henry V* contain 'acts of magnanimity and reunion at the conclusion of both' plays, and that 'Edward, finally reunited with Queen Philippa, pardons at her request the burghers of Calais', while 'Henry atones for the ruin caused to France by marrying Princess Katherine'.[11] The dramaturgical links between these texts become stronger, of course, if we accept that Kyd played a major part in the compositions of *Henry VI Part One* and *Edward III*.

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[9] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, p. 85.
[10] *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, p. 85.
[11] *Edward III*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori, p. 40.

The relationship of *Edward III* and *Henry V* is one of influence growing out of what I see as earlier collaboration. A more intriguing case is that of the relationship between Kyd's (as I contend with Vickers) *King Leir* and Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1605). Martin Wiggins considers 'The end of 1605' to be 'the best guess' for the first performance of *King Lear*.[12] In 1933, Joseph Quincy Adams argued that the publication of the 1605 Quarto of Kyd's play was a deliberate attempt to take advantage of Shakespeare's tragedy. He noted that

> the title under which the old play was entered in the Stationers' Register, in 1605, was *The Tragicall historie of Kinge Leir*, whereas the play was really a comedy with a very happy ending, and no writer handling the Lear story had ever given it a tragic conclusion until Shakespeare put on the boards his entirely altered version.[13]

The entry of Shakespeare's tragedy in the Stationers' Register on 26 November 1607 appears to make an especial effort to avoid confusion with the old play: 'Master William Shakespeare his historye of *Kinge Lear* as yt was played before the kinges majestie at Whitehall'.[14] W. W. Greg asserted in 1940 that 'I do not think there can be any doubt that the prominence given to the author's name on the title-page' was 'due to a desire to distinguish the piece as clearly as possible from its predecessor'.[15]

I consider it unlikely that Shakespeare had access to a copy of the old play when he came to write his version. Greg suggested that 'the manuscript which Stafford acquired and printed in 1605' had 'presumably remained for the eleven intervening years in the hands of stationers'.[16] Nevertheless, Shakespeare recalls a sufficient number of the play's details to suggest that he either saw or acted in it. Martin Mueller argues that 'Whatever opportunities and pressures led' Shakespeare to pick 'his next play, the range of choices was governed by the reader's habits and by a repertoire of stories acquired early and settled in a deeply woven

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[12] Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue: Volume V: 1603-1608* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), V.253.

[13] Joseph Quincy Adams, 'The Quarto of *King Lear* and Shorthand', *Modern Philology*, 31.2 (1933), 135-163 (p. 136).

[14] *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London: Routledge, 1973), IV.269.

[15] W. W. Greg, 'The Date of *King Lear* and Shakespeare's Use of Earlier Versions of the Story', *The Library*, 20 (1940), 377-400 (p. 381).

[16] Greg, 'The Date of *King Lear*', p. 385.

web of memories and associations'.[17] As I showed in Chapter One, *King Leir* almost certainly

influenced Shakespeare's dramatic development, for Shakespeare was echoing the old play

for at least a decade. We might therefore be surprised to discover that *King Leir* and

Shakespeare's *King Lear* do not make Mueller's list of plays with large numbers of unique

tetragram matches.[18] However, as Greg put it, 'it would seem that as' Shakespeare 'wrote,

ideas, phrases, cadences from the old play still floated in his memory below the level of

conscious thought'.[19] For example, the Messenger in Kyd's play tells the audience that

> **my** sweet Queene will'd me for to **shew**
> **This letter to them, ere I** did the deed (*KL*, xix.1471-1472)

while Kent, also serving as an envoy, tells the King:

>   **My** Lord, when at their home
> I did commend your highness' **letters to them,**
> **Ere I** was risen from the place that **showed**
> My duty kneeling, came there a reeking post.[20] (*Lr.*, II.ii.203-206)

Here we see a somewhat tenuous contextual correlation triggering the same combination of

words. In Kyd's play, Perillus tells the King, 'I had ynough, my Lord, and having that, /

What should you need to give me any **more?**' (*KL*, x.890-891), while Regan spites

Shakespeare's Lear: 'I dare avouch it, sir. What, fifty followers? / Is it not well? **What**

should you need of **more?**' (*Lr.*, II.ii.410-411). The character relationships in these

examples are markedly different, for Perillus loves Leir and is content with his station in life,

while Regan is a schemer who denies Lear his (now) fifty followers. Such verbal echoes are

perhaps, as Meredith Skura puts it, 'accidental, like a tune that you hear and find yourself

helplessly singing over and over'.[21] Other passages from *King Leir* seem to have persisted in

Shakespeare's long-term memory, for he repeats the sentiment of Leir's line, 'And think me

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[17] Mueller, 'From *Leir* to *Lear*', p. 213.
[18] https://scalablereading.northwestern.edu/?p=312
[19] Greg, 'The Date of *King Lear*', p. 397.
[20] I have taken these matches from Marcus Dahl's unpublished document, '*Lear* vs *Leir* parallels'. I wish to thank Dahl for giving me permission to reproduce his findings.
[21] Meredith Skura, 'What Shakespeare Did with the Queen's Men's *King Leir* and When', *Shakespeare Survey*, 63 (2010), 316-325 (p. 316).

but the shaddow of my selfe' (*KL*, xiv.1111), in the exchange between Lear and the Fool in

Act One Scene Four. Lear asks, 'Who is it that can tell me who I am?' (*Lr.*, I.iv.212), to

which the Fool responds: 'Lear's shadow' (I.iv.213).[22] Shakespeare's verbal indebtedness to

the old play in *King Lear* is hardly as prevalent as in his early works, such as *Henry VI Part*

Three and *Richard III* (as we have seen in Chapter One). Nonetheless, it is testament to Kyd's

pervasive influence that Shakespeare adapted his dramatic predecessor's play.

Perhaps the most impressive scene of Shakespeare's tragedy, Lear's railing against

the thunderstorm, was inspired by the storm in Scene Nineteen of *King Leir*, which causes the

Messenger to spare the lives of Leir and Perillus. Leir attributes the storm to 'The King of

heaven' (*KL*, xix.1745), while Shakespeare's Lear attributes the 'dreadful pother o'er our

heads' to 'the great gods' (*Lr.*, III.ii.49-50). It could be argued that both Leir and Lear are at

the mercy of interventionist deities, but Shakespeare alters the ending of Kyd's play, in which

divine justice is accomplished, and shows us that in his own tragic universe, 'As flies to

wanton boys, are we to the gods. / They kill us for their sport' (IV.i.38-39). The heavens

listen to Leir's prayers, but ultimately reject those by Shakespeare's Lear. We can thus see

that the influence of the old *King Leir* play on Shakespeare does not amount to slavish

imitation, but that Shakespeare selected elements of Kyd's dramaturgy and language, while

utterly transforming and excelling his predecessor's work.

