

TRANSITION FROM CORAMBIS TO POLONIUS

The Forgotten Pun on a Diplomatic Scandal in a *Hamlet* Q2 Stage Direction

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1. Introduction

Angered, Queen Elizabeth furiously chastised the audacious Polish ambassador Paulus Dzialinski (Paweł Działyński) with a Latin phrase that became a metaphor for insolence to a superior by a subordinate: *Quam decepta fui? Legatum expectavi, Heraldum inveni* – Why am I deceived? I expected a Legate, I found a Herald! Shakespeare introduced a pun into the *Hamlet* second quarto (Q2) of 1604/5 to mock the offending ambassador. The passage of time and a compositor's error in the first folio (F1) edition of 1623 obscured the reference to the 1597 diplomatic scandal. This essay explains the incident, the pun that it generated, and the consequence of the printer's error.*

2. Source Documents

The 1597 diplomatic incident is well documented. Eyewitness testimony of the insult and Elizabeth's reaction is in a letter from Cecil to Essex.¹ The Privy Council's minutes book² and Cecil's archives preserved in Hatsfield House³ contain entries pertaining to the ambassador.

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Two contemporary historians tell the story: the official biographer of the queen's reign William Camden (1551-1623),⁴ and the historian-cartographer John Speed (1552-1629).⁵ Ambassador Dzialinski left an account in Polish archives.⁶ James, in 1621, used Elizabeth's metaphor to chastise Commons for not respecting his majesty; this reported in histories of his reign published in 1653 by Arthur Wilson (1595-1652),⁷ and three years later by William Sanderson (1586?-1676).⁸ Quotations from source documents are modernized.

3. Legatum expectavi, Heraldum inveni

Elizabethans well understood the terms *legate* and *herald*. Both are ambassadors, but with radically different functions. The *legate* is a trained diplomat, authorized to negotiate and resolve problems peacefully between his sovereign and the prince of another country. The *herald* never negotiates. Assigned to a warrior, the dangerous mission is to deliver an ultimatum to the commander of an enemy with terms of capitulation and a demand of acceptance and threat of battle, if rejected. A convention existed whereby a herald would announce his mission so that the enemy would permit entry into its territory and provide safe escort to its leader. Everybody expects a belligerent message on his coming. Upon release to return with the reply, he may be awarded a gift to demonstrate the absence of personal animus for obeying his Prince's command to deliver the threat, and to acknowledge his courage for placing himself at the mercy of an enemy. The herald is never sure the enemy will abide by the convention protecting his person from harm and retribution.⁹

The insult to Elizabeth's majesty came about because she did not receive advance notice that the ambassador would address her as a herald. The ambassador's safety was threatened. Notorious when it happened, Elizabeth's angry response—*Legatum expectavi, Heraldum*

inveni—became a long-remembered metaphor for insolent disrespect by a subordinate to a superior.

4. Scandal

The Muslim empire of the Ottoman Caliphate—the Turks—and Christian England were allies of convenience against Spain. Elizabeth's armies fighting Catholic forces in the Low Countries to prevent Spain from gaining secure harbors on the Channel coast to stage an invasion of England also served the Turk's interest by diverting Spain from focusing on domination of the Mediterranean. In 1590, the Turks threatened to invade Poland from lands north of the Black Sea. The good will of Poland was crucial to England because trade with countries bordering the Baltic was the source of grain and the all important forest products needed to maintain the navy. English merchants enjoyed preferential trading privileges in Poland. Elizabeth's intercession with the Caliphate was credited with cancelling the invasion, and she received letters of praise from the then reigning Polish king.¹⁰

A newly elected king is on the Polish throne in 1597. Elizabeth's intelligence service gives notice that an ambassador is in transit and that the embassy was one of amity. Camden begins his account with the words "This year came *Paulus Dzialinus*, Ambassador from *Sigismund King of Poland....*" Cecil writes to Essex: "There arrived three days since in the City [London] an Ambassador out of Poland, a gentleman of excellent fashion, wit, discourse, language and person; the Queen was possessed by some of our new Counselors, that are as cunning in intelligence as in deciphering, that his negotiation tends to a proposition of peace." Camden reports: "...the Queen expected great acknowledgement of her Favours, and thanksgiving for the peace wrought by her from *Amurath* Emperor of the Turks...." This occurs in the fortieth year of Elizabeth's reign; and grown vain, she anticipates the praise and orders a

gala ceremony to receive the ambassador.¹¹ Cecil to Essex: "Her Majesty...liking she had of this gentleman's comeliness and qualities brought to her by reports, did resolve to receive him publicly in the Chamber of Presence where most of the Earls and Noblemen about this Court attended, and made it a great day."

On 23 July 1597, the Privy Council instructs the Lord Mayor of London to arrange housing for the diplomat, preferably with a merchant prominent in the Baltic trade. To insure Elizabeth will not find fault with the preparations, the Lord Mayor is to report the arrangements made. Note the specification for a *house that hath good furniture*:

A letter to the Mayor of London. Whereas there is a gentleman sent in embassy unto her Majesty from the King of Poland who is already arrived at Flushing, [Netherlands] and is daily expected to come over hither, her Majesty's pleasure is that your Lordship shall cause some convenient citizen's house that hath good furniture in it be prepared and made ready in London where he may be lodged and received for the time he shall make his abode here, whereof we pray you to have care and to certify us what house you shall think meet for that purpose. We think it fit if there be any Danzig merchants house that shall be convenient that he may there be placed.¹²

Two days later Ambassador Dzialinski arrives at the palace in Greenwich. Brought to the reception hall, he finds Elizabeth sitting on the throne under the canopy of state with her nobles in attendance (except for Essex who is away on a military campaign). The ambassador presented his credentials, and kissed the Queen's hand extended to him—a gesture of royal favor. He then strode to the center of the chamber without any forewarning of what he was about to say, and instead of the oration (speech) of a legate that everyone anticipated—couched in respectful words to flatter the monarch being addressed—he spoke as a herald. In Latin, he hectored, admonished and criticized the queen, and declared an ultimatum of capitulation to terms or hostile action.

The newly elected Polish king married into the Catholic royalty of Austria and was sympathetic to Catholic Spain, the ambassador informed. The reason for his mission was to complain about Elizabeth's policy of having her navy capture ships of Polish and Hanseatic League merchants trading with Spain. This was intolerable to his sovereign. Hostilities would commence if Elizabeth did not rescind her orders to interdict trade, release the captured ships, and restore the confiscated cargoes or make restitution. Speed reports: "[The Polish king] command[s] satisfaction of these things [demanded] forthwith to be made...[for the] safety of herself...and thereof warned her Majesty."¹³

Surprised and angered, Elizabeth responded in Latin,¹⁴ opening with words that would become the metaphor for insolent impertinence. Camden reports her saying: "*Quam decepta fui? Legatum expectavi, Heraldum inveni* – Why am I deceived? I expected a Legate, I found a Herald! I never heard such an oration in all the days of my life. Neither can I sufficiently wonder at so great audacious rashness...."¹⁵ She dismissed the Polish king's knowledge of diplomacy as that of an inexperienced young elected monarch, not raised and trained as would be a prince of a hereditary monarchy to understand the rights and obligations of a sovereign prince to destroy commerce from any source that was aiding an enemy.

Then she focused her ire onto Dzialinski personally. Cecil to Essex:

And as for you (said she to the Ambassador) although I perceive you have read many books to fortify your arguments in this case, yet am I apt to believe that you have not lighted upon the Chapter that prescribes the form [protocol] to be used between Kings and Princes; but were it not for the place you hold [status of ambassador], to have so publicly an imputation thrown ... we would answer this audacity of yours in another style.¹⁶

A commonplace saying is *the anger of a Prince the messenger of death*.¹⁷ Everyone in the assembly hearing Elizabeth exclaim *we would answer this audacity of yours in another style* understands the implication; because an insult of this nature attacked the majesty of the monarch

and was a treasonable offense, punishable by the gruesome torturous death inflicted on traitors—*hung, drawn and quartered*.¹⁸ But Dzialinski was protected by the privileges of an ambassador, and she could only castigate him verbally by declaring, as Camden writes: "...for your part, you seem to us to be well read in many books, but to be very shallow in policy...."¹⁹ Speed records: "As touching thy self, indeed thou seems to me to have read many Books, but not to have perused the Books of Princes affairs, but utterly to be ignorant what is convenient [the convention of diplomatic behavior] amongst Kings...."²⁰ Elizabeth tells the ambassador her counselors will respond to the charges, and terminates the ceremony.²¹

Shallow in policy and *utterly ignorant* capture the essence of her declaration that Dzialinski is incompetent. This characterization is part of the scandal gossiped throughout London on which Shakespeare will build his pun in *Hamlet Q2*.

Immediately, the Privy Council issues two directives. Note that the requirement of *good furniture* is no longer a concern:

A letter to the Lord Mayor of London whereby he was required to see a certain gentleman that was sent from the King of Poland to be placed in the house of Sir John Spencer, being a convenient house to lodge him in and standing this instant unused by reason of Sir John being in the country, who also was required to see his said house conveniently furnished with household stuff, &c.²²

A letter to Mr. Russell, Governor of the merchants trading the East Countries [the Baltic traders]. You shall hereby understand that her Majesty hath given audience this day unto the Ambassador of Poland, to whom because as yet it is not resolved particularly what to answer, we do hereby require you to make known to the merchants that trade to Danzig or to any other parts in the East Countries that they forbear all offices of ceremony toward him, as of visitation, sending presents or what so ever else of like gratification until you shall receive further direction from us in that behalf. Wherein we pray you to take speedy order, and so bid you farewell.²³

A letter dated 2 August 1597 with court gossip reports, "...My Lord [Burghley] is here full of gout, and is much troubled and busied with this Polish business...."²⁴

Elizabeth's counselors meet with the ambassador and respond to the charges made in the oration; and request a response. Dzialinski will not comply—because he is functioning as a herald, not as a legate. Camden reports: "The Ambassador being demanded what he could say to these things [the English response], made answer, that he had no command to answer anything, but to deliver his message, and return an answer [to the Polish king], and shortly after he was very courteously dismissed to return home."²⁵ An entry in the Privy Council minutes book, dated 15 August 1597, records permission for Dzialinski to quit England.

A passport for Paulus A'Dzialin, a noble man of Poland that was sent in embassy to her Majesty from the King of Poland and Sweden [the same monarch ruled both] for his safe return home into his country and such as were his servants and followers, &c.²⁶

5. Ambassador Threatened

In addition to its dedication to sacred purposes, the great-enclosed space of St. Paul's cathedral served as a public mall, an indoor town square.²⁷ Twice daily, crowds gathered in the center aisle of the cathedral, not to pray, but to transact business, promenade, meet friends, exchange gossip to learn the news of the day, and browse the print shops conveniently clustered in the yard outside. In the throng, persons of every social class could meet and interact. Francis Osborne (1593-1659) describes the scene:

It was the fashion of those times, and did so continue... for the Principal Gentry, Lords, Courtiers and men of all professions not merely Mechanic [tradesmen, craftsmen], to meet in *Pauls Church* by eleven, and walk in the middle aisle till twelve, and after dinner from three, to six, during which time some discoursed of Business, others of News. Now in regard of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive here....

...and these *Newsmongers*, as they called them [referring to the gossipers], did not only take the boldness to weigh the public but most intrinsic [confidential] actions of the State, which some Courtier or other did betray to this Society; Amongst whom divers being very Rich had great sums owing them by such as stood next to the throne, who by this means were rendered in a manner their Pensioners [paid lobbyists]....²⁸

Courtiers in need of money would congregate with wealthy men seeking an opportunity to obtain influence at court. *A friend at Court is better than a Penny in Purse* was a common metaphor for purchasing access to the center of power.²⁹ Courtiers proved their "access" to those nearest the throne by gossiping the latest information about Court activities.

Originating from the newsmongers of St. Paul's, gossip would *blaze*³⁰ the scandal throughout London (and beyond). An informant reports to Cecil [emphasis made **bold**]: "...the said Ambassador's insolent behavior towards Her Majesty, **as is now commonly reported in this city**;...From my poor house in London this 27th of July, in haste."³¹

Everyone immediately learns of Elizabeth's passionate and furious anger. Cecil to Essex: "I assure your Lordship though I am not apt to wonder, I must confess before the living Lord that I never heard her (when I know her spirits were in passion) speak with better moderation in my life."³² Speed describes her declaring when leaving the audience chamber: "...turning to the train of her attendants, thus said: Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath ever in anger) I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin, that hath lain long in rusting."³³

Everybody in London understands the ambassador is fallen out of the queen's favor, and will react accordingly. Teresa Baluk-Ulewiczowa examined Dzialinski's report extant in Polish archives. She informs:

All the copies [of the manuscript] I have seen ... contain information on the dangers to which the ambassador was exposed following the audience, included fears of poisoning. ... Final advice given Dzialinski by Christopher Parkins, an ex-Jesuit in Elizabeth's service who spent several years in Poland and now acted as a liaison with the ambassador:...

Then she quotes Parkins's warning as recorded by Dzialinski:

But I warn you as a friend not to stay in England any longer on account of the rioting. You see how (as it happens in an absolute monarchy) all the people are incensed when their Queen feels offended. Take heed not to give any cause for any offense or injury to be done you.³⁵

Elizabethans used "Polonian" to refer to anyone from Poland.³⁶ Speed identifies the ambassador as "Paulus de [z]aline, a Polone Gentleman," and twice thereafter refers to him simply as "the Polonian."³⁷ The man-in-the-street may not have known Dzialinski's name, but famously remembered is the appellation "Polonian ambassador."

6. Famously Remembered

Twenty-four years after the event, in 1621, King James chastises Commons. Dynastic ambitions lead James to attempt to arrange a marriage between his son, Crown Prince Charles, and the Infanta [princess] Maria, daughter of the King of Spain. Aghast at the thought of a Catholic near to the English throne, Commons submits a petition of protest. James perceives this interference to be an assault on his royal prerogatives and an insult to his majesty, and refuses to receive it. However, he is a spendthrift and needs Commons to raise tax money for the royal purse. Forced to receive the delegation, he angrily rejects the second petition. Related in Arthur Wilson's history of James's reign, published in 1653, he begins his message for the delegation to take back to Commons by reminding them of the insult to Elizabeth's dignity:

We must here begin...[in rejecting your petition by repeating]... the first words of the late Queen of famous memory [Elizabeth], used by her in answer to an insolent Proposition, made by a Polonian Ambassador unto her, that is, *Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus*....³⁸

After stating the metaphor for insolent behavior, James says no more about Elizabeth's scandal and rants on at length about Commons' ingratitude to his royal person. In 1656, William Sanderson tells the same story about the insolent Polonian ambassador in a history of the reigns of Queen Mary and King James, quoting the phrase as *Legatum expitamus, Heraldum accipimus*.³⁹

The four Latin words are sufficient to make the point. James had no need to explain, as the members of Commons were alive at the time of Elizabeth's scandal and required no elaboration. When related in the histories by Wilson and Sanderson six decades later, the authors also did not need to explain to their contemporary readers. It was in the public's collective memory of notable events concerning the beloved queen, even though few, if any, would have lived the moment or ever known the ambassador's name. The long remembrance is a measure of the profound impression made on the public when the Polish ambassador insulted Elizabeth in 1597.

7. Mocked on Stage

In 1736, the anonymous author of an essay on *Hamlet* comments on Shakespeare catering to the love of "low comedy" by Elizabethans from all segments of society. "[W]hoever reads our Author's Plays, will find that in all of them (even the most serious ones) he has some regard for the meanest Part of his Audience, and perhaps too, for that Taste for low Jokes and Puns, which prevailed in his Time among the better sort."⁴⁰ On analysis, the pun will not be anything profound—it is just a "low joke."

The histories of Camden and Speed are devoted to the serious political consequences of the scandal, and are silent about how the Elizabethan man-in-the-street—Shakespeare's audience—mocked the disgraced ambassador. Whether a courtier witnessing the event originated the pun, or someone gossiping in St. Paul's, or Shakespeare himself is now impossible to determine, and in final analysis, it is of no import who first coined it. Shakespeare, the acute observer of the human condition and ever alert to the business of entertaining an audience, did incorporate the pun in *Hamlet* Q2 to amuse, no matter the creative source. The objective would

be nothing more than to elicit a chuckle. The pun is equivalent to the effervescent one-line joke told in monologues by comedians today.⁴¹

Offered now are three speculative thoughts to bridge the seven-year gap between the scandal of 1597 and the publication of Q2 in 1604.

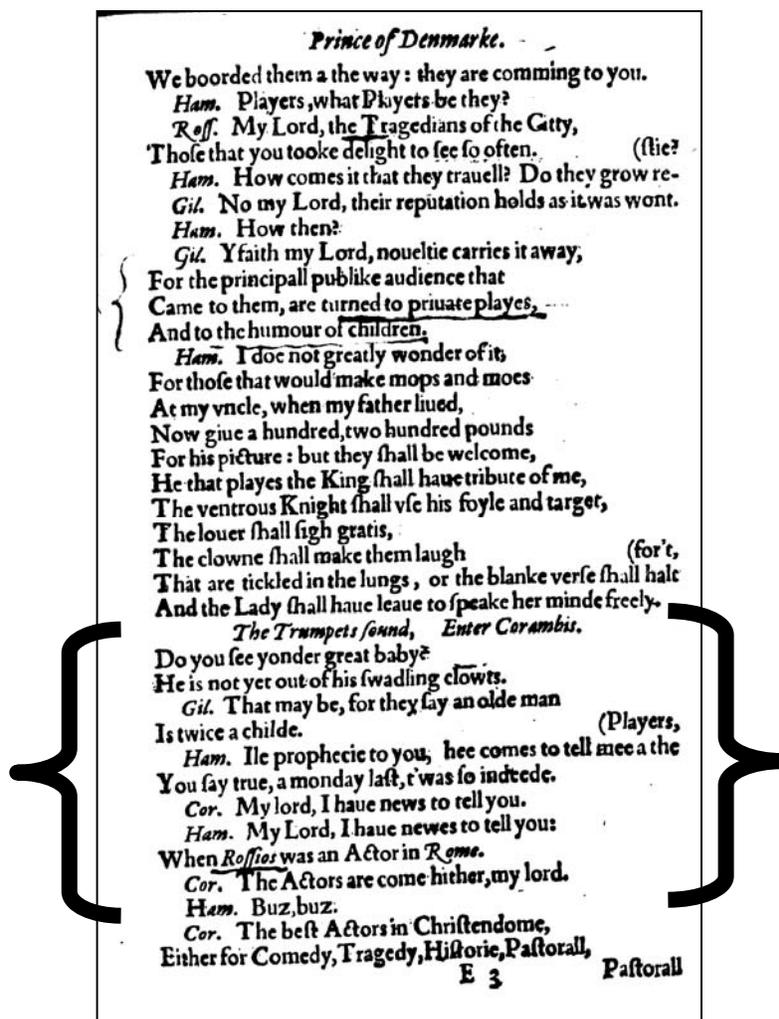
(1) Camden recorded: "...and having spoken thus [chastising Dzialinski], she betook herself into her Closet [private chambers]."⁴² There is no record of what transpired among the courtiers immediately after Elizabeth quit the reception hall. The buzz of excited discussion would certainly have centered on the political implications of what just happened. However, Elizabeth's characterization of the ambassador as incompetent—*shallow in policy* and *utterly ignorant*—would not escape notice.

A skill the ideal courtier mastered is the art of punning. A courtier fallen from royal grace was the object of mockery, a target of puns. Dzialinski would not be an exception.⁴³ A clever courtier could have immediately mocked the ambassador that so angered Elizabeth by describing the offending oration with the pejorative *crambe bis*. Since classical times *Crambe bis posita* [or *cocta*] *mors est*—Cabbage twice served (or cooked) is death—was a metaphor for rambling, nonsensical repetitiveness, and a well-known commonplace that was in long use to insult and mock into the eighteenth century.⁴⁴

(2) A popular tragedy entitled *Hamlet* existed before the scandal occurred, and although the script is unknown, the plot and characters may have been similar to the earliest surviving printed quarto; Q1 of 1603. If so, then it had a character played as a mocked counselor named *Corambis*. (This assumption argued below.)

The name *Corambis* is a pun on *crambe bis*, as the Elizabethan would know. A courtier need only to comment: *That Polish ambassador is just another Corambis!* The mocking exclamation would be gossiped. See Figure 1.

Figure 1: *Hamlet* Q1 – Corambis mocked by Hamlet⁴⁵



(3) An actor may have introduced the pun on stage by planned direction, or by inspiration as an at-the-moment ad-lib. The logical place is in the passage where the king and queen listen to the plan the counselor proposes to trap moody Hamlet into revealing the reason for his melancholy behavior. The Elizabethan audience knows the plot of the popular play. This is where the incompetent counselor outwits himself. He will create the situation that will lead to

his own doom by impalement on Hamlet's sword—a satisfactory bloody moment, anticipated by an audience living in bloody times. An audience wearing rapiers and daggers as part of daily dress, and that contained courtiers, soldiers, and impetuous youth⁴⁶ who lived or died by their skill with the blade.

Enjoyed also is the skillful interaction of the actors as the dialogue is spoken. The counselor introduces his scheme with a run-on rambling, repetitious and circuitous sentence of forty-five words. It ends with a "full stop" (period) that is not the end of the counselor's address, I suggest, but a cue. It marks the place where the counselor abruptly stops speaking, as if silenced in mid-sentence by the king *interrupting* a seemingly unending stream of nonsense verbiage. The actor playing the king barks a royal command, undoubtedly in a tone of exasperated impatience: "What is it *Corambis*?"

This is a laugh-line. The audience is in on the joke, because it knows the commonplace pejorative *Crambe bis posita* [or *cocta*] *mors est*. The king could have limited his command to simply saying, "What is it?" By adding the name *Corambis*, he mocks by associating the hapless counselor with the pejorative *crambe bis*. It is equivalent to the king saying, "What is it? *You rambling, repetitive fool!* This is low comedy.⁴⁷

To associate Dzialinski with *crambe bis* the actor need only say: "What is it *Polonius*?" The audience, well acquainted with this popular play, anticipates hearing *Corambis*, hears *Polonius* instead. In the moment of the scandal and thereafter associated with the event, the *Polonian* known to everyone is the notorious Polish ambassador. See Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Hamlet* Q1 – Corambis mocked by the King⁴⁸

The Tragedie of Hamlet

Gil. My lord, we haue done all the best we could,
To wring from him the cause of all his griefe,
But still he puts vs off, and by no meanes
Would make an answer to that we exposde.

Roff. Yet was he something more inclin'd to mirth
Before we left him, and I take it,
He hath giuen order for a play to night,
At which he craues your highnesse company.

King With all our heart, it likes vs very well:
Gentlemen, seeke still to increafe his mirth,
Spare for no cost, our coffers shall be open,
And we vnto your selues will still be thankfull.

Both In all wee can, be sure you shall commaund.

Queene Thankes gentlemen, and what the *Queene* of
May pleasure you, be sure you shall not want. (*Denmarke*)

Gil. Weele once againe vnto the noble Prince.

King Thanks to you both: Gertred you'l see this play.

Queene My lord I will, and it ioyes me at the soule
He is inclin'd to any kinde of mirth.

Cor. Madame, I pray be ruled by me:
And my good Soueraigne, giue me leaue to speake,
We cannot yet finde out the very ground
Of his distemperance, therefore
I holde it meete, if so it please you,
Else they shall not meete, and thus it is.

King What i'st *Corambis*?

Cor. Mary my good lord this, soone when the sports are
Madam, send you in haste to speake with him,
And I my selfe will stand behind the Atras,
There quest: on you the cause of all his griefe,
And then in loue and nature vnto you, he'll tell you all:
My Lord, how thinke you on't?

King It likes vs well, Gertred, what say you?

Queene With all my heart, soone will I send for him.

Cor. My selfe will be that happy messenger,
Who hopes his griefe will be reueal'd to her. *exeuat omnes*
Enter

King
What i'st
Polonius?

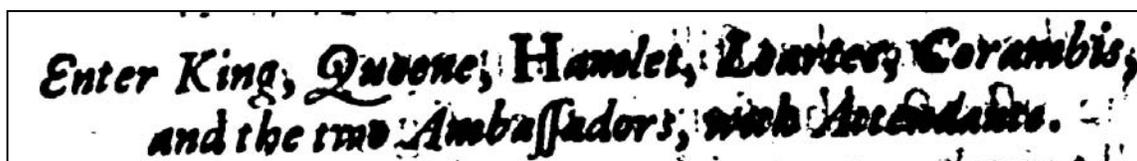
The clash in the conscious mind between the memory recalled—*Corambis*—and that heard—*Polonius*—and the association perceived, makes the pun. The critical point is that the audience hears something new, *Polonius*, while anticipating *Corambis*, that itself means *crambe bis*. The Elizabethan would delight in the doubled pun. However, the pun "works" only if *Corambis* is recalled to the conscious mind.

The above examples of how a pun could have originated are speculations. The evidence for a *Corambis*/Dzialinski pun is in *Hamlet* Q2, where it entered the documentary record of publication.

8. Mocked in Print

In 1603, just six years after the scandal, *Hamlet* Q1 appears in print with a mocked character named *Corambis* as counselor to the king. Published very soon thereafter is the Q2 revision, where Shakespeare introduces *Polonius* and *Corambis* is absent. My analysis begins with the stage direction to Act 1, Scene 2 in *Hamlet* Q1. See Figure 3.

