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Spenser and Shakespeare: Bards of a Feather?

Willy Maley

For both of you are birds of self-same feather. (*3HenryVI*, 3.3.161)

A Theatre for Worldlings, or, All the World's a Stage

In the summer of 1628, a planned production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, a Shakespeare play with Spenserian connections, was shelved amid protests.¹ This chapter may also appear to focus on a non-event and make more ado than is warranted since it tackles a neglected topic. Spenser's influence on Shakespeare, especially early Shakespeare, is seldom discussed; likewise, Shakespeare's influence on Spenser. In what follows, I explore how Spenser's life and work intersected with Shakespeare's formation as poet and playwright, and the ways in which critics and editors have conceived relations between the two writers.

Although one critic speaks of 'the Shakespeare circle in both Stratford and London', there is little written on this topic.² A recent collection promising to correct that deficiency proceeds on the usual Anglocentric basis.³ By contrast, we often hear of a Spenser Circle, if only as part of a larger Sidney or Leicester-Sidney Circle that stretched from London to Dublin and from Cambridge to Cork. Although Spenser worked with Gabriel Harvey in the early stages of his career, co-authorship was not a sustained feature of his work (setting aside the implicit collaborative nature of secretarial labour). Bookended by collaborative efforts, Shakespeare's career, by contrast, is best understood through co-authorship and collaboration within a series of border-crossing literary circles, through the study of collective biography at that point

where creative cooperation meets influence. That he collaborated in later life complicates the case for collaboration as apprenticeship.⁴

Online resources like EEBO, LION and the ODNB can help set Shakespeare in the wider context in which he worked. Shifting from an Anglocentric to an Archipelagic focus aids our understanding of the creative context from which he took wing. Spenser holds the key since that poet's residence in Ireland necessitates a broadening of horizons that does not apply to his stay-at-home contemporary. For a man who had a house in London's 'Ireland Yard', whose work was blocked from a courtyard performance in Coleraine in 1628, and who was the subject of a forgery by a man bearing the name of 'Ireland' there have been few attempts to link Shakespeare with that country, at least in terms of biography and influence.⁵ Ireland is a backyard overlooked in most Shakespeare criticism. Spenser, conversely, never escapes the place he called home for two decades. Yet Spenser studies has operated with a restricted sense of the circles he moved in. If the George Turberville entry in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* does not see fit to mention Turberville's Irish service, why should Shakespeare critics fuss about the fact that so many of the writers and translators employed or deployed in Ireland influenced his work?⁶

Ireland is where the Shakespeare and Spenser circles intersect. By homing in on a group of writers and translators who served with Spenser there and whose work informed Shakespeare, I demonstrate that an archipelagic angle can offer more than traditional Anglocentric perspectives. I also emphasize, particularly from 1587 onwards, the role of James VI as a player on the English political stage and a figure on the theatrical stage and poetic page, and show how this may have led to one specific crossing-point for both Shakespeare and Spenser. In doing so, I tell a tale of two writers, one who went to London to become a poet and turned playwright, and

another who went to Dublin with dreams of a career in drama and found his theatre of worldlings was a theatre of war.

Spenser as dramatist is an unfamiliar idea.⁷ Patrick Cheney cites John Kerrigan's pioneering work on the shared concerns of poetry and playwriting:

Discussing the commonplace intertextuality with Spenser's complaints [...] and Spenser's contributions to Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings*, Kerrigan observes: 'Like Spenser's Rome, ... [the maid] inhabits a "theatre for worldlings"' [...], to the extent that 'early readers, attuned to the theatricality of the [complaint] genre, might have thought in terms of a well-known playwright writing for the paper-stage'.⁸

David Hill Radcliffe notes that Spenser's poetry had an impact on the theatre at an early stage:

The best evidence for the breadth of Spenser's first readership comes from the drama. Peele [...] imitated the *Shepherd's Calendar* in *The Araygnement of Paris* (1584); [...] Marlowe must have seen a manuscript of the *Faerie Queene*, for in *Tamburlaine the Greate* (1590) he imitated passages prior to their publication; W. S. imitates Spenser's *Complaints* in *Lochrine* (1595), as does [...] Greene in *Alphonsus* (1599). [...] Tourneur imitates Spenser in *The Transformed Metamorphosis* (1600) [...] as does Chapman in *Monsieur D'Olive* (1606) [...] a raft of Spenser's characters – Florimell, Paridell, Satyrane – make cameo appearances in [...] Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* (1607).⁹

The relationship between drama and verse and the extent to which writers worked across forms makes it harder to insulate Spenser from his contemporaries or view him in isolation.

A sea change in Shakespeare and Spenser studies in the wake of a series of biographical critical developments shifts the focus from one-to-one correspondences to a more fluid sense of connectivity. As Kathleen Curtin says in her preface to Jackson Boswell's addenda to 'Spenser Allusions' (2012):

Whereas [William] Wells lists only one reference to Spenser in the works of Shakespeare, Boswell takes a broader view [...] tracing allusions to Spenser in most of the plays and nearly all of the poems. [...] The allusions Boswell lists are general rather than specific – for example, he argues that the character of Titania is a parody of Gloriana – and they tend to be subtle, oblique, and transformative.¹⁰

In scope and scale of influence we have come a long way since A. Kent Hieatt suggested the only universally agreed allusion to Spenser in Shakespeare was the reference to *Teares of the Muses* in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (5.1.52-5).¹¹ Hieatt argued that Spenser's Irish residence kept him from Shakespeare's theatre: 'Living mostly in Ireland, he had little opportunity to see plays, and, when he made his last published remarks on fellow poets (in *Colin Clouts* 1595), only two of Shakespeare's narrative poems and four of his plays had been published'.¹²

In their introduction to *The Shakespeare Circle*, Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells ask:

Did he attend Edmund Spenser's funeral or see Essex's troops ride out on their way to the Irish wars (as Simon Forman did)? He certainly would have known other playwrights, poets and writers including Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, John Marston, Thomas Nashe, Edmund Spenser and John Webster. Some of these would no doubt have been among his regular companions and associates. Together they form a litany of names that it becomes all too easy to imagine surrounding him as drinking companions in the Mermaid Tavern.¹³