A further, and more complex, example of the challenges involved in Shakespeare's

relationship with Kyd is that of the additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In 1602, Thomas

Pavier published a Quarto edition of Kyd's play, which was 'Newly corrected, amended, and

enlarged with new additions of the Painters part, and others'.[23] These additions amounted to

320 lines in total. Henslowe's diary records payments to Ben Jonson in 1601 and 1602 for

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[22] I should like to thank Tiffany Stern for sending me a PowerPoint presentation comparing these passages.
[23] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 119

'new adicyons for Jeronymo'.[24] However, as Lukas Erne puts it, 'there are reasons to believe that the extant additions are not those referred to by Henslowe'.[25] John Marston satirized the 1602 Fourth Quarto additions (particularly the painter scene) in his *Antonio and Mellida* (1599) and *Antonio's Revenge* (1600), which suggests that they were well known long before Henslowe's payments to Jonson. Jonson himself 'hinted at a revision of the play in *Cynthia's Revels* (1600, publ. 1601) before he came to write his own additions'.[26] Jonson criticizes those who believe 'the old Hieronimo, as it was first acted, was the only best, and judiciously penned play of Europe'.[27] Moreover, internal evidence does not support an ascription to Jonson. Percy Simpson pointed out in 1925 that 'Both the psychology and the poetry' within the five added passages 'are of a wholly different order' to Jonson's work.[28] Internal and external evidence therefore rules Jonson out as the author of the extant additions.

In 1833, Coleridge noted that 'The parts pointed out in Hieronymo as Ben Jonson's bear no traces of his style; but they are very like Shakespeare'.[29] In 1954, Stanley Warren Stevenson also ascribed the additions to Shakespeare on the basis of vocabulary and verbal parallelisms.[30] Vickers, writing in 2012, provided substantial evidence for Shakespeare's authorship: he expanded previously noted matches to produce a list of over a hundred verbal links between Shakespeare and the Fourth Quarto additions. Vickers pointed out that 'Several pieces of evidence survive suggesting that Shakespeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men (after 1603, the King's Men) may also have performed' *The Spanish Tragedy*.[31] He added that it is not unlikely 'Shakespeare's company performed the revised version of *The Spanish*

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[24] See Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, p. 182, p. 203.

[25] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 120.

[26] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 121.

[27] Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, Induction.191-192, in *The Complete Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Gerald Alfred Wilkes, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), IV.6.

[28] Percy Simpson, 'The Additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*', in *Ben Jonson*, eds. Charles Harold Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), II.237-245 (p. 242).

[29] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Carl Woodring, 14 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), XIV.355.

[30] See Stanley Warren Stevenson, 'Shakespeare's Hand in *The Spanish Tragedy* 1602' (Doctoral thesis: McGill University, 1954).

[31] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 16.

Tragedy at the Globe; if so, their premier dramatist may have been the author of the Additions'.[32]

Shakespeare, having previously adapted Kyd's (and Nashe's) 'Harey the vj', and having collaborated directly with the older dramatist on *Edward III*, would have been equipped to enlarge Kyd's most famous play. If he did so, the 1602 additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* give us a fascinating insight into the nature of Shakespearean revision. The additions themselves are not unlike the scenes Shakespeare added to 'Harey the vj' (particularly Act Four Scene Five), for some of them 'were in all probability designed as replacements rather than additions'.[33] For example, Levin Ludwig Schücking argued in 1938 that the painter scene, in which a painter named Bazardo seeks justice for the murder of his son, was intended as a replacement for the 'Senex' scene (similarly, in Kyd's scene, an old man named Don Bazulto, who is also styled 'Senex', seeks justice for his murdered son).[34] Erne suggests that 'The third addition', a monologue in which Hieronimo meditates on paternal love, 'probably substituted another passage of the original',[35] while 'The fifth addition has the merit of replacing Hieronimo's nonsensical "vow of silence"'.[36] Erne also notes that Kyd's 'dramatization of Hieronimo's grief and madness must have been decidedly out of date',[37] and that 'Kyd's long, highly rhetorical and declamatory sentences' are 'replaced by a more immediate and economic language' closer to 'regular speech'.[38]

However, I propose that Shakespeare was mindful of his predecessor's dramatic language when he composed these additions. My tests suggest that Shakespeare's working memory retained some verbal details from the original text, while he also seems to have repeated details from Kyd's *King Leir* and *Arden of Faversham*, according to dramatic

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[32] Vickers, 'Shakespeare's Additions', p. 17.
[33] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 123.
[34] See Levin Ludwig Schücking, *Zur Verfasserschaft der Spanish Tragedy* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1938), pp. 7-21.
[35] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 123.
[36] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 125.
[37] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 124.
[38] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 125.

context. In the first addition, Hieronimo asks his wife, 'Can thy soft bosome intertaine a thought. / **That such a** blacke **deede** of mischiefe should be done / On one so pure and spotles as our sonne?' (*Sp. T.*, Addition One.78-80), which echoes a line from Kyd's original text: '**That such a** monstrous and detested **deed**' (III.vii.46). In the same addition, Hieronimo refuses to believe that his son has been murdered. He states that Horatio 'had no custom to stay **out so late**: / He may be in his chamber' (*Sp. T.*, Addition One.50-51). In Kyd's Kentish tragedy, Alice attempts to cover up her husband's murder by feigning anxiety: 'I do not like this being **out so late**' (*AF*, xiv.280). In the second addition to *The Spanish Tragedy*, we find the unique pentagram, 'it is a thing of', in Hieronimo's ironic declarative, '**it is a thing of** nothing: / The murder of a son' (*Sp. T.*, Addition Two.72-73). In *King Leir*, Ragan orders her father's murder, in the line, '**It is a thing of** right strange consequence' (*KL*, xvii.1309). Such sequences indicate that Shakespeare not only engaged with Kyd's plot and characterization when he added passages to *The Spanish Tragedy*, but with the verbal fabric of the older dramatist's corpus as a whole.