Figure 3: Stage Direction for Q1 *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 2⁴⁹



The cue appears straightforward, explicit, and simple—as a stage direction should be. It is a mixture of proper names and job titles (to adopt a term from modern personnel management). In Q1, the actors all know the roles they are to perform. It is immaterial whether the cue is by name *or* by job title. There is no ambiguity. See Table 1.

Table 1: Q1 Stage Direction

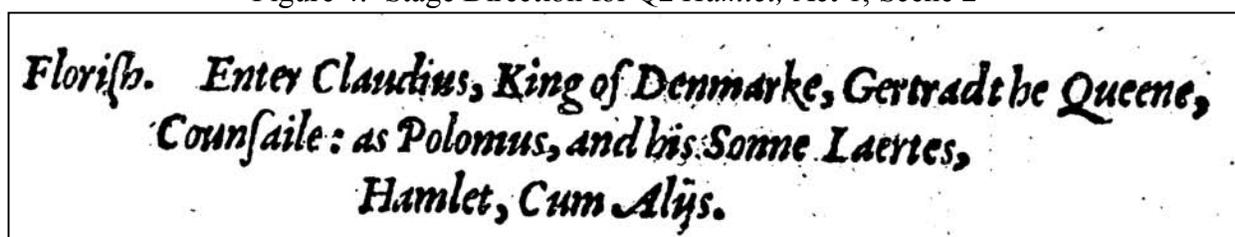
<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>
	King
	Queen
Hamlet	
Leartes	
Corambis	
	Ambassadors
	Attendants

Q1 is a script to be played on stage.⁵⁰ We can imagine what the audience would observe. The scene opens with a stately procession. Horns blare. Marching onto the stage in the

sequence cued: first, the king and queen, then the prince escorted by a companion, next is the counselor, perhaps conferring with the ambassadors as they walk together, and finally the attendants trailing behind their betters. Elizabethans would expect this order.

In the stage direction for the Q2 version of Act 1, Scene 2, Shakespeare does something very unusual. Q2 is a script too long for the stage. *Designed for reading by non-actors*,⁵¹ the stage direction is to be played-out in the mind's imagination. See Figure 4.

Figure 4: Stage Direction for Q2 *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 2⁵²



Florish is read, and the mind imagines the blare of horns. Then the mind perceives the procession by parsing through the stage instruction. As benefits his rank, leading is *Claudius, King of Denmarke*. See Table 2.

Table 2: Claudius the King

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>
Claudius	King

Now why did Shakespeare do this? The play has only one king, and only one character named Claudius. Either would be sufficient for the cue. Why does he specify *both* name and job title? *Why the doubling?* This is not a novice writing scripts! Shakespeare, in the full flowering of his genius, is doing something very deliberate.

Following the pattern established in Q1, the next cue is for *Gertradt the Queene*. Again, Shakespeare presents both the name and the job title, when either alone is sufficient.

See Table 3.

Table 3: Gertrude the Queen

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>
Claudius	King
Gertrude	Queen

The pattern becomes apparent to the mind: *first* the name, *followed* by the job title. The conscious mind now anticipates the same rule will be applied to all the actors. Following the order of the Q1 stage prompt, Q2 should be Table 4.

Table 4: Theoretical Q2, based on Q1

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>
Claudius	King
Gertrude	Queen
Hamlet	Prince
Laertes	Companion
Corambis	Counselor

Instead, an abruptly altered pattern appears with the next actor cued. The Elizabethan reader's mind has now entered into Shakespeare's trap. See Table 5.

Table 5: Corambis the Counselor

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>	<i>Other</i>
Claudius	King	
Gertrude	Queen	
	Counselor	: as Polonius

If the cue is to specify *Corambis*, then to maintain the pattern it should be: *Corambis the Counsaile*. Shakespeare did not write that! Nor did he write: *Polonius the Counsaile*. Shakespeare knows his contemporary reader would be in on the joke, because having lived in the moment of the scandal just a few years previous, the reader would perceive *Counsaile : as Polonius* to literally mean (expressed in current parlance) *the counselor, who is just like that guy from Poland*.

Shakespeare is not writing for the benefit of future generations. His need is to please the contemporary Elizabethan. For this audience there is no other candidate for a mocked

incompetent counselor originating from Poland but Dzialinski. The critical concept underlying the pun is that the word "Polonius" is a geographic allusion to the ambassador, and not a name.

The mechanism of a pun is the simultaneous placement of two clashing thoughts in the conscious mind. In this instance, *Corambis* is the name remembered and anticipated that clashes with what is read—*Counsaile : as Polonius*. The pun depends on recalling *Corambis* from memory.

Continuing the analysis, Shakespeare reinforces the pun with the next actor cued ...*and his Sonne Laertes*. Laertes is the son of Corambis, as the Elizabethan would know. The counselor can only be *Corambis*, even if not named. See Table 6.

Table 6: Son of Corambis

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>	<i>Other</i>
Claudius	King	
Gertrude	Queen	
	Counselor	: as Polonius
Laertes		his son

Glaringly apparent to the Elizabethan who is ever sensitive to puns, the only absent name is the counselor's. Shakespeare constructed the stage direction as a *triple* pun.

Original Pun: The long established and well-known general pejorative for rambling, nonsensical repetitiveness is *crambe bis*, cabbage twice served (or cooked) is death.

Doubled Pun: The use of *Corambis* to mock the stage-counselor as a *crambe bis* compounds the pun. If, as I speculate, the actors used the Q1 script and ad-libbed *What is't Polonius?*, then by 1604 the pun had become a well-known commonplace voiced on the stage. In print, however, the Elizabethan would expect to read the established name *Corambis* in the just off the press Q2.

Tripled Pun: In Q2, Shakespeare introduces a new twist, a reversal. For the past six years, by associating Dzialinski with the Q1-stage character *Corambis*, the Polish ambassador is

mocked as a *crambe bis*. Reversed in Q2, it is the stage character that is maligned by association with the Polish ambassador—*just like that guy from Poland*. Dzialinski is the new standard for incompetence against which the stage character counselor is measured!

The anatomization of the tripled pun, here laboriously dissected with many words and tables, would in an instant flash and clash in the mind of the Elizabethan who lived the moment of the diplomatic incident. With intellects well honed in the appreciation of puns, Shakespeare's audience must have enjoyed a good chuckle upon realizing the allusion is not to the expected and remembered *Corambis/crambe bis*, but to the incompetent Polish ambassador Dzialinski who scandalized their beloved monarch.

The pun made, the one-line joke completed, and the chuckle elicited, Shakespeare now closes the stage direction by simply cueing Hamlet by name, followed by *with others*, the all encompassing *cum alijs*. See Table 7.

Table 7: Hamlet with Others

<i>Name</i>	<i>Job Title</i>	<i>Other</i>
Claudius	King	
Gertrude	Queen	
	Counselor	: as Polonius
Laertes		his son
Hamlet		
		with others

Only a moment is required to read the stage direction, and then the story of the *Hamlet* tragedy continues. Shakespeare systematically replaces *Corambis* with *Polonius* throughout the script. The stage-counselor suffers the far worse mockery of association with *that guy from Poland* instead of the commonplace *cabbage twice served is death*.

Note: The "pause" symbol within the phrase—*Counsaile : as Polonius*—is the colon, whereas elsewhere in the stage direction the comma is consistently used.

9. The First Century

Death obscures the mockery. All have paid Nature's debt that lived the moment of Elizabeth's insult and attended the playing of *Hamlet* when the counselor was *Corambis*. As the cohort that was Shakespeare's audience dies, so does comprehension of the pun. In the first century of publication, the *Hamlet* Q2 version is printed thirteen times as stand-alone quartos or in the folio collections of plays. From 1604, succeeding generations will only know *Polonius*. See Table 8.

Table 8: First Century of Publication

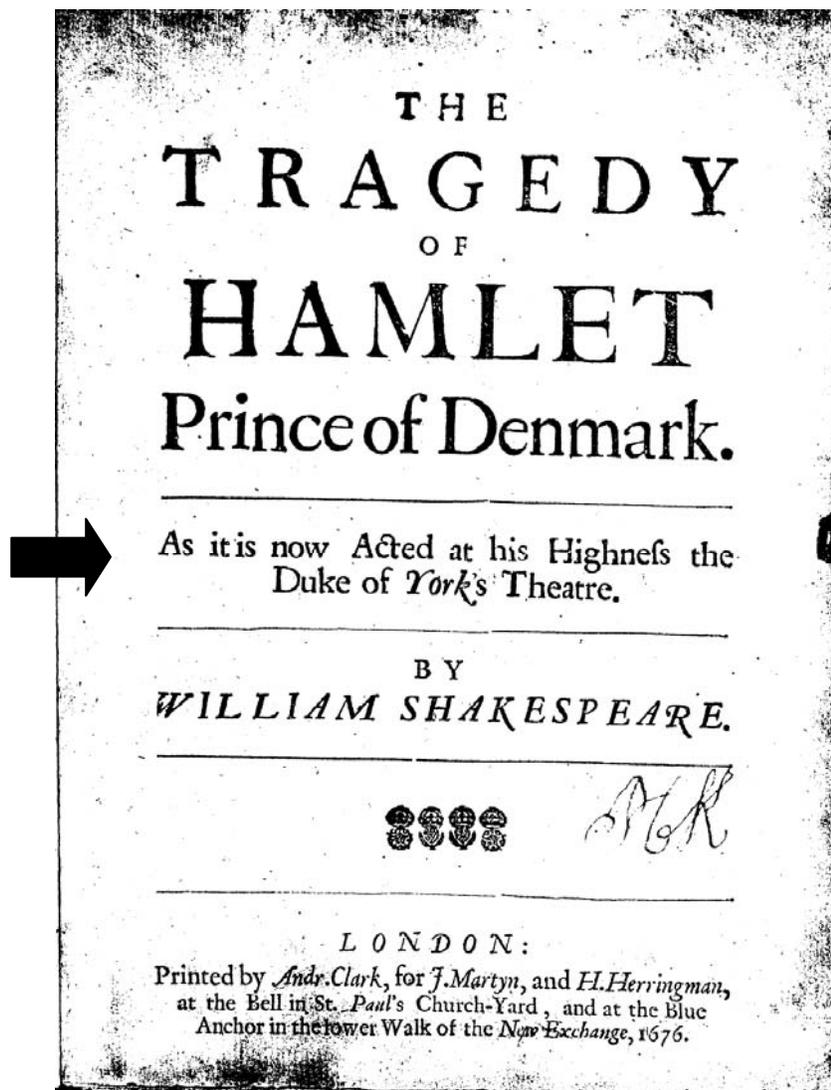
<i>Reign</i>	<i>Year</i> ⁵³	<i>Edition</i>	<i>Counselor</i>
James	1603	Q1	
	1604, 1605	Q2	
	1611	Q3	
	1623	F1	
	1625 ⁵⁴	Q4	
Charles	1632	F2	
	1637	Q5	
Interregnum	1642 - 1660	THEATERS CLOSED	
Charles II	1664	F3	
	1676	Q6 & Q7	
	1683	Q8	
James II	1685	F4	
William & Mary	1695	Q9	
Anne	1703	Q10 & Q11	

Quartos: Q2 through Q11

The pun is unchanged from Q2 through Q11. Beginning with Q5 (1637) and all quartos thereafter, the colon—*Counsaile : as Polonius*—is replaced with the comma—*Councell , as Polonius* (the spelling of "counsel" varies). If the original use of the colon was a deliberate emphasis by Shakespeare, then perhaps this "correction" hints of a lost appreciation for the pun.

Hamlet supposedly is the first play by Shakespeare offered on stage after the Restoration.⁵⁵ Quartos Q6 (1676) through Q11 (1703) are souvenirs of the stage productions.⁵⁶ See Figure 5.

Figure 5: Q6 of 1676 - Title Page⁵⁷



Omitted dialogue shortens the play, this explained to the audience by an advisement. The words *Original Copy* refers to the text of Q2. Forgotten is Q1. See Figure 6.

See Figure 8 for the stage direction. Note the many opening-double-quotation marks identifying omitted dialogue.

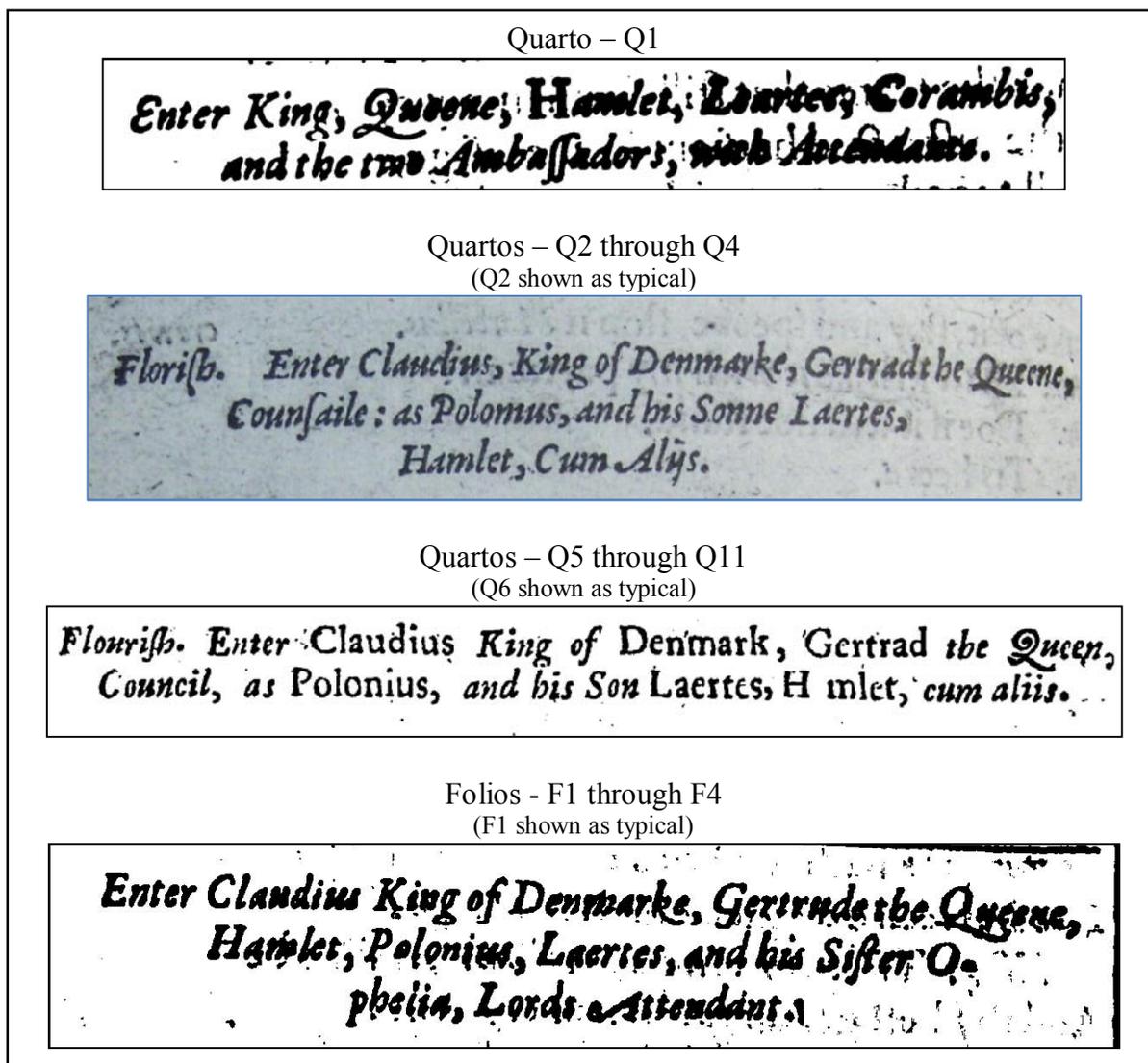
Figure 8: Q6 of 1676 – The Stage Direction and Dialogue Omitted on Stage⁶⁰

<p>4 <i>The Tragedy of</i></p> <p>Hath in the skirts of <i>Norway</i> here and there Sharkt up a list of lawles retolutes, “ For food and diet to some enterprife “ That hath a stomach int, which is noother “ As it doth well appear unto our state, “ But to recover of us by strong hand “ and Terms compulsatory, thole foresaid lands So by his Father lost: „ and this I take it Is the main motive of our preparations, “ The source of this our watch, and the chief head “ Of this post haste, and romage in the land. Bar. I think it be no other but even so: Well may it fort that this portentous figure Comes armed through our watch so like the King That was and is the question of these wars. “ <i>Hora</i>. A mote it is to trouble the minds eye. “ In the most high and flourishing state of <i>Rome</i>, “ A little e're the mightiest <i>Julius</i> fell, “ The graves flood tenants, and the sheeted dead “ Did squeak and gibber in the <i>Roman</i> streets, “ As Stars with trains of fire, and dews of blood, “ Disasters in the Sun, and the moist Star, “ Upon whose influence <i>Nephtunes</i> Empire stands, “ Was sick almost to Doomsday with eclipse, “ And even the like precursor of fierce events, “ As harbingers preceding still the fates “ And Prologue to the <i>Omen</i> coming on, “ Have heaven and earth together demonstrated “ Unto our Climates and Countrymen. [Enter Ghost. But soft, behold! lo where it comes again, Ele crofs it though it blast me: Stay illusion, If thou hast any sound, or use of voice, Speak to me: if there be any good thing to be done, That may to thee do ease, and grace to me, Speak to me. Or if thou hast uphoorded in thy life Extorted treasure in the womb of earth; For which they say your spirits oft walk in death, [The Cock crows. Speak of it, stay and speak; stop it <i>Marcellus</i>. Mar. Shall I strike it with my Partisan? Hor. Do if it will not stand.</p>	<p>“</p> <p>OMITTED DIALOGUE</p>	<p><i>Hamlet Prince of Denmark.</i> 5</p> <p>Bar. 'Tis here. Hor. 'Tis here. Mar. 'Tis gone. [Exit Ghost. We do it wrong being so majesticall, To offer it the shew of violence: It is ever as the air, invulnerable, And our vain blows malicious mockery. Bar. It was about to speak when the Cock crew. Hor. And then it started like a guilty thing Upon a fearful summons: I have heard, The Cock, that is the trumpet to the morn, Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat Awake the god of day; and at his warning, Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air, Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies To his confine; “ and of the truth herein “ This present object made prebation. Mar. It faded at the crowing of the Cock, “ Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes, “ Wherein our Saviours birth is celebrated, “ This bird of dawning singeth all night long, “ And then they say no spirit dares stir abroad, “ The nights are wholesome; then no Planets strike; “ No Fairy takes, no Witch hath power to charm; “ So hallowed and so gracious is that time. “ <i>Hor</i>. So have I heard, and do in part believe it; But look, the morn in russet mantle clad Walks o're the dew of yon high Eastern hill: Break we our watch up, and by my advice Let us impart what we have seen to night Unto young <i>Hamlet</i>; perhaps This spirit dumb to us will speak to him. “ Do you consent we shall acquaint him with it, “ As needful in our loves, fitting our duty? Mar. Lets do't I pray; and I this morning know Where we shall find him most convenient. [Exit Flourish. Enter <i>Claudius King of Denmark</i>, <i>Gertrud the Queen</i>, Council, as <i>Polonius</i>, and his Son <i>Laertes</i>, <i>Hamlet</i>, cum aliis. King. Though yet of <i>Hamlet</i> our dear brothers death The memory be green, and that it us benighted To bear our hearts in grief, and our whole Kingdom To be contracted in one brow of woe: B 3 Yet</p>
	<p>STAGE DIRECTION</p>	

Folios: F1 through F4

An alteration appears in the first folio (F1) and perpetuated in the succeeding F2 through F4. *Counsaile : as Polonius* is replaced with *Polonius*. The pun is eliminated. See Figure 9.

Figure 9: Comparison of Stage Directions, Quartos, and Folios⁶¹



Bibliographical analysis by Charlton Hinman suggests that *Hamlet* Q2 was the source document used in composing F1. Because all quartos published before F1 contain the pun, we should expect to find it in the folio, but it is not there. Why did this change happen? Hinman does not address this specific flaw, but elucidates a general rule from the statistical analysis of all

variations existing between Q2 and the many copies of F1 in the Folger Shakespeare Library. He argues that the proofreader paid close attention to errors marring the visual presentation of the text (i.e. inverted letters, omitted letters). The criterion for stopping the press to fix a *forme* (the assembled metal type forming the page to be imprinted) was to enhance the cosmetic appearance of a page. Ignored are errors in the text.⁶²

We may imagine this happening. The compositor assembles the first of the cue's three lines by plucking one piece of type after another from the type-case, setting each into the composition stick one at a time, faithfully copying the quarto's combination of names with job titles: *Florish. Enter Claudius King of Denmarke, Gertrude the Queene*. Then, in a moment of misguided inspiration, decides to simplify the cumbersome cue. He pulls out *F l o r i s h . .* Not a good idea to undo work already done, he realizes, because in his hand there are eight pieces of loose type to return to the type-case. A change of plan: he leaves the remaining portion of the line intact, and transfers the assembled type from the composition stick to the forme. This hypothesis accounts for F1 having Q2's *doubling* of the names and job titles for the king and queen.

The balance of the cue the compositor simplifies by using names only, ordered by rank—*Hamlet, Polonius, Laertes*⁶³—then suddenly, another flash of inspiration: he adds the phrase *and his Sister Ophelia*, mimicking Q2's *and his sonne Laertes*. Ophelia is not in the Q2 cue! Why this change? Did he see the playing of *Hamlet* where the Ophelia-character marched in the procession as part of *cum alij*? Did the compositor have a sister coincidentally named Ophelia? If so, then slipping her name into the cue would be a joke for his fellow compositors to appreciate, and a great story to tell to family and tavern friends. Any guess will do for the addition of *Ophelia*.⁶⁴

Two facts, however, are not guesses: (1) the physical proof of the printed page that the Q2 stage direction was not copied with fidelity; and (2) Hinman's analytically derived conclusion that the proofreader would only stop the press to correct cosmetic errors.

10. Disassociation

The compositor who made the change at the printing of F1 for whatever the reason or motivation (and the proofreader who ignored it) *did not comprehend the pun*. In 1623, no longer is the scandal of 1597 a current event: it is twenty-six years past history. The name *Corambis* has faded from memory, because for three decades only *Polonius* is in print and on stage. Even though *Legatum expectavi, Heraldum inveni* was used by James in 1621 to recall the incident of Elizabeth's insult, and the phrase will remain a metaphor remembered at least to the time of Wilson's and Sanderson's histories in the 1650's—the scandal is *disassociated* from the stage direction by the careless F1-compositor in 1623.

F1 becomes the source document for the folios that follow, perpetuating the error. In contrast, and reproduced with fidelity, the pun is in every quarto from 1604 through 1703. Two textual variants exist side by side in the first century of publication, to the puzzlement of future Shakespeare scholars.

11. Scholarly Commentary 1709 - 1823

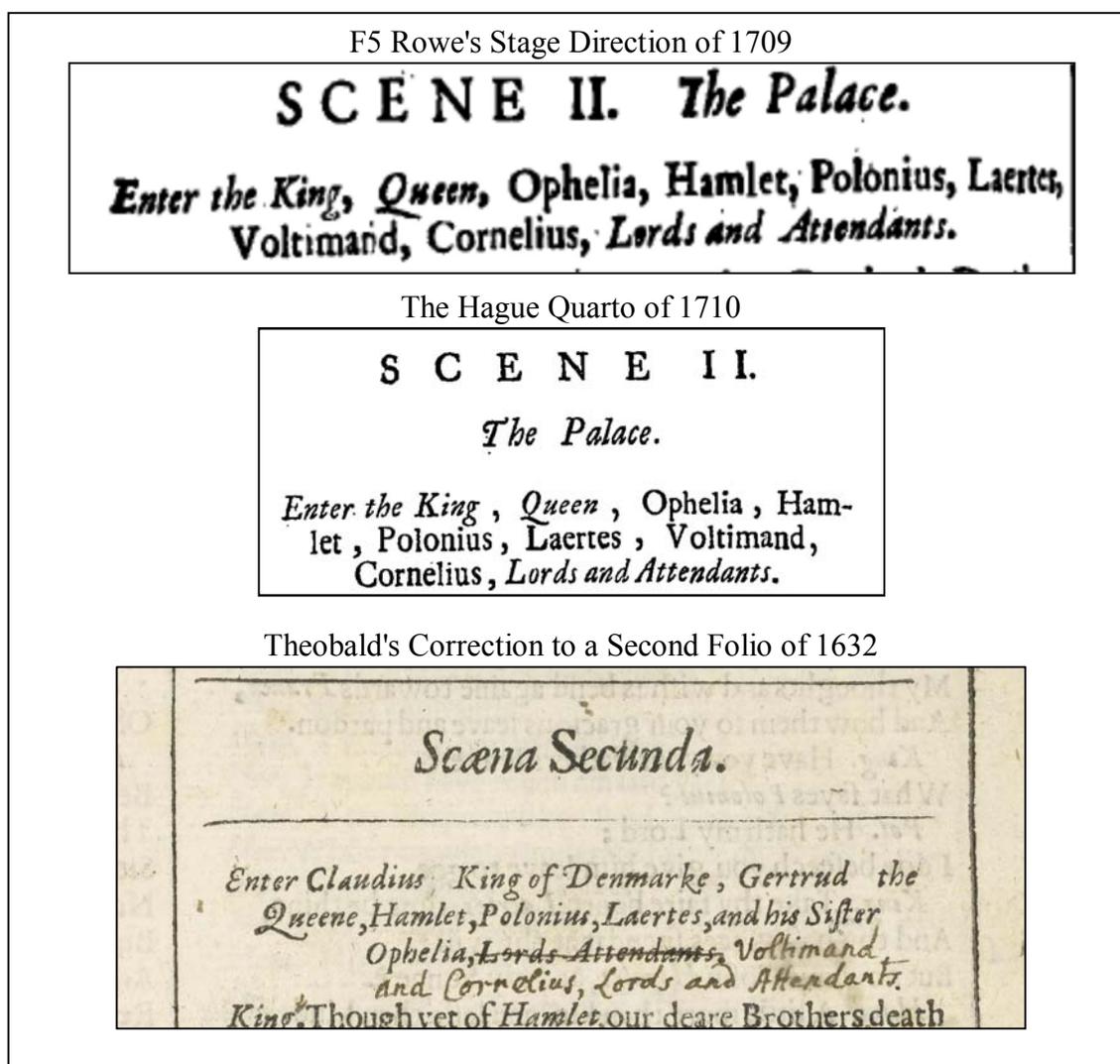
The fifth folio edition, F5 of 1709 (using *Allibone's* folio-numbering convention⁶⁵) is edited by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), who attempts to reconcile the many textual variations found in earlier printings. He explains:

I have taken some Care to redeem him [Shakespeare] from the injuries of former Impressions. I must not pretend to have restor'd this work to the Exactness of the Author's Original Manuscripts: Those are lost, or, at least, are gone beyond any Inquiry I could make; so that there was nothing left but to compare the several Editions, and give the true Reading as well as I could from thence. This I have endeavor'd to do pretty carefully, and render'd very many Places Intelligible, that

were not so before. In some of the Editions, especially the last [F4], there were many Lines, (and in *Hamlet* one whole scene) left out together, these are now all supply'd....⁶⁶

Rowe adopts a simplified but reordered stage direction. Added are *Voltimand* and *Cornelius*. The absence of Q2's *Counsaille : as Polonius* demonstrates that he did not know Q1, and the Q2 pun is not understood. The next year, in 1710, a quarto reflects Rowe's editorial decision. Hereafter, the quartos do not have the pun.⁶⁷ The cue is "corrected" to Rowe's interpretation in a 1632-F2, with marginalia attributed to the editor of the 1733-F7, Lewis Theobald (1688-1744).⁶⁸ Absolute is the disassociation of the cue from the historical event of the insult to Elizabeth's majesty. See Figure 10.