It becomes all too easy to imagine many things, but envisaging the impact of Ireland on Shakespeare is not among them.¹⁴ Yet Shakespeare was influenced by several of Spenser's Irish contemporaries – Lodowick Bryskett, Geoffrey Fenton, Barnabe Googe, Thomas North, Barnaby Rich, and Petruccio Ubaldini. Fenton's 1567 translation of Belleforest's translation of Bandello, dedicated to Mary Sidney, wife of Irish Lord Deputy Henry Sidney, has been tabled as a source for *Lucrece* as well as *Othello*.¹⁵ Perhaps 'Master Fenton' in *Merry Wives* is a nod. Captain Thomas North's Irish service from 1580 is seldom noted.¹⁶ Londoner Lodowick Bryskett – born Lodovico Bruschetto to Italian parents – may have suggested to Shakespeare the name of the king's close adviser in *Edward III*:

This fellow is well read in poetry [...] Hast thou pen, ink, and paper ready,
Lodowick? (2.1.53; 59)¹⁷

Did Bryskett's fellow Italian Irish servitor, Petruccio Ubaldini, give his name to Shakespeare, as well as providing source material?¹⁸ Barbara Hodgdon's edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* fingers

one prominent Petruccio in London, Petrucchio Ubaldini, two of whose works are plausibly associated with *Edward III*.¹⁹

Another Lodowick, Lodowick Lloyd, is thought to have been in Ireland with Spenser, though Andrew Hadfield makes no mention of this in his Spenser biography or *DNB* entry for Lloyd. Certainly Lloyd was associated with both Spenser and Shakespeare.²⁰ Ludovico Ariosto, another name to conjure with, had his *Orlando Furioso* translated by Spenser's Irish contemporary Sir John Harington.²¹ Shakespeare's printer, Richard Field, published Harington's translation of Ariosto in 1591, Harington's servant and emblemist Thomas Combe's *Theater of Fine Devices* in 1593, and in the same year reprinted Fenton's Guicciardini. A reprint of North's Plutarch followed in 1595, and in 1596 Field published Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Ubaldini's *Rime*, and Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* – all authors with a complex tracery of Irish connections. Shakespeare's will left his sword to Thomas Combe, member of a local Stratford family with whom he had links.²² Was this the son of Thomas Combe, emblemist and Irish servitor of Harington, who provided source material for *As You Like It*?²³

'Busiosity', or Rich Pickings

Peter Berek concludes his examination of English revisions of French translations of Bandello's Italian *novelle* by suggesting that Robert Greene's attack on Shakespeare

as plagiarist borrows its feathers from the preface to a 1577 translation of Belleforest's *Bandello*: 'I account it no good dealing, that any ma[n] should [...] lyke Esopes Crow to vsurpe and iette abroade, deckte with the Feathers of other bewtifuller Byrds'.²⁴ Three years earlier, Barnaby Rich, the original upstart crow, feathered his own nest with borrowed majesty, but as a bard he was also a bird ready to change his tune as the times demanded. An early work, *A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier* (1574), declared:

I have done as the Jay, who decked her selfe with the fethers of other Byrds, to the ende, she might seeme to be the more glorious.²⁵

Richard Helgerson presents Rich as resourceful abridger and adapter.²⁶ One nest Rich borrows from in *The Adventures of Brusanus* (1592) is Greene's *Gwydonius* (1584).²⁷ Ironically, Rich the jay borrowed from Greene in order to recycle as well as supply feathers for Shakespeare. Yet just as Rich borrows from Greene so had Greene borrowed from Pettie.²⁸ Robert Dent remarks on 'the extent of Greene's verbal indebtedness' including 'the plundering from Pettie in a single novel, one made familiar to modern readers by its presence in the Everyman Library'.²⁹ According to Dent: 'Greene, by the standards of any age, was a plagiarist, and a plagiarist by the carload in his first novels. During his period of literary apprenticeship, if one can use so dignified a term to describe it, he was no conscientious apprentice. Rather, he was a literary quilt maker'.³⁰ Who is borrowing from whom?

Riche His Farewell to Militarie Profession (1581) ends with Balthasar, a devil who, possessing the Scottish king, quits his realm with the words 'Naie, then, farewell, Scotland; for I had rather go to hell'.³¹ As T. M. Cranfill comments:

How could Rich know, as he wrote this rollicking narrative sometime before 1581, that he was treading [...] dangerous ground [...] Surely a slap at things Scottish could not fail to delight Englishmen, notorious for their xenophobia. [...] And so the story was no doubt thoroughly enjoyed in 1581 and again in the second edition of 1583. Next came the edition of 1594. And the blow fell.³²

James VI had George Nicolson complain about Rich's depiction.³³ Cranfill notes that in the fourth edition of Rich's text 'The Turk and Constantinople everywhere replace the King of Scotland and Edinburgh', and refers to another revision in the 1606 printing, the removal of 'the Scottes by custome' from a list of traditional English enemies.³⁴ Rich went on to dedicate work to James's children, Henry and Charles, and was financially rewarded in the end.³⁵ Rich's treatment raises questions about other victims of James's ire and prompts us to ask why Spenser's *Faerie Queene* never underwent similar transformation in later editions.

Cranfill compares this response by Rich with James's disapproval of Spenser in 1596 and Nicolson's letter of 15 April 1598 about the drama which, as we shall see, Giorgio Melchiori thinks may be *Edward III* but of which Cranfill says 'neither the play nor its possible fate at the hands of English officials has come to light'.³⁶ The case of one William Leonard 'in trouble at home for merely verbal indiscretions' – calling James VI impotent – offers a sidelight on Rich's censure.³⁷ In this instance the commission of inquiry chaired by Cecil concluded Leonard was merely guilty of 'busiosity in matters beyond his calling, a fault very usual in this age'.³⁸ That word 'busiosity' – which tickles Cranfill – can stand sentry over this chapter.