On a slightly different note, Roslyn Lander Knutson writes about these additions in relation to Shakespeare's 'duplication' of Kyd's old *Hamlet* play:

> the decision to offer a new play had to do with the way in which the revenge tragedy as genre had developed since the old *Hamlet* had been written. The texts of *The Spanish tragedy*, before and after revision, show some of these developments. The character of Hieronimo in the text printed in 1602 has four additional mad scenes. He has acquired a sardonic humour. He has become a more bloodthirsty and thus a more villainous revenger, in the Marlovian sense of triumphing in the violence of his revenge. Recognizing these new directions in the genre, the Chamberlain's men had two courses of action: either to update the old *Hamlet* with revisions or to acquire a duplicate play.[39]

Henry Thew Stephenson argued in 1906 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

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[39] Knutson, *Repertory*, p. 94.

points'.[40] It may well also be that Shakespeare's memory of *The Spanish Tragedy* was

refreshed as a result of his revisions of the play, and that one of the reasons why *Hamlet*

echoes *The Spanish Tragedy* is because Shakespeare was deeply familiar with Kyd's drama,

including the old *Hamlet*.

In 1942, Valdemar Østerberg argued convincingly that Kyd was the subject of

Nashe's attack (and therefore the author of the old *Hamlet* play) in his preface to Greene's

Menaphon (as discussed in Chapter One).[41] Erne endorses Østerberg's argument:

> the possible allusions to Kyd's father being a scrivener, Kyd's debt 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
> Elysium into hell" in *The Spanish Tragedy*, I.i.72-5, make it more than likely that
> Nashe's target is indeed Kyd.[42]

Erne elaborates that 'Italian translations were a rare phenomenon in the years up to 1589 and

Nashe could expect that his literary readership would easily identify an allusion to Kyd's *The*

Householder's Philosophy'.[43] According to Henslowe's diary, *Hamlet* was performed at

Newington Butts on 9 June 1594, by the Admiral's and/or Chamberlain's Men,[44] although W.

W. Greg suggested that the play originally belonged to Pembroke's Men.[45] Two years after

the record of its performance, Thomas Lodge alluded to the old play in his *Wit's Misery*

(1596): 'looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost which cried so miserably at the Theator like

an Oyster wife, Hamlet, revenge'.[46] Kenneth Muir claims that 'The revelation of the Ghost,

the feigned madness, the play-scene', and 'the closet-scene' could all be 'found in the old

play'.[47] However, as Janet Clare points out, the fact is that we know almost nothing of the old

play's 'style, technique, content or to what degree it underwent a transformation in

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[40] Henry Thew Stephenson, '*The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*', *The Sewanee Review*, 14.3 (1906), 294-298 (p. 294).

[41] See Valdemar Østerberg, 'Nashe's "Kid in Aesop": A Danish Interpretation', *Review of English Studies*, 18 (1942), 385-394.

[42] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 147.

[43] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 149.

[44] See Henslowe, *Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, p. 21.

[45] W. W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary Part II. Commentary*, 2 vols (London: A. H. Bullen, 1908), II.105.

[46] Thomas Lodge, *Wit's Misery* (London: A. Islip, 1596), p. 56.

[47] Kenneth Muir, *Shakespeare's Sources* (London: Methuen, 1957), p. 114.

Shakespeare's hands', although we can be confident that 'it was affective and popular before it was superseded by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*'.[48] I suspect that Kyd's *Hamlet* was very different from Shakespeare's version, but that Shakespeare adopted sentiments, structural elements, and some vaguely remembered phrases from the old play. As Alfred Hart put it in 1942, 'If he preserved as little of this play as he did of his acknowledged source-plays', such as *King Leir*, 'not many more than ten or twenty lines' of the old *Hamlet* play 'would survive' in Shakespeare's version.[49] Nonetheless, the fact that 'the play to which the arguably most famous piece of English literature is heavily indebted' was likely written by Kyd, says much for his influence on Shakespeare's drama.[50]

In Tom Stoppard's 1993 play, *Arcadia*, the character of Thomasina discusses the famous burning of the Ancient Library of Alexandria, which led to the devastating loss of knowledge and literature. She says to her tutor, Septimus:

> Oh, Septimus! – can you bear it? All the lost plays of the Athenians! Two hundred at least by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides – thousands of poems – Aristotle's own library brought to Egypt […] How can we sleep for grief?[51]

Scholars wishing to compare Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to Kyd's lost tragedy are apt to share Thomasina's sentiment. However, it is worth bearing Septimus's response in mind:

> By counting our stock. Seven plays from Aeschylus, seven from Sophocles, nineteen from Euripides, my lady! You should no more grieve for the rest than for a buckle lost from your first shoe, or for your lesson book which will be lost when you are old. We shed as we pick up, like travellers who must carry everything in their arms, and what we let fall will be picked up by those behind.[52]

This thesis has argued for a recount of Kyd's stock. Rather than three plays, it has shown, on the basis of substantial internal evidence, that there is a case for assigning eight extant plays to Kyd. It is unlikely that we will ever retrieve Kyd's *Hamlet*, but having restored his canon, we can now reconsider Kyd's position in early modern drama and trace additional elements

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[48] Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, p. 168.
[49] Hart, *Surreptitious Copies*, p. 64.
[50] Erne, *Beyond*, p. 150.
[51] Tom Stoppard, *Arcadia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), p. 50.
[52] Stoppard, *Arcadia*, p. 50.

of Kyd's language and overall dramaturgy in Shakespeare's plays. Indeed, it seems possible that Shakespeare's dramatic output, including two of the four major tragedies, was, in part at least, dependent on processes of adaptation and collaboration with Kyd, and owed much to the scrivener's son.

Appendix

Rare Tetragrams Shared between Sole Authored Kyd Plays

The Spanish Tragedy and *Cornelia*

And with their blood, my icy and best beloved (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.37)
And with their blood made marsh the parched plaines (*Corn.*, I.i.40)

There laid him downe, **and** dewd him **with my teares**,
And sighed and sorrowed as became a freend (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.36-37)
Already tyerd **and** loaden **with my teares**.
And loe (me thought) came glyding by my bed (*Corn.*, III.i.74-75)

But for thy kindnes **in his life and** death (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.50)
Both **in his life and** at hys latest houre (*Corn.*, III.iii.4)

Amongst the rest of what you have in charge (*Sp. T.*, II.iii.32)
Amongst the rest of mine extreame mishaps (*Corn.*, III.iii.82)

For dye they shall, slaves are ordeind **to no other end** (*Sp. T.*, III.ii.119)
And liveth **to no other end** (*Corn.*, IV.i.188)

What, he that points **to it with his** finger? (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.66)
Did homage **to it with his** deerest blood (*Corn.*, III.iii.10)

Shew me **one drop of bloud** fall from the same (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.129)
If yet our harts retaine **one drop of blood** (*Corn.*, III.ii.65)
But know, while Cassius hath **one drop of blood** (IV.i.147)

Composite word count: 37888
Total number of matches: 7
Percentage of matches: 0.02