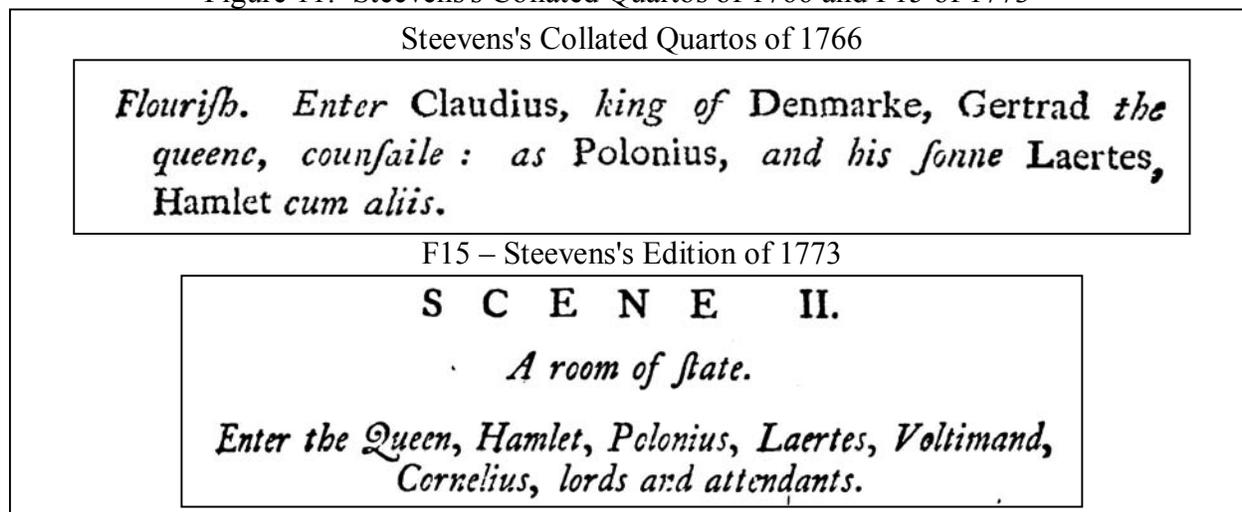
Figure 10: F5 Rowe's Revision⁶⁹



Many folio editions quickly follow, each offering the latest scholarly interpretation of what it was that Shakespeare actually wrote—Pope (F6), Theobald (F7),⁷⁰ Hanmer (F8), Pope & Warburton (F9), Blair (F10), Johnson (F11), the Edinburgh edition (F12) and Capell (F13). F14 is Johnson's F11 enhanced with the prefaces and notes from preceding editions. F15, a *variorum*, is published in 1773.⁷¹ It is extremely popular and undergoes many printings under several succeeding editors, the first being George Steevens (1736-1800). In Arthur Sherbo's estimation: "Of the great Shakespearean scholars and editors of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century only Edmond Malone can be said to have been Steevens's superior."⁷²

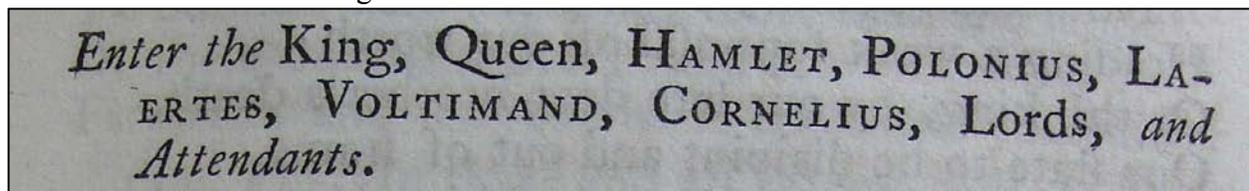
Seven years earlier, in 1766, Steevens collated all of the then known quartos of the twenty plays by Shakespeare published either in his lifetime or before the Restoration. For *Hamlet*, he only has the four editions dated: 1605, 1611, *no imprint date*, and 1637—which are Q2 through Q5. Steevens observes the same cue in all four and in the collation reproduces the stage direction *with the pun*.⁷³ However, as editor of F15, he continues the folio tradition of a simplified stage direction lacking the pun. Most important by its glaring absence, this prolific commentator offers no footnoted opinion about the difference between the early quartos and folios. See Figure 11. (Note: The F15 cue omits the king.)

Figure 11: Steevens's Collated Quartos of 1766 and F15 of 1773⁷⁴



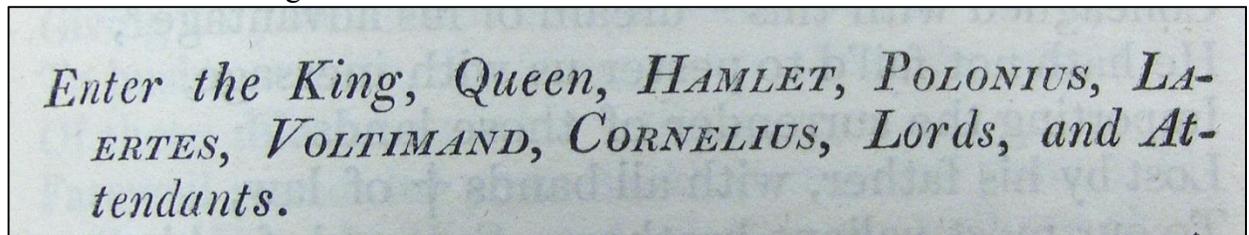
In 1793, the popular F15 is in a fourth printing, now edited by Isaac Reed (1742-1807).⁷⁷ Underwritten by a syndicate of thirty-one booksellers, the title page advertises "...with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators." Copious footnotes in *Hamlet* draw on the opinions of twenty-eight scholars.⁷⁸ After seven decades of scholarship and research since Rowe's pioneering F5, nowhere is there mention of *Corambis* or any knowledge of Q1. The stage direction in Reed's edition remains a simple cue. See Figure 13.

Figure 13: F15 – Reed's 4th Edition of 1793⁷⁹



The F15 seventh printing of 1821, edited by James Boswell (the younger, 1778-1822) from the notes of Edmond Malone (1741-1812), maintains the simple cue. See Figure 14.

Figure 14: F 15 - Boswell-Malone's 7th Edition of 1821⁸⁰



In this ferment of Shakespeare-scholarship flourished Thomas Davies (ca. 1712-1785), sufficiently notable in his day to warrant a biographical essay in John Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*.⁸¹ After study in the University of Edinburgh and failed attempts at acting,⁸² he became a bookseller and publisher. A friend of Samuel Johnson, he introduced James Boswell (senior) to him.⁸³ In the spirit of the time, he wrote commentaries on Shakespeare; Steevens used his notes.⁸⁴ Although unsuccessful on the boards, Davies never lost interest in the theater, remained on familiar terms with the London actors, and learned their lore.⁸⁵ A student and publisher of theatrical history, he authored a popular biography of Garrick.⁸⁶

David Garrick (1717-1779) was the leading actor of the era, and manager and patentee of the Drury Lane Theatre. When young, Samuel Johnson was his teacher in Litchfield, and he accompanied Johnson to London, remaining in his circle. Shakespeare scholars enjoyed free access to Garrick's important library of Elizabethan publications.⁸⁷

Davies relates this story of Garrick directing the acting of *Polonius* [emphasis made **bold**]:

The constant practice of the stage, from the revival of Hamlet, soon after the restoration, to this day, may perhaps contribute to justify my opinion of this character. **Polonius was always acted by what is termed a low comedian. . . .** About five and twenty years since, Mr. Garrick **had formed a notion that the character of Polonius had been mistaken and misrepresented by the players, and that he was not designed by the author to excite laughter and be an object of ridicule.** He imagined, I suppose, with his friend, Dr. Johnson, that his false reasoning and false wit were mere accidents in character; and that his leading feature was dotage encroaching upon wisdom, which, by the bye, is no object of theatrical satire, and far from being, what is averred by the great commentator, a noble design in the author. Full of this opinion, Mr. Garrick persuaded Woodward⁸⁸ on his benefit-night,⁸⁹ to put himself in the part of Polonius. And what was the consequence? The character, divested of his **ridiculous vivacity**, appeared to the audience flat and insipid. His dress was very different from what the part generally wore: the habit was grave and rich, cloth of scarlet and gold. **Whether this was in imitation of some statesman of the times I will not be positive, though I have heard it so asserted.** So little was the audience pleased with Woodward, or Woodward with himself, that he never after attempted Polonius.⁹⁰

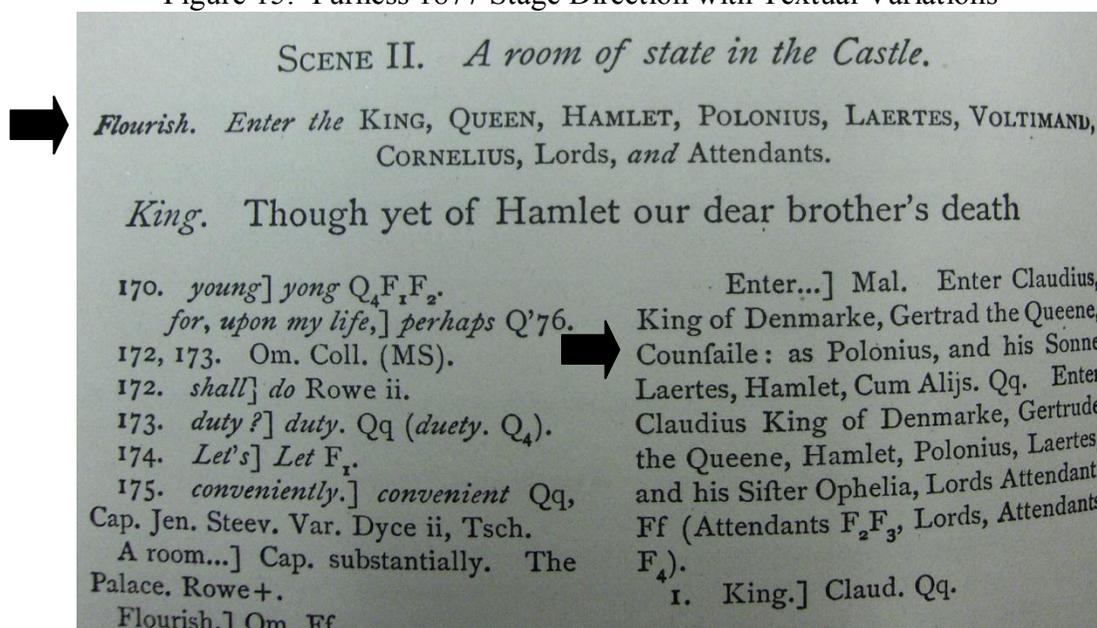
Evidenced by the above quote is the absence of any collective memory of *Corambis* and Q1 by those in the center of eighteenth century Shakespeare scholarship and London theatrical tradition. The phrase—*whether this was in imitation of some statesman of the times I will not be positive, though I have heard it so asserted*—hints at a popular historical memory still current. Although Davies gave the assertion no credence, it is intriguing that he found it necessary to mention it at all. Unfortunately, he did not record it for posterity.

Note: Davies may be a candidate for the anonymous author of the *Hamlet* essay published in 1736 (quoted above) because it voices a similar opinion about how *Polonius* is to be portrayed, and hints at representation of a historical figure. Davies would have been age 24 at the time. According to *Literary Anecdotes*, while reminiscing late in life, Davies recalled his first attempt to publish in "about the year 1742."⁹¹

12. Q1 Discovered

Established *Hamlet* scholarship was upended in 1823. Sir Henry Bunbury inherits the title and estate of his uncle, and discovers in Great Barton Hall a copy of the long-lost Q1.⁹² Ever since Rowe's F5, scholars tried to reconcile two texts, Q2 and F1. Now it is a three-way puzzle: Q1-Q2-F1. It is the more obviously important differences that have everyone's attention, such as Q1's version of Hamlet's *To be or not to be* soliloquy. Because, I suspect, Q1's stage direction is just a simple cue, similar to F1, the anomalous Q2's *Counsaille : as Polonius* continues not to be analyzed. As a result, scholars advance many ingenious theories to explain the Corambis/Polonius name change, but none recognizes the pun and makes the association with the historic event of Elizabeth's scandal. (See Appendix: Literature Survey 1838 - 2003.)

In 1877, Horace Howard Furness publishes a *variorum* edition of *Hamlet* in two volumes.⁹³ The first volume, *Text*, has the play. Furness restores *Flourish*, but otherwise maintains the folio tradition of a simple cue. Every variation from Q1 through F4 appears in the footnote. See Figure 15.

Figure 15: Furness 1877 Stage Direction with Textual Variations⁹⁴

Reserved for the second volume, *Appendix*, is the extensive commentary. A thirty-page densely printed chapter reports Q1-scholarship during the half-century since its discovery.⁹⁵ No theory is advanced for change in the counselor's name. There is no curiosity evidenced for the colon in *Counsel : as Polonius*. The pun remains unrecognized.

In a 1916 typographical analysis of *Hamlet*, J. Dover Wilson argued for the purposeful use of the colon, semi-colon, and comma symbols as cues for different dramatic purposes, but he did not discuss the Q2 stage direction as a specific example.⁹⁶ Sixteen years later in 1932, he has formed the opinion that the colon in the cue is a misprint. Wilson suggests the 1604 Q2 is printed from Shakespeare's manuscript (foul papers) and is the superior published version, while the 1623 F1 compositor used the Globe's promptbook that was a simplified version for acting on the stage.⁹⁷ He declares the person responsible for making the promptbook as: "...someone who, though often introducing technical improvements and clarifications [for the playing on the stage], even more often blurred or obliterated the author's dramatic purposes [that are found in

Q2]." Wilson reconstructs the cue in the long lost manuscript and Globe promptbook from F1 by "reverse engineering."

Wilson's argument has two parts. (1) The phrase—*Counsaile : as*—is a misprint in Q2. Copied correctly from Shakespeare's manuscript into the Globe's promptbook, the stage cue had "counselors" in the plural, and used a comma instead of the colon. Thus it should read corrected in Q2—*Counsailors , Polonius*. (2) Next, he deals with the curious ordering whereby Hamlet, a prince, who by rank should follow immediately behind the king and queen as F1 has it, instead, in Q2, trails after *Polonius, and his Sonne Laertes*. Lastly, although not in the manuscript, *Ophelia* is added in the Globe stage prompt to be part of the procession onto the stage; this Globe-alteration faithfully copied by the compositor into F1. Wilson explains this tangle by conceptualizing what it was that Shakespeare must have had in mind as he penned the manuscript:

... (1) that a meeting of the King's Council is taking place [in Q2, hence "counselors" is required in the plural], the first indeed to transact business since the combined marriage and coronation festivities [thus explaining a gala procession onto the stage] and (2) that Hamlet, in mourning [dressed in black, Wilson visualizes] and with downcast mien [because he is in mourning], enters last [behind *Polonius* and *Laertes*] of a brilliant procession in gala costume, against which his black figure shows up in startling contrast. Both of these effects are ignored in F1.... [Also, in F1, Wilson continues] ... Hamlet is brought in, in strict order of court precedence, next his mother, the Council disappears [a Globe prompt book stage simplification eliminates the counselors], and *Ophelia* is added in order to complete the *Polonius* family party [*Polonius*, his son *Laertes*, and his daughter *Ophelia*]; changes which at once ruin the [Q2's] colour-scheme and deprive the [F1's] scene of its political significance.⁹⁸

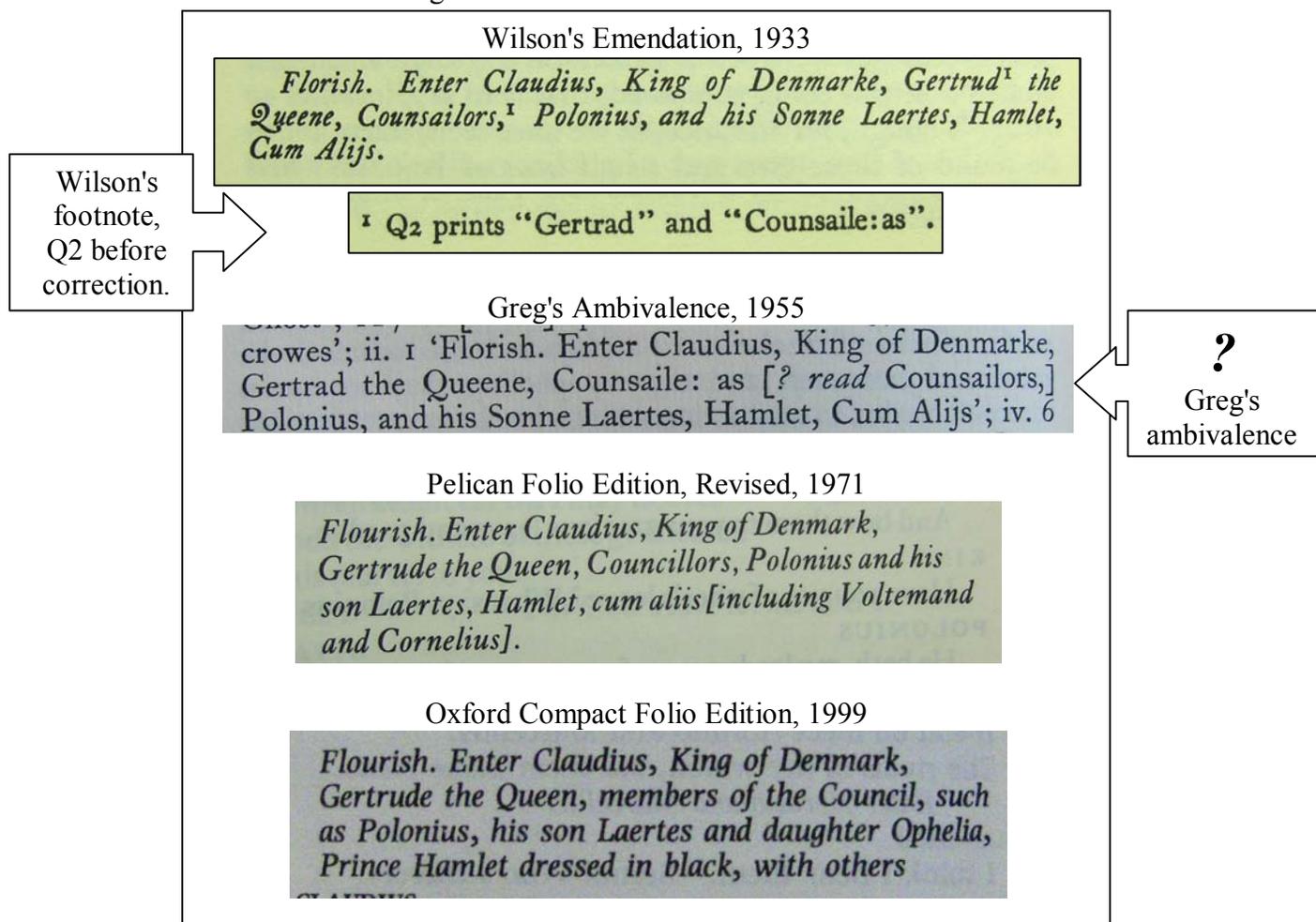
When Wilson advanced this theory as Sandars Reader in 1932, he did not have the advantage of Hinman's statistical analysis that was three decades in the future.

Alice Walker, in her 1953 publication on F1 textual problems, simply states without explanation: "...for some reason, the collator allowed much of what he found in Q2 to stand."⁹⁹

W. W. Greg has reservations about Wilson's confident explanation. Evidencing Greg's ambivalence is the use of an italicized question mark within the square brackets that delineate the suggested correction in a 1955 analysis of *Hamlet* textual problems. He does not reject Wilson's suggested correction in a 1955 analysis of *Hamlet* textual problems. He does not reject Wilson's theory outright, nor does he offer an alternative solution.¹⁰⁰

Wilson's conceptualization enters into modern folio editions. In 1971, the *Pelican* editors accept Wilson's emendation.¹⁰¹ The *Oxford* editors expand on it in a modernized 1999 version.¹⁰² Clearly, no one grasps the pun—not Wilson, Walker, Greg, or any of the editors that accepted Wilson's argument. See Figure 16.

Figure 16: Wilson's Emendation¹⁰³



Here ends the survey that tracks the history of scholarly consideration of the Q2 stage direction that was mangled in 1623 by the much too clever compositor of F1.

13. Corambis

The argument for a pun in the stage direction is dependent on Shakespeare's contemporary Elizabethan audience having prior knowledge that *Corambis* is the name of the *Hamlet* counselor and Ambassador Dzialinski insulted Queen Elizabeth. Above, I presented evidence for public knowledge about the diplomatic scandal, and here I argue for a *Corambis*-character being widely known prior to Elizabeth's embarrassment. Please note: For the purpose of this essay, the only consideration is that a pre-Q1 1603 version of *Hamlet* contained a mocked counselor named *Corambis*. I begin with two long established facts.

In the year before the diplomatic incident, on 9 June 1594, the impresario Philip Henslowe (ca. 1550-1616) recorded in his diary the playing of *Hamlet* without the coded notation "ne." Greg explains: "... where a title occurs for the first time in the Diary, and it is not marked with the letters 'ne,' the play was an old stock piece which had been previously acted by the same company."¹⁰⁴

Six years before the diplomatic incident, published in 1589 with Robert Greene's (1558-1592) *Menaphon*, is an epistle addressed *To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities* by Thomas Nash (1567-ca. 1601). Nash mocks those lacking talent and creativity to be anything more than *noverints* (clerical lawyers), who attempt to write plays by plagiarizing, and mentions *Hamlet* as the exemplar of a successful tragedy. Geoffrey Bullough suggests: "Nashe's address mentioning 'Hamlet' speeches was written before 23 August 1589, when Greene's *Menaphon* was registered. Presumably the play [*Hamlet*] was well known by then but it may have been a newish piece..."¹⁰⁵ See Figure 17.

Figure 17: Nash's 1589 reference to *Hamlet*¹⁰⁶


right; and take a little acquaintance with a few of our
 uiall translators. It is a cōmon practise now a daies amongft
 a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery arte
 and thriue by none, to leaue the trade of *Querint* whereto
 they were borne, and busie themselues with the indeuors of
 Art, that could scarcely latinize their necke-verse if they
 should haue neede; yet English *Seneca* read by candle light
 yeeldes manie good sentences, as *Bloud is a begger*, and so
 foorth : and if you intréate him faire in a frostie morning,
 he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls
 of tragical speeches. But *ô grieffe! tempus edax rerum*, what's
 that will last alwaies? The fca exhale by droppes will in
 continuance be drie, and *Seneca* let bloud line by line and
 page by page, at length must needes die to our stage: which
 makes his famisht followers to imitate the *Kidde in E-*
sop, who enamored with the Foxes newfangles, forfooke all

For convenience, I refer to this 1589 version as *Q^{nash}*. Granted, unknown is the plot, the characters, and the author of the play named *Hamlet* that Nash holds up as his standard. The tantalizing hint that *Q^{nash}* might be *Q1*—or a version very much like it with a mocked counselor named *Corambis*—is in the words of the advertisements printed on the title pages of *Q1* and *Q2*.