Folio Following Folio

Matthew Lowne's pioneering 1609 first folio of *The Faerie Queene* paved the way for Jonson's 1616 Folio and Shakespeare's 1623 Folio, 'an indication of how significant a writer Spenser was deemed to have been by his contemporaries'.³⁹

Lowne also published John Dowland's madrigals, but the suggestion that Dowland may have been Irish has not been followed up.⁴⁰ In an early effort to locate Spenser in Shakespeare, Abbie Potts declared: 'At the turn of the century, the better to enhance his plays written from 1599 to 1604, Shakespeare was studying *The Faerie Queene*'.⁴¹ Bert Hamilton, reviewing Potts, deemed her over-reliant on one-to-one correspondences and one-way traffic.⁴² Hamilton more generously concludes:

Miss Potts engaged the subject of Shakespeare's relation to Spenser at the point where there were only random suggestions of correspondence, or aimless debates about the identity of 'pleasant Willy' [...] and carried it to the point that challenges all later readers to consider her hypothesis.⁴³

Hamilton accepts Potts' claim that Spenser is absent from Shakespeare's plays pre-1599, yet Holinshed impacted on both writers, and underpins the histories Shakespeare wrote while Spenser was publishing his epic poetry. Their shared reliance on Holinshed remains under-examined, with Shakespeare's medievalism underplayed, and Spenser's overemphasized.⁴⁴

Potts believed Spenser saved Shakespeare from having 'to haunt the pages of Halle and Holinshed, Plutarch as translated by Sir Thomas North, and the several purveyors of Italian stories, without any hint from these as to how chronicles and

biographies and *novelle* are shaped into proper tragedies'.⁴⁵ Potts is aware of Holinshed as source for both writers, but sees this as most relevant for later Shakespeare. She points out that Robert Nares in the Shakespeare Variorum 'noted that the reduplication of the adverb in "too too solid flesh" of the second quarto occurs in Holinshed and Spenser'.⁴⁶ Potts acknowledges 'The events and persons of *Macbeth* come out of Holinshed's *Chronicles*', but sees in *FQ1* a richer source.⁴⁷ She points to Shakespeare drawing on *FQ2* for *Lear* and *Cymbeline*. Potts thus privileges late Shakespeare as the site of a mature engagement with Spenser's poetry.

Provinces Lost, or Spenser's Provincial Theatre

'At least we know now that Shakespeare was not a genius operating in a literary vacuum', Walter Watkins observes at the outset of his pioneering work on Shakespeare and Spenser. Watkins, aware of breaking new ground, but also going over old ground fenced off, suggests Spenser's Irish sojourn prevented him turning his hand to the theatre and cites the October eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* as evidence that even this early 'Spenser shows interest in drama':

O if my temples were distaind with wine,
And girt in girlonds of wild Yvie twine,
How I could reare the Muse on stately stage,
And teache her tread aloft in buskin fine.⁴⁸

Spenser's range may have been displayed 'on stately stage' had he stayed in England:

He is master of two border forms, the masque and the pageant; he wrote nine comedies now lost; and, if he had not gone to Ireland in 1580, he might have been caught up like another predominantly non-dramatic poet, Daniel, by the groundswell of Elizabethan drama.⁴⁹

An intriguing thought, and one rehearsed by Alwin Thaler as early as 1935, noting that the Spenser-Harvey correspondence touches teasingly on the young poet's theatergoing and drinking:

In *The Teares* we may read Melpomene's version of the familiar *totus mundus*, 'all man's life me seems a tragedy'; but also a tribute to an unnamed 'gentle spirit' of comedy – perhaps John Lyly – and another to 'our pleasant Willy', probably the famous comedian, Will Tarleton. At any rate, 'Wylsons or Tarletons part', together with 'my lorde of Leicesters, My lorde of Warwickes, ... Ritches' and other 'starteupe comedanties ... fitt for the Theatre or sum other paintid stage whereat thou and thy lively copesmates in London maye lawghe ther mouthes bellyes full for pence or two pence apiece', come in for lively notice in one of a series of jesting letters addressed to Spenser by Gabriel Harvey in 1579 [which] contain familiar allusions to what must have been a joint attendance of the two friends upon the play (mentioned by Stephen Gosson) of *The Jew*, then acting at the Bull Theatre and the precursor of *The Merchant of Venice*.⁵⁰

Commenting on the dedications of *Muiopotmos*, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and *The Teares of the Muses* to the three Spencer sisters – Elizabeth Carey, Anne Compton and Lady Strange – Thaler states:

Spenser [...] was personally and professionally related to four successive patrons of Shakspere's company; he would therefore have heard something of its chief playwright. [...] His exacting official and literary work in Ireland, and his early death, denied him any substantial opportunity to see Shakspere's work on the stage, and the publication of plays did not get sufficiently under way in time for him to have read Shakspere.⁵¹

Watkins anticipates Potts' line that it is to late Shakespeare that we look for Spenser's influence, and that it is all one-way: 'He died before Shakespeare wrote his greatest plays; we cannot even be sure that he knew Shakespeare's poetry'.⁵² But before going on to look at later work, Watkins suggests the histories are also relevant for Spenser's 'Fierce warres and faithful loves'. Allegory and topicality are crucial connectors here. Watkins yokes the two writers together on grounds of shared historical sensibility but differing emphases before concluding that 'the historical-political significance of the *Faerie Queene*, which interests us least, deeply impressed Shakespeare'.⁵³

Watkins, like Potts, fastens on Jacobean Shakespeare, including *King Lear*, building on earlier work by the likes of Thomas Harrison, who had explored Spenser's influence in *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline* and *Timon of Athens*.⁵⁴ Alwin Thaler lamented that critics confine Spenser's influence on Shakespeare to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (5.1.52) and the form of the name 'Cordelia'.⁵⁵ Building on previous scholarship by J. W. Hales and Arthur Quiller-

Couch, Thaler linked Spenser's *Epithalamion* to the 'runaway eyes' passage in Juliet's epithalamium and Mercutio to Spenser's *Phantastes*.⁵⁶

Recent essays examine the impact of Spenser's poetry on Shakespeare not as ethical matter for tragedy and romance, but through a particular form, the sonnet. According to Anne Lake Prescott, 'we will continue testing the probable degree of Spenser's impact on Shakespeare by looking for more exceptions, and we should also establish more fully what feelings and imagery about time, burial, Rome, surviving words, and ruined walls were already available to the English when Spenser published *Complaints* and Shakespeare realized that something important had happened to him'.⁵⁷

Harold Weatherby compared Shakespeare's sonnet 55 and Spenser's sonnet 75 as instances of 'the familiar conceit of poetic immortality'.⁵⁸ These formal and thematic skeins of association are seldom extended to biographical criticism or historical context. That two candidates for the 'dark lady' of the sonnets, Mary Fitton and William Herbert, had Irish links is rarely remarked upon.⁵⁹ Introducing Barnabe Googe's early Elizabethan sonnets, Edward Arber underlined the value of archival and editorial labour 'to trace out the works of that race of writers who were the heralds, the forerunners, the teachers of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Johnson, and their glorious phalanx of contemporary poets'.⁶⁰ The task of tracing networks of writers is still underway.