The Spanish Tragedy and *Soliman and Perseda*

And, by warres fortune, lost **both love and life** (*Sp. T.*, I.i.40)
Therefore to thee I owe **both love and life** (*S&P*, II.i.111)

Yes, Fortune may **bereave me of my** Crowne (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.18)
Thou didst **bereave me of my** dearest love (*S&P*, II.i.255)

And with their blood, **my** icy **and best beloved**,
My best beloved, my **sweete and** onely Sonne (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.37-38)
My sweete **and best beloved**.
My sweete and best beloved (*S&P*, IV.i.156-157)

Speak on. **Ile** guerdon **thee what ere it be** (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.55)
Graunt (me) one boone that **I shall** crave of **thee**.
What ere it be, Perseda, I graunt it thee (*S&P*, IV.i.140-141)

Who, living, was my garlands sweetest flower (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.4)
Who, living, was my joy, whose death my woe (*S&P*, V.iv.132)

Meanewhile let us devise **to spend the time** (*Sp. T.*, I.v.108)
And not **to spend the time in** trifling words (II.i.44)
But, while I stand and weepe, **and spend the time**
In fruitlesse plaints, the murtherer will escape (*S&P*, II.i.307-308)

O, save his life, and let me dye for him (*Sp. T.*, II.iv.56)
O save his life, if it be possible (*S&P*, V.ii.100)

Heere, Isabella, **helpe me to lament** (*Sp. T.*, II.v.36)
Come, janisaries, and **helpe me to lament** (*S&P*, I.v.112)

Sweet lovely **Rose, ill pluckt before thy time** (*Sp. T.*, II.v.47)
Faire springing **Rose, ill pluckt before thy time** (*S&P*, V.iv.81)

Not that I feare the extremitie of death (*Sp. T.*, III.i.40)
Not that I feare, but that I scorne to fight (*S&P*, II.ii.92)

Thy peace **is made, and we** are satisfied (*Sp. T.*, III.i.71)
Why then the mends **is made, and we** still friends (*S&P*, II.i.46)

The ugly feends do sally forth of **hell** (*Sp. T.*, III.ii.16)
For whome **hell** gapes, and all **the ugly feendes**
Do waite for to receive thee in their jawes (*S&P*, V.iv.38-39)

I know his humour, **and** therewith **repent**
That ere I usde him in this enterprise (*Sp. T.*, III.ii.76-77)
I, **and** so mooves me, that **I** now **repent**
That ere I gave away my hearts desire (*S&P*, IV.i.208-209)

What ere he be, ile answere **him** and you (*Sp. T.*, III.iii.48)
What ere he be, even for **his** vertues sake (*S&P*, III.i.31)

That I may come (**by justice of the heavens**) (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.6)
By favour and **by justice of the heavens** (*S&P*, II.i.59)

I, **mary, sir, this is a** good motion (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.86)
Marie, sir, this is a faire warning for me (*S&P*, V.ii.99)

And **thou, and I, and** she will sing a song (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.171)
Yes**, thou, and I, and** all of us betray him (*S&P*, V.ii.23)

And **let me live a** solitarie life (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.32)
Then **let me live a** Christian Virgin still (*S&P*, IV.i.142)

Sith heaven hath ordainde **thee to be mine** (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.97)
I, that was before he knew **thee to be mine** (*S&P*, V.i.9)

Great **Soliman, the Turkish Emperour** (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.135)
Of Soliman, the Turkish Emperour (IV.iv.2)
Of Solyman, the Turkish Emperour (*S&P*, III.vi.3)
Of Soliman, the Turkish Emperour (IV.iii.3)

Erasto, **dearer than my life** to me (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.31)
Farewell, my country, **dearer then my life** (*S&P*, II.i.281)

Let not Erasto **live to grieve great Soliman** (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.45)
Why **lives** he then **to greeve great Soliman** (*S&P*, IV.i.235)

Composite word count: 41027
Total number of matches: 22
Percentage of matches: 0.05

Cornelia and *Soliman and Perseda*

And almost yoked **all the world beside** (*Corn.*, I.i.117)
Dearer to me than **all the world besides** (*S&P*, II.i.284)

Caesar doth tryumph over **all the world**,
And all they scarcely conquered a nooke (*Corn.*, IV.ii.42-43)
By wasting all I conquer **all the world**.
And now, to end our difference at last (*S&P*, V.v.14-15)

And **with a cheerefull looke** surveigh'd the Campe (*Corn.*, V.i.107)
Then, sweeting, blesse me **with a cheerefull looke** (*S&P*, IV.i.93)

And (**when my soule** Earths pryson **shall** forgoe) (*Corn.*, V.i.464)
And when my soule from body **shall** depart (*S&P*, V.iv.137)

Composite word count: 34461
Total number of matches: 4
Percentage of matches: 0.01

King Leir and The Spanish Tragedy

But none of them her partiall fancy heares (*KL*, i.64)
Ah, **but none of them** will purge the heart (*Sp. T.*, III.viii.3)

And yet, **me thinks**, my mind mind presageth still (*KL*, iii.216)
and yet
me thinks the strength (xix.1719-1720)
And yet me thinks you are too quick with us (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.76)
He shrikes: I heard, **and yet me thinks** I heare (IV.iv.108)

I **would your Grace** would **favour me so much,**
As make **me** partner of **your** Pilgrimage (*KL*, iv.356-357)
Now **would your** Lordships **favour me so much,**

As but to **grace me** with **your** acting it (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.81-82)

The Regent, **and** the **Soveraigne of my soule** (*KL*, vi.532)
And faire Perseda **soveraigne of my soule** (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.40)

It shall be so, because **the world shall say** (*KL*, vii.734)
As all **the world shall say** Hieronimo (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.153)

And no man knowes what is become of her (*KL*, viii.747)
And no man knowes it was my reaching fatch (*Sp. T.*, III.iv.46)

Oh, how thy words adde **sorrow to my soule** (*KL*, x.911)
These pleasant sights are **sorrow to my soule** (*Sp. T.*, I.vi.3)

Else **all the world shall** never me persuade (*KL*, xii.950)
As **all the world shall** say Hieronimo (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.153)

But that I know his qualities so well (*KL*, xii.955)
But that I know your grace for just and wise (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.166)

Let me see them (*KL*, xii.995)
Why, let them enter, and **let me see them** (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.50)

Madam, I hope **your** Grace **will stand**
Betweene me and my neck-verse, if I be (*KL*, xii.996-997)
You will stand between the gallowes **and me**? (*Sp. T.*, III.vii.26)

Whence springs **the ground of this** unlookt for wo (*KL*, xiv.1138)
Whence growes **the ground of this** report (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.72)