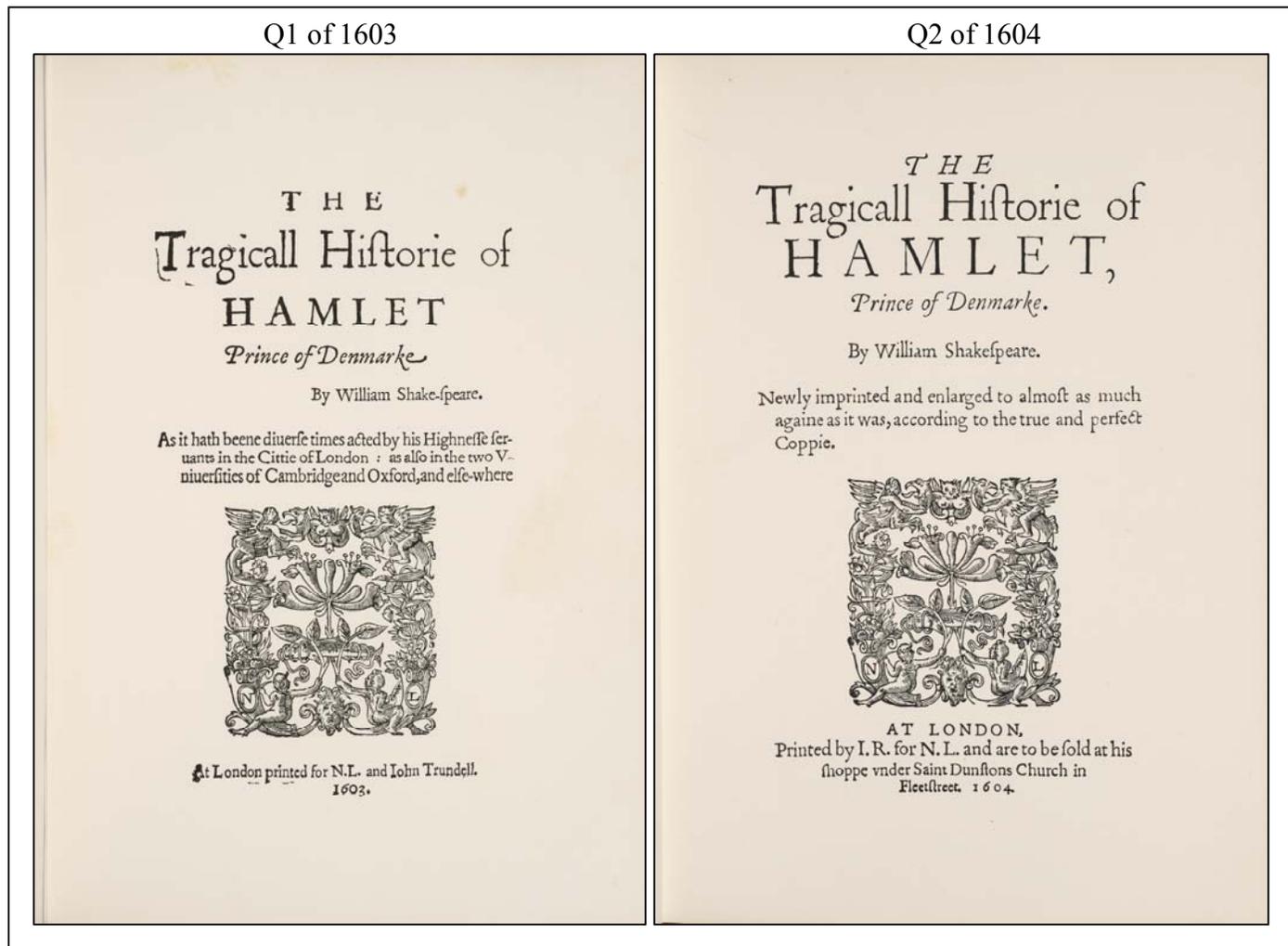
Before 1823, the earliest imprint known was the edition of 1604. The 1604 *Q2* title page's advertisement declares it to be *enlarged almost as much againe as it was*. This claim of an earlier and smaller edition that mystified every scholar since the memory of *Q1* was forgotten, is *proven true* in 1823. The 1603 *Q1* imprint is the size claimed by the 1604 *Q2* title page.¹⁰⁷

This permits a very simple supposition—if the 1604 *Q2* advertisement is true, *so also true is the advertisement in the Q1 1603 imprint*. And if also true, then so too is the claim to having been *diverse times acted* in London, the two universities and elsewhere. What then is the period of time implied by the phrase *diverse times acted*? Because an extensive time period allows the frequent acting of a popular play to be seen and discussed by many people. In 1598, the German tourist Paul Hentzner (1558-1623) recorded in his diary [emphasis made **bold**]:

Without the city [of London] are some Theatres, where English, actors represent almost every day tragedies and comedies **to very numerous audiences**; these are concluded with excellent music, variety of dances, and the excessive applause of those that are present.¹⁰⁸

In the Q1 advertisement the actors identify themselves with the honorific of being appointed King James's own troop—*his Highnesse servants*. Greg suggests: "...this edition was presumably issued after 19 May 1603 when the former Lord Chamberlain's men received their patent as servants of the King."¹⁰⁹ This marks the *end point* of the time period. Nothing in the wording in Q1's advertisement sets a *beginning point*. See Figure 18.

Figure 18: Title Pages - Q1 of 1603 and Q2 of 1604¹¹⁰



The claim asserted in the advertisement may be understood to extend back into Elizabeth's reign, back to Nash in 1589, and even earlier. Paul Menzer offers detailed arguments for the existence of a pre-Q1 *Hamlet* by unknown playwrights (who he names "Anonymous & Anonymous") that Shakespeare subsequently modifies; and an analysis of the Q1 title page.¹¹¹

Without considering the period before Nash, the fourteen-year span between Q^{nash} 1589 and Q1 1603 gives ample time for a popular play to be frequently acted as claimed—even if documentary evidence for the playing is lacking. To extend the hypothesis further: if Q^{nash} is the popular Q1, or a similar version with a mocked counselor named *Corambis*, then by the time Shakespeare composed the pun in Q2's stage direction the *Corambis*-character would be well established in Elizabethan lore.

The most persuasive argument for *Corambis* is the simple evidence that Q1 was published before Q2, if only by a year or so. This essay does not enter into the argument as to why Q1 was published in 1603, to be followed so closely by Q2. It is sufficient to recognize that *Corambis* was published before *Polonius* saw print. Also hinting to Q1's existence before Q2 is the survival of a parallel version of *Hamlet* in the German *Der bestrafte Brudermord* that has a counselor labeled with the very similar name "Corambus."¹¹²

14. Transition

In Q2, Shakespeare deliberately omits any mention of the name *Corambis*. That fact standing alone proves nothing. But, it has great force if *Corambis* was the name well known and expected, because its absence enables the making of the pun by which the curiously constructed stage direction introduces a new pejorative—*Polonius*. Whether the colon symbol was purposefully used by Shakespeare as a dramatic pause for extra emphasis or it is a compositor's liberty, by considering the phrase in its entirety and keeping the job title in the

singular—*Counsaile : as Polonius* or *Counsaile , as Polonius*—the pun is the transition point between the established name *Corambis* and the new name *Polonius*. The stage direction "works" as a pun only if the character's name to be recalled from memory is *Corambis*.

When the word *Polonius* is introduced for the first time, it is nothing more than a geographic allusion to *that guy from Poland*. The allusion marks the transition from associating the mocked counselor character in *Hamlet* with *crambe bis*, to the even worse association by comparing to Ambassador Paulus Dyzialinski—forever renaming *Corambis* to *Polonius*.

15. Association Restored

Historians of Elizabeth's reign who study Camden and Speed always knew the Polish ambassador's name and his insult to the queen's majesty. Shakespearian scholars, however, lost the association to the historical incident after the overly ambitious and unnecessarily creative compositor of F1 simplified the Q2 stage direction.

The process of restoring the association begins with the discovery of the *Cecil to Essex* letter.

The letter entered the holdings of the British Museum in 1807 as part of the *Lansdowne Collection*. Henry Ellis, then the Keeper of Manuscripts, supervised the publication of the *Lansdowne Collection* catalog in 1819, in which the letter is described and reference is made to Camden's *Annals*.¹¹³ In 1824, Ellis edits publication of the complete letter in *Original Letters*, with a prefatory introduction referencing Speed's account of the incident.¹¹⁴ The letter itself does not name the ambassador, nor does Ellis in the catalog entry or in the introduction, though he is certainly aware of it from Camden and Speed.

Fourteen years later in 1838, Thomas Wright publishes his edition of letters entitled *Elizabeth and Her Times* that deals with political events and governance. In the *Preface*, Wright

credits Ellis's earlier publications from which he draws. The *Cecil to Essex* letter is truncated. Severely compressed into a footnote is Ellis's prefatory introduction; the quotation from Speed remaining, but the reference to Speed omitted. Wright obscures the clue to where the Polish ambassador's name is found.¹¹⁵

Elizabeth's Latin reply to the ambassador with an English translation is in the Cecil archives maintained at Hatfield House. Published in 1899, the introductory comment and the heading to the English translation refer only to an unnamed Polish ambassador.¹¹⁶

In 1924, Francis Griffin Stokes published a Shakespeare dictionary wherein he cross-references "Corambis," "Corambus," "Poland," and "Polonius." Specifically mentioned in the "Poland" entry is the unnamed ambassador's embassy to Elizabeth. Not referenced is the diplomatic scandal. Nor is the Polish ambassador linked to the cross-referenced names "Corambis" and "Corambus."¹¹⁷

In 1968, the Polish scholar Witold Chwalewik in his *Anglo-Polish Renaissance Texts*, mentions Dzilaynski (by surname only), recognizes the insult implied by the name *Polonius*, and suggests the change in name from *Polonius* to *Corambis*—he holds that Q2's *Polonius* preceded Q1's *Corambis*—was censorship to prevent public mocking of anything Polish while Elizabeth's government attempted to mend relations with Poland. The pun in the stage direction is not recognized.¹¹⁸

Geoffrey Bullough in 1973 publishes *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. Under the category cautiously labeled "Probable Historical Allusions," as item "D," he reprints the truncated letter from Wright's edition.¹¹⁹ In the fifty-six page introductory section to *Hamlet*, when comparing Q1 to Q2, he recognizes "...there are remarkable differences between the two [names] ...Polonius is called Corambis...."¹²⁰ He says of *Polonius* [emphasis made **bold**]:

In 1597 a Polish ambassador [whom Bullough does not name], protesting too vigorously against English privateers in the Baltic, provoked Elizabeth to magnificent scorn...

...

Probably the name Polonius for the King's confidential advisor was given in or after 1598, for in that year there was published an anonymous translation, *The Counsellor*, by the Polish statesman Grimaldus Goslicius (Grzymala Goslicki), of a Latin work originally published in Venice in 1563. ... **The name 'Polonius' attached to such a character would have comic point** only after the publication of Goslicius' book and **when the dispute with Poland was still fresh**, i.e. 1598-1602. Maybe to avoid offence 'Corambis' was substituted in the theatre-version from which Q1 was taken, but Polonius survived in the Q2 and F1 copy. 'Corambis' may have been in the *Ur-Hamlet*.¹²¹

Bullough knows: (1) the *Cecil to Essex* letter, (2) the Q1-Q2-F1 editions, (3) Shakespeare used the name *Polonius* for a comic purpose, and (4) that this all somehow relates to the "still fresh" Polish affair. Yet, even with all this information, because the Polish scholar Chwalewik influences him about the importance of Goslicius' *The Counsellor*, Bullough fixates on the possibility that *Polonius* is an allusion to Grimaldus Goslicius. He does not report the name of the ambassador, nor does he grasp the pun.

Janet M. Green names the ambassador. In an article published in the *Sixteenth Century Journal* in 2000, her focus is on Elizabeth's command of Latin. In this context she discusses the scandal, the manuscripts recording the queen's reply to the ambassador, and the *Cecil to Essex* letter. Except for one reference to *Hamlet* unrelated to the stage direction, Green does not consider the theatrical consequence of the scandal that renamed *Corambis* to *Polonius*.¹²²

Bernice W. Kliman calls the attention of Shakespearian scholars to the association in an article devoted to *Polonius* published in 2002, in *Shakespeare Bulletin*. After a concise review of the various arguments advanced to explain the Corambis/Polonius conundrum, she references the *Cecil to Essex* correspondence as published by both Wright and Bullough. Before describing the letter's contents, she offers the idea that "...Shakespeare may have also introduced the name

Polonius as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth...."¹²³ Kliman recognizes that Shakespeare renamed the counselor from *Corambis* to *Polonius* for a purpose related to the scandal.

Seven years later, in 2009, Paulus Dzialinski's name again is brought to the attention of Shakespearian scholars. Teresa Baluk-Ulewiczowa, an authority on Grimaldus Goslicius, in her book *Goslicius' Ideal Senator...Shakespearean Reflections*, devotes several pages to the diplomatic scandal. Baluk-Ulewiczowa quotes and translates portions of Dzialinski's report extant in Polish archives, providing the important perspective of a contemporary eyewitness testimony to the diplomatic scandal by the very person who angered Elizabeth.¹²⁴

16. Conclusion

Polonius is the king's counselor, the father of Laertes and Ophelia, mocked and murdered by Hamlet. Innumerable persons have learned this in centuries past, and will learn it in the future for as long as English is spoken and Shakespeare is studied. However, not known by the uncountable multitude is that *Polonius* is an allusion to a most minor of figures who once strode but for an instant on the political stage of Elizabethan history. A hapless ambassador, while faithfully fulfilling his orders to deliver an ultimatum to Queen Elizabeth, acted not as a legate, but inappropriately and scandalously as a herald, earning for him the briefest of entries in the chronicles of her reign. In making a pun alluding to the scandal to amuse his contemporary audience, Shakespeare inadvertently bestowed immortal anonymous fame on the Polish ambassador Paulus Dzialinski.

Obscured for four centuries by a compositor's error in the First Folio of 1623, the mechanism that Shakespeare chose to transition from the mockery inherent in the name *Corambis* to the even worse pejorative *Polonius* is by a pun masquerading as a stage direction in *Hamlet* Q2, act 1, scene 2.

Appendix: Literature Survey 1838 - 2003

After the discovery in 1823 of *Hamlet* Q1 1603, many theories were advanced to explain the Corambis/Polonius conundrum. The arguments fall into three categories: (1) A Polish association of some sort. (2) Something other than a Polish association. (3) The problem is just ignored. The survey is in chronological order.

1. 1838. In a monograph dedicated to Polonius, William Maginn concludes: "[t]he Queen [Elizabeth] was fond both of ceremony and statecraft; but I doubt very much that the old gentleman [Polonius] in *Hamlet* is intended for anything more than a general personification of ceremonious courtiers." Although Q1 was known in 1838, Maginn does not mention Corambis, nor does he explain the meaning behind the name Polonius.¹²⁵

2. 1843. In an essay on *Hamlet*, P. MacDonell acknowledges Q1, but makes no mention of the change of name from Corambis to Polonius. He comments: "...the edition published in 1603, was deficient in many of those beauties which the more mature genius of the poet at an after period created." In a note, he further says:

...a copy of the play in its first state...has recently been discovered. The variations of this early copy from the play of Hamlet in its improved state, are too numerous and striking to admit a doubt of the play having been subsequently revised, amplified, and altered by the poet....¹²⁶

3. 1843. John Payne Collier wrote an extensive introductory note to *Hamlet* in his edition of Shakespeare, wherein he analyzes Q1 1603:

...We feel confident, however, that the "Hamlet" which has come down to us in at least six quarto impressions, in the folio of 1623, and in the later impressions in that form, was not written until the winter of 1601, or the spring of 1602.

Malone, Steevens, and the other commentators, were acquainted with no edition anterior to the quarto of 1604, which professes to be "enlarged to almost as much again as it was:" they, therefore, reasonably suspected that it had been printed before; and within the last twenty years a single copy of an edition in 1603 has been discovered. This, in fact, seems to have been the abbreviated and imperfect edition, consisting of only about half as much as the impression of 1604. It belongs to the Duke of Devonshire, and by the favour of his Grace, is now before us...

Collier offers his theory about the process by which the text of the 1603 edition came to be from his personal experience when he was a young reporter for a London daily paper. He became proficient in short-hand to take notes while in the gallery of Parliament, to record the debates and

proceedings for the newspaper. Collier offers the theory of the plagiarist who attempted to record surreptitiously while a spectator in a theater during the playing of the Q2 version:

As an accurate reprint was made in 1825 of "The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke," 1603, it will be unnecessary to go in detail into proofs to establish, as we could do without much difficulty, the following points:— 1. That great part of the play, as it there stands, was taken down in short-hand. 2. That where mechanical skill failed the short-hand writer, he either filled up the blanks from memory, or employed an inferior writer to assist him. 3. That although some of the scenes were carelessly transposed, and others entirely omitted in the edition of 1603, the drama, as it was acted while the short-hand writer was employed in taking it down, was, in all its main features, the same as the more perfect copy of the tragedy printed with the date 1604. It is true that the edition of 1603 Polonius is called Corambis, and his servant Montano, and we may not be able to determine why these changes were made in the immediate subsequent impression; but we may perhaps conjecture that they were names in the older play on the same story, or names which Shakespeare at first introduced, and subsequently thought fit to reject. We know that Ben Jonson changed the whole *dramatis personæ* of his "Every Man in his Humour."¹²⁷

4. 1844. In Collier's follow-up publication *Notes and Emendations*, there is no mention of Q1 *Corambis*.¹²⁸

5. 1844. Alexander Dyce makes reference to Q1, but has no comments on the change of the Lord Chamberlain's name.¹²⁹

6. 1845. Joseph Hunter, in his essay on *Hamlet*, deals with the differences between Q1 and subsequent quartos. However, he never mentions the name Corambis, nor does he offer an explanation for the Corambis and Polonius names. Only referring to the Polonius-name, Hunter says: "Polonius is the dull prosing politician of his time. There is probably much personal satire in the character." He suggests possible candidates: Lord Burghley, Sir Henry Sydney, and the Earl of Northumberland. Then he concludes:

That there were some individual nobleman more particularly pointed at in the character of Polonius I can entertain no doubt, nor that some attentive observer of the men of those times will one day trace the poet home [that is, uncover who Shakespeare used as the model for the character]...¹³⁰

7. 1847. Gulian C. Verplanck's edition of Shakespeare acknowledges Q1 in the "Introductory Remarks" section to *Hamlet*. In the closing "Notes" section, he mentions the two names of the Lord Chamberlain without explaining the change:

...The first edition of Hamlet [Q1] bears the marks of a pirated and very inaccurate copy; still it is not a mutilated abridgement of the piece as we now have it [Q2], but an imperfect transcript of the poet's original sketch. This appears from the fact, that the difference consists not only in improved dialogue,

added poetry of language and imagery, and more excursive thought, but also in some variation of the plot, as well as minor changes as to names, etc. Polonius is called Corambis....¹³¹

8. 1848. Fifteen lectures on Shakespeare by Henry Norman Hudson, contains, as Lecture XI, an analysis of the characters in *Hamlet*. Ten pages are devoted to Polonius. There is no mention of Q1 "Corambis" or the meaning behind the name "Polonius."¹³²

9. 1853. In the introduction to *Hamlet*, Collier compares Q1 to Q2 and other quartos and the folio editions of *Hamlet*. He acknowledges the Corambis/Polonius conundrum, but offers no reason for the two names:

...It is true, that in the edition of 1603 [Q1], Polonius is called Corambis, and his servant Montano, and we may not be able to determine why these changes were made in the immediately subsequent impression [1604 Q2]; but we may perhaps conjecture that they were names in the older play on the same story, or names that Shakespeare at first introduced, and subsequently thought fit to reject...¹³³

10. 1856. Michael William Rooney, the proprietor of a Dublin bookstore named *The Sign of Shakspeare's Head*, purchased the second known version of Q1 from a customer whose family possessed it for 150 years. The first known Q1, the Lord Devonshire copy, had the title page, but lacked the last page of text. The copy Rooney purchased in 1856 wanted the title page, but was otherwise complete. The two together represented the complete Q1. Rooney published a pamphlet describing the events of the discovery of the second Q1 copy. He argues that Q1 was a pirated version of an earlier *Hamlet* that preceded the revised and improved Q2. The argument rests in large part on the *assumption* that if Q1 was, indeed, a pirated copy of Q2, the Lord Chamberlain's name would have been copied as *Polonius*. Therefore, it was pirated from a version of *Hamlet* that preceded Q2, because the name is *Corambis*. Having made this point, Rooney, does not explain the meaning behind the names.

"Hamlet" is undoubtedly one of those "pirated plays" alluded to by the editors of the first folio; but how it was obtained will be always a matter of doubt and speculation. Commentators and editors of "Shakspeare" [*sic*] have their different theories. Some argue, with all appearance of truth, that it was "printed from a stage copy fraudulently obtained". [*sic* punctuation.] Others are of opinion that it was taken down during representation [*sic*], by an expert short-hand writer, "who in transcribing it for the printer, committed those numerous errors we find in the pirated [Q1] quarto", [*sic*] because different words are represented in that art [*sic*] by the same characters. Either speculation goes far to establish my opinion, "that the first edition of Hamlet" was pirated before the end of the sixteenth century. "Hamlet", [*sic*] according to internal evidence, was "enlarged" before the year 1601—at least before 1603. If so, why would the possessor of the prompter's copy print from an obsolete manuscript a play then enjoying so much of the public favour? if [*sic*] he were to do so, and had no means of adding the improvements then made in it [referring to Q2], he would at least have altered the character of "Corambis" to "Polonius", [*sic*] as it [the Lord Chamberlain

character] had been called, to give it the appearance of the improved [Q2] version, and not have it [Q1] bear on its very face the means of condemning it[self] before the public. If it had been taken down in short-hand, it must have been before the present [Q2] "Hamlet" was first played; but it is improbable that the short-hand writer, or his employer the printer, would proceed to publish it without attending to some of its later representations, to improve or amend it....¹³⁴

11. 1857. Alexander Dyce does refer to Q1 in his notes on *Hamlet*, in his edition of Shakespeare's works, but makes no reference to the change to the Lord Chamberlain's name.¹³⁵

12. 1857. Tycho Mommsen submitted a letter to the editor of *The Athenæum* wherein he presented sixteen arguments in analyzing the 'first versions' of 'Hamlet' 1603 and 'Romeo and Juliet' 1597. In the fourth argument, he suggests:

Very often the blunders of the mutilated 'Hamlet' [Q1 1603] seemed caused by abbreviations, eked out in a wrong way by an unskilful [*sic*] and ignorant reviser. Even the new names we find in 'Hamlet,' 1603,—those of *Corambis* (for *Polonius*), and *Montano* (for Reynaldo),—might be traced to the same source, if we think them pieced out from *Cor.* and *Mon.*, which might mean *Courtier* and *Man of Polonius*.¹³⁶

13. 1860. Nicholas Esterhazy Stephen Armytage Hamilton published his suspicions that the marginal corrections by an unknown seventeenth century hand (who Collier named the "Old Corrector"), in a 1632-folio discovered by Collier, was a modern fabrication. Hamilton analyzes Collier's corrections to *Hamlet* and presents proof of the falsity of marginal corrections by the "Old Corrector." Q1 *Corambis* is not included in this critical analysis by Hamilton.¹³⁷

14. 1875. In his survey of English dramatic literature, Adolphus William Ward discusses the differences between Q1 and Q2: "It is as to the nature of the First Quarto that a controversy of great importance has been carried on by a succession of critics. The personage called Polonius in the Second Quarto and afterwards here bears the name of Corambis..." Ward then confidently informs: "Burghley is of course Polonius."¹³⁸

15. 1876. C. Elliot Browne suggests Corambis was the original name, and changed because "...Polonius is probably the typical Pole diplomatist and counselor...." Browne gives credence to the proposition of Sir Israel Gollancz, who suggests Corambis is a buffoon-name derived from *crambe repetita* (cabbage served up again). Browne also suggests the name was later revised to *Polonius* after Shakespeare *refined* the play. Obviously, Browne was unaware of the historical reason for the change.

Three characters in the first edition of *Hamlet* were re-named [*sic*] in the second impression. Corambis was altered to Polonius, his servant Montano to Reynaldo, and Albertus, the name of the murdered duke in the Play, became Gonzago. With the exception of Falstaff, these are the only instances in which Shakespeare is known to have made any changes in the names of his *dramatis personæ*. In the case of Corambis we may infer, perhaps, that when the poet's magic had

transformed the low buffoon-courtier of the older drama into the highly-finished portrait of the Danish chancellor which we now possess, it became necessary to rid him of old associations by giving him a new name. Polonius is probably the typical Pole diplomatist and counselor. The inhabitants of Poland at that time were known in England as Polonians, and the elective kingdom, with its elaborate system of assemblies and diets, was pre-eminently the land of policy and intrigue. The traditional Polonius, indeed, answers very nearly to the old marshals of Poland, who always carried the wand of office before the king. Corambis sounds like a pastoral name, derived, perhaps, from *Corymbus*.¹³⁹

16. 1875. William Carew Hazlitt edited the second edition of Collier's *Shakespeare's Library*, which contains the presumed foundation stories that Collier argues were used by Shakespeare as models for his works. In Hazlitt's introduction to the presumed precursor for the Q2 *Hamlet*, he acknowledges Q1 of 1603 when he mentions "...in print before 1603...." But as the reference of an earlier publication is to a presumed earlier edition of the 1608 *Hystorie of Hamblet*, Hazlitt does not discuss the Q1 of 1603. He does take the editorial liberty of suggesting that Q2 was Shakespeare's own creation.

