SHAKESPEARE'S DEBT TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

Introduction.

It is the purpose of this thesis to try and prove three facts:— (1) that Shakespeare was directly acquainted with the Latin language.

(2) that he had an indirect knowledge of that language, gained by him through the medium of translations which existed in his time.

(3) that, although he did not know Greek in the original, he had nevertheless read several of the Greek classics in Latin translations.

We will attempt to prove Shakespeare's direct knowledge of the Latin language by (a) pointing out several Latin quotations in his plays.

(b) noting words of a distinctively classical origin, which, not having been used by any writer prior to Shakespeare and having been coined by him for his own use, must prove his knowledge of Latin.

(c) adducing certain passages in his plays, which are so similar to those used by Latin authors that they appear to be taken not from any translations of those authors, but from the originals themselves.

(1)
(d) showing Shakespeare's knowledge of Latin works, of which no translation existed in his time.

We will endeavour to establish the truth of Shakespeare's indirect acquaintance with Latin by (1) enumerating several passages which do not appear to be taken from Latin originals, but from translations of those originals existing in Shakespeare's time (2) noting several instances of Shakespeare's knowledge of classical history and mythology and showing his general acquaintance with classical antiquity.

Lastly we will attempt to verify the third fact by showing that while Shakespeare did not learn Greek at school, there are nevertheless in his plays several distinct reminiscences (and in his Roman plays almost translations) of Greek writers, whom he must have read through the medium of translations.

The whole thesis will be divided into three main portions:

A. Shakespeare's general knowledge of Classical Antiquity and Mythology.

B. Shakespeare's knowledge of the Latin language.

This portion of the work will be sub-divided into three parts:

(1) Shakespeare's school education.

(2) The classical diction in Shakespeare's plays, (i.e., a list of words of classical origin, not used by any writer prior to Shakespeare)

(3) Latin quotations in Shakespeare's plays.

C. Particular passages in Shakespeare's plays, taken from classical authors. This section will be sub-divided into
two parts: (1) Passages taken directly from classical authors;
(2) Passages taken indirectly (through translations) from classical writings.

Seeing that, for reasons of space and time, it is impossible in a thesis of this kind to treat all the plays of Shakespeare, we have therefore confined ourselves, with a few exceptions, to the following works, which appear to bring forward the greatest evidence of his classical knowledge:

- Titus Andronicus.
- Troilus and Cressida.
- Macbeth.
- Love's Labours Lost.
- Coriolanus.
- 1. Henry VI.
- Merchant of Venice.
- The Rape of Lucrece.
- Venus and Adonis.
- Julius Caesar.
- Antony and Cleopatra.
- Hamlet.
- Timon of Athens.
- Comedy of Errors.

In our treatment of the Latin quotations and the words of classical origin we have not confined ourselves to any particular play, but have considered all the works of our poet.

G. C. HINGLEY.
It might be highly interesting at the commencement of the Thesis to divide those authors from whose works Shakespeare appears to have drawn some of his ideas into two classes, A. - Those works which had not been translated before or during Shakespeare's time, B. - Those authors of whose writings translations existed in Shakespeare's time.

A.

- Ovid's Fasti.
- The Odes of Horace.
- Juvenal.
- Lucretius.
- Plautus' Comedies.
- Persius.
- Martial.
- Seneca's De Clementia.
- Catullus.
- Livy.
- Cicero's De Republica.

B.

- Ovid's Metamorphoses. (Golding's translation 1575).
- Seneca's Tragedies (The English version of 1581).
- The Satires, Epistles and the Ars Poetica of Horace. (Drant's translation of 1556).
Virgil. (Surrey's translation 1557).  
Phaer's translation 1573.  
Stanyhurst's translation 1583.  
Fleming's version of the Georgics 1589.  
Caxton's translation of Virgil.  
Douglas's translation of Virgil.

Terence. (Bernard's translation 1598)

LATIN VERSIONS OF GREEK AUTHORS.

Plato.  (A Latin translation by Cornarius 1561)  
Aeschylus. (A Latin translation by Sanravius 1555).  
Euripides. (Several Latin translations).  
Sophocles. (Several Latin Translations).
General sources of the mythological allusions in Shakespeare.

Two-thirds of the mythological references in Shakespeare come from Ovid, whilst for the remainder (with a very few exceptions) Shakespeare is indebted to Virgil. The whole character of Shakespearean mythology is essentially Ovidian, and our poet shews clearly that he was acquainted with all the stories in Ovid's Metamorphoses. Allusions to Ariadne and to Leda prove that the Heroides of Ovid was not unfamiliar to Shakespeare, whilst for his Lucrece he has drawn largely on the Fasti, and he may have read the Tristia for his allusion to Medea and Absyrtus, although it was quite possible for him to have obtained his knowledge of this story elsewhere.

There are very few allusions to the mythology of Virgil in Shakespeare, and this may have been due to the fact that Ovid was a much more popular poet than Virgil in Shakespeare's day. "Only the episodes in the Aeneid", says Mr. Root, "seem to have made a deep impression on Shakespeare, --- the account of the fall of Troy together with the stratagem of Simon and the death of Pnam, the grief of the forsaken Dido and the infernal machinery of Virgil's Hades, --- episodes all of them which savour of the sensational and thus approach the prevailing taste of Shakespeare's day."
With the exception of a few possible mythological allusions taken from Seneca and a few traces of Horatian mythology, we do not know of any other Latin writer from whom Shakespeare has obtained any mythological allusions. But he is certainly indebted to the Greek poets for some of his mythology. Several allusions in Troilus and Cressida, (which will be mentioned afterwards), are founded on the Iliad. "Yet its influence on his general conception of classical mythology was all but nothing" says Mr. Root, "as the exceeding paucity of these allusions indicates".

"Shakespeare's treatment of classical mythology"

When we consider the question of Shakespeare and classical mythology, we cannot help noticing the way in which our poet extends and amplifies the facts which he gets from Ovid and Virgil: from two or three lines, nay, from two or three words in these poets' writings, Shakespeare has drawn for us an elaborate and sensational picture. Without taking its touch of antiquity from the mythological allusion, he has invested it with a certain descriptive beauty, which serves to fix the attention of the modern reader. What can we imagine more poetical or more beautiful than the succession of mythological references in the Merchant of Venice (V. I.) ?

Lorenzo: In such a night,

Troilus, methinks, mounted the Trojan walls,
And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents
Where Cressid lay that night.

**Jessica:** In such a night
Did Thirbe fearfully o'ertrip the dew
And saw the lion's shadow ere himself,
And ran dismay'd away.

**Lorenzo:** In such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild sea-banks, and waved her love
To come again to Carthage.

**Jessica:** In such a night
Medea gathered the enchanted herbs
That did renew old Aeson.

Shakespeare would not weary the modern reader with antiquity
and in a somewhat amusing manner, coming as it does after the
long string of classical allusions he suddenly brings us back
to the modern world with the words of Lorenzo:

In such a night
Did Jessica steal from the wealthy Jew;
And with an unthrifty love did run from Venice
As far as Belmont.

In the introduction to the Taming of the Shrew, we have
another beautiful picture of classical mythology:
Second Servant: "Dost thou love pictures? We will fetch thee straight
Adonis painted by a running brook;
And Cytherea all in sedges hid,
Which seem to move and wanton with her breath.

Lord: We'll shew thee Io, as she was a maid;
And how she was beguiled and surpris'd,
As lively painted as the deed was done.

Third Servant: Or Daphne, roaming through a thorny wood,
Stretching her legs that one shall swear she bleeds,
And at the sight shall sad Apollo weep."

Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics was limited, and many of the beauties of classical mythology were omitted by him: yet by the very manner in which he reveals his store of classical knowledge, proves to us that, though his knowledge of classical mythology was limited, he had gone deep into the mythology of those Latin poets, who were so popular in his day. The effect of his verse is certainly heightened by the use of mythology and sometimes, instead of mentioning the myth itself, he simply refers to the story of that myth in exquisitely beautiful language:-

The Duke says (Twelfth Night I. I. 19-23):

Methought she purg'd the air of pestilence:
That instant was I turned into a hart;
And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,
E'er since pursue me.
(These lines refer to the story of Actaeon and his hounds).

Adam says (As you like it II. III. 14-15):

O what a world if this, when what is comely
Envenoms him that bears it!

(Shakespeare is here alluding to the shirt of Nessus)

It cannot be plausibly objected that, since the mythology of Shakespeare was common property before and during his time, out poet may have obtained his mythological allusions from poets such as Chaucer, Gower or Spenser: some of his mythology may have come from these sources, but not all of it, for the reason that in several cases (notably in his Lucrece and his Venus and Adonis), Shakespeare mentions facts omitted by English writers, who have told the story of Lucrece, but distinctly stated by Ovid.

"Shakespeare is essentially religious, Ovid is essentially irreligious" (Root), so that although Shakespeare found in Ovid a perfect treasure of classical mythology, yet the Latin poet helped him very little in his study of life and nature generally. It is as a last recourse that Shakespeare draws on mythology: he takes it up, when he has nothing else to talk about, yet so soon as the interest in any play deepens, so soon as it is the characters themselves, that is to say, what they are going to do and what is going to happen to them rather than what they are going to say, that interests us, then mythology begins to wane and gradually die out.
If we examine the soliloquies of the great Shakespearean heroes, such as Hamlet, Othello and Macbeth, we shall find that they are free for the most part from any mythological allusions. In fact we do not think we shall be wrong when we say that it is into the mouths of his less important characters,—not into those of his heroes and heroines,—that Shakespeare puts most of his mythological allusions.

And yet it is the mythology of nature herself, (as represented in antiquity), rather than that connected with any particular person or persons which seems to have the most interest for Shakespeare, and which he most fully incorporated into his plays. He tells us of "Phoebus Apollo" in his rising and his setting, of the "gray-eyed dawn", of the "black-browed night", of Neptune's ocean", of "old Hiems" with his "thin and icy crown" and of the crash of "Joses Thunder".

'Shakespeare did not know the great mythographers of Hellas' says Mr. Root, 'and he was in consequence cut off from the sublimier aspects of their system, but from the mythology of Ovid and Virgil he was able to draw the poetic beauties which it offers and while recognising its limitations to seek not without success for the deeper spiritual significance which it implies'.
We will now proceed to an examination of the various references to classical antiquity and mythology, which are to be found in the plays of Shakespeare treated in this thesis.

We have quoted Ovid or Virgil, in cases where we think Shakespeare may have been indebted to these poets for his mythological knowledge.

THE ACADEME.

The king says (Love's Labour's Lost I. I. 13):

"Our court shall be a little Academe".

Academe. Gr. Ἀκαδημία The Academy was situated in one of the suburbs of Athens and was chiefly noted as being the place where Plato taught.

ACHERON.

In Act IV. sc. III. 44 Shakespeare mentions Acheron, one of the rivers of the lower world. Titus says:

"I'll dive into the burning lake below

And pull her out of Acheron by the heels".

Here Acheron is described as a burning lake: in Macbeth we have the "pit of Acheron", and in A Midsummer Night's Dream

"The heaven is covered

With drooping fog as black as Acheron".

Shakespeare does not seem to have been very clear about the surroundings of Acheron.
ACHILLES.

Shakespeare's knowledge of this hero is confined for the most part to his Troilus and Cressida. In this play our poet's attitude towards the "bravest of the Greeks" reveals anything but reverence or admiration. Whilst not taking from him his courage and bravery, Shakespeare shows us many ridiculous traits in his character. Not satisfied with sulking in his tent owing to the loss of a captive maiden, he even demands to heaping most insulting remarks on the other Greek leaders. He delights in company with his friends to talk disparagingly about the other Greek commanders, and to listen to the demagogue Thersites, mocking Ajax. These points have been omitted by Homer in his portraiture of Achilles, probably because he did not wish to offend the taste of his readers by relating them. Shakespeare, anxious as he was to exalt the Trojans and ridicule the Greeks, lost no chance of magnifying the bad points in the character of Achilles, and in the end he gives us a most humorous picture of that hero, when he makes him say of Hector, who is a visitor at the Grecian camp,-

Tell me, you heavens, in what part of the body
Shall I destroy him? Whether there or there or there".

In Love's Labour's Lost Achilles is the antagonist of Hector; in Lucrece the spear of Achilles is mentioned in the painting of Troy:-

"For Achilles' image stood his spear
Griped in an armed hand: himself, behind,
Was left unseen".
Shakespeare again refers to this spear in 2. Henry VI., V. I.
York says when he hears of the liberty of Somerset:—

"That gold must round engirt these brows of mine,
Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles' spear
Is able with the change to kill and cure".

Our poet is here referring to the story of Telephon, who having been wounded by the spear of Achilles learnt from the oracle that he could only be cured by him who had inflicted the wound. This Achilles accomplished by means of some of the rust from his spear. Shakespeare might have read the story either in Ovid or Golding. Ovid (Met. 13) writes:

Golding translates the passage as follows:—

"I did wound
King Teleph with his speare and when he lay uppon the ground
I was entreated with the speare to heale him safe and sound".

Shakespeare may possibly have got his knowledge of the pride of Achilles from Chapman's Homer (published in three separate portions in 1598, 1600 and 1603). This translation would also have told Shakespeare that Achilles was the son of Thetis, for he is continually spoken of here as 'great Thetis' son'.

ACTAEON.

Tamora says to Bassianus (Titus Andronicus II. III.):
"Had I the power that some say Dian had,  
Thy temples should be planted presently  
With horns, as was Actaeon, and the hounds  
Should drive upon thy new-transformed limbs".

The story of Actaeon is told us by Ovid; he says that because Actaeon had seen Artemis, while she was bathing in the vale of Gorgaphia; the goddess changed him into a stag in which form he was torn to pieces by his own dogs. The following lines of Ovid describe the hounds, advancing to slay their master:—

Aeolus ego sum: dominum cogitavit restitum;  
Verba animo decant: resonat latrantium aether  
--- --- --- --- dominum retentibus illis  
Cetera turbis evert: confertique in corpore dentes  

Dilacerant falsi dominum Sub imagine cenit.

ADONIS’ GARDENS.

Charles says to Pucelle (I. III. 6-7):  
"Thy premises are like Adonis' gardens  
That one day bloomed and fruitful were the next".

The gardens of Adonis are mentioned by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 19. 19. 1.):—

quoniam antiquitas nihil primum misceret  
est quam Theophrastum hortos ac regum Adonis et  
Aleiner.
Charles really uses the words Adonis' gardens in the wrong sense. Adonis became identified with the oriental Thammuz: festivals were held in her honour every year, at which women, selected for the occasion, carried earthen pots called "Adonidis horti" (Adonis' gardens); as these pots were thrown away on the next day, they became a proverbial expression for things which made a brave show for a day or two and then withered away. Shakespeare, in this passage, applies the very opposite meaning to the term: he pays no attention to the idea of rapid decay but mentions that of rapid growth, (a very ingenious notion, but one wholly unassociated with the gardens of Adonis).

**AENEAS.**

For his knowledge of Aeneas Shakespeare may have been indebted to the "Recuyell of Caxton, where the Trojan hero is thus described:— "Aeneas had a grete body, of discrete mervayllously, in his werkes well bespoken, attempyred in his wordes". Full of good councellyl, and of science connyng; He had his visage Joyouse and the eyen cleare and gaye". Shakespeare twice refers to the episode of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises out of the burning Troy. Cassius says to Brutus (Julius Caesar I. I):—

"I, as Aeneas, our great ancestor,

Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder

The old Anchises bear".

Young Clifford says (2. Henry VI., V. II):

"As did Aeneas old Anchises bear
So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders".
For this piece of knowledge Shakespeare was probably indebted to Virgil's second Aeneid, where the story is told at full length.