It is ynough, we **make no doubt of** thee (*KL*, xv.1220)
O that I will my Lords, **make no doubt of** it (*Sp. T.*, I.i.14)

O, grieve not you, my Lord, **you have no cause** (*KL*, xvi.1238)
Hieronimo, I hope **you have no cause** (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.31)

As **easy is it for** foure-footed beasts (*KL*, xvi.1265)
As **easy is it for** the slimy Fish (xvi.1269)
As **easy is it for** the Blackamoore (xvi.1271)
Alas, how **easie is it for** him to erre (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.89)

I could teare ten **in pieces with my teeth** (*KL*, xvii.1329)
Shivering their limmes **in peeces with my teeth** (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.123)

Here **ile leave you**:
If any aske **you** (*KL*, xix.1753-1754)
For **ile leave you**, **if you** can leave me so (*Sp. T.*, III.xi.3)

The heavens are just, and hate impiety (*KL*, xxii.1909)
The heavens are just, murder cannot be hid (*Sp. T.*, II.v.57)

There is good packing twixt **your King and you** (*KL*, xxii.1932)
That which may comfort both **your King and you** (*Sp. T.*, I.v.33)

Or true content repose **within my brest,**
Till I have rooted out this viperous sect (*KL*, xxiv.2344-2345)
But how can love finde harbour **in my brest,**
Till I revenge the death of my beloved (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.64-65)

Tis **now** undone, and if **that it be knowne** (*KL*, xxv.2384)
For it beseemes us **now that it be knowne** (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.15)

Under the colour of a forged letter (*KL*, xxix.2589)
Under the colour of a duteous freend (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.66)

Composite word count: 44715
Total number of matches: 22
Percentage of matches: 0.05

King Leir and Cornelia

Though it be ne're so much to our disgrace (*KL*, ii.120)
Then th'evill it selfe, **though it be nere so** sore (*Corn.*, IV.ii.167)

But untill now **I never had the** fathers (*KL*, v.443)
I never had the thought to injure them (*Corn.*, IV.ii.93)

Now when thou wilt come **make an end of me** (*KL*, xix.1742)
(Which brightly shone) shall **make an end of me** (*Corn.*, V.i.118)

What **all the world besides** could ne're obtayne (*KL*, xxi.1871)
And almost yoked **all the world beside** (*Corn.*, I.i.117)

Composite word count: 38149
Total number of matches: 4
Percentage of matches: 0.01

King Leir and *Soliman and Perseda*

Of him **that was the cause of** your first being (*KL*, iii.231)
When Brusor lives **that was the cause of** all (*S&P*, V.iv.93)

Sweet *Gonorill*, **I long to see thy face** (*KL*, v.406)
I long to see thy face, brave warrior (*S&P*, I.iv.11)

And so be tane for spyes, **and then tis well** (*KL*, vii.589)
Nay, my Perseda knowes, **and then tis well** (*S&P*, I.ii.29)

For if **I** do, I think **my heart will breake** (*KL*, vii.627)
I must unclaspe me, or **my heart will breake** (*S&P*, II.i.85)

Should leane upon **the person of a King** (*KL*, xiv.1100)
Shouldst come about **the person of a King** (*S&P*, I.v.72)

Me thinks, **I should** remember well their looks (*KL*, xiv.1125)
Me thinks I should not part with two such friends (*S&P*, IV.i.204)

So **will I be to** any friend of hers (*KL*, xv.1208)
As carefull **will I be to** keepe this chaine (*S&P*, I.ii.46)

Against my sister, **whom I love so** deare (*KL*, xviii.1416)
Tis for Perseda, **whom I love so** well (*S&P*, III.v.17)

For feare **of** death **is worse then death** it selfe (*KL*, xix.1470)
And losse **of** happines **is worse than death** (*S&P*, I.v.125)

Feare not, my Lord, dreames are but fantasies (*KL*, xix.1481)
Feare not, my Lord, the perfit good indeed (xxiii.2065)
Feare not, my Lord; Lucina plaies her part (*S&P*, V.ii.144)

I give it thee, even with a right goodwill (*KL*, xix.1523)
Injoy thy life and live; **I give it thee** (*S&P*, I.iii.176)

It hath frighted me **even to the very** heart (*KL*, xix.1636)
And all **I** had, **even to the very** clothes (xxiv.2254)
And I am weake **even to the very** death (*S&P*, V.iv.129)

Thou art deceyved; for I am past the best (*KL*, xix.1760)
Ah, foolish man, therein **thou art deceived;**
For, though she live, yet will she neare live thine (*S&P*, V.iv.51-52)

What **all the world besides** could ne're obtayne (*KL*, xxi.1871)
Dearer to me than **all the world besides** (*S&P*, II.i.284)

As ever you respected him for dower (*KL*, xxii.1957)
As ever you respect his future love (*S&P*, V.i.26)

And that you do resemble, **to be briefe,**
Him that first robs, and then cries, Stop the theefe (*KL*, xxii.1963-1964)
To be briefe, him that will try me, let him waft me with his arme (*S&P*, I.iii.116)

Do **you** heare, **sir**? you looke like **an honest man**;
Ile not stand **to do** you a pleasure (*KL*, xxiii.2008-2009)
I pray **you**, **sir**, hold your hands, and, as I am **an honest man**,
Ile doe the best I can **to** finde your chaine (*S&P*, I.iv.112-113)

All you have spoke: now let me **speak my mind,**
And in few words much matter here conclude (*KL*, xxiv.2341-2342)
And, far from flattery, I **spoke my minde,**
And did discharge a faithfull subjects love (*S&P*, I.v.56-57)

Composite word count: 41288
Total number of matches: 18
Percentage of matches: 0.04

Arden of Faversham and *The Spanish Tragedy*

Nay, love, **there is no credit in** a dream (*AF*, i.74)
And **theres no credit in** the countenance (*Sp. T.*, III.i.18)

Stay, Adam, stay; **thou wert wont to** be my friend (*AF*, i.121)
That **thou wert wont to** wearie men withal (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.6)

I'll see **he shall not live** above a week (*AF*, i.146)
If Balthazar be dead, **he shall not live** (*Sp. T.*, I.iii.91)

And that she knows, and **all the world shall** see (*AF*, i.329)
As **all the world shall** say Hieronimo (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.153)

I'll take a little **to prevent the worst** (*AF*, i.383)
But to prevent the worst (xiv.294)
But, Pedringano, **to prevent the worst** (*Sp. T.*, III.ii.78)

But **on your left hand** shall you see the stairs
That leads directly to my master's chamber (*AF*, iii.183-184)
There is a path **upon your left hand** side,
That leadeth from a guiltie Conscience (*Sp. T.*, III.xi.13-14)