There have been significant advances. Sayre Greenfield's insightful comparison of Shakespeare's and Spenser's *Venus and Adonis* through interpretive histories of Shakespeare's poem and *The Faerie Queene* Book 3 can now be read alongside Thomas Herron's linking of the two within an Irish framework.⁶¹ Likewise Clare Kinney's discussion of three Elizabethan pastoral versions of *Rosalind* –

Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), Lodge's *Rosalynde* (1590) and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (c.1599-1600) – can be juxtaposed with Herron's and Chris Butler's historicizing and Hibernicizing of Shakespeare's play.⁶² Herron is the first to draw attention to Shakespeare patron Lord Hunsdon's claim on the Ormond earldom.⁶³ Do we know enough to distinguish between patterns of patronage sought and secured by Spenser and Shakespeare?⁶⁴

Unloved gifts like *Axiochus* and *A Lover's Complaint* have been brought into the frame and fray. Douglas Hutchinson credits the Cynic teaching of *Axiochus* (1592) with inspiring Jaques' speech, beginning 'All the world's a stage' (ref.).⁶⁵ MacDonald P. Jackson argues among other echoes that *A Lover's Complaint* 47-9 recalls *Prothalamion* 25-7, suggesting Shakespeare's poem had to be written after 1596, and 'that Shakespeare was echoing Spenser, because a general Spenserian influence on *A Lover's Complaint* is so obvious as to have been remarked on by a great number of scholars, and the opening of Spenser's *The Ruins of Time* (1591) presents a more direct, though less complex, parallel to the opening of the *Complaint*'.⁶⁶ Anthony Taylor sees *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581) as source for both Juliet's 'fiery-footed steeds' (3.2.1) and *The Faerie Queene* Book 1's 'Limbo lake' (I.2.32.5).⁶⁷ Patrick Cheney traces the development of poetic self-presentation in *The Phoenix and Turtle* back to Chaucer via Spenser.⁶⁸ Martin Dzelzainis suggests *Antony and Cleopatra* reworks the concluding couplet of sonnet 3 of *Ruines of Rome* (1591), so that Spenser's poem influenced Shakespeare's Roman plays as well as the *Sonnets*.⁶⁹ In a vanguard intervention, A. Kent Hieatt tabled Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* as touchstone text for Shakespeare's sonnets.⁷⁰ Charles Hieatt added *King John* II.i.575-80 to the mix, concluding that 1593-4 marked Shakespeare's closest interest in Spenser's *Ruins*.⁷¹ Influence is a two-way street. Shakespeare could be source as

well as sorcerer. Joan Fitzpatrick sees Munera's brutal end in *The Faerie Queene* V.ii 'influenced by Shakespeare's depiction of Lavinia and Tamora in his ultra-violent Roman play *Titus Andronicus*'.⁷² All of this 'busiosity' does not add up to a thesis, but rather indicates an ongoing process of comparative criticism that is carefully constructing an image of the two authors as facing pages rather than scattered leaves.

Anne Lake Prescott coins the term 'Ruinish' for the language of writers affected by events in Europe where civil and religious wars left buildings in ruins. Prescott mentions Turberville, who 'edges into proto-Ruinish in the verse preface to the *Tragicall Tales* (1587) he translated from Italian', and 'Thomas Churchyard, whose poetry often incorporates phrases in Ruinish'.⁷³ Churchyard and Turberville, like Spenser, shared experience of ruins across another Channel, St George's, separating England and Ireland.

'Ye will not hence till you have shared the spoils' (*Edward III*, 1.2.64)

In the introduction to the Cambridge edition of *Edward III*, Giorgio Melchiori poses the problem of the play and attempts to explain its neglected status.⁷⁴ Melchiori finds an answer in the negative depiction of the Scots. He cites a letter from George Nicolson, Elizabeth's agent in Edinburgh addressed to Burghley on 15 April 1598 as evidence that this play's depiction of the Scots offended James VI:

It is regrated [= regretted] to me in quiet sort that the comedians of London should in their play scorn the King and people of this land and wished that it may be speedily amended and stayed, lest the worst sort getting understanding thereof should stir the King and country to anger thereat.⁷⁵

Cranfill, we have seen, believed this letter to be about Rich. Whether or not Nicolson is alluding to *Edward III* – and recent recognition of Shakespeare’s share in its authorship adds interest to an otherwise routine item of correspondence – it is clear that the last years of Elizabeth’s reign proved a testing time for literary representations of Scotland by English authors, because of the succession, as well as dramatic depictions of Ireland, due to the continuing conflict there. We know this because of a hitherto more noteworthy letter from Nicolson to Burghley dated six weeks earlier, following on from a complaint against Edmund Spenser first aired in November 1596. On 27 February 1598, Nicolson informed Burghley that Walter Quin, an Irishman, was ‘answering Spenser’s book, whereat the King is offended’.⁷⁶ Quin remained something of a spectre in Spenser studies until recently.⁷⁷ If Cranfill is right about Rich then Spenser was not the only Irish-based writer with Shakespearean connections to fall foul of James.⁷⁸

Marion Taylor, in a fascinating essay on Falstaff and Holinshed, unpacks and unpicks the threads that bind together Shakespeare, Spenser, Rich, and Greene through depictions of James VI. Taylor contends that the allusion in *2 Henry IV* to ‘Colvile of the dale’ is to John Colville, a slippery figure from Scotland – ‘an intriguer, a rebel and a spy’.⁷⁹ Taylor takes us back to Melchiori’s claim that *Edward III* fell prey to James VI, but offers a different angle. Nicolson had written to Robert Bowes on 18 June 1595 complaining: ‘In the conclusion of a book called “Rich his Farewell,” printed in 1594, such matter is noted as the King is not pleased with; he says little but thinks the more’. As Taylor comments:

The soldierly Barnaby [...] lowered his colors when James assumed the throne of England. In the 1606 edition of *The Farewell* he found it politic to

substitute ‘Constantinople’ for ‘Scotland’ and ‘The Turke’ for ‘The King’.