In republishing once more the old English version of the story of the Danish prince from the collection of Belleforest, the present editor [Hazlitt] defers to Mr. Collier's precedent, his own suspicion being that, even if the prose "History of Hamlet" [*Hystorie of Hamblet* published in 1608] was originally in print before [the Q1 of] 1603 — of which there appears to be no proof [that the 1608 *Hystorie of Hamblet* precursor actually saw print before Q1] — Shakespeare resorted to the earlier drama on the subject, and make the piece what it is out of the inexhaustible resources of his own marvelous mind.¹⁴⁰

17. 1877: Francis Jacox's eighty-page monograph focuses on the traits of *Polonius*, and discusses parallel examples from the literature. There is no mention of Corambis.¹⁴¹

18. 1883: Georg Gottfried Gervinus' monograph on *Hamlet* argues the name change is proof that Q1 is Shakespeare's "earlier design," while Q2 is the "riper work." Although Gervinus offers a lengthy interpretation of the Lord Chamberlain's character, he does not explain why the change in name came about.¹⁴²

19. 1884. Jacob Feis argues that the material included in Q2 that is not found in Q1 is Shakespeare's incorporation into *Hamlet* allusions from Montaigne's *Essaies*. Feis mentions "Polonius" six times, but never "Corambis."¹⁴³

20. 1904. Sir Israel Gollancz suggests *Polonius* is not meant to represent anything Polish:

...The name Corambis, probably invented by the older dramatist [who preceded Shakespeare and worked on the *Ur-Hamlet*], suggested connexion with the Latin phrase *crambe repetita*...used as a synonym for tedious and unpleasant iterations...[see item 14, below]. The character was probably easily suggestive of Burleigh. The aged statesman had died in 1598, and his son, Robert Cecil, was

one of the foremost men of the State. Shakespeare, working at the old play after that date, was anxious to make it clear that his 'Counsellor'...was not a stage caricature of the great English statesman, so he called the character by the new name. It was contrary to historical data that the Counsellor of the King of Denmark should bear a name which could only mean the Polonian or the Pole....¹⁴⁴

21. 1904. Wilhelm Creizenach, in his analysis of the *Der Betrafte Brudermord* that used "Corambus" ("Corambis") instead of "Polonius" failed to reconcile the two names: "But why the name Corambus should occur instead of Polonius, whether there was any covert allusion in the latter name and the actors on that account were afraid to utter it aloud from the stage—this of course we cannot determine now."¹⁴⁵

22. 1908. Richard Limberger explains the character of Q2-*Polonius* in a forty-one monograph for the German reader, but does not mention Q1-*Corambis*.¹⁴⁶

23. 1915. Henry David Gray summarizes the scholarship on the argument whether Q1 was an earlier version of *Hamlet* by Shakespeare or a distorted pirated copy. In the arguments for the position he adopts he admits: "...I can give no reason for the changing of the names Corambis and Montano to Polonius and Reynaldo...."¹⁴⁷

24. 1918. John Dover Wilson ignores the meaning behind the names and the reason for the change in names. *Corambis/Polonius* is mentioned in the briefest possible way in this analysis of Q1.¹⁴⁸

25. 1924. Francis Griffin Stokes' definitions and explanations of characters and names fails to link or *associate* (cross-reference) the unnamed Polish ambassador with the character of *Polonius*:

CORAMBIS. The name of Polonius in the First Quarto of Hamlet (1603). See CORAMBUS (2).

CORAMBUS (2). The name of Polonius in the early German play on the subject of Hamlet, which is supposed to have been introduced into Germany by English Players in 1603.

POLAND. A former kingdom of Europe; its ruler, 1587-1632, was Sigismund III; a Polish ambassador visited Elizabeth's Court in 1597.

POLONIUS. *Haml[et]* Lord Chamberlain...see CORAMBIS.¹⁴⁹

Stokes's *Dictionary* is focused on Shakespeare, and he records the Polish embassy of 1597. Yet the historic association of the embassy with *Hamlet* is unknown to Stokes!

26. 1930. E. K. Chambers speculated the name change was a "theatrical allusion to Polish affairs," but failed to recognize the underlying details of the historical event. This is just one of

several theories that Chambers considers, but does not choose as being correct. Chambers is committed to the idea that Q1 is a derivative of Q2. Of the Polish involvement, Chambers writes:

...Two other divergences in Q1 are noteworthy. For the names of Polonius and his servant Reynaldo we get Corambis and Montano. It is impossible that these should...be mishearing of the reporter [the presumed plagiarism of the *Hamlet* Q2 that was published as Q1]. Many students have assumed that Corambis and Montano were the earlier names, but there is nothing to show this, and if I am right in supposing Q1 dependent of Q2...Shakespeare used the name Corambus [*sic*] in *Alls Well*, iv.3.185. ... I do not profess to solve the mystery. But some theatrical allusion to Polish affairs seemed to me a possible element in the trouble about *The Isle of Dogs* in 1597....¹⁵⁰

27. 1936. G. W. Phillips discerns Shakespeare modeling the Lord Chamberlain on Cecil, Lord Burghley. To Phillips, *Polonius* is an Englishman.

In the first quarto *Hamlet*, Polonius was named Corambis; which seems to be a pointed (and perhaps too plain) allusion to Burghley's specious motto "Cor unum via una" and the likeness of Polonius to Burghley has frequently been perceived....Polonius talks like Cecil, behaves like Cecil, and looks like Cecil....¹⁵¹

28. 1940. George Ian Duthie reviews a great variety of explanations for the change in name. One novel speculation Duthie considers is that the original actor of the Lord Chamberlain character was the comedian William Kemp, who played the buffoonish character Corambis. The stage character became so associated with Kemp, that when he left the troop in 1599, Duthie hypothesizes, Shakespeare changed the name to Polonius. After considering this along with the several other theories, Duthie summarizes: "I cannot see that it is possible to leave this problem [of the change in name] in any other than a profoundly unsatisfactory state...."¹⁵²

29. 1953. Josephine Waters Bennett argues persuasively the improbability that *Polonius* is a caricature of Lord Burghley or Lord Hunsdon, but she offers no alternative candidate.¹⁵³

30. 1953. R. H. Bowers argues against Sir Israel Gollancz's suggestion that *Polonius* is a reference to the Polish man Laurentius Grimaldus Goslicius. Bowers, who examined the source document, writes "...I can find nothing to substantiate Gollancz's claim...."

...the proper name Polonius (from the Latin *Polonia*) was suggested to Shakespeare by the fact that a distinguished Polish writer on public affairs, Laurentius Grimaldus Goslicius, who died as Bishop of Posen in 1607, had made a name for himself as an authority on how to counsel a ruler in his magnum opus, *De Optimo Senatore Libri II*. This work was first printed in 1568 in Venice by Zilletus and was translated into English in 1598....I believe that it would be impossible to convince any serious scholar that Shakespeare was influenced by this text when he was writing *Hamlet*; but the possibility, however remote, that

the proper name Polonius was suggested to Shakespeare by the reputation of the author of this treatise cannot be wholly ignored.¹⁵⁴

31. 1955. W. W. Gregg suggests the name *Corambus* in the *Brudermord* version of the German *Hamlet* was adopted from *All's Well*, and that the name *Corambis* is "...one of Q1's habitual corruptions." He theorizes:

...The most plausible suggestion respecting the change of names, though it is not altogether satisfactory, is that Corambus [*sic*] and Montano were those [names] born by the characters in the early *Hamlet* and that they were there, or had at least become on stage, recognizable caricatures of Lord Burghley and one of his followers; that Shakespeare, rewriting the play soon after Burghley's death in 1598, thought it more decent to alter them to Polonius and Reynaldo;...Polonius was probably so named in memory of the great Polish statesman and writer Laurentis Grimaldus Goslicius, whose book entitled *The Counsellor* appeared in an English translation the year of Burghley's death.¹⁵⁵

32. 1967. Doris V. Falk explains the pun behind the Corambis-cabbage reference, and that the Elizabethans commonly knew it. Falk does not explain *why* the Lord Chamberlain's name was changed, but makes the important observation that to abandon the pun implied by Corambis, there must have been *a significant reason* for the use of *Polonius*. As for the pun on cabbage, Falk explains:

...Two important clues to the character of Polonius are provided by Q1. The first of these, of course, is the fact that many of Polonius's lines—twelve of the twenty in the Q1 version of his opening speech—are *sententiae*, so indicated by inverted commas set at the beginning of each line. The quotation marks inform us immediately that these lines are proverbial, in the public domain, and not necessarily original with Shakespeare. The second clue lies in the Q1 name for Polonius, "Corambis". Whether the name was original with Shakespeare or was taken over from some early source, it seems to have been a pun with a proverbial derivation, which would have typed Polonius as clearly as if he had been called "Senex" or "Pantaloone". The Elizabethan version of the proverb was "*Crambe bis posita* [or *cocta*] *mors est*." Cabbage twice served (or cooked) is death. The Latin "*crambe repitita*" was an ancient commonplace; Juvenal uses it in the "Satire on Scholarship and Writers (VII, 154) "*Occidit miseros crambe repitita magistros*; i.e. The student slays his poor teachers with the recooked—said over-again, regurgitated—cabbage. The Elizabethans referred to *crambe* as "twice-sod" or "twice-boiled" as well as twice served up. To them the meaning of *crambe* as "cabbage" was unimportant since they used the word itself without translating...¹⁵⁶

33. 1968. Witold Chwalewik, a Polish scholar, published an English language introduction to facsimile reprints of Elizabethan publications that deal with Poland and English-Polish affairs. He argues that Polonius was changed to Corambis for political reasons, and for the influence on

Shakespeare by the Elizabethan translation of Grimaldus Goslicus' Latin text to English. Chwaleik's work influenced Geoffrey Bullough.¹⁵⁷

34. 1973. In the beginning of the introductory chapter to the *Hamlet* section, Geoffrey Bullough discusses the theory suggesting Q1 was a "pirated text," mentioning that in Q1 "Polonius is called Corambis," and that the name change is "...one of the remarkable differences between the two not explicable by a simple failure of verbal memory [by the presumed pirate copyist]." In the introductory chapter, Bullough suggests:

Probably the name Polonius for the King's confidential adviser was given in or after 1598, for in that year there was published an anonymous translation, *The Counsellor*, by the Polish statesman Grimaldus Goslicius (Grzymala Goslicki)... The name 'Polonius' attached to such a character would have comic point only after the publication of Goslicius' book and when the dispute with Poland was still fresh, i.e. 1598-1602. Maybe to avoid offence 'Corambis' was substituted in the theatre-version from which Q1 was taken, but Polonius survived in the Q2 and F1 copy. 'Corambis' may have been in the *Ur-Hamlet*.

Deeper in the work, in subsection "XIV Probable Historical Allusions," item "D. A Polish Ambassador (1590)," is the letter from Cecil to Essex (copied from Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times*). Bullough did not associate the historical ambassador Paulus Dzialinski to the unnamed ambassador in the Cecil to Essex letter.¹⁵⁸

35. 1974. Keith Brown believes Polonius to be the ambassador Henrik Ramel (Ramelis) (d. 1610), a gentleman-retainer active in the Polish and Danish courts entrusted with diplomatic missions to the English and Scottish courts:

...Ramel's knowledge of European affairs was greater than that of any contemporary Danish statesman. He had both considerable experience of diplomacy, and a natural talent for it. His skill in formal oratory came to be internationally praised.¹⁵⁹

36. 1984. Joan Hutton Landis understands the constant reference to Poland as a metaphor for death. She recognizes Shakespeare changed the name from Corambis to Polonius:

If we remember that in Q1 the old counselor's name was Corambis, that Shakespeare has presumably changed it to Polonius, that Polonian was the founder of Poland... Poland and Polonius are both images of and targets for anger, for the process of its displacement. Hamlet will, if unwittingly, emulate his father, but instead of smiting "sledded Polacks," will succeed only in killing Polonius... Poland is, then, a specific geographical metaphor for a complex situation that is dramatized variously in the play.... [and in the concluding paragraph]... Poland is a synonym for all the malignant forms of custom extant in the Danish world....¹⁶⁰

37. 1987. G. R. Hibbard argues the name was originally Polonius and changed to Corambis, to avoid causing offence when *Hamlet* was played in Oxford, since the name was similar to the University's founder, Polenius.

The reason for the change has not been satisfactorily explained; but it is possible to hazard a guess. It would have been unwise for any company taking a play to Oxford at some time between 1600 and 1603, as the title-page of Q1 informs us the King's Men had done, to retain these two names in close association with one another. Polonius is perilously near to Polenius; and Polenius is the Latin version of Pullen, the founder of Oxford University, who died in 1147....¹⁶¹

38. 1987. Harold Jenkins perceives a "personal satire" of a Polish man, but cannot identify who the individual was or why he was worth a pun. Jenkins concludes: "...No satisfactory solution has ever been suggested."

There remains the substitution of the names Corambis and Montano for Polonius and Reynaldo. The general assumption that Q1 preserves the original names, natural enough when it was thought to be an earlier version of the play, often persists now that it is recognized as derivative. But the thing we must be clear about is that, whatever occurred in the *Ur-Hamlet*, Polonius, not Corambis, was the original name in Shakespeare's play. And since Shakespeare very often departed from the nomenclature of his sources, the problem in any case is not why he but why Q1 made the change. No satisfactory solution has ever been suggested. It is difficult to think that a reporter who had acted in the play would forget the name of so important a character as Polonius....The chance of a topical allusion is always alluring to commentators; but the notion that Polonius, on the strength of his similar role at court, was a caricature of Burghley is sheer conjecture, and in any event, a caricature would not be concealed by a change of name. Any personal satire must have lain in the name of Polonius itself, presumably because it pointed, or was thought to point, to a man of Polish – or Polonian – connection; and if it could ever be shown that one such had an associate or underling who could be recognized in the name Reynaldo...the case might be solved. Otherwise the problem is likely to remain unsolved. Whatever the cause of the change, it is of course possible that the names in Q1, whether through design or confusion, revive those of the *Ur-Hamlet*....¹⁶²

39. 1992. Kathleen Irace considers the theories of Hibbard, Edwards and Jenkins as: "...none completely convincing, but all agreed that the change [in name] was probably intentional...the substitution of the name Corambis...for Polonius...is still a mystery."

...Even the enigmatic name changes may be consistent with the view that Q1 was reconstructed for a particular theatrical purpose. Though the substitution of the name Corambis and Montano for Polonius and Reynaldo is still a mystery, the double substitution suggests that the change was a deliberate element of the abridged version. For it seems unlikely that "Marcellus" [referring to the actor who played this role and presumed to be the reporter who pirated the play] would simply forget the names of those two related characters (especially Polonius).

Three of the recent editors of *Hamlet* [Hibbard, Edwards, and Jenkins, quoted above] offered theories accounting for the changes, none completely convincing, but all agreed that the change was probably intentional.¹⁶³

Irace holds to the same opinion in a 1998 publication.¹⁶⁴

40. 1994. Elizabeth Oakes presents a Jungian analysis of Polonius, which does not consider Corambis.¹⁶⁵

41. 1999. Elizabeth Oakes promotes John Lyly, a competing English playwright to Shakespeare, to be the model for the foolish and mocked Lord Chamberlain.

...I am putting forth another candidate [for Polonius]: John Lyly. Instead of Burleigh, Shakespeare might more likely have parodied a rival playwright (after all, the war was between the theatres, not between the theatres and the court), one who was now out of fashion and favor, and one who had striven for years for power over his fellow dramatists as Master of Revels....¹⁶⁶

42. 1999. Victoria N. Alexander finds nothing Polish in the name Polonius, and no connection to Poland.

The fact remains that the similarity of "Poland" and "Polonius" may indeed be a coincidence, and thus our reading provides an interesting illustration of the way the search for poetic meaning is misguided in a non-teleological universe. In a Calvinist universe, such as the Elizabethans likely conceived, the search is also hopeless.¹⁶⁷

43. 1999. Peter D. Usher, an astronomer, perceives *Hamlet* to be an allegory for the new Copernican heliocentric model in conflict with the existing order of Aristotelean geocentrism. The name *Claudius* represents *Claudius Ptolemy*, the astronomer of the geocentric model. The Polish connection is the patch of ground where *Copernicus* is buried and that *Fortinbras* seeks to capture. *Polonius* is mentioned but once by Usher, without any explanation of the name's derivation, while *Corambis* is not recognized at all.¹⁶⁸

44. 2002. Bernice W. Kliman suggests the name change from Corambis to Polonius may have come about because of a Polish ambassador to Queen Elizabeth's court, from the incident described in the letter from Cecil to Essex.¹⁶⁹

45. 2003. Philip Edwards maintains Polonius was the name before 1603, and changed to Corambis thereafter, because "...someone thought it odd to suggest that the Danish counselor was a Pole."

The names in *Hamlet* are a motley collection....The most striking change in naming takes place outside the two main texts [Q2 and F1]. Polonius becomes Corambis in the bad quarto [Q1]...the change may well have been official; that is, the bad quarto may register a change made for performance by the

Chamberlain's men at the Globe. If so, it is impossible now to say what led to the change. Perhaps there was the danger of some offence in the earlier name; perhaps someone thought it was odd to suggest that the Danish counselor was a Pole. Whether the change was made by Shakespeare's company or not, it is interesting that the new name was certainly in Shakespeare's mind around the year 1603....But it looks as though Corambis was coined to suit the role of the Danish counselor. [Sir Israel] Gollancz made the excellent suggestion that the name comes from 'crambe' or 'crambo', which deriving from 'crambe repetita' (cabbage served up again), referred to silly verbal repetition. Apparently the form 'corambe' is occasionally found....¹⁷⁰

Notes

¹ Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters: from Autographs in the British Museum, The State Paper Office, and One or Two Other Collections, With Notes and Illustrations by Henry Ellis...Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, first series*, volume III (London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1824), "Letter CCXXXIV. Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Essex, with some reflections upon Sir Walter Raleigh, and an Account of the Queen's reception of the Polish Ambassadour [sic]. [Ms. Lansd. Num. 85, art. 19.]," 41-46. Hereafter, *Cecil to Essex*.

² *Acts of the Privy Council....* New Series. Vol. XXVII, A.D. 1597. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1903), 302-303, 303, 307, 336. Hereafter, *Privy Council*.

³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at the Hatfield House, Hertfordshire K. G.*, part 7 (London: Published for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyere and Spottiswoode, 1899). Hereafter, *Hatfield House*.

⁴ Camden's Annals: **(1)** Latin editions: **(1a)** William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, ad annum salutis M. D. LXXXIX. Guilielmo Camdeno authore*. (Londini, Typis G. Stansbij, impensis S. Watersoni, 1615-27), 138-142. New York Public Library, *KC+1615 Clinton. **(1b)** William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha. Eruit*, volumen tertium, ediditque Tho. Hearnius, (Oxon: [no printer], 1717), 746-747. Morgan Library, PML 8198-8200. This edition with scholarly commentary, hereafter *Camden-Latin*. **(2)** English translation: William Camden, *Annales. The true and royall history of the famous empress Elizabeth, queene of England, France and Ireland, &c., true faith's defendresse of diuine renowne and happy memory. Wherein all such memorable things as happened during hir blessed raigne, with such acts and treaties as past betwixt Hir Ma.tie and Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and the Netherlands, are exactly described*, book 4, trans. Thomas Browne, (London: Printed for Tho. Harper, 1629), 187-191. Morgan Library, PML 16479. Hereafter, *Camden-English*.

⁵ John Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. Their Originals, Manners, Habits, Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Successions, Lives, Acts, and Issues of the English Monarchs, from Julius Cæsar, to our most gracious Sovereigne King James, the second edition, Revised, and enlarged with sundry descents of the Saxons, Kings, their Marriages and Armes* (London: John Beale for George Humble, 1623), "Queen Elizabeth," 1219-1220. Hereafter, *Speed*.

⁶ Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius' Ideal Senator and His Cultural Impact over the Centuries: Shakespearean Reflections* (Kraków: Polska Akad. Umiejętności, 2009).

⁷ Arthur Wilson, *The history of Great Britain : being the life and reign of King James the First, relating to what passed from his first access to the crown, till his death* (London: Printed for Richard Lownds ..., 1653), 178. In the Morgan Library's copy, a penciled notation corrects the page imprinted with "178" to "184." Apparently, published posthumously. Morgan Library PML 4072.3. Hereafter, *Wilson*.

⁸ William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland and of Her Son and Successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland; and (After Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the First, (of Ever Blessed Memory.) Reconciling Several Opinons, in Testimony of Her, and Confuting Others, In Vindication of Him, against Two Scandelous Authors* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley..., 1656), 513. Morgan Library, PML 3353. Hereafter, *Sanderson*.

⁹ Ambassador Dzialinski did not follow the expected protocol of a legate. No advance notice was given to Elizabeth. Not until he spoke was it understood he came as a herald. **(1)** For a detailed explanation of the history and function of the herald, see the essays written by six Elizabethan scholars (including Camden) circa 1600, published under the subject: "Of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of Heralds in England," in: Thomas Hearne, ed., *A Collection of Curious Discourses written by Eminent Antiquaries upon Several Heads in our English Antiquities. Together with Mr. Thomas Hearne's Preface and Appendix to the Former Edition. To which are added a Great Number of Antiquary Discourses written by the Same Authors. Most of them now First Published from the*

Original Manuscripts. In two volumes, vol. 1 (London: W. and R. Richardson, 1771), 50-63. The Morgan Library PML 8270 and PML 8271. One of the six essays, that of "Mr. Whitlock 28 Nov. 1601," page 56, defines the herald [orthography maintained]: "Their office in our commonwealth is the very exercise of honor; for it converseth only in cases of honor, in wars or peace; in wars, they are the king's messengers to pass to and fro between enemies without wrong or violation, and this is by the law of nations; for they are the same which in ancient nations are called *Legati*, and should pass as privileged persons, without intermeddling [negotiating] further than to declare their message."

(2) Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) in *Book Three of The New Arcadia* describes a herald sent on a mission. The setting: Amphialus is besieged in his town and castle by Basilius. Phalantus, a knight in the service of Basilius, issues a challenge to Amphialus for one-on-one combat [orthography maintained]: "...[Phalantus] obtaining leave of Basilius [to issue the challenge], he caused a herald to be furnished with apparel of his office and tokens of a peaceable message, and so sent him to the gate of the town to demand audience of Amphialus, who understanding thereof, caused him both safely and courteously to be brought into his presence; who, making lowly reverence unto him, presented his letters, desiring [of] Amphialus that, whatsoever they contained, he [Amphialus] would consider that he [the herald] was only the bearer, but not the inditer [sic]. ...[Amphialus reads the letter, writes his response]...Having writ and sealed his letter, he delivered it to the herald, and withal took a fair chain from off his own neck and gave it him; and so, with safe convoy, sent him away from out his city..." Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkovicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 364-366. Sidney's story explains the protocol in sending a message by a herald on a battlefield. By dressing the herald in distinct garb, the mission is recognized beforehand, and all who hear him speak (from the prince to everyone overhearing in the court) will not be offended by the messenger, as no one is caught unawares as to the purpose of his coming. Before beginning the presentation, the herald reminds the enemy that he is only the messenger, and not to retaliate against his person.

¹⁰ For details of the diplomatic complexities between England and Poland on the issues of the Baltic trade, see: Count Renaud Przewdziecki, *Diplomatic Ventures and Adventures: Some Experiences of British Envoys at the Court of Poland* (London: The Polish Research Centre, Ltd., 1953), "Chapter 3. Relations between Queen Elizabeth I, Stephen Batory and Sigismund III," 28-54. Neva Ruth Deardorf, "English Trade in the Baltic During [sic] the Reign of Elizabeth," in: *Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1912), 215-332.

¹¹ "No time was more infamous, for gross flattery to the prince, than the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I." . Thomas Davies, *Dramatic micellanies [sic]: consisting of critical observations on several plays of Shakspeare [sic]: with a review of his principal characters, and those of various eminent writers, as represented by Mr. Garrick, and other celebrated comedians. With anecdotes of dramatic poets, actors, &c, in three volumes* (London: printed for the author, and sold at his shop, in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, 1783-1784), 138.

¹² *Privy Council*, 302-303.

¹³ *Speed*, 1219.

¹⁴ For the text of Elizabeth's response and an assessment of her superb command of Latin, see: Janet M. Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 31, no. 4 (Winter 2000), 987-1008

¹⁵ *Camden-Latin*, 747; *Camden-English*, 188.

¹⁶ *Cecil to Essex*, 45.

¹⁷ The commonplace saying "...the anger of a Prince the messenger of death..." is in the 1599 publication: John Minshew, *A Spanish Grammar, first collected and published by Richard Percivale Gent. Now augmented and increased with the declinings of all the Irregular and hard verbs in that toong, with all divers other especiall Rules and other necessarie Notes for all such as shall be desirous to attaine the perfection of the Spanish tonge. Done by John Minshew Professor of Languages in London* (London: Edm. Bollifant, 1599), "To the Reader," unpaginated. Embossed with Elizabeth's arms, this volume believed to be from the queen's library. Morgan Library PML 1830.3.