The many good turns **that** thou hast done to **me.**
Now must I quittance with betraying thee (*AF*, iii.197-198)
Come neere, you men, **that** thus importune **me.** —
Now must I beare a face of gravitie (*Sp. T.*, III.xiii.55-56)

Where thou shalt see I'll do as much as Shakebag (*AF*, v.33)
Where thou shalt see the author of thy death (*Sp. T.*, I.i.87)

But that I hold thee **dearer than my life** (*AF*, x.31)
Erasto, **dearer than my life** to me (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.31)

That I may come behind him cunningly (*AF*, xiv.120)
That I may come (by justice of the heavens) (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.6)

And with a towel pull **him to the ground**,
Then stab him till **his** flesh be as a sieve (*AF*, xiv.121-122)
Which pauncht **his** horse **and** dingd **him to the ground**.
Then yong Don Balthazar **with** ruthles rage (*Sp. T.*, I.iv.22-23)

But that I know how resolute **you** are (*AF*, xiv.135)
But that I know your grace for just and wise (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.166)

That **is the next way to** betray **my** self (*AF*, xiv.346)
Pray you, which **is the next way to my** Lord the Dukes? (*Sp. T.*, III.xi.53)

But wherefore stay you? (*AF*, xiv.389)
But wherefore stay you? (*Sp. T.*, III.vi.100)

I **loved** him **more than all the world** beside (*AF*, xiv.408)
Because she **lov'd** me **more then all the world** (*Sp. T.*, II.vi.6)

Seeing no hope on **earth**, in **heaven is my hope** (*AF*, xviii.36)
Tis **heaven is my hope**.
As for the **earth** (*Sp. T.*, III.i.35-36)

Composite word count: 43335
Total number of matches: 16
Percentage of matches: 0.03

Arden of Faversham and *Cornelia*

Methinks I see them with **their** bolstered hair (*AF*, iv.72)
Me thinks I see them while (lamenting thus)
Theyr harts and eyes lye hovering over us (*Corn.*, V.i.136-137)

Or govern **me that am to** rule myself (*AF*, x.85)
Tyme past with **me that am to** teares converted (*Corn.*, III.i.14)

My house **is** clear, and now **I fear them not** (*AF*, xiv.356)
I feare them not whose death **is** but deferd (*Corn.*, IV.ii.123)

I loved him more than **all the world beside** (*AF*, xiv.408)
And almost yoked **all the world beside** (*Corn.*, I.i.117)

How long **shall I live in** this hell of grief? (*AF*, xvi.12)
O, **shall I live in** these laments (*Corn.*, V.i.432)

Composite word count: 36769
Total number of matches: 5
Percentage of matches: 0.01

Arden of Faversham and *Soliman and Perseda*

Which **makes me wish that** for this veil of heaven (*AF*, i.13)
And **makes me wish that** I had beene at Rhodes (*S&P*, III.i.26)

Franklin and **I will down unto the** quay (*AF*, i.89)
I with the rest **will downe unto the** strand (*S&P*, III.iii.5)

To fetch my master's nag (*AF*, i.143)
is sent **to fetch my maister** (*S&P*, IV.ii.80)

Well, **let her keep it** (*AF*, i.155)
But Fortune would not **let her keepe it** long (*S&P*, III.iii.4)

Arden **to me was dearer than my** soul (*AF*, i.197)
Whose life **to me was dearer then mine** owne (*S&P*, V.ii.99)

I do appeal **to** God **and to the world** (*AF*, i.319)
I make it knowne **to** you **and to the world** (*S&P*, I.i.31)

Hell-fire **and** wrathful **vengeance light on me**.
If I dishonour her (*AF*, i.336-337)
Which **if I** do, all **vengeance light on me** (*S&P*, II.i.111)
And mischief **light on me if I** sweer false (V.ii.69)

Or, whilst he lives, once more importune **thee**.
Thou shalt not need (*AF*, i.431-432)
Nor suffer this **or** that to trouble **thee**:
Thou shalt not neede Phylippo (*S&P*, III.i.137-138)

Ah, Master Greene, **be it spoken in secret here** (*AF*, i.492)
For **be it spoke in secret heere** (*S&P*, V.ii.56)

To let thee know all that **I** have contrived (*AF*, i.536)
To let thee know I am no coward (v.25)
I have persevered **to let thee know** (*S&P*, I.ii.21)

when
she hath lost her mate (*AF*, iii.5-6)
when she hath lost her gold (*S&P*, II.i.231)

Where is the letter, **sirrah**? **let me see** it (*AF*, iii.24)
Come, **sirra, let me see** how finely youle cry this chaine (*S&P*, I.iv.72)

Then be not nice (*AF*, iii.160)
Then be not nice Perseda (*S&P*, I.ii.23)

Where thou shalt see I'll do as much as Shakebag (*AF*, v.33)
Where thou shalt see what pleasures and what sportes (*S&P*, III.i.150)

but soft, **me thinks** 'tis shut (*AF*, v.34)
But soft me thinkes he is not satisfied (*S&P*, V.ii.114)

I'll bear you company (*AF*, vi.46)
And **ile beare you companie** (*S&P*, I.iv.71)

Then either **thou** or **all thy kin are worth** (*AF*, ix.18)
worth more **then thou** and **all thy kin are worth** (*S&P*, I.iv.74)

Why should he **thrust his sickle in** our **corn**? (*AF*, x.83)
That **thrust his sickle in** my harvest **corne** (*S&P*, IV.i.221)

Mosby, **leave protestations now,**
And let us bethink us (*AF*, x.100-101)
Leave protestations now, and let us hie (*S&P*, I.iv.29)

Why then, **by this reckoning** (*AF*, xi.26)
Why then by this reckoning (*S&P*, I.iv.85)

Ay, but **you had not best to** meddle with that moon (*AF*, xi.28)
Where **you had not**
best go **to** him (*S&P*, II.ii.50-51)

You are well enough served **to go without a** guide (*AF*, xii.26)
Nay, I use not **to go without a** paire of false Dice (*S&P*, II.i.221)

Shakebag, did **not I tell thee** as much? (*AF*, xii.32)
You are deceived, sir; he swore **not**.
I tell thee, jester, he did worse (*S&P*, I.iii.138-139)

In following **so slight a task** as this (*AF*, xii.51)
May soon be levied for **so slight a taske** (*S&P*, I.v.28)

And hurt thy **friend whose thoughts were** free from harm (*AF*, xiii.93)
To wrong my **friend**, **whose thoughts were** ever true (*S&P*, II.ii.28)