**AEOLUS.**

Queen Margaret says (2. Henry VI., III. ii); alluding to the power of Aeolus as the wind god:

"Yet Aeolus would not be a murderer"

In classical mythology Aeolus was represented as keeping the winds confined in a cave and releasing them when he wished or was commanded by the gods. Shakespeare refers to this custom in the same speech:

"And he that wooed them (i.e. the winds) from their brazen caves"

Shakespeare might have obtained his knowledge of Aeolus from a perusal of Virgil's First Aeneid, where Juno commands the wind god to call forth the winds from their retreat and destroy the Trojan ships:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hare ubi dixit; cavum convexit eas-fide montem} \\
\text{Impulit in latos: rente velut agmine facto} \\
\text{.. munt et terras turbine herflant}
\end{align*}
\]

**AGAMEMNON.**

The Shakespearean Agamemnon differs somewhat from its Homeric prototype. In Shakespeare Agamemnon has lost all that pride and insolence which are so characteristic of him in Homer.
amd Cressida he is the shepherd of his people, anxious to do all in his power for their welfare, and to give a fair hearing to everybody who proposes a remedy for their misfortunes:

"He that is proud" (says the Greek leader) "eats up himself Pride is his own glass, his own trumpet, his own chronicle". How unlike are these words to the attitude which we see him adopting in the Iliad! Elsewhere in Shakespeare he is characterized as one possessing great kingliness, majesty and valour.

**AJAX.**

Marcus says (II. I):

"The Greeks upon advice did bury Ajax That slew himself: and wise Ajax' son Did graciously plead for his funerals".

These lines have their origin in the Ajax of Sophocles (which Shakespeare may have read in a Latin translation). The Greek leaders Agamemnon and Menelaus had refused to permit the burial of Ajax, notwithstanding the threats and entreaties of his brother Teucer. Ulysses (the son of Ajax), who is everywhere famed for his wisdom, succeeds at length in persuading Agamemnon and Menelaus to allow the burial of their rival.

**THE MADNESS OF AJAX.**

Biron says (Love's Labour's Lost IV. III):
"By the lord, this love is as mad as Ajax
It kills sheep; it kills me: I a sheep".

These lines refer to the well-known story of Ajax (told in the Ajax of Sophocles), where Ajax in his madness kills sheep and oxen, supposing them to be his enemies, the Atreidae. Shakespeare knows that Ajax is the son of Telamon:-

Yorks says (2. Henry VI., V. I):

"And now, like Ajax Telamonius
On sheep or oxen could I spend my fury".

**THE SHIELD OF AJAX.**

'The seven fold shield' of Ajax is mentioned in Antony and Cleopatra. Shakespeare may have got this from the "clipeus septemplex" of Ovid (Met. 13. 2).

Sophocles mentions this shield in his Ajax:--

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Εὐρυδάκης ἠχέν τοὺς πολυπαθοὺς ἄριστοις
Πορτάκιος ἵππος βοών ἄρρητον ἀκός
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As regards the character of Ajax, his bluntness and stupidity are often mentioned by Shakespeare (e.g. King Lear: 'None of these rogues and cowards but Ajax is their fool').

**AJAX.**

Most of our poet's knowledge of Ajax is drawn from the dispute of Ajax and Ulysses over the armoury of Achilles (as described by Ovid. Metamorphoses Bk. XIII). In Lucrece Shakespeare contrasts the passionate rage of Ajax with the cunning of Ulysses:
"In Ajax and Ulysses, O what art
Of physiognomy might one behold!
In Ajax' eyes blunt rage and rigour roll'd:
But the mild glance that sly Ulysses lent
Shewed deep regard."

Shakespeare may have learnt from Ovid that Ajax was named Aeacides after his grandfather: Lucentio says (Taming of the Shrew. III. I. 53): "For sure Aeacides was Ajax - called so from his grandfather"

For the general character of Ajax, which he depicts in Troilus and Cressida, our poet was probably indebted to Golding's translation of Ovid, in which the bluntness and folly of that hero are often mentioned. - Golding calls him 'dolt' and 'grossehead' and he hath "neither wit nor knowledge".

**ALECTO.**

The following passage occurs in Antony and Cleopatra (II. V. 40):-

"Thou should'st come like a Fury crowned with snakes".

Pistol in one of his ranting speeches mentions

"Fell Alecto's snake".