¹⁸ This was an age where any act deemed treasonous would bring a sentence to be "*hanged, drawn, and quartered*." (1) This was the horrible execution was witnessed by Shakespeare's audience, and undoubtedly by Shakespeare himself. Those who for entertainment attended the theaters to see a play, and went to baiting rings to watch bears, bulls and mastiffs attack one another, also attended public executions. This penalty "*hanged, drawn, and quartered*." in all of its gory details would flood the mind of the Elizabethan audience who expected to hear the name *Corambis*, but who heard *Polonius* voiced instead. The Polish ambassador, who, if not protected by his ambassadorial status, would have suffered the death of *hanged, drawn, and quartered* for insulting the monarch's majesty. (2) Sir Francis Bacon, when King James solicitor general, enumerated twenty-one violations against the monarch's majesty, authority and prerogatives for which a person judged guilty of transgressing would suffer this death. "In treason the corporal punishment is by drawing on a hurdle from the place of the prison to the place of execution, by hanging and being cut down alive, boweling and quartering, and in women, burning." Francis Bacon, *Cases of Treason, Written by Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, His Maiesties Solicitor Generall* (London: By the Assignes of John More, 1641), 4. The Morgan Library, PML 37194. (3) An Elizabethan sentence for treason, published in 1585. [Orthography maintained.] "...thou hast bene indited of the treasons comprised in y^e inditement, and thereupon arraigned, and hast confessed thye selfe guiltie of them, the Court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hence to the place whence thou didst come, and so drawne through the open cite of Londō upon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to bee hanged and let downe alive, and thy privie parts cutte off, and thy entrals taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cutte off, and thy body to be devided into four partes and to be disposed at her Majesties pleasure: And God have mercie on thy soule." *A True and plaine declaration of the horrible Treasons, practiced by William Parry the Traitor, against the Queens Maiestie...* London: CB, 1585), 38. Morgan Library, PML 3337. (4) Those convicted of treason were bound to a horse pulled hurdle (a ground-level sled) and dragged to a place of public execution. The hurdle was immediately behind the horse, and the hoofs would splash the muck, filth, and mire of London streets onto the condemned. The process of execution had three phases. First, to be suspended by the neck from a gallows until *half-strangled (hanged)*. Second, while still alive and possibly conscious, cut down, emasculated and disemboweled, the intestines pulled out of the belly (*drawn*), and the body parts tossed into a fire as the victim—if still conscious—watches. Death finally comes when the executioner reaches into the now emptied abdominal cavity and cuts out the heart to display to the crowd of onlookers. The dismembered body (*quartered*) is cooked in boiling pitch for preservation. The body parts are prominently displayed in public places. The head, stuck onto a pike, was mounted on the roof of the London bridge gate tower. (5) In August 1598, Paul Hentzner, a tourist from Germany, recorded in his diary sights of interest. In describing the London bridge he notes: "On the south [side of the city], is a bridge of stone eight hundred feet in length.... Upon this is built a tower, on whose top the heads of such as have been executed for high treason, are placed on iron spikes: we counted above thirty." Paul Hentzner, *Paul Hentzner's Travels in England, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, translated by Horace, Late Earl of Oxford, and first printed by him at Strawberry Hill; to which is now added, Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia; or observations on Queen Elizabeth's Times and Favourites; with Portraits and Views* (London: Edward Jeffery, 1797), 3. Morgan Library PML 3860. (6) Writing in 1589, John Lyly [1554?-1606] used this euphemism to describe the fate of those convicted of treason against Queen Elizabeth's majesty [orthography maintained]: "...and looke ouer all the Citie at London Bridge." John Lyly [1554?-1606], *Pappe with an hatchet, alias A figge for my God sonne, or Cracke me this nut, or A countrie cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch wioll take no warning. Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent Martins dog daies* ([London?], Imprinted by Iohn Anoke and Iohn Astile for the Bayliue of Withernam [T. Orwin], [1589]), signa D3^D. Morgan Library PML 6262.

¹⁹ *Camden-English*, 189.

²⁰ *Speed*, 1220.

²¹ Ellis informs: "Queen Elizabeth appointed Lord Burghley, the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue to confer with him." *Cecil to Essex*, 46n. See also the narrative of the event drawn from another source, in: Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply...." 991.

²² *Privy Council*, 303.

²³ *Privy Council*, 307.

²⁴ Thomas Wright, ed., *Elizabeth and Her Times, a Series of Original Letters, Selected from the Inedited [sic] Private Correspondence of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher Hatton, and most of the Distinguished Persons of the Period*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), "Sir H. Maynard to Michael Hicces," 481.

²⁵ *Camden-English*, 190.

²⁶ *Privy Council*, 336.

²⁷ St. Pauls cathedral as a secular place for the spread of gossip [orthography maintained]: (1) Derek Keene et. al, eds., *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). In Chapter 6, page 53, the activities in St. Paul's are described: "St. Paul's was a thoroughfare and meeting place. Even during services, nobody tried to prevent tradesmen from passing through the Lower Church with their burdens. It was also plagued with beggars. Poor folk, including many women with babes in their arms were to be found... The huge nave—'Paul's Walk' or 'Duke Humphrey's Walk'—was notorious for the concourse of people and business, as noted in 1563: the south alley for usurye and Poperye, the north for Simony and the Horse faire in the middle for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawling, murders, conspiracies, and the font for ordinary payments of money. There were also the 'serving man's pillar', where domestic staff were hired, those 'masterless men that set up their bills in Paul's for services', and the *Si Quis* door, where clergymen advertised their availability for benefices and lectureships. In the 1620s the nave was: a heap of stones [referring to materials stored for repairs to the cathedral] and Men with a strange confusion of languages ... It is the great Exchange of all Discourse and no business whatsoever but is here stirring ... It is the Market of yong lecturers, whom you may cheapen here att all rates and sizes ... All Inventions are emptied here, and not a few Pockettes ... It is the other expence of the daie after Playes Taverne, and a Bawdie house ... The visitants are all men without exception, but the principall Inhabitants ... are stale Kinghts, and Captaines out of service ... which after all turne merchants here, and traffick for Newes." (2) John Chamberlain (1554-1658) was a *Newsmonger* in St. Pauls. Norman Egbert McClure, Chamberlain's biographer and editor of the Chamberlain correspondence, explains: "Chamberlain...spent his life...in the shadow of the great cathedral, the center of the book-trade and the general meeting-place of all Londoners. That he was a frequenter of this rendezvous his letters supply ample proof. He went there, it appears, almost daily to meet friends or to talk with others like himself who sought news wherever they could find it. [McClure argues that Ben Jonson referred to Chamberlain] [i]t may be—though one cannot be sure—that Ben Jonson has given us a glimpse of Chamberlain at his favorite haunt in the person of 'grave Master Ambler, news-master of Paul's,' whom he elsewhere describes as 'a fine-paced gentleman,' who *walks in the middle aisle at Paul's*." Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), 5-7, and footnote 27, page 6. (3) When a London official gathered information to write intelligence reports for Lord Burleigh, he would walk St. Paul's: "...I walked to Powles to learne some newes..." Ellis, "Letter CCII, Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, upon the Black Assize at Oxford; various City Intelligence; &c.," *Original Letters...*, second series, volume III, 54 and 56. (4) Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), for his essay *Of Cunning*, needed to describe a public venue so thronged that in it there could be no anonymity. He used St. Paul's as the example, knowing his readers lived the experience of always encountering acquaintances whenever walking the cathedral's aisle. Bacon wrote: "A sudden, bold and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name and walking in Pauls, another suddenly came behind him and called his by his true name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe." Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels Civill & Morall of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban, with Introduction by Christopher Morley and A. S. W. Rosenbach* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1944), 74. (5) The Earl of Essex was sent on campaign to Ireland to subdue Tyrone's revolt. He returned to England without Queen Elizabeth's explicit permission. On 5 June 1599, Essex was tried for contempt. The trial transcript describes the rumors and unrest amongst the public caused by Essex: "...there did fly about in London streets and theatres divers seditious libels, and Paul's and ordinaries [taverns and restaurants] were full of bold and factious discourses,..." Bacon, *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon...*, by James Spedding, vol. II, 177. (6) Reavley Gair describes the great variety of commercial activities crammed into the courtyard and within the interior of the cathedral itself, all of which attracted great crowds of people from every level of society at all hours of the day: "...Aside from those seeking professional advice or sanctuary, there were many who came to the cathedral to shop, for not merely were there numerous retail businesses in the churchyard (by 1582 there were at

least twenty-five booksellers established there) but also a number of shops inside the cathedral itself. They ranged from that of a glazier set up in a chapel at the extreme end of the south aisle...to trunkmakers [*sic*] who had hired the lower cloisters...[m]ost of the side chapels were let as shops: there were bookbinders, schoolteachers, joiners, carpenters, stationers, mercers and hosiers. At least some of their shops were open for business on Sundays and during weekday services, and after shopping one could refresh oneself with tobacco, beer and ale in the minor canon's buttery. Alternatively one might well combine business with pleasure: after consultation with a client, a young lawyer would have had little hesitation in stepping into the adjacent theatre. The cathedral, then, functioned as an Elizabethan version of an indoor shopping mall. [Gair quotes a passage from Thomas Dekker (c. 1572-1632) for a description of]...the whole spectrum of contemporary society ... congregating there: 'For at one time, *in one and the same ranke, yea, foote by foote, and elbow by elbow*, shall you see walking, the Knight, the Gull, the Gallant, the upstart, the Gentleman, the Clowne, the Captaine, the Appel-squire, the Lawyer, the Userer, the Cittizen, the Bankerout, the Scholler, the Beggar, the Doctor, the Ideot, the Ruffian, the Cheater, the Puritain, the Cut-throat, the Hye-men, the Low-men, the True-man and the Thiefe: of all trades and professions some, of all Countryes some.'" Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553-1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 32-34. The first chapter, "The Decay of St. Paul's," describes the commercialization of the cathedral. (7) Activities at court were of great interest to everyone. An epigram from a jest book in verse, demonstrates the point, by telling this story about King Henry VIII and his jester, William Sommers: "Will Sommers once upon King Harry came, / And in a serious shew himselfe did frame / To goe to London, taking of his leave. / Stay, William: (quoth the King) I doe perceive / You are in haste; but tell me of your occasion: / Let me prevail thus by a friends perswasion.— / Quoth he, if thou wilt know, Ile tell thee: Marry, / *I goe to London for Court-newes*, old Harry. / *Goest thither from the Court to heare Court-newes?* / This is a tricke, Sommers, that makes me muse. / Oh, yes (quoth William) *Citizens can show / What's done in Court ere thou or I doe know*. / If an Ambassador be coming over, / Before he doe arrive and land at Dover, / They know his Masters message and intent, / Ere thou canst tell the cause why he is sent. / If of a Parliament they doe but heare, / They know what laws shall be enacted there. / And, therefore, for a while adue Whitehall. / Harry, *Ile bring thee newes home, lyes and all*." Samuel Rolands [attributed], *Good and Bad News* (London: Printed for Henry Bell &c., 1622). Quoted and commented upon in: John Payne Collier, *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language, Alphabetically Arranged, which, during the Last Fifty Years, have come under the Observation of J. Payne Collier*, vol. 2 (London: Joseph Lilly, 1865), 296. This is not one of Collier's forgeries, as it is also in *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*, see: Samuel Rowlands (1570?-1630?), *Good Nevves and Bad Nevves* by S. R. (London: Printed [by George Purslowe] for Henry Bell, 1622), Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, STC (2nd. Ed.) / 21382, image 3.

²⁸ Francis Osborne, *Historical memoires on the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James* (London: J. Grismond, 1658), 64-66.

²⁹ "Places of Profit," *Peel Collection*, vol. 3, image no. 131, The Morgan Library. Camden gives the proverb as "A friend in Court is worth a penny in purse." William Camden, *Remaines, concerning Britaine: but especially England, and the inhabitants thereof. Their languages. names. surnames. allusions. anagrammes. armories. monies. empreses. apparell. artillarie. wise speeches. prouerbs. poesies. epitaphes. Reviewed, corrected, and increased* (London: Printed by I. Legatt for Simon Waterson, 1614), 302. The Morgan Library, PML 37722.

³⁰ *Blaze* in Elizabethan usage meant to gossip widely, to disseminate rapidly by word of mouth [orthography maintained]: (1) Thomas Whythorne (1528-1596), in describing a love affair gone bad: "...when he reprehended her and blamed her a little for her inconstancy, she all in a rage bade him go scrape and forthwith *blazed* abroad that which he had told her to keep in secret." Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne, Modern Spelling Edition*, ed. James M. Osborn (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 19. (2) William Drummond (1585-1649), in his history of the Scottish monarchy, described the spread of news about the assassination of James I in 1436: "The Rumour [*sic*] of his Murder *blazed* abroad, it is incredible what Weeping and Sorrow was through all the Country..." See: William Drummond, "The History of the five James's, Kings of Scotland. From the Year 1423 to the Year 1542" in: *The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden. Consisting of those which were formerly printed, and those which were design'd for the Press. Now published from the author's original copies*, eds. John Sage and Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, James Watson, 1711; first edition, 1655), 17. Morgan Library PML 17062. (3) Sir Francis Bacon, when attorney-general to King James, in a letter dealing with a legal issue, used a bird-metaphor to describe the rapid dissemination of scandalous gossip: "...I

marvail not, if Rumour [gossip] get way, of true Relation [telling the truth]. For I know *Fame* [any thing of great public interest] hath *swift wings*; Specially that, which hath *black Feathers*...." See: "A letter to Sir George Villiers, touching the Difference, between the Court of Chancery, and the Kings Bench. Febr. 19. 1615," in *Several Letters, Written by this Hounourable Authour, to Queen Elizabeth, King James, Divers Lords, and Others* (London: Printed by F.L. for William Lee, 1657), 64, bound in: Francis Bacon, *Resuscitatio, or, Bringing into Public Light Several Pieces of the Works, Civil, Historical, Philosophical & Theological, hitherto Sleeping, of the Right Honourable Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount Saint Alban. According to the Best Corrected Copies. Together with his Lordships Life. By William Rawley* (London: Printed by Sarah Griffin for W. Lee, 1657). The Morgan Library PML 37247. Also in: Bacon, *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon*..., by James Spedding, vol. V, "A Letter to Sir G. Villiers Touching the Difference between the Court of Chancery and King's Bench. 19 Feb. 1615," 248.

³¹ *Hatfield House*, "Robert Beale to Sir Robert Cecil 1597, July 27," 319-320.

³² *Cecil to Essex*, 45.

³³ *Speed*, 1220.

³⁴ Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius*..., 154.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Translation from the Latin manuscript by Bałuk-Ulewiczowa. Maitland's history of London records riots coincidental with the insult to Elizabeth and the Polish ambassador's stay in London. "On *Sunday* the Twenty-ninth of *June*, [the day of the insult to Elizabeth, and when gossip of the incident would have reached the ears of the public] a Difference happen'd between certain Warders of the Tower of *London* and some of the City Apprentices [always spoiling for a fight], who imagining themselves highly injur'd in being reprimanded [Maitland does not report the nature of the 'Difference' which brought the reprimand] by the said Warders, to revenge themselves for so great an Affront, with Vollies of Stones, they oblig'd their Enemies [the Warders] to seek for Safety in a precipitate Flight...." The mayor mobilized the tower warders augmented by a posse of mounted armed citizens "...to suppress the Tumult...." Disorder continued for days until Elizabeth authorized "...execution upon the Gallows by Order of Martial Law...." The jailing of many troublemakers and the public hanging of five rioters on 24 July 1595 restored order, this occurring some two weeks before the Polish ambassador was granted permission to leave England. William Maitland, *The History and Survey of London from its Foundation to the Present Time, in two volumes*, vol. 1, *third edition* (London: T. Osborne, 1760), 278-279. *Eighteenth Century Collection Online (ECCO)*: Gale Document # CW101536029.

³⁶ When Montaigne (1533-1592) wrote in his essay *Of Vanitie* the phrase "...enbrasse un Polonios comme un François..." John Florio (1553?-1625) translated it in 1603 as "...embrace a Polonian as a Frenchman..." (1) Michel de Montaigne, *Les essais de Michel seigneur de Montaigne, Edition nouvelle, trouuee après le deceds de l'authour, reueuë & augmentée par luy d'vn tiers plus qu'aux precedentes impression*, (A Paris: Chez Michel Sonnius..., 1595), "Livre Troisiesme," 130. Morgan Library, Heneman 0841. (2) Michael de Montaigne, *The Essayes: or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo[rd] Michael de Montaigne...First written by him in French and now done into English*, trans. John Florio (London: Printed by V. Sims for E. Blount, 1603), "Third Book, Essay 9, *Of Vanitie*," 582. Morgan Library, PML 18564.

³⁷ *Speed*, 1219.

³⁸ *Wilson*, 178.

³⁹ *Sanderson*, 513.

⁴⁰ *Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark, Written by Mr. William Shakespeare* (London, Printed for W. W. Wilkins, 1736), 23. Morgan Library, PML 7655. (1) This anonymous work is attributed to Thomas Hanmer by his biographer, Sir Henry Bunbury, who claims: "The diffidence and caution of Hanmer's character have rendered it as difficult to throw any certain light on his literary, as on his political life [Hanmer was active politically, at one time speaker of the House of Commons. His public life was well known and documented, not so his literary life]. I have reason to believe that he was the author of some works which were

published anonymously, and have been attributed to other writers...[including the]...Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet, published in 1736." The biographer does not explain the reason supporting his assertion. See: Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart....with a Memoir of His Life, to which are added Other Relicks of a Gentleman's Family* (London: Edward Moxon, 1838), 79-80. (2) Clarence D. Thorpe argues on stylistic grounds why the author could not be Hanmer. See the "Introduction" to the Augustan Reprint Society's reprint: Publication Number 9, The Augustan Reprint Society, 1947; reprinted New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1967).

⁴¹ Raymond Siller, "Word Craft: Raymond Siller, Comedy Writer, Heeere's [*sic*]...Johnny's Writer!" *The Wall Street Journal*, "Saturday/Sunday, August 6-7, 2011, "Review Section," C12. "Take My Wife...please!" That signature line, delivered by the late comedian Henny Youngman, may be the purest instance of economy in comedy. Those four monosyllables contain the essentials of a good joke. In the set-up, Henry ostensibly starts to tell a story about his wife. But then he whiplashes his listeners, turning the sentence into a plaintive cry of despair with the payoff word 'please!' In Henny's day, Americans were primed for wife and mother-in-law gags. Today's humor is more observational, dealing with every day events. But some things never change. Comedy writers are liars. A joke that kills uses misdirection, exaggeration and surprise to deceive. The listener shouldn't see the sucker punch-line coming.... *Mr. Siller was the longtime head writer on 'The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson.'*"

⁴² *Camden-English*, 189.

⁴³ The courtier was skilled at jesting and mocking, and was ever ready to attack whoever fell from the monarch's favor: (1) Wayne A. Rebhorn explains that *The Courtier* served as a manual of etiquette for Elizabethan courtly behavior. "...[W]hat mattered to most Elizabethan gentlemen...were the rules for conduct they could extract from Castiglione's work or could rely on someone like Sir Thomas Holby [who translated the work into English in 1561], to have extracted for them. Without doubt, *Il Castiglione* may appropriately be considered a "courtesy book," that is, an etiquette manual...." Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), 11-12. (2) *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), by Baldesar Castiglione (1478-1529), identifies the skills expected of the ideal courtier; one being the aptitude to entertain by making jests, such as to pun on names. "It is also amusing to interpret names, and to pretend some reason why the man spoke of bears such a name..." See: Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. from the Italian by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke, with twelve portraits and fifteen autographs (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), "Second Book, paragraph 62", page 137. (3) Thomas Whythorne (1528-1596), wrote in his autobiography: "...the book named *The Courtier*...which counsel...the nobility...do much follow in these days." See: Whythorne, *The Autobiography*..., 205. (4) Roger Ascham (1515-1568), in his essay *The Schoolmaster*, recommended "young gentlemen" should diligently study it [*The Book of the Courtier*]. "To join learning with comely exercises, Conto Baldesar Castiglione in his book *Cortegiane* doth timely teach; which book advisedly read and digilently followed but one year at home in England, would to a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years travel abroad spent in Italy. And I marvel this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is so well translated into English...." See: Roger Ascham, *The English Works of Roger Ascham, Preceptor to Queen Elizabeth. A new edition*, ed. John George Cochrane (London: White, Cochrane & Co., 1815), 232-233. (5) Ascham gives an insider's perspective into the court of Elizabeth, in a letter from to Sir William Cecil, dated 24 March 1553, written from Brussels. Ascham was commanded to leave St. John's College in Cambridge University and come to court to become the teacher of Princess Elizabeth. Two years later, in September 1550, he was appointed secretary to Sir Richard Morysine's embassy to Germany. In the 1553 letter, Ascham petitions Cecil for permission to return to his teaching position at St. John's College. Ascham explains to Cecil why he does not want a career at court by quoting advice received from Morysine, who said: "The court, Mr. Ascham, is a place *so slippery*, that duty never so well done, is not a staff stiff enough to stand by always very surely where ye shall many times reap most unkindness where ye have sown greatest pleasure, and those also *ready to do you most hurt to whom you never intended to think any harm.*" See: Ascham, *The English Works*..., xvi-xvii, 386-387. The sentiment was repeated on page 56, in Ascham's essay: *A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany* where he uses the euphemism of climbing a tree to describe the hazards of court intrigue: "...But men that love to climb too high [advancement at court] have always least fear, and therefore by reason fall most suddenly, and also furthest down: yea, *the very boughs that helped him up* [courtiers who extended their support] *will now whip him in falling down:* for whoso in climbing trusteth when he is going up any bough at all overmuch, though he seem to tread never so surely upon it, *yet if he once begin to slip, the self-same bough is readiest to beat him* that seemed before surest to

bear him. Examples hereof be seen daily, and forgotten hereby." (6) Gabriel Harvey (1550-1630/1) sought preferment at Elizabeth's court, and studied *The Courtier* to learn the skill of jesting. His biographer comments: "The importance which Harvey attached to skill in jesting is confirmed by the quantity of his marginalia on this subject [in his copy of *The Courtier*]." See: Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979), "Training in Gentlemanly Manners," 158-164. (7) Ben Jonson observed the court of King James from an insider's perspective, commenting in his *Discourses* about the flattering behavior of courtiers, who praise to ingratiate themselves with those elevated by the king to positions of power and authority, but the moment the favored fall from grace, the courtiers "...pound them to dust..." For "Flatterers," read *courtiers*. For "Lord," read *king*. For "Cooke" and "Bottle-man," read *those appointed to high positions by the king*. Wrote Jonson: "These are Flatterers for their bread, that praise all my oraculous Lord do's or sayes, be it true or false: make baibes for his Lordships eares: and if they be not receiv'd in what they offer at, they shift a point of the Compasse, and turne their tale presently tacked about;... They praise my Lords wine and the sauce he likes; observe the Cooke, and Bottle-man, while they stand in my Lords favour, speake for a pension for them: but pound them to dust upon my Lords least distaste, or change of his palate." See: Ben Jonson, *Timber: or Discoveries; made vpon Men and Matter: as they have flow'd out of his daily Readings; or had their Reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times* (London: printed 1641), in: Ben Jonson, *Discoveries* 1641... (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966), 63. (8) For an account of court intrigue played out in a smaller setting, see: Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), Chapter 2 "The Manor House and its Household," Chapter 3, "A House Divided," and especially subchapter "Plots by Officers and Servants," 59-63. On page 59, Friedman describes the societal similarity of the court and the great houses: "Sir Francis [Willoughby] was attended by a large retinue in the traditional manner, and he maintained a staff of forty or fifty men. His household—like others, and, indeed, like the Court itself—was held together by a system of patronage based on allegiance and favors that could be granted and withdrawn at will. Competition, jealousy, and factionalism was endemic...."