[...] Thus did James take exception to certain books which were among the most popular in London.⁸⁰

Sensitivity around Scottish and Irish matters drew Spenser and Shakespeare into the same circles. The net of censorship was pulled tightest in the 1590s. According to Gary Taylor, the apparent allusion to Essex in the Chorus to Act V of *Henry V* ‘is the only explicit, extra-dramatic, incontestable reference to a contemporary event anywhere in the canon’.⁸¹ Whether or not ‘the General [...] from Ireland coming’ is indeed to Essex – and the inference has been challenged – we do know that Robert Devereux signed the document approving Spenser as sheriff of Cork on 30 September 1598 and may have footed his funeral costs three months later, so the invocation in *Henry V* furnishes a further speculative bond between the two.⁸²

An Irish link in *Edward III* emerges around a key source for the play’s military scenes, as mapped out by Melchiori, namely Ubaldini’s *Discourse Concerning the Spanish Fleet Invading England, in the Year 1588* (1590).⁸³ These scenes are held not to be by Shakespeare but in any event Ubaldini’s Irish experience is seldom discussed – he was at Smerwick with Spenser in 1580.⁸⁴ Spenserians know Christopher Carleill as one of the participants in a civil conversation at Lodowick Bryskett’s house near Dublin in 1582 at which Spenser was present. Another echo emerges in the wake of the wreck of the Spanish Armada off the Irish coast. Despite an order ‘for the capture and execution of any stranded mariners’, Ubaldini reported that Captain Carleill, then governor of Carrickfergus, spared fourteen shipwrecked Spaniards and ‘paid some Scottish sailors to take the men to Scotland’.⁸⁵ Here we

have a tale touching Italy, Spain, Ireland, England and Scotland threaded together by a writer who touched the lives and work of both Shakespeare and Spenser.

Keeping Up With The Joneses

Andrew Hadfield suggests that two dedicatees of Spenser's sonnets in 1595 and 1596 with the surname Jones – William and Zachary – might be related.⁸⁶ He does not detect an Irish dimension for either, but both held Irish posts and property. The journal of Sir Thomas Norris campaigning in Cork from 27-March-4 April 1599, in the wake of Spenser's departure and death, was 'written by his commissary William Jones'.⁸⁷ This is the same William Jones (1566-1640) to whose 1595 translation of Giovanni Battista Nenna's *Nennio, or A Treatise of Nobility* Spenser contributed a dedicatory sonnet, and thus another addition to Spenser's Irish circle. Among the offices Jones held were 'King's bench in Ireland 1617-20; judge of common pleas 1621, of King's bench 1624; commr. to inquire into the state of Ireland 20 Mar. 1622-Nov. 1623, and 1624'.⁸⁸ Zachary Jones, a member of both the Spenser and Shakespeare circles, was until recently a spectral figure in Renaissance studies, appropriately enough for the translator of Pierre Le Loyer's *A Treatise of Specters* (1605).⁸⁹ According to Franklin Williams: 'As an avocation he translated books from French, and along the line he developed an acquaintance with his Cambridge contemporary, Edmund Spenser'.⁹⁰ Zachary, like William, secured a stake in Ireland, granted the island of Valentia in Kerry by James I.⁹¹

Zachary Jones, a figure, like others, with Irish connections and links to both Spenser and Shakespeare, is one of several writers and translators deserving of further investigation, and the essay by Franklin Williams should open the door to such inquiry. As Williams concludes:

One of [Jones's] added marginalia has been – up to the present – Jones's sole claim to fame [...] Richard Farmer noted in 1767 that a passage in *A Treatise of Specters* (fol. 32) affords the closest analogue to Shylock's curious remark about the stimulating effect of bagpipes, and his discovery was duly incorporated in the Johnson-Steevens, Malone, and Furness Variorum editions. [...] That *The Merchant of Venice*, published in 1600, should echo (V.i.53) a translation printed in 1605 is perplexing. [...] But it is Jones's 1605 marginal note that supplies the vital link: 'Another Gen. of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Execester, who could not endure the playing on a Bagpipe.' The chronological puzzle admits of two solutions. One is that Shakespeare and Jones drew independently on a current anecdote. The other is that perhaps Jones knew Shakespeare as well as Spenser.⁹²

Williams argues that tying Zachary Jones to Shakespeare and Spenser is not as far-fetched as other theories.⁹³ In his closing remarks, Williams laments the fact that influence is not easily deduced from acquaintance: 'Regardless of whether Shakespeare knew Zachary, Edmund Spenser must have found him a stimulating conversationalist. One rueful remark forces itself into the conclusion of this introduction of Jones to the literary world: I find no mention or influence of Spenser in Jones's books, and no evidence that Jones influenced Spenser'.⁹⁴

Karen Nelson calls Shakespeare 'England's post-Spenserian National Poet'. This underplays the 'national' reach of each author, and the extent to which Shakespeare was pre-Spenserian and Spenser post-Shakespearean.⁹⁵ More fruitfully, Jane Grogan has interrogated the different Irish afterlives of the two writers.⁹⁶ I hope I

have done enough here to suggest that the latticework of links between Spenser and Shakespeare in their lifetimes, and in their overlapping critical heritage, remains a topic rich in potential. I trust that in teasing out some lesser-known affinities I have not merely flown a few kites or taken too many flights of fancy but have ‘added feathers to the learned’s wing’.

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¹ Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times until c.1642* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), p. 210. See Alwin Thaler, ‘Spenser and *Much Ado about Nothing*’, *Studies in Philology* 37, 2 (1940), 225-235. For links between Spenser and John Harington – also active in Ireland – and Shakespeare’s play, see Melinda J. Gough, “‘Her filthy feature open showne’ in Ariosto, Spenser, and *Much Ado about Nothing*’, *Studies in English Literature* 39, 1 (1999), 41-67.

² John Freehafer, ‘Leonard Digges, Ben Jonson, and the Beginning of Shakespeare Idolatry’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 21, 1 (1970), 63-75, 63. The Six Degrees of Francis Bacon project offers one way of mapping social networks in the period: <http://www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com/>.

³ Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, *The Shakespeare Circle: An Alternative Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁴ Unless in his later collaborations, he is the senior partner working with the less experienced (though hardly novice or apprentice) partners: Middleton, Wilkins, Fletcher. I am grateful to Rory Loughnane for this point.

⁵ Paul Baines, ‘Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835)’, *ODNB*. Retrieved 5 Jan 2016.

⁶ See William E. Sheidley, ‘Turberville, George’, in A. C. Hamilton (ed.), *A Spenser Encyclopedia* (Routledge: London and Toronto, 1990), p.704.

⁷ The two writers shared the same stage in a landmark performance of Spenser’s verse alongside Shakespeare’s drama at the Globe Theatre on 12 June 2017. See Jane Grogan, Tiffany Jo Werth; Linda Gregerson, Stephanie Elsky, Patricia Palmer, Deana Rankin, Will Tosh, Nathan Szymanski, Sarah Van der Laan, William N. West, ‘Reflections on “Spenser, Poetry and Performance” at Shakespeare’s Globe, 12-13 June 2017,’ *Spenser Review* 48.1.2 (Winter 2018).

<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/48.1.2>. Accessed September 1st, 2018.