Alecto, one of the Furies, is thus described in Virgil Aeneid VII:-

```latex
& Exin Gorgonei Alecto inhaeta venenis
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Celsaphilus:

Hier dea coerulentis unum de crinisus anquetem
Consuet aique sicum praecordia ad intima Subdit.
THE AMAZONS.

Charles says to Joan (I. II.):

"Stay, stay thy hand, thou art an amazon".

The Amazons were a race of warlike women, who inhabited the country about Caucasus, and who took a prominent part in the Trojan war, fighting on the side of the Trojans.

ANCHISES.

Aeneas says to Diomed (IV. I. 21):

"Welcome to Troy! now by Anchises' life
Welcome indeed".

Anchises was one of the inhabitants of Ancient Troy and the father of Aeneas. He is mentioned by Shakespeare in Julius Caesar, in connection with the story which tells us how Aeneas carried him out of Troy on his shoulders:— Cassius says (I. II):

"I, as Aeneas, our great anccste
Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulders
The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Caesar".

APOLLO.

This deity is generally regarded as Shakespeare, not as a sun
god, but as a patron of music and learning. In Love's Labour's Lost, Shakespeare refers to 'bright Apollo's lute': in Troilus and Cressida we have an allusion to the fable of Apollo and Daphne:- Troilus says:

"Tell me, Apollo, for thy Daphne's love
What Cressid is, what Pandar and what we?"

Again, in the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew, among a beautiful collection of mythological fables, there is a reference to the same story:-

"Daphne, roaming through a thorny wood
Scratching her legs that one shall swear she bleeds,
And at that sight shall sad Apollo weep"

Compare Golding:-

"Alas! Alas! how would it grieve my heart
Too see thee fall among the briers and that the blood should start
Out of thy tender legs, I, wretch, the causer of thy smart".

ARACHNE.

Troilus says (V. II. 150. Troilus and Cressida):

"And yet the spacious breadth of this division
Admits no orifex for a point as subtle
As Arachne's broken wood to enter".

Arachne, the daughter of Tolmon of Colophon was so very skilled in weaving that she offered to compete with Athena. Arachne
produced a piece of cloth, in which the amours of the gods were woven and Athena being unable to find any fault with it, tore the work to pieces. Arachne afterwards hung herself but the goddess loosed the rope and so saved Arachne's life: the rope however was changed into a cobweb and Arachne herself into a spider (ἀράχνη). The story was told at great length by Ovid (Met. VI. 1-145).

ARISTOTLE and MORAL PHILOSOPHY FOR YOUNG MEN.

Hector (Troilus and Cressida, II. II. 163) speaks of Paris and Troilus as having argued their cause: "not much

Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought

Unfit to hear moral philosophy".

The origin of these lines is a passage in the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, where he speaks of young men as being no fit students of 'political science' not 'moral philosophy'. Shakespeare may have been led into the error of substituting 'moral philosophy' for 'political science' by Bacon, who in his Advancement of Learning (Book II) says:--

"Is not the opinion of Aristotle worthy to be regarded, wherein he saith that young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy, because they are not settled from the boyling heart of their affections nor attempered with time and experience". (Sir Theobald)

The date of the Troilus and Cressida is 1602 (or 1601).
ASCANIUS.

Queen Margaret says (2. Henry VI. III. II):

"How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue
To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did,
When he to maddening Dido would unfold
His father's acts commenced in burning Troy".

Here we have further evidence in favour of Shakespeare having read the First Aeneid. From that book we learn that Venus and Juno persuade Cupid to change his form and having assumed the appearance of Ascanius, to go and win over Dido with gifts. In the meanwhile she causes the real Ascanius to fall into a deep sleep, whilst Cupid obeys the commands of his mother.

"ASTRAEA".

Charles (I. VI. 11): calls Joan

"Divinest creature, bright Astraea's daughter".

Astraea was the goddess of Justice: during the golden age and for a short time after its expiration she lived on earth: she was the last of the immortals to leave the earth. Probably Charles associates Joan with the Golden Age before Astraea left the earth or (as Mr. Root suggests) he may have meant that in rescuing Orleans, she was making justice prevail. Ovid writes of Astraea as follows:-

\[
\text{et Virgo Caesar addentis,\\nUltima coelestium terrarum Astraeae religi.}
\]
ATE.

Biron says (Love's Labour's Lost, V. II. 694):

"Pompey is moved: - More Ates, more Ates."

Antony, standing over the dead body of Julius Caesar, prophesies disaster and 'fierce civil strife' for Italy when

"Caesar's spirit raging for revenge
With Ate by his side, come hot from hell
Shall in these confines, with a monarch's voice
Cry "Havoc."

It is difficult to assign any source for Shakespeare's knowledge of Ate. Mr. Furness suggests Spenser's Faerie Queene (Bk. II); but this poem was published in 1591. Mr. Root mentions Peel's Arraignment of Paris as the possible foundation of our poet's knowledge of Ate. In this work she appears in the prologue calling herself 'Condemned soul Ate from lowest hell'.

ATLAS.

Cleopatra calls Antony (I. V. 23):

"The demi-Atlas of this earth."

According to Hesiod, Atlas was a son of Japetus and Gyneme. In Ovid he is described as supporting the heavens on his shoulder. "The idea", says Mr. Root, "is a commonplace".

BACCHUS.

It is impossible to assign any source for Shakespeare's
knowledge of so common a deity. In Antony and Cleopatra (II. VII. 171) Shakespeare refers to the Bacchanals:— Enobarbus says to Caesar:—

"Ha, my brave emperor, shall we dance now the Egyptian Bacchanals and celebrate our drink".

In Love's Labour's Lost, Shakespeare, comparing the taste of love with that of wine, alludes to the latter under the name of its god:—

"Love's tongue proves dainty Bacchus gross in taste".

**BELLONA.**

Rosae says (I. I.)

"Till that Bellona's bridegroom lapped in proof".

Bellona was the Roman goddess of war and was sister of Mars.

Compare Virgil's "et Bellona manet te promuba" and Massinger's Bondman:—

"I'd court Bellona in her horrid trim as if she were a mistress". (Root).

**BOREAS and AQUILON.**

In Troilus and Cressida occurs the only two instances in which Shakespeare personifies the winds under classical names:—

Nestor says (I. III. 38):

"But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage The gentle Thetis"
Ajax says (IV. 5. 9):-

"Blow, villain, till thy spherened bias
Outswell the colic of puffed Aquilon.

Boreas and Aquilon are both of them names for the North Wind.

BRIAREUS and ARGUS.

Alexander (Troilus and Cressida I. II) compares Ajax with a 'gouty Briareus, many hands and no use or purblind Argus, all eyes and no sight'.

Briareus was the hundred-handed monster who aided Zev in his war against the Titans. Argus was a monster with a hundred eyes, mythically said to survive in the peacock's tail. Argus is set by the jealous Juno to guard Io and is lulled to sleep by the music of Mercury.

Biron says Love's Labour's Lost (III. I.):

"Ay, and by heaven, one that will do the deed
Though Argus were her eunuch and her guard".

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS

Was well known for the part he played in the expulsion of the Tarquins: his father and elder brother had been murdered by Tarquinius Superbus and to escape a similar fate he feigned insanity, whence his cognomen. He was elected consul on the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome. Festus tells us that the word 'brutus' in old Latin was synonymous with 'gravis' which
shows a connection with the Greek Shakespeare alludes
to his feigned insanity in the following lines in Lucrece:-

"Brutus who plucked the knife from Lucrece' side
Seeing such emulation in their woe
Began to clothe his wit in state and pride
Burying in Lucrece' wound his folly's show
He with the Romans was esteemed so
As silly jeering idiots are with kings
For sportive words and uttering foolish things".

CAESAR (AND HIS FORTUNE).

Joan says (I. Henry VI., I. II.):

"Now am I like that proud insulting ship
Which Caesar and his fortune have at once".

This passage is suggested by an amusing anecdote in Plutarch's Life of Julius Caesar, where Caesar reveals himself to the terrified captain of the ship which is carrying him and which is in danger of being wrecked:— Caesar encourages the captain with the following words:

"Ἰδι ἐφ', ἔθνοι, τοις καὶ ἔφατει ὡς δέν. Καῖσαρ οὕτως καὶ
tὸν καῖσαρος τοὐχν γομπ-εὐόνων".

THE CALYDONIAN BOAR.

"The boar of Thespaly was never so embossed".
Calydon is in Aetolia, not Thesaly, but the two provinces are not far apart. The incident is mentioned by Ovid (Met. VIII. 288) Melanegus was the hero of the Calydonian boar hunt, and having slain the boar, dedicated the spear with which he slew him in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon.

THE CENTAURS.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus. V. II. 204):

"This banquet which I wish may prove

More stern and bloody than the Centaurs' feast"

In Greek myth the Centaurs were fabulous beings represented as half man, half horse. Mythology also relates the combats which took place between the Centaurs and Hercules, Theseus and Pirithous Nessus (who is mentioned by Shakespeare as playing a prominent part in the death of Hercules) and Chiron, the tutor of Achilles, are the most famous of the Centaurs. In the "Comedy of Errors" the name 'Centaur' is given to an inn, to which Antipholus of Ephesus occasionally resorts. In Hamlet (IV. VII) Shakespeare, as is often his custom in treating classical mythology, alludes to the Centaurs without mentioning their name. The king is talking to Laertes about Lamond the Norman:

"He grew unto his seat

And to such wondrous doing brought his horse
As had he been incorpsed and demi-natured
With the brave beast".
Ovid was probably Shakespeare's source for his knowledge of these mythological beings. We know that in Titus Andronicus (where the feast of the Centaurs is mentioned) almost every act is full of Ovidian mythology.

**CERBERUS and the THRACIAN POET.**

Marcus says (II. IV):

"He would have dropped his knife and fell asleep",

As Cerberus at the Thracian poet's feet".

The Thracian poet is Orpheus, and the effect of his playing is said to have been such that it even charmed the inhabitants of the lower world. Ovid speaks of the effect of the music of Orpheus on the lower world in the following lines:

Talia decantem nervosque ad verba moventem
Exsanguos fiebant animae: nec Tantalus undam
Captavit refugam: uique tuus sedisti, Isypho, saxo.

**CHARON and THE ELYSIAN FIELDS.**

Troilus says to Pandarus (Troilus and Cressida III. II. II):

"O be thou my Charon
And give me swift transportance to those fields,
Where I may wallow in the lily beds
Proposed for the deserver".
Charon was the ferryman of the dead; he conveyed the souls of the dead across the river Styx. The 'fields' mentioned are the Elysian fields of peace and happiness. In Richard III, Charon is spoken of "as that grim ferryman, which poets write of".

THE CIMMERIANS.

Bassianus says to Tamora (II. III.):

"Believe me, queen, your swarthy Cimmerian

Doth make your honour of his body's hue".

The Cimmerians are an ancient nomadic tribe, who occupied the Tauric Chersonese and Sommatia. In pre-Homeric times they are said to have ravaged Asia Minor. In the Odyssey, a mythical people, mentioned as dwelling beyond the ocean streams in the thickest gloom, were also called Cimmerii. Shakespeare in the above passage merely refers to their swarthy colour. The phrase 'darke Cimmerian' occurs in Golding.

CIRCE.

York says (V. III. 35-6):

"See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows

As if with Circe she would change my shape".

Circe was a fabled Sorceress of Greek mythology who lived in the island of Aeaea. Ovid tells us how Circe metamorphosed Scylla and Picus, king of the Ansonians. Circe also transformed
some of the companions of Ulysses into swine and she would have treated Ulysses in the same way, had not Mercury given him a herb called 'moly', by means of which he compelled the sorceress to restore his companions to their proper shape:

Ovid speaks of Circe as follows:

\[
\text{Atque atria \ Ilaecea,}
\]
\[
\text{Sole saltus \ Circes, variarum plena jennum,}
\]
\[
\text{Quam simul asperit.}
\]

Circe's cup is twice mentioned by Ovid. Shakespeare may have read about Circe in Virgil Aeneid VII (10-20) where the 'Circaea terrae' are described. The Duke says (Comedy of Errors V. I. 270):

"I think you all have drunk of Circe's cup"

meaning to say that his hearers are bereft of their senses, as the whole speech shows:

"What an intricate impeach is this !
If here you housed him, here he would have been;
If he were mad he would not plead so coldly".

We might note here a mistake on the part of Shakespeare, for Circe, by her 'potentibus herbis' was able to change the forms of men into beasts, but not to deprive them of their senses.
COCYTUS.

Martius speaks (II. III. Titus Andronicus) of the "misty month of the Cocytus". Shakespeare was evidently acquainted with the name Cocytus, one of the rivers of the lower world.

CORNELIA.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus IV. I):

"Ah! boy Cornelia never with more care
Read to her sons than she hath read to thee
Sweet Poetry and Tully's Orator".

Cornelia was the mother of the two Gracchi (Tiberius and Gaius). She was herself a noted scholar and on her husband's death, she devoted herself to the education of her sons. Lavinia had done the same for the young Lucius. Tully's Orator refers to Cicero's speech on Oratory. (De Oratore).

THE CYCLOPS.

Titus says to Marcus (IV. III.):

"Marcus we are but shrubs, no cedars we
No big-boned men, framed of the cyclops size".

The Cyclops were a fabled race of one-eyed giants, the sons of Uranus and the Earth, and were slain by Apollo. They were often represented as a numerous race living in Sicily and rearing cattle
and sheep. Sometimes they were described as the servants of Vulcan working under Aetna and engaging in forging in armour and thunderbolts. The huge size of the Cyclops was well known in classical antiquity. Polyphemus is described by Virgil (Aen. 36-36):

Monstrum horrendum in formâ: ingenios cecidit amentum
Truncâ manu fimus regit et vestigia femina.

Shakespeare probably got his knowledge of the Cyclops from Virgil. In the 8th book of the Aeneid they are described as making a chariot and wheels for Mars:

Parque ad ala Marti currumque rotasque volumens
Instabant

Compare Hamlet (II. II):

"And never did the Cyclops' hammer fall On Mars' armour forged for proof etern With less remorse than Periis' bleeding sword Now falls on Priam".

DAEDALUS and ICAIUS.

Talbot says to his young son (IV. VI):

"Then follow thou thy desperate sire of Crete Thou Icarus".

Talbot says (sc. VII) of the same act

"And there died My Icarus, my blossom, in his pride".
The story of Daedalus and his son Icarus is told at great length by Ovid (Met. 8. 143-235). Daedalus being detained in Crete against his will owing to the commands of King Minos, made wings for himself and his young son Icarus. But Icarus, flying too near the Sun, the wax of his wings melted and the youth was drowned in that part of the degean sea, which is now called the Icarian sea. Ovid commences his story as follows:

"Daedalus interea Creton longumque lerosas
Exulium."

and ends thus:

corpusque sepulcro
Condidit et tellus a nomine dicta sepulcro.

THE COFFER OF DARIUS.

Charles says (I. VI):

"Her ashes in an urn more precious
Than the rich jewelled coffer of Darius".

According to Plutarch, Alexander after the ruin of Darius enshrined the poems of Homer in the coffer of Darius. The fact of course accounts for the precious nature of the coffer.

DEUCALION.

Menenius says (Coriolanus II. I. 102):

"Yet you must be saying, Marcius is proud; who, in a cheap estimation, is worth all your predecessors since Deucalion".

The story of Deucalion is told by Ovid. He is mentioned
twice is the more classical plays of Shakespeare as equivalent to Noah (i.e. as the common ancestor of the race or as one standing in the dawn of history). Deucalion was the son of Prometheus and father of Helen, ancestor of the Hellenes. (Tradition tells us that he saved himself and his wife Pyrrha from being drowned by building a ship which rested upon mount Parnassus. To repair the loss of mankind they were told to by an oracle to throw stones behind them, which became men and women).

DIANA (i.e., The Moon).

In Venus and Adonis Shakespeare twice alludes to Diana as the moon:- (1) "So do thy lips
Make modest Dian cloudy and forlorn,
Lest she should steal a kiss and die forsworn".
(2) "Cynthia for shame o bscures her silver shine".

In other plays Shakespeare refers to the moon under the classical names of Luna, Dictynna and Phoebe.

o.g. Love's Labour's Lost (IV. II. 35):

Dull: "What is Dictynna ?"

Nathaniel "A title to Phoebe, to Luna, to the moon".

DICTYNNA.

Holofernes says (IV. II):
"Dictynna, good man dull; Dictynna good man dull"

Dictynna as Dull says in the same sense, is a "title to Phoebe, to Luna, to the moon". Dictynna is mentioned by Ovid (Met. II. 441):

Ceces quo comitata choro Dictynna heraltum
Maenades ingredies et caede superba femurum.

DIDO.

Lorenzo says (V. I. 10):

"In such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild seabanks and waft her love
To come again to Carthage".

This passage refers to the love of Dido, queen of Carthage for Aeneas. This particular instance of Dido standing on the seashore "and wafting her love to come again to Carthage" is not directly mentioned in classical antiquity, although in Ovid's Heroides "Dido's letters to Aeneas", says Mr. Root, "contain many references to the wild sea and are a passionate appeal for his return." Malone however, has suggested that in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women (II. 218 ff.), we have the source for the above passage, although Shakespeare has changed the application from Ariadne to Dido:-

"And to the streoude bar foot faste she wente
And cryed Theseus myn herte swete:

The hollow rokkes answerde her again:
No man she saw and yit shyned the moon,
And bye upon a rokke she wente soon,
And saw his barge sailing in the see:
Her herchef on a pole up stikked she

And him remembre that she was behinde
And turne again and o-n the stronde her find".

It is rather a curious coincidence that in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women the three stories of Thisbe, Ariadne (i.e. Dido in the Merchant of Venice) and Medea occur in exactly the same order as they do in the Merchant of Venice.

The extensive knowledge shewn by Shakespeare concerning the episode of Dido and Aeneas hardly leaves us any room to doubt that he read the Aeneid of Virgil, or at any rate the earlier books of that epic. In Titus Andronicus we have an allusion to the story of Troy's destruction related by Aeneas at the request of Dido:-

"as erst our anecster

When with his solemn tongue de did discourse
To love sick Dido's sad attending ear
The story of that baleful burning night".

Hamlet says to the First Player (Hamlet II. II. 468): "One speech
in it I chiefly loved: 'twas Aeneas' tale to Dido'. Again in Shakespeare we read of

"Aeneas telling the tale twice o'er
How Troy was burnt and he made miserable".

Compare the "Infandum, Regina, inbes renovane dolorem" of Aeneid II. III.

In the Taming of the Shrew, Shakespeare speaks of Anna, the sister of Dido, who is mentioned again and again in the 4th book of Aeneid:

Lucentio says to Tranio (I. I):

"I do confess to thee,
That art to me as secret and as dear
As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was".

In Titus Andronicus Shakespeare tells us the story of Dido and Aeneas sheltering in a cave from the storm and rain:

"And - after conflict such as was supposed
The wandering prince and Dido once enjoyed
When with a happy storm they were surprised
And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave".

Compare Aeneid IV. 164-165:

\[ \text{Ruent de montibus amnes} \\
\text{Spelineam Dido dux et Troianus candem} \\
\text{Deveniunt} \]

THE ETHIOPIANS.

Dumain says (IV. III):
"Thou for whom e'ev Jove would swear
Juno but an Ethiop were"

The Ethiopians were a people living in the south of Egypt and were noted for their dark colour: and in the days of classical antiquity only fair people were regarded as beautiful:- e.g. Sonnet 127. 1-2:

"In the old age black was not counted fair,
Or if it were it bore not beauty's name".

ELYSIUM.

"Poor shadows of Elysium hence and rest
Upon your never withering banks of flowers".

Shakespeare appears to have obtained his knowledge of Elysium from Virgil: whenever he mentions Elysium he generally gives great prominence to its flowers:- e.g. Antony and Cleopatra (IV. IV. 51):

"Stay for me
Where souls do couch on flowers".

Although Virgil never actually alludes to the flowers of Elysium he certainly hints at the same:- "Manitus date litia plenis" (Aen. 6. 884); implying that lilies grew in Virgil's Elysian fields. Virgil also speaks of the "smiling lawns of happy groves" and "the ghosts dwelling in the shady woods and haunting the couches that the river banks afford".

H40.
ENCELADUS.

Aaron says (Titus Andronicus IV. II.):

"I tell you younglings, not Enceladus,
With all his threatening band of Typhon's brood
Shall seize the prey out of his father's hands."

Among the ancient classical writers, Enceladus was the type of lawless violence; he was one of the giants, who, in conjunction with his threatening band of Typhon's brood made war on the gods.

FORTUNE.

Shakespeare often personifies Fortune in his plays: sometimes she is regarded as hostile, sometimes as beneficient. "Classical art", says Mr. Root, "represents Fortuna as a woman standing, in the left hand holding a cornucopia, in the right a ship's rudder resting on a globe: on her head is a high helmet".

Hamlet (II. II. 223):

"On Fortune's cap we are not the very button".

Cymbeline (II. III. 46):

"Fortune brings in some boats that are not steered".

In Henry V. a reference is made to the blindness of the goddess Fortune. For this fact we have the authority of Cicero's Laelius:-

Non enim solum ipsa fortuna caeca est, sed eos eum plenunque efficit caecos, quos complexa est.
THE FLAMENS.

Brutus says (Coriolanus II. I. 197):

"seld-shewn flamens
Do press among the popular throngs".

The Flamen was the name of a particular Roman priest, who was devoted to the sacrifice of a particular god: the flamens were instituted by King Numa and the most important of them were those attached to Dewris, Mars, and Quirinus.

THE FURIES.

Titus says to Tamora (Titus Andronicus V. II. 87) who is impersonating revenge:

"Welcome, dread Fury to my woful house"

Shakespeare here regards the Furies from a classical point of view (as Goddesses of Revenge, e.g. The Eumenides of Aeschylus). Elsewhere he shews no knowledge of the Eumenides of Greek poetry in his plays. His Furies are the infernal fiends of Virgil's Aeneid. Clarence says, relating his terrible dream to Brakenbury:

"Clarence is come:
Seize him, furies, take him to your torments.
With that me-thought a legion of foul fiends
Environed me and howled in mine ears".

CALLM.

Menenius says (Coriolanus II. I):
"The most sovereign prescription in Galen is but empiricist, and to this preservative of no better report than a horse-drench".

Galen was a most celebrated physician whose works have contributed greatly to the study of medicine in ancient and modern times: he was a native of Pergamus and was born in the year 130 a.d. Although we know little of the history of Galen from other writers we are able to glean a great deal of knowledge on the subject from his own works, which are very numerous.

THE GORGON'S HEAD.

Macduff says (II. III):

"Approach the chamber and destroy your sight
With a new Gorgon".

Cleopatra says (Antony and Cleopatra II. V.):

"Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon
T'other way he's a Mars".

The Gorgon's head, which was entwined with serpents, was so terrible to behold that everybody who looked at it was immediately turned to stone. Ovid mentions this power, which the Gorgon possessed:

iam statuet Astyages: naturam hastis eranem;
Harmoneque manet multos mirantes in or.
"HALCYON DAYS".

Joan says (I. Henry VI., I. III. 131):

"Expect St. Martin's Summer, Halcyon days".

The Halcyon days are mentioned by Ovid. Halcyone was the wife of Ceyx, King of Sicily: these two people (Halcyone and Ceyx) were noted for their faithfulness to one another, and on the death of Ceyx, they were transformed into Halcyons building their nest on the top of the waves. In order that they might hatch their young safely, Aedus, the father of Halcyone kept the winds carefully shut up for seven days. Hence the above reference to calm weather.

St. Martin's Summer, a period of calm weather during our November, corresponds to the Greek Halcyon days. Halcyon is the name of a King-fisher (Greek Ἀλκυών). The passage in Ovid is as follows:-

Perque dies placitis hiberno tempore septem
Incubat Halcyone pendentibus aequore rides.

HARPION.

Macbeth says (IV. I. 3):

"Harpier cries - 'tis time, 'tis time".

Various suggestions have been made with regard to the name Harpier. Upton, who uses the name Harper, not Harpier, says that Harpier was the name of one of Actaeon's dogs and identifies it with Harpalos. Mr. Theobald says that "we have a preferable source of the name 'Harpier' in Ovid's "Harpyia", although he does not
accept this explanation of the name.

HECATE.

Macbeth says (II. I):

"Now witchcraft celebrates
Pake Hecate's offerings".

Hecate is generally regarded as the mistress of witchcraft. But in Macbeth although she is spoken of as the mistress of the witches, she is connected (as here) with night and darkness generally. This idea is taken from Ovid:

Et noctem nocteque dedit Troboque Chaucer
Convent et longis Hecateu ululantibus orat.

HECTOR.

Is one of the greatest favourites of Shakespeare. Both in his Troilus and Cressida and in his other plays our poet shows great admiration for this Trojan leader. He is often called the "hope of Troy": Compare Aeneid II. 281:

Neither in Homer nor in Shakespeare does his great courage render him blind to the injustice of the cause for which he is fighting. In Troilus and Cressida he knows from the very first that the Trojans are in the wrong, and the Greeks in the right, and for that reason he is continually advocating the restoration
of Helen to her proper lord:—

"These moral laws
Of nature and of nations speak aloud
To have her back returned".

Hector has the bravery of Achilles, the shrewdness of Ulysses, and the wisdom and sagacity of Nestor. Why does he support the Trojan cause? Not because he is convinced of its justice, but because he fears that if he held aloof such an action on his part would be put down to feelings of fear and terror rather than of justice and truth:—

'Tis a cause (he says) that hath no mean dependance
Upon our joint and several dignitaries.

Nobody would doubt his bravery when they heard him say

"No man lesser fears the Greeks than I
As far as touches my particular".

A statement which he amply proves, when he challenges the bravest of the Greeks to combat, in order that he might thus decide and end the war. It is possible that Shakespeare for his knowledge of Hector and indeed of all the Homeric heroes was indebted to Chapman's translation of the Iliad. We can hardly conceive it as possible that Shakespeare would not have been interested enough to peruse a book which was afterwards so highly commended by the poet Keats, in his sonnet entitled 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer'.

46.
QUEEN HECUBA.

Achilles says (Troilus and Cressida V. I. 35):

"Here is a letter from Queen Hecuba.
A token from her daughter, my fair love
Both taxing me and gaging me to keep
An oath that I have sworn".

The history of this passage is taken not from Homer, but from the Phrygian writer, Dares. Hecuba enraged at the death of Hector and Troilus invites Achilles to meet Polyxena at the temple of Apollo where he is surrounded and slain by Paris and other Trojans.

Dares writes as follows:--

Alexandrinum filium arecessit, orat, hostalis at se et
saeus vindicaret, insidias Achilli faceret
quum misericordia rogaverat
sibi Polyxenam daret in matrimonium.

Shakespeare, however changes the context, for in Troilus and Cressida Hecuba could not have sent the letter with the desire of entrapping Achilles, because her two sons (Hector and Troilus) were slain: since at that very moment they were alive and well in the Grecian tents.

The young Lucius says (IV. I. II):

"And I have read that Hecuba of Troy
Ran mad for sorrow".
This passage refers to the great sorrow of Hecuba, wife of King Priam of Troy, on hearing of the murder of her son Polydorus by the Thracian king Polymnestor.

HERCULES AND CUPID.

(I. II):
Armado: What great men have been in love?
Moth: Hercules, master.
Armado: Most sweet Hercules.

Hercules, as we are told by various classical writers could not resist the darts of Cupid for all his physical strength. Dejanira and Iole were two of the Greek women on whom he bestowed his affections. Armado himself says, a few lines later:—

"Cupid's butt shaft is too hard for Hercules' club". meaning that Hercules was unable to withstand the strength of Cupid.

HERCULES AND LICHAS.

Morocco says (II. I. 32):

"If Hercules and Lichas play at dice
Which is the better man, the greater throw
May turn by fortune from the weaker hand".

Lichas was the attendant of Hercules and brought, unknown to himself, the poisoned shirt, by which Hercules perished. He was afterwards thrown far into the air by the enraged hero:
Hercules. Portia says (III. II. 53-4):

"Now he goes
With no less presence, but with much more love
Than young Alcides when he did redeem
The virgin tribute paid by howling Troy
To the sea monster".

Hercules is here mentioned in reference to the tale which tells how he rescued Hesione from the sea monster. He did this not out of love for Hesione but in order to win the horses promised to him by Lacedemon. Ovid tells us the story, but he makes no mention of the

"Dardanian wives
With bleared visages come forth to view
The issue of the exploit".

Shakespeare obtained his knowledge of Hercules mainly from Ovid and Seneca; we frequently meet with the phrase "As strong as Hercules" proving that Shakespeare admired his valour. Several allusions are made to the various labours of this hero. In Love's Labour's Lost we have an allusion to the strangling of the snake by Hercules. Mythology tells us that before he was eight months old he strangled two snakes, sent by the jealous Hera to devour
him. Conf. Love's Labour's Lost. Holofernes says:-

"He shall present Hercules in minority: his enter and 'exit' shall be strangling a snake." Shakespeare may have read Ovid (Met. 9. 67) for this incident. Golding translates the passage thus:

"It is my cradle game to vanguish snakes".

In the same play we have a reference to Hercules and Cerberus - "Great Hercules is presented by this imp".

Whose club killed Cerberus, that three-headed canis".

Shakespeare makes a curious mistake in this passage: Hercules did not kill Cerberus, but dragged him up to the light and then sent him back alive to the lower world. In Midsummer Night's Dream, Bottom says 'that he could play Erclus rarely'. Mr. Root cites this passage as the only one in Shakespeare which can be mentioned in favour of our poet having read Seneca in the English translation of 1581. Studley, in his translation of Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus calls Hercules by the name Hercole and "makes him", says Mr. Root, "recount his own exploits in bad verse with excessive use of alliteration". Compare Bottom's speech:

"The raging rocks
With shivering shocks
Shall break the locks
Of prison gates,
And Phoebus' car
Shall shine from far
And make and mar
The foolish fates".

Coriolanus (IV. I. 17): addressing his mother Volumnia, says:-

"If you had been the wife of Hercules,
Six of his labours you'd have done and saved
Your husband so much sweat".

Shakespeare was thinking of the adventure of Hercules with the Nemean lion when he makes Hamlet say to his friend:-

"My fate cries out
And make each petty artery in this body
As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve".

(See under Hesperides).

THE HESPERIDES.

Byron says (Love's Labour's Lost. IV. III):

"For valour is not love a Hercules
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides".

The Hesperides were gardens of rather uncertain locality. Hesiod places the gardens in an island of the ocean far to the west. It was the eleventh labour of Hercules to kill the dragon (the guardian of these gardens) and bring the golden apples of the Hesperides to Eurystheus. The gardens and trees of the Hesperides are mentioned by Ovid (Metamorphoses 4. 636).

Arboreae frondes auro radiante virentes
Ex auro ramos, ex auro poma tegebant.
HIEMS.

Titania says (Midsummer Night's Dream II. 1. 104):

"And on old Hiems thin and icy crown
An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
Is as in mockery set".

Hiems is the god of Winter. Shakespeare had probably read the following description of winter in Golding's Metamorphoses, Bk. II.

"And lastly quaking for the cold stood Winter all forlorn
With rugged heade as white as Dove and garments all too torne.
For laden with the Icycles that dangled up and downe
Upon his gray and hoarie bearde and snowie frozen crowne."

Ovid uses the word 'Hiems' in the corresponding passage:

Et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos.

HYMEN.

Is the god of marriage. In The Tempest we hear of Hymen's torch. Iris says (IV. 1. 97):

"No bed-right shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted".

Prospero says to Ferdinand in the same scene of The Tempest:

"Therefore take heed
As Hymen's lamps shall light you".

Hymen's torch is mentioned in Ovid (Metamorphoses IV. 758):

Taedas Hymenaeus Amorque
Praecipiunt: largis satiantur odoribus ignes.
In Timon of Athens marriage is alluded to by the name 'Hymen'.

Timon calls Apemantus "Thou bright defiler
Of Hymen's purest bed"

In Ovid also Hymen is synonymous with marriage. c.f. Metamorphoses IV.50:-

Nec quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint connubia
Curat.

10.

In the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew come the following words:-

"We'll show the Io, as she was a maid
And how she was beguiled and surprised."

Io was the daughter of Inachus: she was beloved by Zeus, who in order to protect her from the jealousy of Hera changed her into a white heifer.

IRIS.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida I. III. 380):

"And make him fall his crest
That prouder than blue Iris bends".

Iris is here the classical epithet for a rainbow. Homer's conception of Iris is that of a messenger of the gods, and in the Homeric poems she only retains her connection with the rainbow from epithets such as "Χρυσοκτετεσ". It is in Virgil and Ovid
that the above mythological aspect of Iris presents itself.

**JANUS.**

Salario says (Merchant of Venice I. II 50):

"Now by two-headed Janus
Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time:
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes,
And laugh like parrots at a bagpiper;
And others of such vinegar aspect
That they'll not show their teeth in way of smile
Though Nestor swear the jest be laughable".

Mr. Eccles remarks that their is a certain propriety in mentioned Janus here, because he had two countenances, a laughing and a sad one.

c.f. Ovid's Fasti (1. 65); "Jane biceps". Jago's oath in Othello "By Janus" is explained by the fact that Jago is a soldier and Janus a god of war, or as Mr. Warburton suggests, by the fact that there is great suitability in making the double Jago swear by Janus who has two faces.

**Jason.**

Bassanio says (Merchant of Venice I. I. 171-172):

"Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand
And many Jason's come in quest of her.
The tale of Jason and the golden fleece is one of the best known
in classical mythology. The relations between Jason and Medea, the daughter of Astes, are referred to in the above passage. Jason not only obtained the golden fleece from Colchis but also Medea herself, whom he secretly carried away. The same story is alluded to in two other passages in the Merchant of Venice. 

Gratiano says (II. II. 244):

"We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece".

Jessica says (V. I. 13):

"In such a night, Medea
Gathered the enchanted herbs
That did renew old Aeson".

Aeson was the aged father of Jason. Ovid tells us that he survived the return of the Argonauts and was made young again by Medea, who was a famous sorceress.

Compare "Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand"

and the following line in Golding:-

"And so with conquest and a wife he lo osde from Colchos strand".

Compare also

"The enchanted herbs that did renew old Aeson"

and the following passage in Golding's version

"And as from dull unwieldsome age to youth he backwarde drew,
Even so a lively youthful spright did in his part renew".

65
THE TRANSFORMATION OF JUPITER.

Thersites says (Troylus and Crassida V. I. 55):

"And the goodly transformation
Of Jupiter there, his brother - the bull."

This passage refers to the story of Europa and Jupiter, who metamorphosed himself into a bull and carried off Europa the daughter of Agenor.

c.f. Ovid:-

Ille pater rectorque deum ...........
Induitur tauri faciem .............
........................ Miratur Agenore nata
........................ Ausa est quoque regia virgo
Nescia quem premeret tergo considere tauri.

THE LUPERCAL.

Marullus says (Julius Caesar I. I.):

"You know it is the feast of Lupercal."

The Lupercalia was the most ancient of Roman festivals held every year on the fifteenth of February in honour of the god Pan; on this day the members of the colleges of the Luperci met at the cave of the Lupercal where they sacrificed goats and young dogs. They would then run through Rome striking with leather thongs all those matrons who suffered from barrenness.

Conf. Julius Caesar I. II. 6): where Caesar says:-

"Forget not in your speed Antonius
To touch Calpurnia: for our elders say
The barren touched in this holy chase
Shake off their sterile curse".

Ovid mentions the above custom in his Fasti:-

Russae sua terga maritae
Pellibus exsectis percutienda dabant
Luna resumebat decimo nova cornua motu
Virque pater subito nuptaque mater erat.

LYCURGUS.

Menenius says (Coriolanus II. I):

"I cannot call you Lycurguses".

Lycurgus was the well-known Spartan legislator to whom is attributed the framing of some of the finest of the ancient Greek contributions. According to Aristotle he is a contemporary of Iphitus, who lived B.C. 884.

MARS.

Charles says (I. Henry VI., I. II):

"Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens
So in the earth to this day is not known".

Charles here refers both to the planet Mars and to the Roman god of war, called by that name.

MERCURY.

Troilus says (Troilus and Cressida II. II. 45):
"And fly like chidden Mercury from Jove".

This line alludes to the quarrel between Mercury and Apollo. The former had stolen Apollo's oxen and was summoned before Jupiter to answer to this deed. Mercury however stoutly denied any knowledge of the oxen, but Jupiter, knowing that he was deceiving him, ordered him to go and point out the spot where he had hidden the cattle.

**MIDAS.**

Bassanio says (Merchant of Venice III. II. 101-2):

"Therefore thou gaudy gold
And food for Midas, I will none of thee."

Midas was the son of Gordius, king of Phrygia: he had the power of turning all he touched into gold. Even his food was changed into gold.

c.f. Ovid:— (Metamorphoses II. 100).