⁴⁴ The Elizabethan audience understood it was not a compliment to be called *Crambebis cocta*. To associate the real life courtier, Ambassador Działyński, with the fictional courtier, Corambis, would be to mock the diplomat not only with the appellation implied by *Twice-cooked Cabbage*, but also with every negative perception associated with the stage characterization of an incompetent and bumbling counselor. (1) This definition in a 1569 Elizabethan publication of Latin proverbs [orthography maintained]: "*Crambe Bis Posita Mors Est. Crambe Twice Sod [boiled] is Death*. This Crambe is a certain kinde of wortes, or after the mind of *Athaneus*. Crambe in olde time was all one with that, which the Latine men cal [*sic*] *Raphanus*. And we call Radishe. Now this Crambe was in olde time much used in feast and bankettes, but it it were twice sod [boiled], it was so loathed and abhorred, that the Greekes made a proverb on it. For as often as they would signifie a thinge againe and againe repeted [*sic*] not without tediousness and greuance, they saide forthwith in their language, Crambe twice served is death." Richard Taverner, *Prouerbes or Adages, Gathered out of the Chaliades of Erasmus by Rich[ard] Tauerner. With [newe additions as well off] Latin Prouerbes as of English* (London: William Howe, 1569), 53-54. (2) Sir Israel Gollantz explains Corambis is a buffoon-name derived from the Latin phrase *crambe repetita* (cabbage served up again). C. Elliot Browne accepts this idea, and quotes Gollantz in an article published in *The Athenæm*. Horace Howard Furness selected Browne's article for the *Fourth Variorum*, printing it *verbatim*. See: Horace Howard Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, Hamlet*, vol. 2 *Appendix*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1877; 16th edition 1918), 242. (For Browne's article, see: "Notes on Shakespeare's Names," *The Athenæm*, No. 2544, (29 July, 1876), 148-149.) (3) Doris V. Falk explains the pun behind the cabbage reference: "...Two important clues to the character of Polonius are provided by Q1. The first of these, of course, is the fact that many of Polonius's lines—twelve of the twenty in the Q1 version of his opening speech—are *sententiae*, so indicated by inverted commas set at the beginning of each line. The quotation marks inform us immediately that these lines are proverbial, in the public domain, and not necessarily original with Shakespeare. The second clue lies in the Q1 name for Polonius, "Corambis"[*sic*]. Whether the name was original with Shakespeare or was taken over from some early source, it seems to have been a pun with a proverbial derivation, which would have typed Polonius as clearly as if he had been called "Senex" or "Pantaloone". The Elizabethan version of the proverb was "*Crambe bis posita [or cocta] mors est*." Cabbage twice served (or cooked) is death. The Latin "*crambe repetita*" was an ancient commonplace; Juvenal uses it in the "Satire on Scholarship and Writers (VII, 154) "*Occidit miseris crambe repetita magistros*; i.e. The student slays his poor teachers with the recooked—said over-again, regurgitated—cabbage. The Elizabethans referred to crambe as "twice-sod" or "twice-boiled" as well as twice served up. To them the meaning

of *crambe* as "cabbage" was unimportant since they used the word itself without translating...." See: Doris V. Falk, "Proverbs and the Polonius Destiny," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter, 1967), 23-26. (4) Elizabethan and Jacobean familiarity with and use of this disparaging term is demonstrated in a letter dated 1616, attributed to Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), that mocks, criticizes and chastises Bacon's nemesis, the Lord Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634) after he falls from royal favor. [The name of the Lord Chief Justice is pronounced "Cook" and is variably spelled as "Cook," "Cooke," and "Coke."] (4a) In 1616, James removed the chief justice from office after he refused to accept the King's interpretation of a law. For details of the incident see: Bacon, *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon...*, by James Spedding, vol. V, Chapter IX, " 347-399. On page 354, Spedding relates: "The event where Chief Justice Coke refuses to accept the King's claim of prerogative over a judicial interpretation of the law occurred a meeting of the Council convened in Whitehall on 6 June 1616 with James presiding. '...all the Judges [involved in a judicial interpretation not to the King's liking] attending; at which Council the point in dispute was fully explained and discussed, the opinion and advice of the Council formally taken, and the Judges (with an important exception in the person of Coke, who rather evaded the question than refused to concur) admitted their error and agreed in future to take the course for which the King contended.'" Spedding continues the history of Bacon's role in the Coke matter into volume VI, chapter 2, pages 76-97, which concludes in November 1616 with Bacon drafting for King James the warrant discharging Lord Coke as Chief Justice and authorizing selection of a replacement." (4b) A manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, written as an open (circulated) letter to mock Cook after his fall from royal favor, uses the Latin pejorative *Crambebis cocta* (twice cooked cabbage). See: [Francis Bacon,] *Admonition from a Frinde [sic] nameless to Sir Edward Cooke Knight, Lord Cheiffe Justice of the Kings Bench, after his degradation in Anno 1616*, Leaf 3^o. The Pierpont Morgan Library MA 1195. (4c) The letter was published in 1648 as "A Letter of Advice Written to Sir Edward Cook, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench," in: Francis Bacon, *The Remains of the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulum Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England. Being Essayes and Severall Letters to Severall Great Personages, and Other Pieces of Various and High Concernment not heretofore Published. A Table whereof for the Readers more ease is adjoined* (London: Printed by B. Alsop for Lawrence Chapman, 1648), 22. The Pierpont Morgan Library PML 37246. It uses the Latin pejorative when describing Cook's faults as a jurist: "...you cloy the Auditory...speech must either be sweet or short....you should know that many of these tales which ordinarily you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things which you delight to repeat, and serve in for novelties to be but *Crambebis cocta*, as in your pleadings..." (4d) In the 1648-printed version, the letter is undated. The manuscript copy is dated 1616. The Pierpont Morgan Library catalog entry has the cautionary note advising the attribution to Bacon is only tentative. Spedding discusses the attribution controversy, and is adamant in his opinion that the author could *not* be Bacon based on various scholastic arguments. See: Bacon, *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon...*, by James Spedding, vol. VI, 121-131. On page 121, as the introduction to his analysis, Spedding states: "It is about this time [referring to December 1616] that we have the first news of an anonymous letter, famous in its day and still worth preserving, but holding a position in our literature much above its right, and due to a misconception [that it was authored by Bacon]." Nonetheless, whoever the author may be, it demonstrates the use of "twice cooked cabbage" as an insult. (4e) Robert Stephens (1665-1732), the editor of a 1702-edition of Bacon's letters, silently replaces the Latin *Crambebis cocta* with the term *stale*: "...you should know many of these Tales you tell, to be but ordinary; and many other things, which you delight to repeat, and serve in for *Novelties*, to be but *stale*; As in your Pleadings..." See: Francis Bacon, *Letters of S[ir] Francis Bacon...written during the Reign of King James the First, now Collected, and Augmented with several Letters and Memoirs, address'd by him to the King and Duke of Buckingham, which were never before published; the whole being illustrated by an Historical Introduction and some Observations, and dispos'd according to the Series of Time* (London: Printed for Benj. Tooke..., 1702) "Letter LXX To the Lord Chief Justice Coke," 126-136, especially 129. The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 37235. This letter is undated. The editor includes it between dated letters. The date 05 May 1616 appears in letter LXVIII. Letter LXIX lacks a date. Letter LXX, *Bacon to Coke*, is also without date. Letter LXXI is dated 30 May 1616. (5) Comprehension of the derogatory metaphor *Twice-cooked Cabbage* persists into the eighteenth century. George Steevens (1736-1800), quoted in an endnote to an edition of *Hamlet*, mocks Voltaire (1694-1778) by using *crambe repitata*: "...Monsieur de Voltaire has...transmitted, in an epistle to the Academy of Belles Lettres, some remarks on the late French translation of Shakspeare [sic]; but alas! no traces of [Voltaire's] genius or vigour are discoverable in this *crambe repitata*, which is notorious only for its insipidity, fallacy, and malice. It serves indeed to show an apparent decline of talents and spirit in its writer, who no longer relies on his own ability to depreciate a rival, but appeals in a plaintive strain to the queen and princesses of France for their assistance to stop the further circulation of Shakspeare's renown..." For the Steevens criticism on Voltaire, see: William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakspeare: in fifteen volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of various Commentators, to which are added,*

Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Stevens, the fourth edition (with Revised Glossarial Index) by the Editor of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays, vol. 15, Hamlet (London: Printed for T. Longman, et. al., 1793), 370-371. The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 5190.

⁴⁵ Figure 1 - Hamlet Q1 – Corambis mocked by Hamlet : William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* by William Shake-speare, As it hath beene diuerse times acted byhis Highnesse seruants in the cittie of London: as also in the two vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford and elsewhere (London: Printed [by Valentine Simmes] for N[icholas] L[ing] and John Trundell, 1603), sig, E3^V. British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 22275. Early English Books Online (hereafter EEBO), reel position STC/904:10, image 15.

⁴⁶ Writing in 1589, John Lyly describes impetuous youth who lack the judgment of maturity [orthography maintained]: "...Springalls [young men] and unripened youthes, whose wisdoms are yet in the blade,...." Lyly, *Pappe with an hatchet...*, signa D3^V.

⁴⁷ Steven Urkowitz interprets the acting differently: "...the incoherence of Q1 represents a purposefully scripted delineation of Corambis's character. The old man begins his sentence and stops before he says what is "thus." The King then prompts him to continue: "What I'st Corambis?" Steven Urkowitz, "Back to Basics," in: Clayton, Thomas, ed., *The Hamlet First Published (Q1, 1603) Origins, Forms, Intertextualities*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 281-282. I suggest otherwise: the old man does *not* know how or when to stop, and the king *interrupts* the run-on sentence. The audience knows the king is not a benevolent ruler come to the throne peacefully by right of succession, but a ruthless grasper of power, the assassin of his brother to attain the crown, the flaunting of his marriage to his brother's widow, Hamlet's mother, to demonstrate he has the throne, and the dastardly plotter of Hamlet's murder. The dialogue should not be interpreted as the tender and kindly treatment of a beloved aged retainer who needs a gentle prompt to finish a thought. The king is brutal—this to be reflected in the treatment of his counselor. Irace makes the point by telling of a Q1 *Hamlet* production where "...the king was a simple villain with waxed moustaches...." Kathleen O. Irace, ed., *The First Quarto of Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 25. The interaction that I suggest here is another opportunity to continue the theme of mocking the counselor. It is another *low comedy* moment to entertain an Elizabethan audience that understands and expects princes to be ruthless in exercising power.

⁴⁸ Figure 2 - *Hamlet* Q1 – Corambis mocked by the King: William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet...*(1603), sig, F1^V. British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 22275. EEBO, reel position STC/904:10, image 18.

⁴⁹ Figure 3 - Stage Direction for Q1 *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 2: William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet...*(1603), sig, F1^V. British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 22275. EEBO, reel position STC/904:10, image 3.

⁵⁰ Kathleen O. Irace, ed., *The First Quarto of Hamlet*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), "Introduction," 1-28.

⁵¹ Many have commented that Q2 is too long to be acted in its entirety. Giorgio Melchiori writes; "Whether conflationists or revisionists, we all know the real problem with [Q2] *Hamlet*: it is the longest of Shakespeare's plays....The simple question is how a man of the theater like Shakespeare came to supply his company with a script that he could realistically never hope to see performed on the public stage in its entirety." The obvious response to the *fact* of Q2's length is to acknowledge that it intended to be read and played out in the mind, not played on the stage. The logical follow-up is to question *why* Shakespeare would do this. This essay does not speculate on the *why* for writing a lengthy Q2, and stays focused on arguing the pun in the stage direction. Giorgio Melchiori, "Hamlet: The Acting Version and the Wiser Sort," in: Clayton, Thomas, ed., *The Hamlet First Published (Q1, 1603) Origins, Forms, Intertextualities*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), 195.

⁵² Figure 4 - Stage Direction for Q2 *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 2: William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. By William Shakespeare* (London: Printed by I[anes] Roberts] for N[icholas] L[ing] and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1604). Folger Shakespeare Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 22276, EEBO, reel position STC/767:2, image 5.

⁵³ The sequencing of the early quartos is drawn from: Henrietta C. Bartlett and Alfred W. Pollard, *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto 1594-1709, revised and extended by Henrietta C. Bartlett* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939)

⁵⁴ Q4 lacks an imprint date. For the purpose of this essay, it is immaterial whether the actual date was before or after the printing of F1, because the wording of the stage direction for act 1, scene 2 is identical with the earlier editions Q2 and Q3. Bartlett and Pollard assigns no probable date to Q4, but classifies it between Q3 and Q5. Hailey argues the date is 1625. R. C. Hailey, "The Dating Game: New Evidence for the dates of Q4 Romeo and Juliet and Q4 Hamlet," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 3, (Fall 2007), 372.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Dramatic Micellanies [sic]*, vol. III, 4. "The first play of Shakespeare acted after the Restoration at the dukes [sic] theatre, if we may depend on the Narrative of Downes [sic], was Hamlet; ..." Davies authority is John Downes (1661-1719), who he knew. See: John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, or an Historical Review of the Stage, After it had been Suppress'd by means of the late Unhappy Civil War, begun in 1641...With Additions, By the late Mr. Thomas Davies...* (London, printed and Sold by H. Playford, 1708, reprinted 1789). For a modern edition, see: Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds., *John Downes, Roscius Anglicanus* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987).

⁵⁶ On the title page of an 1800-edition here cited is the notice: "Printed and Published by C. Lourdes, Drury Lane. And sold in the Theatre." It is reasonable to argue that copies as souvenirs were always hawked inside the theaters or on the streets outside. William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy, revised by J. P. Kimble and now first published as it is acted by Their Majesties Servants of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, September 16, 1800* (London,: C. Lowndes and Sold in the Theatre, 1800).

⁵⁷ Figure 5 - Q6 of 1676 - Title Page: D'Avenant, William, Sir, *Prince of Denmark as it is now acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre by William Shakespeare* (London: Printed by Andr. Clark for J. Martyn and H. Herringman, 1676. Wing / S2950. Yale University Library, EEBO, reel position Wing/297:41, image 1.

⁵⁸ Figure 6 - Q6 of 1676 - To the Reader: Ibid., image 2.

⁵⁹ Figure 7 - Q6 of 1676 - The Persons Represented : Ibid., image 3.

⁶⁰ Figure 8 - Q6 of 1676 – The Stage Direction and Dialogue Omitted on Stage: Ibid., image 5.

⁶¹ Figure 9 - Comparison of Stage Directions, Quartos and Folios: **(1)** Quarto – Q1: See Figure 1 citation. **(2)** Quartos – Q2 through Q4 (Q2 shown as typical): See Figure 2 citation. **(3)** Quartos – Q5 through Q11 (Q6 shown as typical): See Figure 8 citation. **(4)** Folios - F1 through F4 (F1 shown as typical): William Shakespeare, *Mr. VWilliam Shakespears comedies, histories, & tragedies Published according to the true original copies* (London: Printed by Isaac Iaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623), "The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke," 153. STC (2nd ed.) / 22273, Folger Shakespeare Library, EEBO, reel position STC/774:11, image 383.

⁶² Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, two vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1963). The five quotations are from the first volume. **(1)** Page 209: "There is no difficulty about compositor identification here. This is almost pure B. ... Moreover, some 57 of the 68 characteristic B spellings in these pages, a full 80 per cent., change the corresponding readings in the copy—*Hamlet*, Q2, 1604-5." **(2)** Page 238: "...our [proof]reader's corrections are for the most part confined to non-substantive faults—to turned and transposed letters, to bad spacing, and the like." **(3)** Page 239: "...The primary interest of the Folio proof-reader was always in turning out a book that was not marred by too many purely typographical blemishes to recommend itself as a well-printed work, as a physically attractive volume that might be expected to find ready sale among the buyers of such large and expensive items—and not to disgrace the Jaggard name. As for the fidelity with which it reproduced copy, this could be in the main be entrusted to the men who set it into type." **(4)** Pages 302-303: "Notes. That the Folio proof-reader did *not* consult the copy (*Hamlet* Q2, 1604-5) when correcting this page, but that he ought to have done so, we may be very sure. ... But we can wish that the substance of the quarto reading had been reproduced. **(5)** Page 333: "The testimony of the variants in the First Folio is in fact eloquent on this grand point: that the proofing that was done for the book achieved little indeed except in the way of

obviating a fair number of superficial faults. There was a good deal of proof-correction. Over 500 changes were made. Very few *substantive* errors, however, were noticed at all; for the reader paid scant attention to these, and only on rare occasions did he consider it necessary for his purposes to read proof against the copy."

⁶³ In a 1616 quarto, Nicholas Breton ranks the members of society, listing first the King, followed by the Queen, Prince, Privy Counsellor [*sic*], Noble Man, Bishop, Judge, Knight, Gentleman, and so on down to the meanest person. See: Nicholas Breton, *The Good and the Bad; or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age: where the best may see their graces, and the worst discern the baseness* (London: Printed by George Purowe for John Budge, 1616) reprinted in: Sir E. Brydges, Bart. M.P., *Archaica: containing a reprint of scarce Old English Prose Tracts with Prefaces, Critical and Biographical, in two volumes*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815). In this collection of prose works, Breton's *The Good and the Bad* is the fourth quarto in the first volume (curiously identified as *Part the Fifth*).

⁶⁴ "...who shall say what chance words overheard in the printing-house found their way into a compositor's brain and so out at his fingers." W. W. Greg, *Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare: Read May 32, 1928* ([?]: Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1928), 4.

⁶⁵ S. Austin Allibone, ed., *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the earliest accounts to the later half of the nineteenth century, containing over Forty-six Thousand Articles (Authors), with Forty Indexes of Subjects volume II, MAB-SZY* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1899), 2016-2201. Under the heading "Collective Editions of Shakespeare's Plays, and Plays and Poems, 1623-1869" Allibone enumerates 166 folio editions in English, the last in the enumeration, F166, is that edited by Charles Knight in 1869. The subheading "Modern Editions" separates F1-F4 from those that follow. The first of the modern editions is F5 by Rowe, undoubtedly so classified because here begins scholarly commentary. Most of the folio editions underwent many printings. It is sufficient for the purposes of this paper to indicate the earliest date of the first printing when reporting publication dates.

⁶⁶ William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare; in Six Volumes: Adorn'd with Cuts, Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author*, Volume the First, by N. Rowe, Esq. (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1706), "Dedication," A2^v.

⁶⁷ Quartos post-Rowe's F5 where the stage direction is simplified and the pun omitted. The survey is limited to editions available on Eighteenth Century Collection Online, hereafter *ECCO*. **(1) 1710:** T. Johnson, ed. *Collection of the Best English Plays*, vol. I...*Hamlet*... (The Hague: Printed for T. Johnson, Bookseller at The Hague, 1711). The *Hamlet* title page is imprinted 1710, the stage direction is on page 9. **(2) 1718:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, A Tragedy. As it is now Acted by his Majesty's Servants. Written by William Shakespeare* (London: J. Darley for M. Wellington, 1718), 10. **(3) 1734:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark; A Tragedy, As it is now Acted by his Majesty's Servants, Written by William Shakespeare* (London, F. Tonson et. al., 1734), 10. **(4) 1750:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. A Tragedy by William Shakespeare*. (Edinburgh: Donaldson, 1750), 8. **(5) 1770:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. A Tragedy by William Shakespeare. Collated with the best Editions* (Edinburgh: Donaldson, 1770, unpaginated). **(6) 1773:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy by William Shakespeare, collated with the Old and Modern Editions* (London: W. Bower and J. Nichols, 1773), 10. **(7) 1777:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, A Tragedy by Shakespeare as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. Regulated from the Prompt-Book, with permission of the Managers, by Mr. Younger, Prompter* (London: John Bell, 1777), 6. **(8) 1787:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, A Tragedy, Taken from the Manager's Book, at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane* (London: Rachel Randall, 1787) 6. **(9) 1800:** William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, A Tragedy* (Manchester: R& W Dean, et. al., 1800), 8. **(10) 1800:** William Shakespeare. *Shakespeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy, revised by J. P. Kimble and now first published as it is acted by Their Majesties Servants of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. September 16, 1800*. (London: C. Lowndes and Sold in the Theatre, 1800), 9.

⁶⁸ William Shakespeare, *Mr. VWilliam Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true original copies*. The second impression (London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstans Church-yard, 1632), "The Tragedy of Hamlet," 273. Folger

Shakespeare Library, shelf mark 22274, Fo. 2, no. 21. *Hamnet*, the online Folger catalog, accessed 19 September 2011, gives the provenance and identification of the marginalia [emphasis made **bold**]: "Folger Copy: In Folger copy 20, Annotated in ms. **throughout, mostly (at least) in the hand of Lewis Theobald. Some of the annotations are signed "L.T." Lewis Theobald**--Thomas Osborne--Samuel Johnson--Samuel Ireland--Earls of Aylesford--Henry Irving copy, with the bookplate of Heneage Finch, 7th Earl of Aylesford and bookplate of Henry Irving. Inscribed (front flyleaf recto): "Bot. at Dr. Johnson's Sale Feb. 18. 1785. S[amuel]. I[reland].; "This book at the death of Theobald the Editor of Shakspear, came into the hands of Osbourn ye. bookseller of Gray's Inn--who soon after presented it to the late Dr. Johnson. S[amuel]. I[reland].--Feb. 25. 1785; Henry Irving: 1888."

⁶⁹ Figure 10 - F5 Rowe's Revision: **(1)** William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare; in Six Volumes: Adorn'd with Cuts, Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author*, Volume the Fifth, by N. Rowe, Esq. (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1709), "Hamlet," 2372. *ECCO*: British Library. Gale Document # CW115919400 **(2)** T. Johnson, ed. *Collection of the Best English Plays*, vol. I...*Hamlet*... (The Hague: Printed for T. Johnson, Bookseller at The Hague, 1711). The Hamlet title page is imprinted 1710, the stage direction is on page 9. *ECCO*, ESTC Number T115685. **(3)** William Shakespeare, *Mr. VWilliam Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true original copies*. The second impression (London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Smethwick, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstans Church-yard, 1632), "The Tragedy of Hamlet," 273. Shakespeare Library, shelf mark 22274, Fo. 2, no. 21. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁷⁰ Theobald (F7). **(1)** In 1726, Theobald publishes a critique of Pope's (F6) edition of Shakespeare. On page 4, in the section entitled *The Examination and Correction of the Tragedy of Hamlet*, as Item VI, under the marginal caption "False Pointing and Conjectural Emendation," Theobald discusses Act 1, Scene 2 (referencing page 352 of Pope's edition,) beginning with the stage direction, by writing: "Claudius, King of Denmark, his Queen, Hamlet, and Courtiers, coming upon the stage...." Theobald makes no acknowledgement of the variance in the stage direction between the quartos and the folios. See: Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare restored: or, A Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope. In his Late Edition of the Poet. Designed not only to correct the said Edition, but to restopres the True READING of SHAKESPEARE in all the Editions ever yet published. By Nr. Theobald* (London: Printed [by Samuel Aris] for R. Francklin under Tom's, J. Woodman and D. Lyon ubder Will's, and C. Davis in Hatton-Garden, 1726), 4. *ECCO*, Gale document CW111313813. **(2)** In 1733, Theobald issues his edition of Shakespeare (F7). Throughout the footnotes, he comments on his restoration of a "correct" text by relying on the authority of the early quartos. On page 243, in footnote 27, he identifies the oldest quarto known to his generation of scholars [orthography maintained, emphasis made **bold**]: "But all the **old [Hamlet] Quarto's [sic] (from 1605, downwards,)** read, as I have reform'd the Text [for F7]...." The 1605-Q2 is the oldest quarto he knows. In F7, on page 265, in footnote 11, Theobald adopts a punctuation-cue from the quartos to explain how Polonius was to be portrayed on the stage in a particular scene: "The Manner in which a Comic Actor behav'd upon this Occasion, was sure to raise a Laugh of Pleasure in the Audience: **And the Oldest Quarto's [sic]**, in the Pointing, are a Confirmation that thus the Poet intended it and thus the Stage express'd it." Theobald ranks the authority of the various editions of *Hamlet* in an unpaginated appendix (following page 494), entitled "A Table of The Several Editions of Shakespeare's PLAYS, Collected [erratum corrects to Collated] by the Editor—Editions of Authority." Of highest "authority"—1605-Q2, 1611-Q3, 1623-F1, and 1632-F2. The next level is "middle authority"—1637-Q5 and 1664-F3. (Not listed is 1685-F4.) He classifies Rowe's F5 and Pope's F6 as of "no authority." Yet, for the stage direction to Act 1, Scene 2, he does not consider or even comment on the version in 1605-Q2 and 1611-Q3; and adopts for his edition (F7, page 231) Rowe's correction in F5. See: William Shakespeare, *The Works of Shakespeare: in Seven Volumes: Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected, with NOTES, Explanatory, and Critical: by Mr. Theobald*, vol. VII, *Hamlet* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Tonson, F. Clay, W. Feales and R. Wellington, 1733), 231, 243, 265, and the unpaginated pages following 494. Columbia University, Butler Library, B823SI.D3.

⁷¹ William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in ten volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are added Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, with an Appendix* (London: C. Bathurst, [etc.], 1773). New York Public Library. Google.

⁷² Arthur Sherbo, *The Achievement of George Steevens* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 69.

⁷³ George Steevens, *Twenty Plays of Shakespeare, Being the whole Number printed in Quarto During his Life-time, or before the Restoration, Collated when there were different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals*, vol. VI (London: J and R Tonson, et al, 1766). New York Public Library. Google.

⁷⁴ Figure 11: Steevens' Collated Quartos of 1766 and F15 of 1773. **(1)** Steevens Collated Quartos of 1776: George Steevens, ed., *Twenty Plays of Shakespeare, Being the whole Number printed in Quarto During his Life-time, or before the Restoration, Collated when there were different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals*, vol. VI (London: J and R Tonson, et al, 1766), unpaginated and without signatures. ECCO Gale Document Number CW115403807. **(2)** F15 – Steevens Edition of 1773: William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in ten volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are added Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, with an Appendix*, vol. 10, *Hamlet* (London: C. Bathurst, et. al., 1773), 155. New York Public Library, digitized by Google, nyp.33433074896352-167-vol-10.pdf.

⁷⁵ Argued is the true date for Harvey's entry, and it may be after 1598. The critical point is that Harvey's entry is believed to be *before* the Q1 imprint date of 1603. Harvey's marginal note on *Hamlet* is reproduced as PLATE B in: Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

⁷⁶ Figure 12 citation - F15 of 1773 - Steeven's Footnote on Harvey: William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in ten volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are added Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, with an Appendix*, vol. 10, *Hamlet* (London: C. Bathurst, et. al., 1773), 145. New York Public Library, digitized by Google, nyp.33433074896352-157-vol-10.pdf.

⁷⁷ Arthur Sherbo, *Isaac Reed, Editorial Factotum* (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1989).

⁷⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakspeare [sic]: in fifteen volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of various Commentators, to which are added, Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Stevens, the fourth edition (with Revised Glossarial Index) by the Editor of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays*, vol. 15, *Hamlet* (London: Printed for T. Longman, et. al., 1793), 370-371. The self-effacing Isaac Reed simply identifies himself as Editor of Dodsley's. Reed's edition is extraordinarily rich with commentary from twenty-eight scholars, with Johnson and Steevens predominating. Nearly every page of *Hamlet* is more than half-occupied by voluminous footnotes. In alphabetical order, the names of the contributing scholars are: Blackstone, Blount, Brand, Collins, Douce, Farmer, Grey, Hawkins, Henderson, Henley, Johnson, Malone, Mason (M), Musgrave, Nichols, Percy, Pope, Reed, Reynolds, Ritson, Steevens, Theobald, Tollet, Tyrwhitt, Warburton, Warner, Warton (T), and Whalley. The characterization of Polonius is on pages 102-104. Here, Warburton opines "...Polonius's character is that of a weak, pedant, minister of state....," while Johnson perceives "...Polonius is a man bred in courts, exercised in business, stored with observation, confident in his knowledge, proud of his eloquence, and declining into dotage...[s]uch a man is positive and confident because he knows that his mind was once strong, and knows not that it is become weak..." There is no suggestion that the name "Polonius" reflects a historical personage.