⁸ Patrick Cheney, “‘Deep-Brained Sonnets” and “Tragic Shows”’: Shakespeare’s Late Ovidian Art in *A Lover’s Complaint*’, in Shirley Sharon-Zisser (ed.), *Critical Essays on Shakespeare’s A Lover’s Complaint: Suffering Ecstasy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp.55-77, 58, citing the Introduction to John Kerrigan (ed.), *Motives of Woe: Shakespeare and ‘Female Complaint’* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp.42-3.

⁹ David Hill Radcliffe, *Edmund Spenser: A Reception History* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1996), pp.10-11.

¹⁰ Kathleen Curtin, preface to Jackson C. Boswell, ‘Spenser Allusions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Addenda’, *Studies in Philology* 109, 2 (2012), i-xiii, 353-583, at viii.

¹¹ A. Kent Hieatt, ‘Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)’, in Hamilton (ed.), *A Spenser Encyclopedia*, pp.641-643, 641. See also James Bednarz, ‘Imitations of Spenser in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*’, *Renaissance Drama* 14 (1983), 79-102.

¹² Hieatt, ‘Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)’, p.641.

¹³ Edmondson and Wells (eds.), *The Shakespeare Circle*, p.4. For an earlier effort to see Shakespeare as part of a circle, see C. Martin Mitchell, *The Shakespeare Circle. A Life of Dr. John Hall, Shakespeare’s Son-in-law, with Glimpses of their Intimate Friends and Relations* (Birmingham: Cornish Bros., 1947).

¹⁴ Likewise, Julian Lethbridge's pioneering volume omits those translators – Fenton, Harington, North, Rich – whose shared links might prove productive. Passing references to Barnabe Googe and George Turbervile overlook their Irish service. See J. B. Lethbridge (ed.), *Shakespeare and Spenser: Attractive Opposites* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

¹⁵ D. T. Starnes, 'Geoffrey Fenton, Seneca and Shakespeare's *Lucrece*', *Philological Quarterly* 43, 2 (1964), 280-283; Andrew Hadfield, 'Fenton, Sir Geoffrey (c.1539–1608)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 4 June 2015.

¹⁶ See Tom Lockwood, 'North, Sir Thomas (1535–1603?)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 24 June 2015.

¹⁷ All references to *Edward III* are to Giorgio Melchiori (ed.), *Edward III*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Lodowick only appears in the Shakespeare-attributed 'Countess' scenes in the play. I am grateful to Rory Loughnane for this observation.

¹⁸ See Cecil H. Clough, 'Ubal dini, Petruccio (fl. 1545–1599)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 22 Oct 2015. John Wolfe, who published the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, 'was also a notable publisher of Italian works, including those by Pietro Aretino and, inevitably perhaps, Machiavelli, probably employing the Italian refugee Petruccio Ubal dini as an editor and reader'. See I. Gadd, 'Wolfe, John (b. in or before 1548?, d. 1601)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 8 Jan 2016. See also Francesca Bugliani, 'Petruccio Ubal dini's *Accounts of England*', *Renaissance Studies* 8, 2 (1994), 175-197. For Ubal dini's Irish service see Anna Maria Crinò, 'La Relazione Barducci-Ubal dini sull'Impresa d'Irlanda (1579-1581)', *English Miscellany* 19 (1968), 339-67. For his significance as an observer at court, see Giovanni Iamartino, 'Under Italian Eyes: Petruccio Ubal dini's Verbal Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I', in Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (eds.), *Representations of Elizabeth in Early Modern Culture* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 193-209.

¹⁹ William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Barbara Hodgdon, The Arden Series, 3rd edition (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), 136. Hodgdon also cites Florio as a source for *The Shrew* (159), another Anglo-Italian author with Irish ties. See Arundell del Re, 'References to Florio in the Irish State Papers', *The Review of English Studies* 12, 46 (1936), 194-197.

²⁰ Edward Jones, *Ludovic Lloyd, a long-forgotten Welshman, a contemporary and probable acquaintance of William Shakespeare and the possible exemplar of Shakespeare's 'Fluellen'* (Wrexham: Jarman, 1931).

²¹ See Lawrence Rhu, 'Agons of Interpretation: Ariostan Source and Elizabethan Meaning in Spenser, Harington, and Shakespeare', *Renaissance Drama* 24 (1993), 171–88.

²² Peter Holland, 'Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 3 Jan 2016.

²³ On the identification of Harington's servant with Shakespeare's Stratford neighbour see William Sebastian Heckscher, Peter Maurice Daly and Daniel S. Russell (eds.), *Emblematic Perceptions: Essays in Honor of William S. Heckscher on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1997), where the idea is entertained 'that both the emblemist and his publisher belonged to the small circle of Stratford entrepreneurs that included Shakespeare' (8). See Michael Bath's essay in the same collection: "'Dirtie Devises": Thomas Combe and the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*', 9-23. See also Jason Scott-Warren, 'Harington, Sir John (bap. 1560, d. 1612)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 2 Jan 2016.

²⁴ 'T. N. to the courteous, friendlye, and indifferent Reader', in *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories, translated out of French into Englishe* by R. S. (London: Hugh Jackson, 1577). See Peter Berek, 'The "Upstart Crow," Aesop's Crow, and Shakespeare as a Reviser', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35, 2 (1984), 205-207, at 207. The preface by 'T. N.' is commonly thought to be by Thomas Newton, but Thomas North has been proposed as an alternative, with one critic detecting parallels with North's 1579 translation of Jacques Amyot's introduction to *Plutarch's Lives*. See Dennis McCarthy, 'Thomas North was the "T. N." who Prefaced Belleforest's "Tragicall Hystories"', *Notes & Queries* 54, 3 (2007), 244-48: 'This preface has minor significance to Shakespearean scholarship because it may be the first widely-read piece in the Elizabethan era that invokes the classical, pseudo-Aesopian association of the feather-stealing crow with literary theft, an association that would later appear in the notorious "Shake-scene" reference in "Greene's Groatsworth of Witte"' (244-5). Interestingly, a note in Smyth's translation refers to 'Mayster Fenton' (D2^v), acknowledging an earlier translation of Bandello. See Mike Pincombe,

<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/DisplayServlet?id=RS1356.5&type=normal>. Might Shakespeare have picked up his 'Master Fenton' from this source? On Shakespeare's use of North's *Plutarch* for his later work, including *Othello* and the Roman plays, see Wallace Graves, 'Plutarch's *Life of Cato Utican* as a Major Source of *Othello*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 24, 2 (1973), 181-187.