Ille male usurus donis, ait, effice, quidquid
Corpore contigero, fulvum vertatur aurum
Lamina fulva dapes adnoto dente nitebant.

**MINOTAURS.**

Suffolk says (I. Henry VI., V. III. 189):

"There Minotaurs and ugly treasures lurk".

The Minotaur was a monster with a human body and a bull's head, or perhaps with the body of an ox and a bull's head. The story
of the Minotaur is told by Ovid, although that Poet does not mention the name of the Minotaur. Golding however has this name in his translation.

NARCISSUS.

"Narcissus, so himself forsook
And died to kiss his shadow in the brook".
(Venus and Adonis 161).

"Had Narcissus seen her as she stood
Self-love had never drowned him in the flood".
(Lucrece 25).

Cleopatra says (Antony and Cleopatra II. V.):

"Had'st thou Narcissus in thy face to me
Thou would'st appear most ugly".

Narcissus was the son of Cephissus and Liriope. He fell in love with his own face reflected in the well. Narcissus gradually perished with love and his corpse was metamorphosed into a flower called after him 'the Narcissus'.

Pausanias tells us that Narcissus melted away into the well in which he beheld his own image. Shakespeare is evidently thinking of this part of the story of Narcissus. Mr. Root thinks that Shakespeare's immediate source for this piece of mythology may have been a Latin poem by John Clapham entitled "Narcissus sive Amoris Juvenilis et Praecipue Philautiae Brevis atque Moralis Descriptio". The last line of this poem is as
follows:- "Ipse suae periit deceptus imaginis umbra".

NEMESIS.

Lucy says (1. Henry VI.)

"Is Talbot slain? The Frenchman's only scourge
Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis".

Nemesis was the classical goddess of Retribution. The word means "agent of destruction."

NERO.

Talbot says (1. Henry VI.)

"And Nero-like

Play on the lute beholding the town burn"

This passage refers to the old Roman story concerning the emperor Nero, who played on the lute whilst he watched Rome burning at his command.

NESTOR.

Mortimer speaks of his old age (1. Henry VI.) in the following language:-

"And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death
Nestor like aged".

These lines refer to the old age and white locks of Nestor, the Greek warrior and councillor, who played a prominent part in the
Trojan war. The age of Nestor is mentioned in Ovid (Met. 13. 63-66):

"Qui cum imploraret Ulixen
Vulnere tardus equi fessusque semilibus annis".

Shakespeare often portrays the two chief classical characteristics of Nestor: -(1) his old age, (2) his eloquence and gravity: -

(1). "There pleading you might see grave Nestor stand".

(2). "As but for loss of Nestor's golden words
It seemed they would debate with angry swords".

In Troilus and Cressida he is 'venerable Nestor hatched in silver' and 'was a man when Nestor's grandsire sucked'.

NIGHT.

"In vain I rail at opportunity
At Time at Tarquin and Uncheerful night".

(Lucrece)

"Misshapen Time, copesmate of Ugly Night".

(Lucrece).

Compare Ovid's "Horrenda Nocte".

"Were Tarquin Night, as he is but Night's child
The silver shining queen he would disdain

Through Night's black bosom should not peep again".

In Troilus and Cressida Shakespeare speaks of Night in the
following lines:

"Look Hector how the sun begins to set
How ugly night comes breathing at his heels
Even with the veilt and dark'ning of the sun
To close the day, up Hector's life is done".

Compare Ovid's Amores (I. 13.40):

\begin{align*}
\text{Nunc currite noctis equi:} \\
\text{and the following lines in the "Estoiles to Pontus:"} \\
\text{Sive praurori noctis aguntur equi.}
\end{align*}

In Henry V. Shakespeare speaks of "Horrid Night", the Child of Hell.

Compare Aeneid VI. 390:

\begin{align*}
\text{Umbrae, umbra, hic loco est, Sono, Noctisque soporae.}
\end{align*}

From the above examples we see that Shakespeare may have got his knowledge of "Night" from either Virgil or Ovid or both these writers.

NIOBE.

Troilus says (Troilus and Cressida V. 10):

"There is a word will Priam turn to stone
Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives".

Niobe, the wife of Amphion, king of Thebes, became the mother of six sons and six daughters. Being proud of the number of her children, she deemed herself superior to Leto, who had given birth to only two children. Angered at this pride, Leto slew all
the children of Niobe and Niobe herself was metamorphosed into a stone, which during the summer always shed tears. Hence the allusion. Compare Hamlet I. II:-

"Or ere these shoes were old
With which she followed my poor father's body,
Like Niobe all tears".

ORPHEUS.

Lorenzo says (Merchant of Venice):

"Therefore the poet
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees stones and floods".

Orpheus the Thracian bard, was the son of Oeagrus and Calliope: being presented with the lyre by Apollo, and instructed by the Muses in its use, he enchanted not only the wild beasts and trees, but the rocks and rivers. The poet mentioned in the above passage in probably Ovid, who tells the story of Orpheus at great length in his Metamorphoses.

THE SACRED PANTHEON.

Saturninus says (Titus Andronicus I. II):

"Lavinia will I make my empress
And in the sacred Pantheon her espouse".

The Pantheon was the Roman temple, in which marriages were celebrated and was built by Agrippa. The reference to this temple shews that Shakespeare was acquainted with Roman archaeolog...
PARIS.

Suffolk says

"And thus he goes
As did the youthful Paris once to Greece
With hope to find the like event in love
But prosper better than the Trojan did".

This passage refers to the journey of Paris to the coast of King Menelaus, from which he carried off Helen, wife of Menelaus, an act which caused the long and disastrous Trojan war.

PENELOPE.

Valeria says to Virgilia (Coriolanus I. III):

"Fie, you would be another Penelope! Yet they say the yarn she spun in Ulysses' absence did but fill Ithaca full of moths".

Penelope was the wife of Odysseus and the mother of Telemachus. The above lines refer to the story of Penelope and the shroud. During the absence of her husband, she put off her many suitors by telling them that she must finish a shroud, which she was weaving for her father-in-law Laertes. During the day she worked at the shroud and undid the work by night. This stratagem was at length communicated to the suitors by her servant and her position became more difficult than ever, until the timely arrival of her husband extricated her from her difficulties.
PERSEUS' HORSE.

Nestor says (Troilus and Cressida I. III. 38-41):

"Anon behold
The strong ribbed bark through liquid mountains cut
Bounding between the two moist elements
Like Perseus' horse".

In the same play Nestor says to Hector (IV. V):

"And I have seen thee
As hot as Perseus spur thy Phrygian steed".

"Perseus' horse" was named Pegasus and was created from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa slain by him. In the Destruction of Troy written by a Phrygian writer, named Dares, to whom Shakespeare was indebted for portions of his Troilus and Cressida, Pegasus is described as "speeding e'er the sea like a bird, the swiftest of ships".

PHOEBE AND HER NYMPHS.

Saturninus says

"And therefore lovely Tamora, Queen of Goths
That like the stately Phoebe 'mongst her nymphs
Dost overshine the gallant'est danes of Rome".

Phoebe and her nymphs are mentioned by Ovid (Metamorphoses III. 181). Ovid alludes to the striking appearance of Phoebe and compares her with the other nymphs:
THE PHOENIX.

Sir William Lucy says (i. Henry VI., IV. VII):

"From their ashes shall be reared

A Phoenix that shall make all France afeared.

The Phoenix was a fabulous bird of whom it was related that when his life was drawing to a close, he built a nest for himself in Arabia, to which he imparted the power of generation, so that after his death a new Phoenix arose out of it. Some authorities state that the Phoenix on reaching old age committed himself to the flames. Ovid mentions the Phoenix in his Metamorphoses Bok. XV. - Una est quae reparet seque ipsa reseminet ales

Assyrii Phoenica vocant.

THE PLAGUE OF GREECE.

Thersites says (Troilus and Cressida II. I.): to Ajax:

"The plague of Greece upon thee thou mongrel beef-witted lord".

These words may be an allusion to the plague sent by Apollo on the Greeks, because Agamemnon had refused to receive a ransom for the maiden Chryseis. The incident is mentioned in the First Iliad.
PLUTO. is several times mentioned by Shakespeare. c.f.-

"And moody Pluto winks while Orpheus plays". (Pluto)

Pluto is the god of the lower world. The name does not occur in Ovid, and is only once mentioned by Virgil. Seneca mentions Pluto three times. Compare the "Dusky Dis" of The Tempest and Golding's "Duskie Pluto".

POLYXENA.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida III. III. 221):

"And all the Greekish girls shall tripping sing
Great Hector's sister did Achilles win".

Great Hector's sister is Polyxena. This passage is a reference to the story of Achilles' love for Polyxena: Homer does not mention this, but it is referred to by Dares and by Ovid. Such passages as these prove to us that Shakespeare was not solely indebted to Homer for the story of his Troilus and Cressida.

PRIAM.

By far the most famous and most dramatic reference to Priam is that which occurs in Hamlet, where the First Player recites the death of Priam at the hands of Pyrrhus. Our poet has caught all the eloquence and pathos of the second Aeneid in which this episode is related. The following passage in Hamlet recalls the description of Priam's death in Virgil:
"The hellish Pyrrhus

Old grandsire Priam seeks. Anon he finds him
Striking too short at Greeks. His antique sword
Rebellious to his arm, lies where it falls
Reveuant to command: Unequalled matched
Pyrrhus at Priam drives: in rage strikes wide,
But with the whiff and wind of his fell sword
The unnerved father falls".

conf. Virgil:

Sic fatus senior telumque imbelle sine ictu
Coniecit: raucq quod proaarus aere repulsam
Et summo olypeii nequidquam umbone pependit
Pyrrhus.

We might note how both poets seem to lay great stress on the
helplessness of Priam in the hands of the strong and ruthless
Pyrrhus. Virgil often speaks of his general unfitness for war
and both the Latin and English poet realise that it was Priam's
helplessness that added a pathetic touch to this sorrowful picture

PROMETHEUS.

Aaron describes Tamora (Titus Andronicus II. 1):
as "Fetter'd in amorous chains
And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes
Than is Prometheus tied to Caucasus".

These words shew us that Shakespeare was acquainted with the
Legend of Prometheus, who by the orders of Zeus was bound to Caucasus. Curiously enough this is the only instance in which our poet alludes to the sufferings of Prometheus. Elsewhere he speaks of him as a benefactor of mankind generally.

c.f. Love's Labour Lost IV. III. where Byron says:

"They are the ground, the books, the academies
From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire".

Shakespeare here refers to Prometheus as having benefited mortals by the gift of fire, which he stole from heaven.

PYRAMUS and THISBE.

Martius says (Titus Andronicus II. III):

"So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus
When he by night lay bathed in maiden blood".

The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is told at great length by Ovid. Pyramus is said to have murdered himself when he saw the blood-stained garment of his lover Thisbe, whom he supposed had been slain. There are references to the same story in a Midsummer Night's Dream and in The Merchant of Venice,—Jessica says:

Merchant of Venice V. I. 7-10:

"In such a night
Did Thisbe fearfully O'ertrip the dew
And saw the lion's shadow e'er himself
And randismayed away".

Thisbe had gone to meet Pyramus at the tomb of Ninnus. She arrived
first, and seeing a lioness she took to flight and dropped her garment.

**Pyrrhus** was the son of Achilles and Deidameia. In Troilus and Cressida he is spoken of as "young Pyrrhus son of Achilles now at home in Greece". He is also mentioned in Lucrece:

"Staring on Priam's wounds with her old eyes
Which bleeding under Pyrrhus' proud foot lies".

For the allusion to Pyrrhus in Hamlet (see under Priam.)

**Pythagoras.**

Gratiano says (Merchant of Venice IV. I. 130):

"Thou almost makest me waver in my faith
To hold opinion with Pythagoras
That souls of animals infuse themselves
Into the trunks of men".

Pythagoras was a celebrated philosopher of Samos. He lived about 550 B.C. and his chief doctrine taught that the souls of animals pass into the bodies of men.

**Rhodope of Memphis.**

Charles says (I. Henry VI., I. VI):

"As stately a Pyramis to her I'll rear
Than Rhodope's of Memphis' ever was."

Rhodope was a famous Greek courtesan. These lines refer to the
story which tells us that Rhodope built the third pyramid at
Memphis. Herodotus contradicts this story, but Pliny thinks
that it is true,- "Haec sunt pyramida miracula . . . . . .
. . . . minumam ex iis, sed laudatissimam a Rhodopide meretricu-
la factam.

Herodotus writes as follows:- Ὕν δὴ ἐπεζετερον φασι ἔθνους
Ῥοδοπίος, έπειτῇς γαρ καὶ σύμφωνας ἐγγοντες, ὡς ἐνοπλῶν ἔξω-
τας τίνα ἐξ ὑπέρ θητήν ὅποιοι ἤταν ὧν Ὑπὸ Μολών.

To play the Roman fool

Macbeth says (V. V):

"Why should I play the Roman fool and die

On mine own sword".

Macbeth alludes to the number of instances in which Roman heroes
(e.g. Cato of Utica) have committed suicide rather than submit to
defeat or disgrace or death at the hands of their foes.

ROSCIUS.

Hamlet says to Polonius (II. II. 410):

"When Roscius was an actor at Rome".

Roscius was a celebrated Roman actor and he is said to have gained
such distinction in his profession that every distinguished actor
was called after him by the name of Roscius (Smith's Classical
Dictionary).
SACRIFICES.

Lucius says (Titus Andronicus I. II):

"Give us the proudest prisoner of the Goths
That we may hew his limbs and . . . . .
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
sacrifice his flesh
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
That so their shadows be not unappeased".

The custom of offering sacrifices to appease the shadows of the departed was eminently classical. Ovid mentions an instance in which the ghost of Achilles rises up before the Greek army and demands the sacrifice of Polyxena, and Shakespeare may have read this.

SCYLLA and CHARYBDIS.

Launcelot says (Merchant of Venice III. V. 20):

"Thus when I shun Scylla, your father,
I fall into Charybdis, your mother".

Scylla and Charybdis are the names of two very dangerous rocks between Italy and Sicily. Malone refers the passage to the following proverb:--

Incis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdem.

We might notice the use of the word 'shun' in the English passage and 'vitare' in the Latin proverb.
Aaron speaks of Tamora (Titus Andronicus II. I) as
"This goddess, this Semiramis".
whilst Lavinia says in the same play:-
"Ay, come Semiramis - nay barbarous Tamora".

It is difficult to know from what source our poet got his
knowledge of Semiramis. In the above passage he appears to be
comparing the beauty and voluptuousness of Tamora with the
lovliness and voluptuousness of Semiramis. Diodorus and Aelian
tells the story of Semiramis, but Ovid only mentions her once -
Qualiter in thalamos formosa Semiramis isse
Dicitur (Amores) I. V. 11.

Bastard of Orleans says (I. Henry VI., I. II): alluding to
Joan:— "The spirit of deep prophecy she hath
Exceeding the nine sibyls of old Rome".
These lines refer to the prophetic power of the sibyls who
generally wrote their answers on leaves.
Compare Titus Andronicus (IV. I.):
"The angry Northern wind
Will blow these sands like Sibyl's leaves abroad".
c.f. Virgil, Aeneid VI. 74:
Folliis tantum ne cammina manda
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis.
The sibyls are mentioned by Virgil and Ovid, and Shakespeare may have read about them in either or both of these writers. There is a curious mistake in the passage in I. Henry VI: Our poet speaks of nine sibyls, whereas the number of the sibyls is given as ten and not nine. It is possible that Shakespeare may have been confusing the sibyls with the number of the Sibylline books which was nine. One of the sibyls (Albunasa of Tivoli) was so unimportant that Shakespeare may not have regarded her as a sibyl at all.

THE AGE OF THE SIBYL.

Portia says (Merchant of Venice I. II.116):

"If I live to be as old as Sibylla, I will die as chaste as Diana".

Portia here refers to the age of the Cumana Sibyl to whom Apollo had promised that her years should be as many as the grain she held in her hand.

c.f. Othello:

"A sibyl that had numbered in the world
The sun to course two hundred compasses".

SIMOIS.

"To Simois' reedy banks red blood ran".

The Simois was a river which rose on mount Ida and in the plain of Troy joined the Xanthus or Scamander.
**SINON.**

Marcus says (Titus Andronicus V. III):

"Tell us what Sinon hath bewitched out ears?

Or who hath brought the fatal engine in

That gives our Troy... the civil wound."

The story of Sinon's treachery is told at great length by Virgil in the Second Aeneid. Sinon persuaded the Trojans to receive the wooden horse (which brought about their destruction) within their walls. The Grecian warriors were concealed inside this horse, and Sinon as soon as the horse had been conveyed within the walls, opened it, and betrayed the city to the Greeks.

C.f. Lucrece:

"The well-skilled workman this mild image drew

For purged Sinon, whose enchanting story

The credulous old Priam after slew."

**SOLON.**

Marcus says (Titus Andronicus I. II):

"But safer triumph is this funeral pomp

That hath aspired to Solon's happiness."

These lines refer to the well-known words of Solon, who said that worldly prosperity was precarious and that no man's life can be pronounced happy till he had reached its end without having suffered any misfortune.
THE SPHINX.

Biron (Love's Labour's Lost IV. III) speaks of being "Subtle as Sphinx".

The Sphinx is said to have proposed a riddle to all whom she met, and when they failed to solve the riddle she murdered them. Oedipus solved this riddle and thereby saved Thebes.

TANTALUS.

"That worse than Tantalus is her annoy".

This is the only reference made by Shakespeare to Tantalus and his sufferings. He is noted for the severe punishment he underwent in the lower world, where he was placed in the middle of a lake, but was unable to drink from it the water always withdrawing whenever he went near it.

THE TARQUINS.

The story of The Tarquins is continually mentioned by Shakespeare, especially in his more classical plays. Macbeth says II. I:-

"Withered murder
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
Moves like a ghost".

These lines refer to the sin of Tarquinius Sextus, who came on one occasion from the Roman camp to Rome in order to insult the defenceless Lucrece.

Marcus says (Titus Andronicus IV. I);

"And swear with me - as with the woful fere
And father of that chaste dishonoured dame

Lord Junius Brutus swear Lucrece' rape".

These lines refer to the same story and to the determination of the relations and friends of Lucrece to revenge her insulted honour by driving the Tarquins from Rome.

In the same play Shakespeare mentions the banishment of the Tarquins and their attempt to return.

(See under Lucrece).

TEREUS (Philomel and Procne).

Marcus says (II. IV. Titus Andronicus):

"But sure some Tereus hath deflowred thee
Unless thou should' st detect him cut thy tongue".

and again in the same scene are the words

"Fair Philomela she but lost her tongue
And in a tedious sampler sow'd her mind".

Titus says in the same play (V. II):

"For worse than Philomel you used my daughter
And worse than Procne I will be revenged".

These three passages refer to the story of Procne, Philomel and Tereus, which is told by Ovid in his Metamorphoses. Tereus married Procne, daughter of Pandion king of Athens. After a time he wished to marry Philomela, the sister of Procne. He therefore told Philomela that Procne was dead, and in order to prevent her from divulging this lie he cut out her tongue.