To **link in liking with** a frantic man (*AF*, xiii.105)
And is she **linkt in liking with** my foe? (*S&P*, IV.ii.70)

Why, Master Arden, know you **what you do?**
Will you follow him that hath dishonoured you**?** (*AF*, xiii.135-136)
what **would you do? Will you** up the ladder, sir, and see the tilting**?** (*S&P*, I.iii.80)

Come, Master Mosby, **what shall we play** for**?** (*AF*, xiv.223)
What shall we play heere**?** (*S&P*, II.i.226)

You know **I do not love to** be alone (*AF*, xiv.323)
Of all things **I do not love to** preach (*S&P*, II.i.228)

I loved him more **than all the world beside** (*AF*, xiv.408)
Dearer to me **than all the world besides** (*S&P*, II.i.284)

But wherefore stay we? (*AF*, xvi.19)
But wherefore stay we? (*S&P*, I.vi.37)

For thee **I mourn more than for** myself (*AF*, xviii.21)
For whom **I mourned more then for** all Rhodes (*S&P*, IV.i.162)

Composite word count: 39908
Total number of matches: 32
Percentage of matches: 0.08

Arden of Faversham and *King Leir*

And that she knows, and **all the world shall** see (*AF*, i.329)
Else **all the world shall** never me perswade (*KL*, xii.950)

And then, I hope, they'll cease (*AF*, i.356)
And then, I hope, we shall find friends ynough (*KL*, xxiii.2045)

How causeless they have injured her and **me**.
And I will lie at London all this term (*AF*, i.357-358)
That as I am, you will accept of **me**,
And I will have you whatsoe're you be (*KL*, vii.719-720)

Yet thy friend to **do thee any good I** can (*AF*, ii.17)
If that I have will **do thee any good**,
I give it thee, even with a right goodwill (*KL*, xix.1522-1523)

the plate was found **with me,**
And I am bound **to** answer (*AF*, ii.39-40)
Thou hast left all, I, all to come **with me,**
And I, for all, have nought **to** guerdon thee (*KL*, xiv.1105-1106)
Friend, thy commission is **to** deale **with me,**
And I am he that hath deserved all (xix.1700-1701)

I cannot paint my valour out with **words** (*AF*, iii.108)
I cannot paynt my duty forth in **words** (*KL*, i.277)

The foolish knave is in love with Mosby's **sister**;
And for her sake, whose love he cannot get (*AF*, iii.120-121)
Upon th'unkind suggestions of her **sisters**:
And for her sake, I thinke this heavy doome (*KL*, x.914-915)

I am so heavy that I can scarce go (*AF*, v.16)
Tis newes indeed, **I am so** extreme **heavy**,
That I can scarcely keepe my eye-lids open (*KL*, xix.1434-1435)

Where thou shalt see I'll **do as much as** Shakebag (*AF*, v.33)
Can **do as much, as** they do with their toungs (*KL*, xxx.2609)

Be clear again, **I'll ne'er** more **trouble thee**.
O no, I am a base artificer (*AF*, viii.134-135)
Why that am **I**, let that **ne're trouble thee**.
O no, tis **I** (*KL*, xix.1711-1712)

Come, let us in to shun suspicion (*AF*, viii.166)
Come, let us in, **to** celebrate with joy (*KL*, vi.574)

would God it were not past (*AF*, x.14)
would God it were so well (*KL*, xii.976)

That time nor place nor persons alter **me,**
But that I hold thee dearer than my life (*AF*, x.30-31)
She never yet committed trust to **me,**
But that (**I** hope) she found me alwayes faythfull (*KL*, xv.1206-1207)

I speak it **in an agony of** spirit (*AF*, xiii.33)
And makes me **in an agony of** doubt (*KL*, xxv.2359)

A **death** tormenting more **than death it self** (*AF*, xiii.121)
For feare of **death** is worse **then death it selfe** (*KL*, xix.1470)

And be a mediator 'twixt us two (*AF*, xiii.134)
And be a mediator to my Queene (*KL*, xviii.1412)

But that I know how resolute you are (*AF*, xiv.135)
But that I know his qualities so well (*KL*, xii.955)

You may enforce **me** to it **if you will**;
But I had rather die than **bid** him welcome (*AF*, xiv.180-181)
I'd undertake it, **if you will but bid me** (*KL*, xvii.1315)

But it had done before **we came back again** (*AF*, xiv.360)
With us, when **we come back again** (*KL*, xxiii.2037)

We are informed that here **he is**;
And, **therefore**, pardon us, for we must search (*AF*, xiv.370-371)
I know **he is**, **and therefore** meane to try him (*KL*, xix.1545)

I loved him more than **all the world beside** (*AF*, xiv.408)
What **all the world besides** could ne're obtayne (*KL*, xxi.1871)

I have the gold; what care I though **it be known**?
I'll cross the water and take sanctuary (*AF*, xv.11-12)
Tis now undone, and if that **it be knowne**,
Ile make as good shift as **I** can for one (*KL*, xxv.2384-2385)

I knew not of it till the deed was done (*AF*, xviii.20)
and **I know not of it** (*KL*, xix.1574)

Composite word count: 43596
Total number of matches: 23
Percentage of matches: 0.05

Fair Em and *The Spanish Tragedy*

To dim **the brightness of the** day with frowns (*FE*, i.8)
To over-cloud **the brightnes of the** Sunne (*Sp. T.*, II.iv.2)

To spend the time in solace **and** disport (*FE*, iii.42)

Meanewhile let us devise **to spend the time** (*Sp. T.*, I.v.108)
And not **to spend the time in** trifling words (II.i.44)

But is that true, **my lord**? **I hope you** do but jest (*FE*, iv.63)
Why, and **my Lord**, **I hope you** heard me say (*Sp. T.*, III.x.15)

I have not seen him this four days at the least (*FE*, v.130)
Indeed, these many days **I have not seen him** (xvi.58)
I have not scene him to demeane him so (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.84)

it was my chance to be thrust (*FE*, vi.12)
It was my chance to write a Tragedie (*Sp. T.*, IV.i.77)

Why then, **my lord, I thank you for** my night's lodging (*FE*, vi.22)
My Lords, I thanke you for Horatio (*Sp. T.*, III.xiv.123)

and I myself in
presence (*FE*, vi.28-29)
And I my selfe in an Oration (*Sp. T.*, IV.ii.183)

I have a letter to deliver to the Lady Mariana (*FE*, vi.48)
I have a letter to your Lordship (*Sp. T.*, III.iv.50)

Let me entreat your wonted kind consent (*FE*, viii.4)
But, good my Lord, **let me entreate your** grace (*Sp. T.*, IV.iii.5)
Let me entreat your grace (IV.iii.11)