²⁵ Cited in Richard Helgerson, 'Lyly, Greene, Sidney and Barnaby Rich's *Brusanus*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 36, 2 (1973), 105-118, at 105.

²⁶ Helgerson, 'Lyly, Greene, Sidney and Barnaby Rich's *Brusanus*', 112.

- ²⁷ Helgerson, 'Lyly, Greene, Sidney and Barnaby Rich's *Brusanus*', 111.
- ²⁸ Helgerson, 'Lyly, Greene, Sidney and Barnaby Rich's *Brusanus*', 115, n. 13. Helgerson cites Robert W. Dent, 'Greene's *Gwydonius*: A Study in Elizabethan Plagiarism', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 24, 2 (1961), 151-162.
- ²⁹ Dent, 'Greene's *Gwydonius*: A Study in Elizabethan Plagiarism', 151.
- ³⁰ Dent, 'Greene's *Gwydonius*: A Study in Elizabethan Plagiarism', 151.
- ³¹ Cited in T. M. Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', *English Literary History* 16, 1 (1949), 65-75, at 66.
- ³² Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 66.
- ³³ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 66.
- ³⁴ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 71, 72.
- ³⁵ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 75.
- ³⁶ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 69.
- ³⁷ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 70.
- ³⁸ Cranfill, 'Barnaby Rich and King James', 70.
- ³⁹ Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life*, 367.
- ⁴⁰ On Dowland's Irish ancestry see W. H. Grattan Flood, 'Irish Ancestry of Garland, Dowland, Campion and Purcell', *Music & Letters* 3, 1 (1922), 59-65, at 61. Dowland's most recent biographer questions the claim. See David Greer, 'Dowland, John (1563?-1626)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 18 Jan 2016. On the allusion to Dowland in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599), published by William Jaggard (who later published the first folio of Shakespeare), see Patrick Cheney, "'Tales ... coined": "W. Shakespeare" in Jaggard's *The Passionate Pilgrim*', in *Shakespeare, National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.151-172, 167: 'As late as the eighteenth century, scholars such as George Sewell assumed that Shakespeare here is praising Spenser in print: "Shakespear took fire on reading our admirable Spenser ... Be it to Spenser then that we owe Shakespeare!" (Pope, ed., Preface, *Works*, ix). Even though Sewell is mistaken, he helps us realize how compelling the fiction of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was for a long time'. See also John Robert Moore and Ernest Brennecke, Jr., 'Shakespeare's Musical Collaboration with Morley', *PMLA* 54, 1 (1939), 139-152, 139, n.3.
- ⁴¹ Abbie Findlay Potts, *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), 9.
- ⁴² A. C. Hamilton, Review of Abbie Findlay Potts, *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), *Modern Language Notes* 74, 8 (1959), 742-745, at 743.
- ⁴³ Hamilton, Review of Potts, 744-45.
- ⁴⁴ See Igor Djordjevic, 'Shakespeare and Medieval History', *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's 'Chronicles'*, edited by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 511-526; Richard A. McCabe, 'Spenser and Holinshed', in Kewes, Archer, and Heal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's 'Chronicles'*, 543-558; and Rory Loughnane, 'The Medieval Inheritance', in Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 35-53.
- ⁴⁵ Potts, *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*, 17.
- ⁴⁶ Potts, *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*, 138.
- ⁴⁷ Potts, *Shakespeare and The Faerie Queene*, 190.
- ⁴⁸ W. B. C. Watkins, *Shakespeare and Spenser* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 43.
- ⁴⁹ Watkins, *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 43. Compare Alwin Thaler: 'It is virtually certain [...] that Spenser as a young man took a lively interest in the theatre and drama. His *Nine Comedies*, unhappily, are lost. We cannot read them, and Harvey's praise of them is cold comfort for that loss'. Alwin Thaler, 'Shakspeare and Spenser', *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 10, 4 (1935), 192-211, at 193.
- ⁵⁰ Thaler, 'Shakspeare and Spenser', 194. Thaler perhaps confuses Richard Tarleton with Will Kemp.
- ⁵¹ Thaler, 'Shakspeare and Spenser', 195.
- ⁵² Watkins, *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 43.
- ⁵³ Watkins, *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 44-45.
- ⁵⁴ Thomas Harrison, Jr., 'Aspects of Primitivism in Shakespeare and Spenser', *Studies in English* 20 (1940), 39-71.
- ⁵⁵ Thaler, 'Shakspeare and Spenser', 197. On *A Midsummer Night's Dream* see also C. M. Ingleby, 'A Literary Craze: Shakspeare and Spenser', *Notes and Queries* (1884) S6-X (249), 274.
- ⁵⁶ Alwin Thaler, 'Shakspeare and Spenser: II. The *Epithalamion*', *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 11, 1 (1936), 33-40, at 34; Alwin Thaler, 'Mercutio and Spenser's Phantastes', *Philological Quarterly* 16 (1937), 405-407.