She (Philomela) revealed the truth by a few words which she wove into a garment. Procne on hearing this took vengeance on Tereus by killing his son Itys and serving his body up in a dish to her husband. Shakespeare probably read the story in Ovid. But in Ovid it is Procne not Philomel who wove the words into a garment.

Velamina Procne

Deripit ex humeris . . . . . . .

Purpureaque notas filis intexuit albis,

Indicium sceleris.

THE THRACIAN TYRANT.

Demetrius talks about (Titus Andronicus I. II):

"The selfsame gods that armed the Queen of Troy
With opportunity of sharp revenge
Upon the Thracian tyrant in his tent".

The Thracian Tyrant is Polymnestor, who had murdered Polydorus the son of Hecuba. Ovid tells us the story of the revenge, but the fact that this opportunity was afforded by the gods is not mentioned by the Latin poet, but is noted by Euripides in his Hecuba (898). The latter had applied to Agamemnon for an opportunity to punish Polymnestor. Agamemnon replies as follows:
TITANIA.

"The name Titania was so far as we know" says the late Professor Baynes, "Shakespeare's invention, and may have been suggested by the name Diana, who, as King James informs us 'amongst us was called a Phairee'. It is Diana as goddess of the groves who gives her name to Titania, the queen of fairies, in Midsummer Night's Dream. The name is directly traceable to Ovid: it occurs once in the Metamorphoses as synonymous with Diana, but in reality the name is applied not only to Diana but to several female deities descended from the Titans. (e.g. Latona, Circe), on the same analogy as Juno is called Saturnia on account of her descent from Saturn.

Shakespeare must have obtained the name Titania from his study of Ovid in the original, since it is not to be found in Golding's translation. Golding, instead of transferring the name Titania always translates it in the case of Diana by the phrase "Titan's daughter", and in the case of Circe by the line "Of Circe, who by long descent of Titan's stocke am borne".

THE TITANS.

"And Titan tired in the midday sun". Titan is a personification of the sun. Shakespeare always personifies the sun under the name of Phoebus or Titan or Hyperion. (e.g. Hamlet's "Hyperion to a Satyr")
The Countess of Auvergne says (I. Henry VI. II III. 5):

"I shall as famous be by this exploit
As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death".

This passage refers to the story of Cyrus and Tomyris told by Herodotus. Cyrus had sought in marriage the hand of Tomyris, the widowed queen of the Massagetae. She indignantly refused his offer and he immediately invaded her territories, capturing her son, and causing him to commit suicide. Tomyris afterwards met him in battle and defeated him. Cyrus was slain, and Tomyris having found his body, placed it in a leathern bag full of human blood.

The Clown says (Titus Andronicus IV. III.):

"Why I am going with my pigeons to the Tribunal plebs
to take up a matter of brawl, betwixt my uncle and one of the imperial's men."

Shakespeare here shows his acquaintance with the legal conditions of Rome: one of the duties of the Tribunes of the Plebs was to decide the disputes of the people.

Tamora says (Titus Andronicus I. II):

"Sufficeth not that we are brought to Rome
To beautify thy triumphs"?
These lines prove to us that Shakespeare was acquainted with the customs of the Romans, who were wont to accord triumphs to their victorious generals. At these triumphs the Roman General drove through the streets of Rome in his car followed by the prisoners whom he had captured. On this occasion the General was generally crowned with the laurel bough.

c.f. Titus Andronicus I. I:

"Lo
Cometh Andronicous bound with laurel boughs".

The captives were generally fastened to the car of the triumphant victor. conf. (I. Henry VI., I. I. 16):

"Like captives bound to a triumphant car".

TYPHON.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida I. III):

"With terms unsquared, which from the tongue
Of roaring Typhon dropped would seem hyperboles".

Typhon was a celebrated giant generally associated with storm and fire, and with the eruptions of Etna, beneath which mountain he was buried.

ULYSSES.

Shakespeare often mentions the cunning of Ulysses. c.f. Lucrece: "In Ajax and Ulysses, O what art
Of physiognomy might one behold

But the mild glance which sly Ulysses lent
Shewed deep regard and smiling government".

This description of Ulysses recalls Golding. The phrase 'sly Ulysses' occurs often in Golding. The 'mild glance' suggests Golding (Metamorphoses 13.125):

"He raised soberly his eyeliddes from the ground
On which he had a little while them pitched in the stound".

VENUS (and ADONIS).

Adonis was the son of Myrrha and the favourite of Aphrodite (Venus). He was given over to the care of Persephone, who refused to deliver him up to Aphrodite. Zeus, on an appeal being made to him, said that Adonis could spend four months of each year with Persephone, four with Venus and retain four for his own pleasure. He was wounded while hunting a boar (see Venus and Adonis in the Latin parallels) and Venus being unable to save him, made Zeus promise that Adonis should spend six months of each year with her.

VENUS' PIGEONS.

Salarino says (Merchant of Venice II. VI. 5):

"O ten times faster Venus' pigeons fly
To seal love's bonds".
We generally hear of Venus' doves rather than her pigeons.
c.f. Midsummer Night's Dream:
"By the simplicity of Venus' doves".
These doves are mentioned by Ovid, Metamorphoses.
Perque leves auras iunctis invicta columbis
Litus adit Laurent.

VIRGiniUS.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus V. III):
"Was it well done of rash Virginius
To slay his daughter with his own right hand
Because she was enforced, stained and deflored"?
The tragic story of Virginia is told by Livy (Book III). In
order to prevent her being dishonoured by Appius Claudius, her
father slew her with the following words: "Hoc te uno, quo
possum," ait, "modo, in libertatem vindico:" (And to Appius):
"Te", inquit, "Appi tuumque caput sanguine hoc conseerro"

Shakespeare seems in this instance to diverge somewhat from
the original story. According to Livy, Virginia had not been
dishonoured by Appius: her father slew her in order to prevent
this, but Shakespeare seems to have thought that her death
followed her dishonour, for Saturninus says in the same scene:-
"Because the girl should not survive her shame
And by her presence still renew his sorrows".
VULCAN and his wife.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida I. III): comparing the real Nestor, with the impersonation of that man presented by Patroclus: "That's done as near as the extremest ends of parallels As like as Vulcan and his wife."

Aphrodite was compelled by Zeus to become the wife of Hephaistos (Vulcan). She was renowned for her beauty, just as Hephaistos was famed for his ugliness and lameness. Hence in the lines

"The extremest ends of parallels as like as Vulcan and his wife"

Ulysses means that there is no more resemblance between the real Nestor and the impersonation of that man presented by Patroclus than there is between Vulcan and his wife.

VULCAN'S BADGE.

Demetrius says (Titus Andronicus II. I):

"Though Bassianus be the emperor's brother
Better than he have worn Vulcan's badge."

In other words better men than Bassianus have been deceived in their wives as Vulcan was. These words refer to the old classical story of Vulcan as the deluded husband of Venus. The latter was by no means true to her husband and carried on several intrigues with the other gods.

(THE) WEEPING PHILOSOPHER.

Portia says (Merchant of Venice I. II. 53):
"I fear he will prove the weeping philosopher when he grows old".

The weeping philosopher is Heraclitus of Ephesus, who flourished about 513 b.c.

SHAKESPEARE'S KNOWLEDGE OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY AS SHOWN IN HIS PLAYS.

THE COMEDY OF ERRORS.

We have endeavoured to show here how Shakespeare has borrowed part of the plots of the Menaechmi and Amphitruo of Plautus for this play, whilst we have placed what appear to be reminiscences in language between the English and Latin comedies among the passages taken from Plautus. Instead of giving a separate analysis for both plots, we have compared the different parts of the two comedies which seem to resemble one another.

"The Menaechmi" says Mr Riley, "is one of the best if not the very best of Plautus' plays, but its reputation has been increased and its name is probably known by many who have never read it, owing to its well-known connection with the Comedy of Errors.

Shakespeare puts into the first scene of his first act what is placed in the prologue of Plautus' comedy, namely the previous history of his chief characters.

COMEDY OF ERRORS, ACT I, SCENE I;

Aegeon discloses to the Duke of Ephesus his previous history. He was born in Syracuse and was married there; subsequently he came with his wife to Epidamnus where he became the father of
two twins, (called in the play Antipholus of Ephesus and Antipholus of Syracuse):

"The one so like the other
As could not be distinguished but by names"

In the same hour there were born to a "poor mean woman"

Dromio
Dromio

two twins (called in the play Dromio of Ephesus and Dromio of Syracuse) who also exactly resembled one another. (see below for the comparison with the Amphitruo of Plautus).

These Aegeon purchased from their father in order that they might become the servants of his sons. In a subsequent shipwreck during their return from Epidamnus to Syracuse the one son of Aegeon had been fastened to a mast and bound to the other Dromio, the other son to the other Dromio. This contrivance was spoiled however by their meeting with a rock:

"Which being violently borne upon
Our hateful ship was shitted in the midst".

Aegeon's wife (Aemilia) and her one son Antipholus of Ephesus, together with his servant, Dromio of Ephesus, were picked up by Corinthian fishermen and carried away. Aegeon himself with Antipholus and Dromio of Syracuse were taken up by another ship and carried home to Syracuse. At the age of eighteen Antipholus of Syracuse and his attendant Dromio of Syracuse had gone to seek their respective brothers, and as it appears from the play had at last come to Ephesus, where the lost pair had been living for a long time.

On the very day that Antipholus of Syracuse had
arrived with his attendant at Ephesus the old Aegeon had come to that city. The real plot opens at the Second scene of the First Act.

THE PROLOGUE TO THE MENANDER.

From this we learn that Moschus the Merchant of Syracuse had two twin sons, (Menaechmus and Sosicles) who exactly resembled one another. The former went with his father to Tarentum and was there stolen by a merchant who carried him away to Epidamnus. The father was so overcome with grief that he died shortly afterwards and the grandfather of the two twins gave to the one at home (Sosicles) the name of his stolen brother Menaechmus. On attaining to manhood Menaechmus Sosicles determined to seek his lost brother, and after wandering about for six years comes to Epidamnus, where the plays opens.

COMEDY OF ERRORS, ACT IV. SCENE III.

A Courtesan enters and accosts Antipholus of Syracuse, mistaking him for his brother of Ephesus, with whom she is acquainted, she asks Antipholus if he has got the chain which he has promised her. The latter, who has never seen her before, is greatly surprised and angry, whilst his servant Dromio gives a touch of humour to the picture by enquiring if this is "Mistress Satan". In the end Antipholus departs and the Courtesan still thinking that he is Antipholus of Ephesus is of the opinion that he has taken leave of his senses, and seeks out his wife to impart
the news to her.

MENAECCHMI, ACT II. SCENE IV.

Erotium, (a Courtesan) comes out of her house, and seeing Menaechmus Sosicles, whom she mistakes for Menaechmus of Epidamnum she bids him enter and partake of the breakfast which has been prepared for him. Menaechmus Sosicles is surprised, and is at first inclined to reject her proposal, but on further persuasion from Erotium he goes into the house without paying any heed to the advice of his servant Messenio. Here we may notice the difference between the character of this man and that of Antipholus of Syracuse, who refuses to have any dealings with the Courtesan of Shakespeare's comedy.

The latter portions of the two Comedies greatly resemble one another.

COMEDY OF ERRORS.

While the Courtesan is acquainting Adriana with the doing of Antipholus of Syracuse, whom she had mistaken for his brother of Ephesus, the real Antipholus of Ephesus appears on the scene with his servant Dromio of Ephesus and an officer who had arrested him at the bidding of Angelo. His wife immediately hands him over to Pinch the Doctor to be examined, an effrontery which Antipholus meets by soundly beating the poor Doctor. In the end Pinch and his attendants attempt to bind Antipholus of Ephesus, but are prevented by the officer who claims Antipholus
for his own prisoner.

In the last Act of the play *Antipholus of Syracuse* comes to blows with a merchant over some of the mistakes which have taken place in the Play. With his servant Dromio of Syracuse he takes refuge in an abbey, away from the attentions of the merchant and his sister-in-law Adriana. The play closes first with the appearance first of the Duke and afterwards of Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus. Aegeon at first mistakes Antipholus of Ephesus for his brother of Syracuse: afterwards the abbess who turns out to be none other than Emilia the lost wife of Aegeon brings Antipholus and Dromio of Ephesus out from the abbey. Everything turns out to the satisfaction of all parties and the abbess invites the Duke inside the abbey in order that she may explain to him the circumstances of the Comedy of Errors.

Menaechmi

Peniculus, the parasite, angry at having been deprived of a dinner by what he considers to be the cunning of Menaechmus of Epidamnus accosts Menaechmus Sosicles coming out of the house of Erotium and mistaking him for his brother of Epidamnus threaten to disclose everything to his wife. Menaechmus is surprised and answers Peniculus with the following words "Non tibi

Sanum est, adulescens, sinciput, ut intellego.

The parasite, however, persists in his intentions and goes to inform the wife of Menaechmus of Epidamnus. Whilst he is in
the act of doing this, the real Menaechmus of Epidamnus enters and his wife immediately commences to abuse him, telling him that he shall not enter the house until he has brought back the mantle which he has purloined from her. In the meantime the wife sends to acquaint her father with the state of things: the old man immediately comes to her: he meets Menaechmus Sosicles and after a heated argument, in which Menaechmus Sosicles threatens his sister-in-law and her father with blows, the latter goes to fetch a doctor, judging his supposed son-in-law to be mad. The doctor enters and accosts not Menaechmus Sosicles, but the real Menaechmus of Epidamnus: the latter sternly rebukes the medical man, who advises the father-in-law to collect servants and have Menaechmus carried to his surgery.

This is done by the old man, but Messenio comes on the scene and rescues his supposed master, who after giving Messenio his freedom goes into the house of Erotium. Menaechmus Sosicles enters and adds further to the innumerable intricacies of the play, by rebuking Messenio for daring to think that he has obtained his freedom. Whilst this is going on, Menaechmus of Epidamnus issues from the house of Erotium and the two brother confront one another for the first time in the play. Messenio seeing his way to untie the knot in the Comedy explains everything. The two brothers embrace one another and Menaechmus of Ephesus determines to set out for Syracuse with his brother, after having sold his furniture, farms, house and wife, if
anybody will purchase her.

Omnia

Venibunt, qui qui licebunt, praesenti pecunia

Venibit uxor, quoque etiam, si quis emptor venerit.
**TROILUS and CRESSIDA.** (Shakespeare's treatment of Classical Mythology in the Play):

In his Troilus and Cressida Shakespeare appears to have adopted the Virgilian not the Homeric explanation of the Trojan legend. A love of Troy and its countless associations was firmly established in his mind, and he desired in this play to exalt the Trojans to the highest pedestal of honour, even if it were at the expense of the Greeks. He has shown this by his portraiture of the various Greek and Trojan heroes. Whilst he can see nothing wrong in Hector, he presents Ajax, Achilles and most of the other Greek heroes in absurd positions, although he knew that these warriors were not the dullards he chooses to make them. But why did Shakespeare adopt this attitude of hostility towards the Greeks and friendliness towards the Trojans? Mr. Herford, (in the Introduction to his edition of Troilus and Cressida) says that "the Elizabethan Humanists delighted to give a new and piquant turn to the venerable forms of classical world, and that Shakespeare was merely following their example". This may have been one reason for Shakespeare's treatment of this story, but is this the only reason? The ideas expressed in this work are quite in conformity with a Latin tradition handed down by antiquity to the Middle Ages and by the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Latin poetry (that is Virgil not Homer) formed the staple classical Literature of Shakespeare's day: a just appreciation of the Iliad was next to impossible, since Homer was regarded in
those days more as an historian than as a poet.

This partiality for Latin poetry, and more especially for Virgil had its natural consequences. Nobody could read the Aeneid without feeling a certain sympathy for the misfortunes of Troy and her brave heroes, who fell fighting for their fatherland; but this sympathy was followed by a keen feeling of delight and pleasure at the subsequent good fortunes of Aeneas and his followers, who as everybody knows, founded the Roman race "Romanae conditor aecis". This idea afterwards became national and until the age of the Renaissance every nation connected its history with the legendary history of Rome and Aeneas. Briton claimed descent from Brut, Brutus or Brito (a great-grandson of Aeneas) who changed the name of the country from Albion to Briton. This belief afterwards became universal in England till the Renaissance. Edward III brought forward the alleged Trojan origin of England as one of the proofs of her superiority over Scotland: Cob (the water-carrier in Ben Jonson's 'Every-man-in His-Humour') says Mr. Stapfer, describes the old judge as "the honestest old brave Trojan in London", so that we might justly suppose that in honouring Hector and the Trojans Shakespeare was honouring his own ancestors, and that in despising Achilles and the Greeks, he was despising the enemies of those ancestors.
B. KNOWLEDGE OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

(1) School Education.

"It may be safely assumed", says the late Professor Churton Collins in his chapter entitled "Shakespeare as a Classical Scholar" (Studies in Shakespeare), "though we have no proof of it, that Shakespeare received his education at the Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School, and it may be assumed with equal probability that the instruction given there was analogous and not inferior to that ordinarily given in the Schools of that day". We cannot doubt that Shakespeare the poet must have been somewhat above the average boy and that whatever classical knowledge he obtained from his masters, was not wasted or lightly thrown aside by him. Again, we know that in the boyhood of Shakespeare his parents were in fairly good, if not affluent circumstances; for his father was chief magistrate of the town of Stratford-on-Avon and would naturally have been anxious for his promising young son to have the best education possible.