Thus stands the case:
Thou knowest from England (*FE*, viii.23-24)
Thus stands the case: it is not long, **thou knowst** (*Sp. T.*, II.i.45)

He **is my friend**, **and** I do love the man (*FE*, viii.61)
Erasto **is my friend**; **and** while he lives (*Sp. T.*, IV.iv.43)

carry thither **with us**.
As for that, sir, take you no care (*FE*, xiv.9-10)
And if she hap to stand on tearmes **with us**,
As for her sweet hart, and concealment so (*Sp. T.*, III.x.20-21)

I would desire **you to take the pains to** bear this (*FE*, xiv.41)
My Lord, let me entreat **you to take the paines**
To exasperate and hasten his revenge (*Sp. T.*, III.iv.30-31)

Speak, Manvile, **to whether didst thou** give thy faith? (*FE*, xvii.156)
Say, worthy Prince, **to whether didst thou** yield? (*Sp. T.*, I.ii.160)

he **will none of you** (*FE*, xvii.161)
Will none of you restraine his fury? (*Sp. T.*, III.xii.80)

Composite word count: 34724

Total number of matches: 15
Percentage of matches: 0.04

Fair Em and *Soliman and Perseda*

Madam, **be it in secret spoken** (*FE*, viii.75)
For **be it spoke in secret** heere (*S&P*, V.ii.56)

and **as thou lovest me** (*FE*, xi.36)
Brusor, **as thou lovest me**, stab in the marshall (*S&P*, V.ii.134)

Joy of my heart and **comfort of my life**!
For thee I breathe **my** sorrows in the air (*FE*, xiii.6-7)
For what was he but **comfort of my life**?
For what was he but comfort of **my** life? (*S&P*, III.ii.7-8)

would have me as an open gazing-**stock to all the**
world (*FE*, xvi.46-47)
To be a laughing **stock to all the** towne (*S&P*, II.ii.67)

That in thy presence they shall lose their heads (*FE*, xvii.82)
That in thy presence Soliman may joy (*S&P*, IV.i.52)

Sir, may a **man**
Be so bold as to crave a word with you? (*FE*, xvii.235-236)
Ile **be so bolde**
as to dive into this Gentle **mans** pocket (*S&P*, II.i.295-296)

Composite word count: 31297
Total number of matches: 6
Percentage of matches: 0.02

Fair Em and *King Leir*

Bright Blanch, **I** come; sweet fortune, favor **me,**
And I will laud thy name eternally (*FE*, i.80-81)
That as **I** am, you will accept of **me,**
And I will have you whatsoe're you be (*KL*, vii.719-720)

As if we were in our precedent way (*FE*, ii.42)
As if we were no better than her selfe (*KL*, ii.100)

even as **long as I have** not been half well (*FE*, v.9)
so **long as I have** any skin on my back (*KL*, xii.1016)

To spend my time in grief and vex **my soul,**
To think my love should be rewarded thus (*FE*, v.93-94)
Oh, how thy words adde sorrow **to my soule,**
To thinke of **my** unkindnesse to Cordella (*KL*, x.911-912)

I grieve to see my Manvile's jealousy (*FE*, v.103)
I grieve, **to see my** Lord thus fond (*KL*, iii.335)

What's **that to me**?
I speak not, sweet, in person of my friend (*FE*, v.131-132)
Leave **that to me**, **I** will expound the dream (*KL*, xix.1487)

I am content with my night's lodging (*FE*, vi.32)
To say, **I am content with** any one (*KL*, ii.184)

Were he **the monarch of the world** (*FE*, vi.65)
Might I be made **the Monarch of the world** (*KL*, vii.593)
As if you were **the Monarch of the world** (xxiv.2321)

a man **that you do not** little esteem (*FE*, viii.80)
So **that you do not** tie mine eyes for looking (*KL*, iv.367)
So **that you do not** tie my tongue from speaking (iv.369)

to whom I have faithfully vowed **my** love (*FE*, xi.32)
To whom I have already past **my** word (*KL*, xix.1645)
Of her, **to whom I have** been so unkind (xxiv.2284)

I am
bound by duty (*FE*, xvi.49-50)
For **I am bound by** nature to lament (*KL*, xvi.1240)

Composite word count: 34985
Total number of matches: 11
Percentage of matches: 0.03

Fair Em and *Arden of Faversham*

Bright Blanch, I come; sweet fortune, favor **me**,
And I will laud thy name eternally (*FE*, i.80-81)
How causeless they have injured her and **me**.
And I will lie at London all this term (*AF*, i.357-358)

stoop **to take up the**
toll-dish (*FE*, ii.85-86)
Who, in a manner **to take up the** fray (*AF*, xii.72)

But time and fortune **hath** bereaved **me of that,**
And I, an abject in those gracious eyes (*FE*, v.60-61)
'tis thou **hast** rifled **me of that,**
And made me sland'rous to all my kin (*AF*, viii.74-75)

Yet is the **matter of such consequence** (*FE*, viii.11)
Dare swear a **matter of such consequence** (*AF*, iii.151)

Madam, **be it in secret spoken** (*FE*, viii.75)

Ah, Master Greene, **be it spoken in secret** here (*AF*, i.492)

but rather than I will be found (*FE*, viii.81)
But rather than I pocket up this wrong (*AF*, i.307)

Thou hadst not lived to brave **me as thou dost** (*FE*, ix.9)
Nay, **hadst thou** loved **me as thou dost** pretend (*AF*, xiii.122)

Mariana, here **I** swear **to thee by heaven** (*FE*, x.8)
Yet, Arden, **I** protest **to thee by heaven** (*AF*, xiv.214)

I care not much **to take horse and** ride (*FE*, xiv.3)
Ere noon he means **to take horse and** away (*AF*, i.92)

we will presently **take**
horse and away (*FE*, xiv.48-49)
Ere noon he means to **take horse and away** (*AF*, i.92)

Have I dissembled **for thy sake? And dost thou** now
thus requite it**?** (*FE*, xvi.57-58)
Made shipwreck of mine honour **for thy sake?**
And dost thou say, 'Henceforward know me not'**?** (*AF*, i.189-190)

And so **I'll leave you, and** go comfort (*FE*, xvi.100)
I'll leave you, and at your dag's discharge (*AF*, ix.40)

To hear them speak, or **saw them when they** came (*FE*, xvii.183)
Why, I **saw them when they** both shook hands (*AF*, xvi.32)

Any ways to **rid my hands of** them (*FE*, xvii.187)
And I will cleanly **rid my hands of** her (*AF*, viii.43)

Composite word count: 33605
Total number of matches: 14
Percentage of matches: 0.04

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