- ⁵⁷ Anne Lake Prescott and A. Kent Hieatt, 'Shakespeare and Spenser', *PMLA* 100, 5 (1985), 820-822, at 821. Invoking in the course of a few short paragraphs 'verbal agreements', 'verbal bones', 'verbal searches', 'verbal evidence', 'a verbal connection', 'verbal correspondences' and 'verbal parallels', Kent Hieatt suggests a future 'computer-generated' list might empower such source work (822).
- ⁵⁸ H. L. Weatherby, 'Spenser and Shakespeare at Sonnets', *The Sewanee Review* 108, 1 (2000), 124-131.
- ⁵⁹ Vivienne Larminie, 'Fitton, Mary (bap. 1578, d. 1641)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 10 Jan 2016. Mary's father was a key player in the Munster Plantation. See Bernadette Cunningham, 'Fitton, Sir Edward (1548/9–1606)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 5 June 2015. William Herbert, 3rd earl of Pembroke, speculated to be the dedicatee of Shakespeare's sonnets and certainly dedicatee of the First Folio had a kinsman prominent in the same plantation project. See Victor Stater, 'Herbert, William, third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 10 Jan 2016; and Christopher Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William (c.1553–1593)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 4 June 2015.
- ⁶⁰ Barnabe Googe, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes, 1563*, edited by Edward Arber (London: A. Murray, 1871), 15-16.
- ⁶¹ Sayre N. Greenfield, 'Allegorical Impulses and Critical Ends: Shakespeare's and Spenser's Venus and Adonis', *Criticism* 36, 4 (1994), 475-498; Thomas Herron, 'War, the Boar and Spenserian Politics in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*', in Rory Loughnane and Willy Maley (eds.), *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borderers* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, Vt: Ashgate, 2013), 61-88. See also Ellen Aprill Harwood, 'Venus and Adonis: Shakespeare's Critique of Spenser', *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 39, 1 (1977), 44-60, Judith Anderson, 'Venus and Adonis: Spenser, Shakespeare, and the Forms of Desire', in Jennifer C. Vaughan and Lynne Dickson Bruckner (eds.), *Grief and Gender 700-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 149-60, and Anne Lake Prescott, 'The Equinoctial Boar: Venus and Adonis in Spenser's Garden, Shakespeare's Epyllion, and *Richard III*'s England', in Lethbridge (ed.), *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 168-186.
- ⁶² Clare R. Kinney, 'Feigning Female Fainting: Spenser, Lodge, Shakespeare, and Rosalind', *Modern Philology* 95, 3 (1998), 291-315; Thomas Herron, "'This concealed man": Spenser, Ireland and Ormond (?) in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*', in Helen Cooney and Mark S. Sweetnam (eds.), *Enigma and Revelation in Renaissance English Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 112-135; Chris Butler, "'The howling of Irish wolves": *As You Like It* and the Celtic Essex Circle', in Loughnane and Maley (eds.), *Celtic Shakespeare*, 89-102.
- ⁶³ Herron, "'This concealed man"', 133.
- ⁶⁴ Robert Lanier Reid thinks we do. See his 'Spenser and Shakespeare: Polarized Approaches to Psychology, Poetics, and Patronage', in Lethbridge (ed.), *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 79-120. Reid does not dwell on Shakespeare's colonial drama, or touch on Ireland, or the Virginia or East India Companies.
- ⁶⁵ D. S. Hutchinson, 'The Cynicism of Jaques: A New Source in Spenser's *Axiochus*?', *Notes and Queries* 39, 3 (1992), 328-330, at 329. Hutchinson is citing F. M. Padelford (ed.), *The Axiochus of Plato Translated by Edmund Spenser* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1934), 46-48.
- ⁶⁶ MacDonald Jackson, 'Echoes of Spenser's *Prothalamion* as Evidence against an Early Date for Shakespeare's *A Lover's Complaint*', *Notes and Queries* 37, 2 (1990), 180-182, at 181.
- ⁶⁷ Anthony Brian Taylor, 'The Elizabethan Seneca and Two Notes on Shakespeare and Spenser', *Notes and Queries* 34, 2 (1987), 193-195.
- ⁶⁸ Patrick Cheney, 'The Author's Voice in "The Phoenix and Turtle": Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Spenser', in John Watkins and Curtis Perry (eds.), *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 103-25.
- ⁶⁹ Martin Dzelzainis, 'Antony and Cleopatra, I.iii.102-5 and Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*', *Notes and Queries* 45, 3 (1998), 345-346. See also Judith H. Anderson, 'Beyond Binarism: Eros/Death and Venus/Mars in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', in Lethbridge (ed.), *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 54-78.
- ⁷⁰ A. Kent Hieatt, 'The Genesis of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*: Spenser's *Ruines of Rome: By Bellay*', *PMLA* 98, 5 (1983), 800-814, at 812.
- ⁷¹ Charles W. Hieatt, 'Dating *King John*', 459-60.
- ⁷² Joan Fitzpatrick, 'Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Bandello's *Novelle* as Sources for the Munera Episode in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book 5, Canto 2', *Notes and Queries* 52, 2 (2005), 196-198, at 196.
- ⁷³ Anne Lake Prescott, 'Du Bellay and Shakespeare's Sonnets', in Jonathan F. S. Post (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 136.
- ⁷⁴ Melchiori (ed.), *Edward III*, 11.
- ⁷⁵ Melchiori (ed.), *Edward III*, 12.

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- ⁷⁶ Willy Maley, *A Spenser Chronology* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 71.
- ⁷⁷ A new study tells us much about Quin, but the relevant material on Spenser remains scant regarding this intriguing exchange of letters. See John Flood (ed.), *The Works of Walter Quin, an Irishman at the Stuart Courts* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), 24.
- ⁷⁸ R. M. Clewett, Jr., 'James VI of Scotland and his Literary Circle', *Aevum* 47, 5/6 (1973), 441-454, at 453.
- ⁷⁹ Marion A. Taylor, 'How Falstaff brought Holinshed up to Date', *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 10, 3 (1935), 119-136, at 120. See Rob Macpherson, 'Colville, John (1542?-1605)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 18 Jan 2016. Thomas North's first wife was 'Elizabeth Rich (*née* Colville) of London'. See Tom Lockwood, 'North, Sir Thomas (1535-1603?)', *ODNB*. Retrieved 24 June 2015.
- ⁸⁰ Taylor, 'How Falstaff brought Holinshed up to Date', 133-134.
- ⁸¹ William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 7.
- ⁸² Essex's successor as Lord Deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, is another contender. See Richard Dutton, "'Methinks the truth should live from age to age": The Dating and Contexts of *Henry V*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, 1-2 (2005), 173-204, esp. 196-200. See Rudolf B. Gottfried, 'Spenser's View and Essex', *PMLA* 52, 3 (1937), 645-651, at 651.
- ⁸³ Melchiori (ed.), *Edward III*, 28.
- ⁸⁴ See Karl Wentersdorf, 'The Date of *Edward III*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 16, 2 (1965), 227-231.
- ⁸⁵ Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Williamsburg, Virginia: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), p.92.
- ⁸⁶ Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life*, p.293.
- ⁸⁷ David Edwards (ed.), *Campaign Journals of the Elizabethan Irish Wars* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2014), p.285.
- ⁸⁸ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/jones-william-1566-1640>, accessed 11 January 2016.
- ⁸⁹ See Franklin B. Williams, Jr., 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 19, 3 (1968), 205-212.
- ⁹⁰ Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', 206.
- ⁹¹ See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Chancery of Ireland. 1-22 James I* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1800), Pat. 10, James I, 226.
- ⁹² Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', 210-211.
- ⁹³ Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', 211.
- ⁹⁴ Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones', 212.
- ⁹⁵ Karen Nelson, 'Pastoral Forms and Religious Reform in Spenser and Shakespeare', in Lethbridge (ed.), *Shakespeare and Spenser*, 143-167, at 142.
- ⁹⁶ Jane Grogan, "'Saluage soyl, far from Parnasso Mount": Spenser and Shakespeare in contemporary Irish writing', *Literature Compass*. 2018;e12471, <https://doi.org/10.1111/lic3.12471>, accessed 28 August 2018.