If therefore we can obtain a knowledge of the school curriculum in use at Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School, or at Grammar Schools conducted on similar lines, then at last we may be said to know the extent of Shakespeare's classical learning at school. Assuming that Shakespeare was a pupil of Stratford
Grammar School, he probably entered that school in his sixth or seventh year and, owing to his father's altered circumstances, left it when he was about fourteen. Doubtless, therefore, the poet, although he was unable to complete his classical studies, obtained what in those days would be considered a fairly extensive knowledge of the classics.

The Grammar Schools of those days were, as regards the teaching of Latin, conducted on much the same lines as one another, and we may therefore conclude that what was true of the teaching obtained in one would be more or less true of that secured in another. The schools at that time were, as the public schools are now, very conservative in their methods and it was a matter of the greatest difficulty, not only to introduce any radical change in the system of teaching then adopted but even to bring forward a new text-book for use among the scholars.

From knowledge supplied us by Brinsley and Hoole, two writers who were contemporaries of Shakespeare, we are able to form a fair estimate of the classical instruction obtained by Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School. In his first year Shakespeare would probably study Latin Grammar and Accidence, using as a text book Lyly's Latin Grammar: in his Second year he would continue the study of Lyly's Grammar and would also read a book of Latin Maxims, such as Cato's Maxims or the Paeriles Confabulatiunculae or the Colloquies of Corderius: in
his third year, he would be occupied with Aesop's Fables: in
his fourth year he would continue these fables, whilst he would
also read the Eclogues of Mantuanus, parts of Ovid, some of
Cicero's Epistles and some of his shorter treatises: in his
fifth year, he would read Ovid's Metamorphoses and parts of
Virgil and Terence, whilst in his sixth and last year, he would
be engaged in the study of Horace, Plautus, parts of Juvenal,
Persius and some of Seneca's tragedies.

Secondly we learn from the late Professor Collins' Essay
on "Shakespeare as a Classical Scholar" that after having learnt
the alphabet, Shakespeare would at once begin to study Latin in
a more or less colloquial manner; that is to say, by means of
such books as the Senteniae Pueriles or Corderius's Colloquies,
whilst he would also be drilled in Lyly's Latin Grammar. We
can judge of his familiarity with, and his dislike of this kind
of classical learning gained from the Latin phrase books in use
during his school days from (1) "The Taming of the Shrew" (III. I):

Lucentio: Here madam:-

Hic ibat Simois; hic est Sigeia tellus;

Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.

Bianca: Construe them.

Lucentio: "Hic ibat", as I told you before,- "Simois"
I am Lucentio, "Hic est", son unto Vincentio of Pisa,- "Sigeia
tellus", disguised thus to get your love,- "Hic steterat", and
that Lucentio that comes a-wooing,- "Priami", is my man Tranio,-
"regia", bearing my part,- "celsa senis, that we might beguile
the old pantaloon.

(2) the "Merry Wives of Windsor" (IV, I):

Sir Hugh Evans: What is fair, William?.
William: Pulcher.
Sir Hugh Evans: What is lapis, William?.
William: A stone.
Sir Hugh Evans: And what is a stone, William?.
William: A pebble.
Sir Hugh Evans: No, it is lapis; I pray you remember in your brain. What is he, William, that does lend articles?.
William: Articles are borrowed of the pronoun; and he thus declined, Singularitar, nominativo, hic, haec, hoc.
Sir Hugh Evans: Pray you mark genitivo 'huius'. Well what is your accusative case?.
William: Accusativo, 'hinc'.

Such examples as these give us some knowledge of the wearisome and catechetical exercise in the accidence, which prevailed in all the Grammar Schools of Shakespeare's day.
Shakespeare would then read such books as Erasmus's Colloquia and Mantuan's Ecloque, and afterwards Ovid's Metamorphoses, Heroides, and Triatia, Virgil's Aeneid, select comedies of Plautus and Terence and parts of Cassar, Sallust, Cicero and Livy.

Mr. Spencer Baynes in his treatise entitled "What Shakespeare learnt at School" mentions Nicholas Carlisle's "Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools" as a reliable source for discovering the classical books in use at Grammar Schools during that period. Although there is no notice of Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School in Carlisle's work, the knowledge given here concerning the curricula of other schools might in some way help to guide us to the real truth concerning this subject, especially if we rely on the late Professor Collins' assumption, when he states that the classical teaching given at Grammar Schools of this period was very similar.

In these statutes it was directed that in a school like St. Paul's London (founded 1510) the children should be first taught the "Catechizon" (in English) and afterwards the "Institutum Christiani Hominis" and the "Copia Erasmi". At Wilton in Cheshire (founded 1558) the statutes order that the following Latin works be taught:

- King Henry VIII's Grammar,
- Institutum Christiani Hominis,
Copia Erasmi.

Colloquium Erasmi.

Ovid Metamorphoses

and Terence, Tully, Horace, Sallust and Vergil.

At East Retford (Notts) a very careful system of Grammar instruction was laid down. Cicero was to be begun early: the Colloquia Erasmi were to be read: in the third form they were to teach Virgil, Ovid, Tully's Epistles and the Kings Majesty's Latin Grammar; in the fourth form they were to learn to know the breves and longs and to make verses.

At Chigwell (Essex), the Latin schoolmaster was to train his scholars in Lyly's Latin Grammar and in Clenard's Greek Grammar: for phrase and style he was only to teach Tully and Terence, whilst he might also read with his pupils the ancient Greek and Latin poets.

These statutes, however, although describing the kind of education given, do not go very far into the subject, nor do they enable us to form any judgment of the progress a boy would make in passing from one form to another in his school, as does the Ludus Litterarius of Brinsley, who was a contemporary of Shakespeare and whose account of the teaching of the time is something like contemporary evidence.

Mr. I. H. Luptson, in the Athenaeum of October 1876 thinks that it would be safe to conclude that at a school like Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School there would be taught:-
The authorised Latin Grammar (Nowell's).

Some Latin construing book,
(e.g., Erasmus' Colloquies, or
Corderius' Colloquies, or
Baptista Mantuanus)
and Tully, Virgil, Ovid and Terence together with a little
Sallust and some of Cato's work. The Greek Grammar, if any were
used, would most likely be Cleinards.

Another point which might be touched upon in considering
Shakespeare's school education is his knowledge of Alciat's
emblems. Alciat's was the most popular of the emblem books
in the sixteenth century and Shakespeare has given us adequate
proof of his knowledge of this writer's works. Hoole enumerates
these emblems in his list of subsidiary books to be used in the
Grammar Schools of that day:--

Sometimes you may let them translate some select epigrams
out of those collected by Mr. Farnaby or some emblems of Alciat
or the like flourishes of wit which you think will more delight
them and help their fancies. It seems that Shakespeare was
indebted not only to Alciat but also to other emblem writers for
some of his classical knowledge. The following are examples
which seem to point to Shakespeare's knowledge of their works:--

King Richard says (Richard II.-II, III. 129):--

Snakes in my heart - blood warm'd, that stinging beast!

York says (Richard II. - V. III. 57) :-
Forget to pity him lest thy pity prove
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart.

These passages remind us of an emblem concerning the fable of the Countryman and the Viper by Nicolas Reusner. The emblem is called "Merces Anguina" and with it were written the following elegiacs:

Frugus confectum quem rusticus inventit anguem,
Imprudens potum recreat ecce sinu.
Immemor hic miserum lethale sauciat iuctu,
Reddidit hic vitam, reddidit ille necem.

For his knowledge (1) of Medea, and Absyrtus and (2) of Aeneas and Anchises Shakespeare may have been indebted to Alciat; in the second part of Henry VI. (V. II. 45.) young Clifford comes upon the dead body of his father and says:
Meet I an infant of the house of York,
Into as many gobbets will I cut it,
As wild Medea young Absyrtus did.
Again he remarks:
Come thou, new ruin of old Clifford's house,
As did Aeneas old Anchises bear,
So bear I thee upon my manly shoulders.

Compare the elegiacs written in connection with the 54th. and 194th. emblem of Alciat:
The above mentioned system of Latin training (or at any rate something which very closely resembled it), was compulsory throughout all the schools of that day, and if we merely suppose that Shakespeare was a boy of average ability, who rose in his form yearly by year, we shall see that he must have had some knowledge of the Latin language. There is then no doubt of the fact that if Shakespeare went to Stratford-on-Avon Grammar School, he would be placed under the course of classical instruction mentioned above and would read some of the above mentioned Classical authors (for he was not at school long enough to read them all) not in English translations, but in the original.

The masters at the Grammar School at Stratford-on-Avon from 1570 to 1580 were for the first two years Walter Roche, for the next five Thomas Hunt and for the last three Thomas Jenkins, all of them scholars of ability, so that there is no reason to think that any opposition to classical teaching would come from that source.
Again we must remember, when we consider the classical education given at schools in those days, that the age of Shakespeare was a learned and advancing one: the study of the classics was at that time very popular especially among the higher classes.

Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, tells us that that Queen read more Greek in a day than some of the church dignitaries perused in a month. If this is so, can we doubt that classics were taught, and taught at a high standard, throughout the country? When we consider the literary attainments of that age we should expect Shakespeare - its greatest literary product - to be tolerably well-read in the languages which were so popular during that period.

Lastly, we must not think that because Shakespeare read English translations of the Classics, he was therefore ignorant of the originals. "We can agree", says Professor Baynes, "with an acute writer who states that although the alleged imitation of the Greek tragedians by Shakespeare is mere nonsense, yet there is clear evidence that Shakespeare received the ordinary Grammar School education of the time, and that he derived from the pain and suffering of several years not exactly an accurate acquaintance with Greek and Latin, but like Eton boys, a firm conviction that there are such languages".
B. - (2). THE CLASSICAL DICTION IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

Passages, containing words of classical origin, which (according to Murray's Oxford Dictionary) were not used prior to Shakespeare.

ABRUPTION.
Troilus says (Trollus & Cressida III. II. 69):
"What makes this petty abruption".
Aruption. Latin abruption, a tearing away or asunder. Murray in his Oxford Dictionary cites this passage as the first instance in which the word abruption is used in the English language.

ACCITED.
Marcus says (Titus Andronious I. I.):
"He by the senate is accited home,
From weary wars against the barbarous Goths".
Accited is a word of distinctly classical origin. Latin accio - accitus. In the above passage it is equivalent to the English word "summoned": in Shakespeare and Jonson it is used in the sense of the English verb excite (arouse).
Shakespeare II. Henry IV:- "And what accities your most worshipful thought to think so ?"
Ben. Jonson. Samaus:- What was there to accite so ravenous and vast an appetite ?".
ADVERTISING.

The Duke says (Measure for Measure V. I. 387):

"As I was then
Advertising and holy to your business,
Not changing heart with habit, I am still
Attorney'd at your service".

"The word is used", says Mr. Theobald, "as an adjective in the classic sense (adverto) of mindful, regardful observant - director one's mind, feelings, thought or attention to a thing".

ANTRES.

Othello says (I. III. 140):

"Of antres vast and deserts wild".
Antres. Latin, antrum a cave. A passage in Keat's Endymion contains this very rare word:--

"Shooting like a meteor star through a vast antre".

ASPERSION.

Prospero says (Tempest IV. I. 18):

"No sweet aspersio shall the heavens let fall,
To make this contract grow"

The word aspersio is used by Shakespeare in its exact classical sense of sprinkling (Latin aspergo: aspersi): No other writer previous to Shakespeare uses the word in this sense.
CADENT.

Lear says (King Lear I. IV. 307):

"With cadent tears fret channels in her cheeks".


CIRCUMMURED.

Isabella says (Measure for Measure IV. I. 28):

"He hath a garden circummured with brick".

Circummured: walled round. Latin circum around and murus a wall. Compare the figurative use of the word by Feltham (1636) "Restraint by service is far worse than the being circummured".

CIRCUMSCRIBE.

The Captain says (Titus Andronicus I. I. 68):

"Where he circumscribed with his sword,

And brought to yoke the enemies of Rome"

Circumscribe: Latin circumscribo: "to encircle", "to inscribe in a circle". Murray quotes Ben Jonson's Sejanus (1603) as containing the next instance of the use of the word in this sense:- "They that thronged to circumscribe him". Titus Andronicus was published between the years 1588 and 1590. Shakespeare probably coined this word for his own use.

CIVIL

This word has generally, if not always, some connection with the Latin civis. In Romeo and Juliet there is a passage, which
alludes to "civil blood making civil hands unclean". Here the word civil means "of or belonging to citizens".

c.f., Richard II., III. III, 101 (where the word refers to the state rather than to private individuals):

"The King of Heaven forbids our lord the King Should so, with civil and uncivil arms Be rushed upon".

COLLECTED.

Prospero remarks (Tempest I. II. 13):

"Be collected

No more amazement: tell your piteous heart There's no harm done".

Collected: Lat. colligo: gather together. "The classical sense includes mental collection, put or join together logically, make deductions and it is once used in this sense by Shakespeare:-

"The reverent care I bear unto my lord Made me collect these dangers in the duke".

(2. Henry VI., III. I. 34).

COMPOSURE.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida II. III. 297):

"Thank the heavens, Lord, thou art of sweet composure". The word "composure" seems to have some affinity with one of the meanings of the Latin word 'compositus', (a putting together, compounding). 'Personal constitution' 'temperament'.
Compare Antony and Cleopatra (I. IV. 22):

"His composure must be rare indeed
When these things cannot blemish".

**CONDUCE.**

Troilus says (Troilus and Cressida V. II. 147):
"Within my soul there doth conduce a fight
Of this strange nature, that a thing inseparable
Divides more wider than the sky and earth".

Conduce: "The same range of meaning, says Mr. Theobald, "that belongs to the Latin word conduco is given here to the word conduce. The primary meaning is 'bring together' assemble, collect".

Cowden Clarke writes as follows on the above passage:-
"Conduce is here used in its classical sense of lead together, assemble; and a fight represents the elements of a fight, the contending forces, the tumultuous feelings, the battling emotions that surge and meet tumultuously with the speakers soul, brought together by the strength of passion". The same word is again used in Troilus and Cressida in a different sense, namely that of being useful:-

"The reasons you allege do more conduce
To the hot passion of distempered blood
Than to make up a free determination
'Twixt right and wrong".
(Troilus and Cressida II. II. 168).
Compare Cicero's 'conducere ad vitae commoditatem'.

108.
CONFINELESS.

Malcolm says to Macduff (IV. III. 54):

"Esteem him as a lamb, being compared
   With my confineless harms".

The affirmative portion of the word 'confineless' has some affinity with the Latin confinis, 'bordering on', 'a border or boundary to'.

CONFIXED.

Mariana says (Measure for Measure V. I. 232):

"Or else for ever be confixed here
   A marble monument".


CONSIGN.

Guiderius and Arviragus say (Cymbeline IV. II. 274):

"All lovers young, all lovers must
   Consign to thee and come to dust".

Consign: Latin consigno: to fix a seal to, subscribe, and thence to confirm to, yield to. Compare the following passages in the same poet:

"Augment or alter, as your wisdom best
   Shall see advantageable for our dignity,
   And we'll consign thereto".

(Henry V., V. II. 87).
"God consigning to my good intents".

(2. Henry IV., V. II. 143).

CONSIST.

The ordinary use of the word is quite common, but it has a peculiar meaning, which is quite classical. (Latin consisto: to take ones stand on). Cleon says (Pericles I. IV. 83):

"Welcome is peace if he on peace consist".

CONSTRING.

Troilus says (Troilus and Cressida V. II. 173):

"Not the dreadful spout
Which shipmen do the hurricane call
Constringed in mass by the almighty sun."

The word is not used by any writer previous to Shakespeare.

CONTINENT.

Malcolm says:

"And my desire
All continent impediments would o'erbear".

The word continent has exactly the meaning of the Latin 'continens - restraining, restrictive. Murray's Dictionary quotes Love's Labours Lost (I. I. 262) as containing another instance of the use of the word in the same sense:- "Contrary to the established proclaimed edict and continent canon".
CONVENTS.

The Duke says (Twelfth Night V. I. 391):

"When that is known and golden time convents
A solemn combination shall be made
Of our dear souls".

Convents. Here is implied the sense of the Latin impersonal convenit (it is fitting, suitable).

CONVERSATION.

Helen says (Alls well. I. III. 238):

"My lord, your son made me to think of this,
Else Paris and the medicine and the king
Had from the conversation of my thoughts
Haply been absent then".

On this passage Cowden Clarke remarks as follows:- "The pertinent and poetical use which Shakespeare makes of this word here, might one would think be sufficient reputation to those who undervalue his knowledge of classical language. Conversation is here implied in the sense as derived from the Latin conversatio, which strictly means turning or whirling about as well as interchanged discourse. The word in this passage has a finely expressive effect as conveying the whirl, the tossing to and fro in ceaseless secret discussion of Helen's toiling thoughts".

CONVICT.

King Philip says (King John. III., IV. II.):
"So by a roaring tempest on the flood
A whole armado of convicted sail
Is scatter'd".

Convicted: used once only in Shakespeare, and then it is really the past participle of the word convince (Latin convincere convictus).

DELATED.

Hamlet says (Hamlet I. II. 36):

"Giving to you no further personal power
To business with the king, more than the scope
Of these delated articles allow."

Delated. Latin deferor: to bear or bring away, thence to report, deliver: the word also possesses a legal meaning,—to accuse, to impeach. Murray gives no instance of its use in any writer prior to Shakespeare in the sense of deliver over, report.

Compare the following passage in Measure for Measure with the above passage in Hamlet for the use of the word 'delated' in this sense:—

"Aye I but to die and go we know not where
To live in cold obstruction and to rot
and the delated spirit
To bathe in fiery floods".