⁷⁹ Figure 13 - F15 – Reed's 4th Edition of 1793: Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakspeare [sic]...*, the fourth edition ... *by the Editor of Dodsley's...*, vol. 15, *Hamlet*, 25. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, PML 5190.

⁸⁰ Figure 14 - F 15 - Boswell-Malone's 7th Edition of 1821: William Shakespeare, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators: comprehending a Life of the Poet, and an Enlarged History of the Stage, by the Late Edmond Malone. With a New Glossarial Index*, vol. VII *Hamlet* (London: Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, [etc.], 1821), 191.

⁸¹ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. VI, part I (London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1812), 421-443.

⁸² Thomas, Davies in: Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, eds. *Bibliographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnnel in London 1660-1800*, vol. 4: Coyle to Dynon (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 203-208.

⁸³ James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LLD, including a journal of his tour to the Hebrides, tour in Wales, Correspondence with Mrs. Thrale, &c.*, vol. II (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1859), 163-164. The Morgan Library, PML150871.

⁸⁴ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. IX (London: Nichols, Son and Bentley, 1815), 665.

⁸⁵ Thomas Davies in his introduction to *Dramatic Micellanies [sic]*, vol. I, vii: "Such books and pamphlets, as have furnished me with facts and anecdotes relating to authors and actors, I have generally referred to in the margin; some I have given from my own knowledge and observation; many of them I gleaned from old actors, long deceased." See: Thomas Davies, *Dramatic micellanies [sic]: consisting of critical observations on several plays of Shakspeare [sic]: with a review of his principal characters, and those of various eminent writers, as represented by Mr. Garrick, and other celebrated comedians. With anecdotes of dramatic poets, actors, &c. in three volumes* (London: printed for the author, and sold at his shop, in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, 1783-1784). This first edition is the source document quoted. Later editions have different pagination, they are: London, 1784-85 (reprinted by Benjamin Blom, Inc. in 1971) and Dublin, 1784.

⁸⁶ Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of Garrick, Esq: interspersed with characters and anecdotes of his theatrical contemporaries: the whole forming a history of the stage which includes a period of thirty-six years* (London: Printed for the author and sold at his Shop in Great Russell-Street, Covent Garden, 1780). The Morgan Library, PML 9516-19.

⁸⁷ Three quotes demonstrate the importance of Garrick's library. **(1)** "...this was a magnificent and wide ranging collection of a man of wide interests and abiding love for drama and the theatre...the Garrick Collection of Old Plays, received by the British Museum, was remarkable..." George M. Kahrl in collaboration with Dorothy Anderson, *The Garrick Collection of Old Plays: A Catalogue with an Historical Introduction* (London: The British Library, 1982), 6-7. **(2)** Of Isaac Reed's interaction with Garrick, Sherbo reports "he did handsomely acknowledge Garrick's loan of books for the 1780 Dodsley collection of old plays." Sherbo, *Isaac Reed*, 72. **(3)** George Steevens wrote this effusive recognition of Garrick's assistance: "The collection of plays, interludes, &c. made by Mr. Garrick, with an intent to deposit them hereafter in some public library, will be considered as a valuable acquisition; ... I should be remiss, I am sure, were I to forget my acknowledgments to the Gentleman I have just mentioned [Garrick], to whose benevolence I owe the use of several of the scarcest Quarto's [sic], which I could not otherwise have obtained; though I advertised for them, with sufficient offers, as I thought, either to tempt the casual owner to sell, or the curious to communicate them; but Mr. Garrick's zeal would not permit him to withhold anything that might ever so remotely tend to shew [sic] the perfections of that author [Shakespeare]...." Steevens, *Twenty Plays...*, vol. I, 12.

⁸⁸ Henry Woodward (1744-1777), a popular actor in David Garrick's playhouse. See: Woodward, Henry, in: Highfill, *Bibliographical Dictionary of Actors, ...*, vol. 16: W. West to Zwingman, 246-266.

⁸⁹ An actor honored by a benefit night received the revenue from a theater's admissions less the expenses of the house.

⁹⁰ Davies, *Dramatic Micellanies [sic]*, vol. III, 41.

⁹¹ Nichols, *Literary Anecdote...*, 665. "About the year 1742 I was smit with the desire of turning Author, and publishing a silly pamphlet...; and, though a Bookseller myself [at the time, I], chose to have it come out at the famous Jacob Robinson's shop in Ludgate street." The "silly pamphlet" is not identified.

⁹² Sir Henry Bunbury (1778-1860) edited the papers and memoirs of his relatives, foremost of whom being Sir Thomas Hanmer (1677-1746). In the chapter devoted to Hanmer, Bunbury tells of Hanmer's prominent political career and expertise as a critic and editor of Shakespeare. At this point, in a footnote on page 80, Bunbury, writing in 1838, interrupts the memoir to explain how he [Bunbury himself] came to rediscover Q1 in Great Barton Hall, the house on the estate inherited from an uncle. "It seems evident that the critic [referring to Hanmer] had never seen the edition of 1603, the only copy of which, known to be in existence, was found by me [Bunbury] in a

closet at Barton, 1823. This curiosity (for a great curiosity it is, independently of its being an unique copy) is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It probably was picked up by my grandfather, Sir William Bunbury, who was an ardent collector of old dramas. For the satisfaction of bibliographers, I take this opportunity of recording the particulars of the little volume, which contained this Hamlet of 1603. It was a small quarto, barbarously cropped, and very ill-bound; its contents were as follows... [lists titles] ...Hamlet 1603 (wanting the last page)... [more titles]. I exchanged the volume with Messrs. Payne and Foss, for books to the value of £180, and they sold it for £230 to the Duke of Devonshire." Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., ed., *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart....with a Memoir of His Life, to which are added Other Relicks of a Gentleman's Family* (London: Edward Moxon, 1838), 80n. (A second copy of Q1 was discovered in 1856.)

⁹³ Horace Howard Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, Hamlet*, vol. 1 *Text*, vol. 2 *Appendix* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1877; 16th edition 1918).

⁹⁴ Figure 15: Furness 1877 Stage Direction with Textual Variations. Furness, *Hamlet*, vol. 1, *Text*, 26.

⁹⁵ Furness, *Hamlet*, vol. 2, *Appendix*, "The Date and Text," 5-36.

⁹⁶ J. Dover Wilson, *The Copy for 'Hamlet' 1603 and The 'Hamlet' Transcript 1593* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd., the De La More Press, 1918), 6-7.

⁹⁷ J. Dover Wilson, *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet and the Problems of its Transmission: An essay in critical bibliography, vol. 1, the Texts of 1605 and 1623* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1932; reprinted 1963), "Preface," xxiv-xxv. "...the Second Quarto...offered a text so superior in subtlety and beauty to the text of the Folio, upon which all previous editions have been based, as to constitute in effect a new and surprising revelation of Shakespeare's genius. ... Convinced as I now was that the Second Quarto was printed direct from Shakespeare's manuscript and that the Folio Hamlet was a text of quite inferior quality..."

⁹⁸ Wilson, *The Manuscript...*, vol. 1, 33-34.

⁹⁹ Alice Walker, *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 135.

¹⁰⁰ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 310. In the Preface, page v, Greg explains: "In all quotations, square brackets enclose editorial additions."

¹⁰¹ William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works, The Pelican Text Revised*, Alfred Harbage, gen. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Revised 1969, reprinted 1971), 935.

¹⁰² William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works, Oxford Compact Edition*, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, gen. eds. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988; reprinted 1999), 656.

¹⁰³ Figure 16: Wilson's Emendation: **(1)** Wilson's Emendation, 1933: Wilson, *The Manuscript...*, 34. **(2)** Greg's Ambivalence, 1955: Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio...*, 310. **(3)** Pelican Folio Edition, Revised, 1971: *The Pelican Text Revised*, 935. **(4)** Oxford Compact Folio Edition, 1999: *Oxford Compact Edition*, 656.

¹⁰⁴ W[alter] W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary, Part 1 Text, Part 2 Commentary* (London, A. H. Bullew, 1904). Part 1, page 17 reproduces the entry in the Diary for the playing of *Hamlet*. Part 2, page 148 explains the "ne" coded entry.

¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 7, *Hamlet* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p.18.

¹⁰⁶ Figure 17 - Nash's 1589 reference to *Hamlet*: Thomas Nash, "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities," in: Robert Greene, *Menaphon Camillas alarum to Slumbreing Euphues, in his melancholie Cell at*

Silextra (London: Printed by T[homas] O[rwin] for Sampson Clarke, 1589). STC (2nd ed.) / 12272. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. EEBO STC/344:16, image 6.

¹⁰⁷ Furness, *A New Variorum..., Hamlet*, vol. 2, *Appendix*, 14. "The statement that this edition is 'enlarged to almost as much again as it was' is correct enough for a bookseller's announcement."

¹⁰⁸ Hentzner, *Paul Hentzer's Travels in England...*, 29.

¹⁰⁹ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, First Quarto, 1603 (reproduced in Collotype Facsimile), Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles, no. 7, with an introductory note by W. W. Greg* (London: The Shakespeare Association and Sidwick & Jackson, 1951), unpaginated note.

¹¹⁰ Figure 18: Title Pages - Q1 of 1603 and Q2 of 1604: William Shakespeare, *Collection of Lithographic Facsimiles of the Early Quarto editions of the separate Works of Shakespeare, including every known edition of all the Plays which were issued during the life time of the great dramatist, by Edmund William Ashbee*, 48 volumes, vols. 26 and 27 (London: For Private Circulation Only, 1867), The Folger Shakespeare Library, PR2752. **(1)** Q1 1603 - *Shakespeare's Hamlet, Facsimiled from the edition printed at London in the year 1603*, vol. 26. **(2)** Q2 1604 - *Shakespeare's Hamlet, Facsimiled from the edition printed at London in the year 1604*, vol. 27. Both images by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

¹¹¹ Paul Menzer, *The Hamlets: Cues, Qs, and Remembered Texts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), "Chapter 4: Anonymous & Anonymous: Q1 and *Hamlet* in Stages," 111-176.

¹¹² Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: an account of English actors in Germany and the Netherlands, and of the plays performed by them during the same period* (London: Asher & Co., 1865), "Tragoedia. Der bestrafte Brudermord ober: Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemart. (Tragedy. Fratricide Punished, or Prince Hamlet of Denmark)," 236-304. **(1)** An editorial note on page 237 without stating an authority—the note may be by Cohn himself—explains that the play is a modernized copy prepared in 1710. By that date in England the name Polonius was thoroughly established and Corambis forgotten. **(2)** One could speculate that a modernization of the text in 1710 would have introduced Polonius. The persistence of Corambis spelled as "Corambus" suggests that the source-play brought to Germany by travelling actors had Corambis as the counselor and was a pre-Q2 version, for otherwise the name would be Polonius. **(3)** A counter argument (based on Witold Chwalewik's argument, see note below) is that the version brought to Germany was indeed with a counselor named Polonius. To avoid censure by portraying a mocked character associated with Poland in regions under Polish influence, the actors prudently reverted to the older name of Corambis, still remembered in their theatrical lore. It is only later in 1710, when the manuscript that is Cohn's source document is penned by whoever "modernized" the script, the name was made consistent with Shakespeare's use of "Corambus" in *All's Well that Ends Well*. **(4)** Wilhelm Creizenach failed to reconcile the two names: "But why the name Corambus should occur instead of Polonius...we cannot determine now." Wilhelm Creizenach, "Der Bestrafte Brudermord and its Relation to Shakespeare's Hamlet," *Modern Philology*, vol. 2, no. 2 (October 1904), 258.

¹¹³ *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* ([London:] Printed by Command of His Majesty George III, 1819; reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974), page 164, number 85, article 19 [emphasis made **bold**]: "A copy of a letter from one of the Secretaries, supposed to have been Sir Robert Cecil, to the Earl of Essex, newly arrived from his unfortunate expedition; accounting for his silence and apparent neglect; with some reflections on Sir Walter Raleigh's defects as a man of business. This letter also contains a very interesting account of the insolent conduct of the Polish Ambassador towards the Queen, in public, and of Her Majesty's spirited and dignified conduct on this occasion. **(See Mr. Camden's Annals, under the year 1597.)** It concludes with desiring the Earl to take notice in his answer that he was pleased to hear of the Queen's 'wise and eloquent answer.' It appears that the Secretary had not written this letter with his own hand, on account of a hurt in his thumb; but though the signature has for some unknown purpose been cut out, it has no appearance of being the original, nor has it any superscription, July 26, 1597. Compare with Num. 94, Art. 50, of these collections, **and with Camden's Annals.**"

¹¹⁴ Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters...*, first series, vol. III., "Letter CCXXXIV. *Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Essex...*, 41. Prefatory note by Ellis [emphasis made **bold**]: "This Letter, written at Queen Elizabeth's personal request, relates chiefly to the Audience which she gave to the Ambassador from Sigismund king of Poland in 1597; whose arrogant deportment **is noticed by most of our Historians. It was upon this occasion, to use the words of Speed**, that the Queen, lion-like rising, daunted the malapert Orator no less with her stately port and majestic departure, than with the tartness of her princely checks; and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said: 'God's death my Lords' (for that was her oath ever in anger) 'I have been enforced this day to scoure up my old Latin that hath lain long in rusting.' The unexpected turn of the Pole's Address occasioned the Queen to wave the usual etiquette. She prevented the Lord Chancellor from returning an Answer, that she might herself do it with greater force."

¹¹⁵ Thomas Wright, ed., *Elizabeth and Her Times...*, vol. 1, "Preface," viii, and vol. 2, "Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Essex," 477-481. Wright acknowledges Ellis in the *Preface* in the first volume: "...some others [without specifying which they are] also have been previously printed in the elegant collection of Original Letters [*sic*] by Sir Henry Ellis;..." The truncated letter is in the second volume.

¹¹⁶ *Hatfield House*, "Introduction," xxxii; and "The Ambassador from the King of Poland. 1597, July 25.— 'The Queen's oration to the Polish Ambassador at Greenwich the 25th July, 1597,'" 315-316.

¹¹⁷ Francis Griffin Stokes, *A Dictionary of the Characters & Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare: with Notes on the Sources and Dates of the Plays and Poems* (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1960; first edition, 1924), 74, 261, 263. "CORAMBIS. The name of Polonius in the First Quarto of Hamlet (1603). See CORAMBUS (2)." "CORAMBUS (2). The name of Polonius in the early German play on the subject of Hamlet, which is supposed to have been introduced into Germany by English Players in 1603." "POLAND. A former kingdom of Europe; its ruler, 1587-1632, was Sigismund III; a Polish ambassador visited Elizabeth's Court in 1597." "POLONIUS. Haml[et] Lord Chamberlain...see CORAMBIS."

¹¹⁸ Witold Chwalewik, *Anglo-Polish Renaissance Texts: for the use of Shakespeare students* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1968). In the introductory chapter, Chwalewik recounts the political interactions between England and Poland. This work contains seven facsimiles of Elizabethan publications, including *The Counsellor* by Grimaldus Goslicius. Chwalewik suggests *The Counsellor* influenced Shakespeare. On pages 11-12 he writes: "England meantime, under the long reign of the last Tudor sovereign, had been evolving a different governmental model [from that of Poland]. Clashes, because of discrepancy of principle, became inevitable, and the most spectacular of these, now often remembered for its incidental Shakespearian interest, occurred in 1597 when the Queen spoke briefly and rather discourteously in reply to a speech by a Polish ambassador whom she received in public audience. Działyński complained....The Queen's ex prompt riposte to the Polish Ambassador became known from reports and excited much applause; Essex, informed by Burghley, was of the number of those who welcomed the Queen's "princely triumph" over that "braving Pollack." What the exulting public did not know was that the new policy then crystallizing was completely at variance with the interpretation that was being put upon it, and that public criticism of Poland was unwarranted. This would account for the severity of the authorities punishing both actors and authors for putting on the newly contrived *The Isle of Dogs* on the stage, if E. K. Chambers is right in his surmise that the play may have contained topical anti-Polish stuff. The memorable debacle would argue for the need of excessive caution on the part of the actors who, some three or four years later, were adapting the *Hamlet* play for the first run on the Globe stage. The changing of the some [*sic* name] "Polonius" to "Corambis," at least initially, would seem a natural step to take, under the circumstances."

¹¹⁹ Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources ...*, vol. 7, *Hamlet*, "XIV Probable Historical Allusion D. A Polish Ambassador (1597)," 185-187.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* "Introduction," 4.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* "Introduction," 43-45.

¹²² Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply...." The sole reference to *Hamlet* is on page 1002, footnote 75, where Green reports a parallel between the queen's Latin response and a line in *Hamlet*, 3.4.5.

- ¹²³ Bernice W. Kliman, "Three Notes on Polonius: Position, Residence, and Name," *Shakespeare Bulletin*, (Spring, 2002) 5-6.
- ¹²⁴ Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius*.... The ambassador is discussed in several places throughout the work, readily identified by the index.
- ¹²⁵ William Maginn, *Shakespeare Papers: Pictures Grave and Gay* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), 255. This is a posthumous edition of Maginn's Shakespeare essays. A shortened copy of Maginn's *Hamlet* essay is in: William Maginn, "Polonius," *Critical Responses to Hamlet 1600-1900*, vol. 2, ed. David Farley-Hills (New York: AMS Press, 1996). Farley-Hills informs that Magnin's essay was first published in 1838, in Bentley's *Miscellany*.
- ¹²⁶ P. MacDonell, *An Essay on the Tragedy of Hamlet* (London: Cunningham and Mortimer, 1843), 4 and 55-56.
- ¹²⁷ John Payne Collier, "Introduction to Hamlet" in: William Shakespeare, *The Works of William Shakespeare. The Text formed from an Entirely New Collation of the Old Editions: with the various Readings, Notes, a Life of the Poet, and a History of the Early English Stage, in eight volumes*, vol. VII, *Hamlet* (London: Whittaker & Co., 1843), 190-191.
- ¹²⁸ John Payne Collier, *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays from Early Manuscript Corrections in a Copy of the Folio, 1632 in the Possession of J. Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A.* (New York: Redfield, 1853).
- ¹²⁹ Alexander Dyce, *Remarks on Mr. J. P. Collier's and Mr. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare* (London: Edward Moxon, 1844), 204-221.
- ¹³⁰ Joseph Hunter, *New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare. Supplementary to all the Editions. In two volumes. Volume the second* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1845), 219-220.
- ¹³¹ Gulian C. Verplanck, ed., *Shakespeare's Plays: With his Life, ... ed. Gulian C. Verplanck, with Critical Introductions, Notes, etc., Original and Selected*, vol. III, *Tragedies* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847), *Hamlet*, "Introductory Remarks," 11, "Notes," 77.
- ¹³² Henry North Hudson, *Lectures on Shakspeare, in two volumes*, vol. 2 (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848; New York: AMS Press, 1971), "Polonius," 114-124.
- ¹³³ J. Payne Collier, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare: The Text Regulated by the Recently Discovered Folio of 1632, Containing Early Manuscript Emendations, with a History of the Stage, a Life of the Poet, and an Introduction to Each Play. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A. To which are added Glossarial and Other Notes and the Readings of Former Editions*, volume 7, *Hamlet* (New York: Redfield, 1853), 148.
- ¹³⁴ M[ichael] W[illiam] Rooney, *Hamlet, first edition (1603). The last leaf of the lately discovered copy, carefully reprinted, with a narrative of its discovery, remarks on its probable date—on the date of the first edition of Lear, and on the printed quartos* (Dublin: M. W. Rooney, 1856), 6-7.
- ¹³⁵ Alexander Dyce, *The Works of William Shakespeare. The Text Revised by the Rev. Alexander Dyce*, vol. V, *Hamlet* (London: Edward Moxon, 1857) "Hamlet Notes."
- ¹³⁶ Tycho Mommsen, *The Athenæm*, Feb. 7, 1857, no. 1528, page 182.
- ¹³⁷ N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Correction in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspeare, Folio, 1632: And of Certain Shaksperian Likewise Published by Mr. Collier* (London: Richard Bentley, 1860; reprinted New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1973).

- ¹³⁸ Adolphus William Ward, *A history of English dramatic literature to the death of Queene Anne*, vol. II (London: Macmillan & Co., 1875, revised and reprinted 1899; reprinted New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 157, 161.
- ¹³⁹ Horace Howard Furness quotes Browne in the fourth variorum. C. Elliot Browne, "Names and Characters," *Hamlet*: vol. 2, *Appendix, The Variorum Shakespeare*, sixteenth edition, ed. Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1918), 242. The source for Furness is Browne's article: "Notes on Shakespeare's Names," *The Athenæum*, No. 2544, (29 July, 1876), 148-149.
- ¹⁴⁰ William Carew Hazlitt, ed., *Shakespeare's Library: a collection of the plays, romances, novels, poems and histories employed by Shakespeare in the composition of his works: with an introduction and notes*, vol. II, second edition (London: Reeves and Turner, 1875), 212.
- ¹⁴¹ Francis Jacox, *Shakespeare Diversions, second series, from Dogberry to Hamlet* (London: Daldy, Ibister, 1877), "Polonius," chapter VII, 259-341.
- ¹⁴² Georg Gottfried Gervinus, *Shakespeare Commentaries*, trans. F. E. Bunnëtt (London: Smith, Elder, 1883, reprint New York: AMS Press, 1971), chapter "Hamlet," 549-582. Analyzed on pages 558-560 and throughout the *Hamlet* monograph is the character of Polonius.
- ¹⁴³ Jacob Feis, *Shakespeare and Montaigne: An Endeavor to Explain the Tendency of Hamlet from Allusions in Contemporary Works* (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1884; Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970). "Polonius" appears on pages: 85, 87, 99, 107, 118 and 119.
- ¹⁴⁴ Israel Gollancz, "Shakesperiana, 1598-1602," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, April 27, 1904, 199-202.
- ¹⁴⁵ Wilhelm Creizenach, "Der Bestrafte Brudermord and its Relation to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," *Modern Philology*, vol. 2, no. 2 (October 1904), 258.
- ¹⁴⁶ Richard Limberger, "Polonius: Eine Studie zur Ehrenrettung Shakespeares," *Neue Shakespere-Bühne*, ed. Eliche Paete, vol. VIII (Berlin: Fiermann Paetel, 1908.)
- ¹⁴⁷ Henry David Gray, "The First Quarto 'Hamlet'," in: *Modern Language Review*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Apr. 1915), 178.
- ¹⁴⁸ John Dover Wilson, *The Copy for 'Hamlet' 1603 and the 'Hamlet' Transcript 1593* (London: De La More Press, 1918), 21 and 37.
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- ¹⁵⁰ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol. II (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1951; first edition, 1930), Chapter IX, *Hamlet*, 417-418.
- ¹⁵¹ G. W. Phillips, *Lord Burghley in Shakespeare: Falstaff, Sly and Others* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1936), "Corambis," 125-152.
- ¹⁵² George Ian Duthie, *The 'Bad' Quarto of Hamlet, a Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), Chapter VII, "What Stage of the *Hamlet* Text-History Underlies Q1?" Section V, "The Name 'Corambis'," 220-227.
- ¹⁵³ Josephine Waters Bennett, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1953), 3-9.

- ¹⁵⁴ R. H. Bowers, "Polonius: Another Postscript," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July, 1953), 362-364.
- ¹⁵⁵ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), "Note B," 330.
- ¹⁵⁶ Doris V. Falk, "Proverbs and the Polonius Destiny," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 1 (winter, 1967), 23-26.
- ¹⁵⁷ Witold Chwalewik, *Anglo-Polish Renaissance Texts: for the use of Shakespeare students* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1968).
- ¹⁵⁸ Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, volume VII, *Hamlet* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 4, 44-45, 185-187.
- ¹⁵⁹ Keith Brown, "Polonius and Fortinbras (and Hamlet?)," *English Studies*, vol. 53, no. 3 (June, 1974), 221.
- ¹⁶⁰ Joan Hutton Landis, "Shakespeare's Poland," *Hamlet Studies*, vol. 6 (1984), 8-17.
- ¹⁶¹ G. R. Hibbard, "Textual Introduction," *Hamlet: The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 74.
- ¹⁶² Harold Jenkins, "Introduction," *Hamlet: The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. Harold Jenkins (London: Methuen, 1987), 34-35.
- ¹⁶³ Kathleen Irace, "Origins and Agents of Q1 *Hamlet*," *The Hamlet First Published (Q1, 1603) Origins, Forms, Intertextualities*, ed. Thomas Clayton, (Cranbury NJ: Associated University Presses, 1992), 107.
- ¹⁶⁴ Kathleen O. Irace, "Introduction," *The First Quarto of Hamlet*, ed. Kathleen O. Irace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9-10.
- ¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth Oakes, "Polonius, the Man Behind the Arras: A Jungian Study," *New Essays on Hamlet* (New York: AMS Press, 1994), 103-116.
- ¹⁶⁶ Elizabeth Oakes, "Polonius as a Stage Analogue of Lyly," *Hamlet Studies*, (Jan./Feb., 1999), 154.
- ¹⁶⁷ Victoria N. Alexander, "Polonius and Poland, a Coincidence?" *English Language Notes*, vol. 36, no. 4 (June, 1999), 11.
- ¹⁶⁸ Peter D. Usher, "Hamlet's Transformation," *Elizabethan Review*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1999), 48-64.
- ¹⁶⁹ Bernice W. Kliman, "Three Notes on Polonius: Position, Residence, and Name," *Shakespeare Bulletin*, (Spring, 2002) 5-6.
- ¹⁷⁰ Philip Edwards, "Introduction," *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: Updated Edition*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 70-71.

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