The word 'delated' says Mr. Theobald, is used here in the combined tense of being carried away and accused.
DEMISE.

Queen Elizabeth says (Richard III., IV. IV. 246):

"Tell me what state, what dignity, what honour
Canst thou demise to any child of mine?"

Demise. Latin demitto: the word means in the Shakespearean sense 'convey', 'transmit', 'lease'.

DEPRAVE.

Antonio says (Much ado about nothing V. I. 94):

"Scambling, out-facing, fasion-monging boys
That lie and coy and flout, deprave and slander".

Deprave. Latin depravo: taken from the root pravus crooked, not straight, - and then by extension to a moral sense, perverse, vicious, bad -. Compare the words of Apemantus in Timon - (I. II. 145):

"Who lives that's not depraved or depraves?"

DISCOLOURED.

The Captain says (2.Henry VI., IV. I. 2):

"For whilst our pinnace anchors in the downs,
Here shall they make their ransom on the sand
Or with their blood stain this discoloured shore".

Shakespeare always uses the word discolour in the sense of the Latin discolor 'of many colours', 'varied in colour'. In the following passage in Marlowe the classical meaning of the word
discolour will be more easily seen:

"The walls were of discoloured jasper stone"

Compare Spenser's Epithalamium:

"Diapred like the discolored mead".

EPITHETON.

Armado says to Moth (Loves Labours Lost I. II):

"I spoke it, tender juvenal, as a congruent epitheton appertaining to thy young days, which we may nominate tender".

'Epitheton' is not an English word at all: it is a Greek word as is used by Aristotle in the sense of an epithet.

EXIGENT.

Mortimer says (I. Henry VI., II. V. 8):

"These eyes, like lamps whose wasting oil is spent
Wax dim as drawing to their exigent".


Murray quotes only one other instance of the use of the word in this sense during Shakespeare's time:-

A Day ("English Secretary II"):

"Hereby degree is passed to the last exigent".

EXPECT.

Suffolk says (I. Henry VI., V. III. 145):

"And here I will expect thy coming".
The word 'expect' is used in its classical sense of 'wait for' 'look for' (Latin expecto).
c.f. Julius Caesar. I. II. 297:-
Cassius: Will you dine with me tomorrow?
Cassia: Aye.
Cassius: Good, I will expect you.

EXSUFFLICATE.

Othello says (III. III. 182):

"When I shall turn the business of my soul
To such exsufflicate and blown surmises".

Exsufficate: blown out (inflated). Latin ex and sufflo.

Hamner proposes to read exsufficate from Italian sufffare, to whistle whizze.

FACT.

Lennox says (Macbeth III. IV. 10):

"Damned fact!
How it did grieve Macbeth."

The word 'fact' is used here, as always in Shakespeare, in the sense of the English 'deed' or 'action' (Lat. factum).

FESTINATELY.

Armado says to the Moth (Loves Labours Lost. III. I):

"Take this key: give enlargement to the swain:"
Bring him festinately hither".
Festinately is a word of classical origin (meaning 'quickly', in haste. Lat. festino).

Compare Lear III.- "Advise the Duke
Where you are going to a most festinate preparation".

FINELESS.

Iago says (Othello III. III. 173):
"But riches, fineless, is as poor as winter".
Fineless: boundless: unlimited. Latin finis (and the negative English -less). The word is not used by any writer previous to Shakespeare.

GENEROUS.

Edmund says (Lear I. II. 6):
"Why bastard? Wherefore base?
When my dimensions are as well compact
My mind as generous . . . . . . as honest
madam's issue.

Generous: Latin generousus: A person of high rank or birth.
The words gentility, generosity and gentle are used by Shakespeare in the same sense.

GENTILITY.

"He mines my gentility with my education".
(As you like it. I. I. 21).
GENTLE.  

"He said he was gentle, but unfortunate".  

(Cymbeline IV. II. 30).

GRATULATE.

The tribune says (Titus Andronicus. I. I. 221):

"Gratulate his safe return to Rome"

The word gratulate (i.e. congratulate) is derived from the Latin gratulātus, and, according to Murray's Dictionary, is used here for the first time by any English writer. Cade uses the word in one of his Sermons (1621):

"Well then may I gratulate our commonwealth that it so much blessed with wise and worthy men".

IMMURE.

In the eighth line of the Prologue (Tr. and Cr. 14) occur the following words :-

"And their vow is made
To ransack Troy within whose strong immures
The ravished Helen sleeps".

The use of the word 'immures' as a noun is an 'εγκλωβισμός', since Murray in his Dictionary mentions this passage, as containing the only instance of the word 'immures' (walls) being used in this sense. The word is connected with the Latin 'murus'.
Polonius says to Ophelia (Hamlet I. III. 129):

"Mere implorators of unholy suits".

Implorators: Latin implorare implorare: to beseech, beg, entreat.

Osric says (Hamlet V. II. 154):

"The king, sir, hath wagered with him six Barbary horses: against the which he has imponed, six French rapiers".

Impone: Latin impono: to place upon: put upon. Shakespeare here uses the word in a betting sense, which the Latin 'impono' does not possess.

The words impose and imposition are used by Shakespeare in a strictly classical sense from the Latin impono. There is no sense of cheating or defrauding in Shakespeare's meaning of the word impose:—

Compare Measure for Measure (I. III. 40):

"I have on Angelo imposed the office".

Merchant of Venice (III. IV. 37):

Portia says to Lorenzo:—

"Not to deny this imposition
The which my love . . . . . . .
Now lays upon you".

Macbeth says (II. II.): "No; this my hand will rather

The multitudinous seas incarnadine".
Incarnadine is a word of classical origin, connected with the Latin caro carnis 'flesh' and meaning properly "to make flesh coloured": from Shakespeare onward it is always associated with blood. Shakespeare probably coined the word for his own particular use.

**INHERIT.**

The Forester says to the Princess (Love's Labour's Lost IV. I. 20):

"Nothing but fair is that which you inherit".

Inherit here has the meaning of the Latin 'inhabere' to cling to: adhere to.

**INSISTURE.**

Ulysses says (I. III. 85):

"The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre.

Observe . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Insisture, course, proportion.

Latin: insistó: halt, stand still. Cicero uses the word in reference to the stars, - stellarum metus insistunt. The word insist, as it is used in Coriolanus possesses the same meaning and derivation.

Sicinius talks of "insisting on the old prerogative".

(Coriolanus. III. III. 17).

**INSTANT.**

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida III. III. 153):
"Take the **instant** way,  
For honour travels in a street so narrow  
Where one but goes abreast".

The word **instant** is used here in a classical sense and has the same meaning as the Latin 'quod instat'. Murray says this meaning is very rare and gives an instance of it in the works of a writer named Gale (1677).

"Eternitie is but one only fixed permanent is or **instant**". Even here the word **instant** does not seem to us to have exactly the same meaning as it possesses in the Shakespearean passage.

**INSULTING.**

Joan says (I. Henry VI., I. II):

"Now am I like that proud **insulting** ship  
Which Caesar and his fortune bare at once".

The word 'insulting' is used here in its Latin sense of 'bounding' or leaping over' (the waves). Latin **insultare**, to bound or leap on. Compare: Titus Andronicus: "Give me my knife, I will insult on him".

Compare: Dryden 1697. (Translation of Virgil's Georgics IV. 111):-

"Far from the cows and goats **insulting** crew".
**INTEMBLE.**

Helena says (All’s Well that Ends Well. I. III. 207):

"Yet, in this captious and intenible sieve,
I still pour in the waters of my love”.

Intenible: incapable of holding: Latin ‘teneo’ and the negative prefix ‘in’. This is the only example of the use of the word by Shakespeare.

**LETHE.**

Mark Antony (Julius Caesar III. I. 205), standing over the dead body of Caesar, explains:— "And here thy hunters stand,
Signed in thy spoil and crimsoned in thy lethe”.

Lethe: Latin letum: death. Mr. Theobald says that ‘if lethe represents the Latin word letum or letheum, death, it is the solitary instance of such a passage: but Shakespeare uses Latin so freely and inventively, that there is no antecedent improbability in this interpretation of the word: and it is more suitable to the context that the sense of Lethe, as the River of oblivion, which is not crimson at all’.

**MASTIC.**

Agamemnon says (Troilus and Cressida I. III.):

"When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws”

The word mastic, which means abusive or insulting, is of classical origin, and is derived from the Greek ‘μαστιγός’ Shakespeare
had perhaps met with the Latin word 'mastigia', which occurs again and again in the Comedies of Plautus.

MIRABLE.

Hector says (Troilus and Cressida. IV. V. 142):

"Not Neoptolemus so mirable"

This is the first instance of the use of the word 'mirable' in the English language. It is coined by Shakespeare for his own use and is derived from the Latin word 'mirabilis'.

OBLIGATION.

Hector says (Troilus and Cressida. IV. V. 122):

"The obligation of our blood forbids
A gory emulation 'twixt us twain".

The word obligation is here used in its moral sense 'moral constraint or connection'. Its classical sense is obvious, Lat. obligo to bind.

Compare Hamlet :- "Bound in filial obligation for some term to do obsequious sorrow".

OFFICIOUS.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus. V. II. 202):

"Come, come be everyone officious
To make this banquet"

The word officious is here used in its classical sense (Latin
officium: officiosus). Dutiful, active or zealous.

**OPPUGNANCY.**

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida. I. III. 110):

"And, hark, what discord follows! each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy".

i.e., resistance. Latin oppugnatio: appellative.

c.f. Coleridge Reflections 1848.- "Whatever is placed in active or direct oppugnancy to the good is ipso facto positive evil".

**PALLIAMENT. (and CANDIDATUS.)**

Marcus says (Titus Andronicus. I. II):

"Titus Andronicus, the people of Rome
Whose friend in justice thou hast ever been
Send thee by me, their tribune and their trust
This palliament of white and spotless hue
And name thee in election for the empire
With these our late deceased emperor's sons
Be candidatus then and put in on".

Here we have two words unknown to the English language, but derived directly from the Latin: 'Palliament' (meaning a garment or cloak) is derived from the Latin word 'Pallium', a cloak. 'Candidatus' is nothing else but a plain Latin word. It is used of a candidate for an office (who was clothed in a white toga). The word is connected with the Latin candae.
PEREGRINATE.

Holofernes says (Love's Labour's Lost. V. I):

"He is too peregrinate as I may call it."

Peregrinate. Lat. Peregrinatus: outlandish, alien: wandering about. According to Murray this is the first instance of the use of the word.

PERIAPTS.

Pucelle says (I. Henry VI., V. III):

"Now help, ye charming spells, and periapts!"

Periapts are amulets worn about the neck or arms as a charm. (Cr. περιαπτον an amulet) (περι + ἄπτω).

PERNICIOUS.

Boyet says (Love's Labour's Lost (IV. I.):- Reading a letter:

"The magnanimous and most illustrate king Cophetua set eye upon the pernicious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon".

The word 'pernicious', says Mr. R. M. Theobald, represents the Latin pernix, derived probably from per and nitor, - much struggling; hence brisk, nimble. The first instance of this meaning of the word, quoted by Murray, is Ussher's Annals (1656). "Young men, pernicious in respect of their ability". Murray does not mention this passage. Compare, Horace Epodes II. 41.

"Pernicis uxor Apuli".
PERVERT.

Philario remarks (Cymbeline II. IV. 151):

"Let's follow him and pervert the present wrath
He hath against himself".

Pervert: to turn completely: "this is another instance," says Theobald, "in which the classic and intensive force of the article per is used to augment the classic sense of the root: vertis to turn, - pervertis to turn completely".

PREMISE.

The Young Clifford says (2. Henry VI., V. II. 41):

"And the premised flames of the last day
Knit earth and heaven together".

Premised: sent forward: Latin Praemitto praemittere: to despatch in advance.

PRODITOR.

Winchester says to Gloucester (I. Henry VI., I. III):

"I do thou most usurping proditor
And not protector of the king's realm".

Proditor is a Latin, not an English word: it means 'betrayer' 'traitor'.

PROPEND.

Hector says (Troilus and Cressida. II. II. 190):

"My spritely brethren, I propend to you".
PROPENSION.

Paris says (Troilus and Cressida. II. III. 132):

"But I attest the gods, your full consent

Gave wings to my propension".

Propension and propend are both words of classical origin. (Lat. propendere: to hang down: to incline to: to be favourable to).

To the word 'propend' Murray gives the meaning of 'a leaning or propensity to incline, to be disposed to tend (to or towards something or to do something),'' and quotes this passage as containing the first instance of the use of the word. Propension is the same as propensity. Murray quotes an example by J. King. Sermon, September 1606:—

"Wheresoever they have met with any word that beareth any propensity and favour towards the upholding of the eldership".

Troilus and Cressida however was written in 1603.

PUDENCY.

Posthumus says (Cymbeline II. V. 2): "She did it

With a pudency so rosy".

Pudency: modesty, bashfulness. Latin pudentia pudeus. On the use of the word pudency in this line Leigh Hunt remarks that Shakespeare could anticipate Milton's own Greek and Latin.

QUESTANT.

The king says (All's well that ends well. II. I. 15):
"When the bravest **questant** shrinks, find what you seek
That fame may cry you loud".

**Questant**: seeker (in the sense of candidate). Latin Quaero.

**QUESTRIST.**

The Steward says (Lear III. VII. 16):

"Some five or six and thirty of his knights,
Not *questrists* after him met him at gate".

**Questrists**: Latin quaero. The word is used by Shakespeare in the sense of persons sent in quest of somebody.

**REMOPTION.**

Lear says (King Lear II. IV. 115):

"The Duke persuades me
That the remotion of the Duke and her
Is practice only".

**Remotion**: Latin remotio a departure, a removal: e.g. Timon of Athens (IV. III. 345):

"All thy safety were remotion and thy defence absence".

**REVERB.**

Kent says (Lear I. I. 155):

"Nor are those empty hearted, whose low sound
Reverbs no hollowness".

**Reverb**: re-echo: strike back: Lat. verbero and re (reverbero).
The English word reverberate is used here for reverberate.

SACRED.

Aaron says (Titus Andronicus II. I. 120):

"Our empress with her sacred wit
To villainy and vengeance consecrate,
Will we acquaint with all that we intend".

The word 'sacred' is here used in the sense of one of the meanings of the Latin sacer: accursed: infamous. In Lucrece (526) the same word is used with the meaning of the Latin sacratus: sworn, consecrated:-

"But if thou yield, I rest thy sacred friend".

SEQUENT.

Holofernes says (Love's Labour's Lost. IV. II):

"And here he hath framed a letter to a sequent of the stranger queen's".

Sequent: Lat. sequor. follow, - successive, one following another.

Compare. Othello (I. II. 40):

"The galleys have sent a dozen sequent messengers
This very night at one another's heels."
A LIST OF WORDS USED ONCE PREVIOUS TO SHAKESPEARE.

It is possible for the classical meaning of these words to have been used independently by the different writers.

**CAPRICIOUS.**

Touchstone says (As you like it. III. III. 7):

"I am here with thee and thy goats, as the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths".

Touchstone here makes a pun on the meaning of the word capricious: he uses it partly in the sense of humour, whilst in addition it has a reference to the Latin caper, a goat.

A writer named Carew used the word (1549) :- The inventive wits are termed in the Tuscan tongue capricious for the resemblance they bear to a goat, who takes no pleasure in the open and easy plains but loves to caper along the hilltops.

**CENSURE.**

King Henry says (I. Henry VI., V. V):

"If you do censure me by what you were"

The word 'censure' is used here in the sense of the English 'judge', 'consider' (Latin censeo). Murray's Dictionary quotes one other instance of the use of the word in this sense:

Greene (1590):-

"No further evidence came to censure the allegation".
COMPOSITION.

Gaunt says (Richard II. I. 73):

"O, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old".

The word has much the same meaning as that possessed by the noun composure in the following line in Troilus and Cressida:

"Thanks the heavens, lord, thou art of sweet composure".

Both words are connected with the Latin verb compono (con, pono) join or put together. The English word relates (1) to the mental constitution, (2) to the constitution of the mind and body.

C.f. Bacon (1598): "A state of mind which is settled out of a good composition of the affections".

CONCENT.

Exeter remarks (Henry V., I. II. 180):

"For government though high and low and lower
Put into parts doth keep in one concent".

Concent: harmony, agreement. (Latin concino, concentus).

A writer named Drayton had used the word concent in the same sense (1593): "That concent we clearly find, which doth draw things together".

CONTUMELIOUSLY.

The Mayor of London says (I. Henry VI., I. III. 58):
"Fie lords! that you being supreme magistrates
Thus contumeliously should break the peace".

Contumeliously is a word of classical origin (Latin contumelia: contumeliosus); it is only used once prior to Shakespeare: 1539, Bishop Tonstall (Sermon on Palm Sunday) - "In playenge at any games the learnynge of Goddis' name be contumeliously in vayne brought forth".

CRESCIVE.

The Bishop of Ely says (Henry V., I. I. 66):

"Unseen yet cresive in his faculty"
The word 'cresive' (Latin crescere to grow) is used once prior to Shakespeare by a writer named Drant (1566):- "The dragons with proper brestes do nurse their cresive young".

DECIMATION.

The Second Senator says (Timon of Athens V. I. 34):

"By decimation and a tithed death
Take thou the destined tenth".
Decimation: Latin decimare 'to select by lot every tenth man for punishment'. There is one previous use of the word in this sense:- North's Plutarch (1580):

"Antonius executed the decimation".

DESANIMATE.

Gloucester says (I. Henry VI., III. I):
"The presence of a king engenders love
Amongst his subjects and his loyal friends
As it disanimates his enemies".

The word 'disanimate' means to dishearten or discourage, (dis-animus). Murray's Dictionary gives only one instance of its previous use in this sense:—1583. Stubbe's Anatomy of Abuse: "They also rather animate than disanimate them to persevere in their wickedness".

DETERMINATE.

King Richard says to Norfolk (Richard II., I. III. 150):
"The sly slow hours shall not determinate
The dateless limit of thy dear exile".

Determinate. Latin determino: to end, limit, terminate. Compare (Twelfth Night II. I. II):
"My determinate voyage is mere extravagancy".
A writer, named Winzel, used the word determinate in this sense:—
"Gif we ....................... limitatis and determinatis nocht the wisdom of God be our phantasie".

DISTRACT.

Iago remarks (Othello I. III. 123):
"Our bodies are our gardens: to the which our wills are gardeners: we supply it with one gender of herbs or distract it with many".
Distract: Latin distraho, to drag or draw asunder. Shakespeare uses the word here in its literal and distinctly classical sense. A writer named Sandys first used the word in this sense:-

"A kingdom divided and distracted into factions".

Shakespeare himself was the first writer to use the word in its figurative sense:-

"This is a poor mad soul . . . . . . . poverty hath distracted her". (2. Henry IV., II. i. 116):

The following passage in Macbeth is also tinged with the same meaning:-

"They stared and were distracted: no man's life
Was to be trusted with them".

DOCUMENT.

Laertes, overcome with grief at the sight of his sister Ophelia, exclaims (Hamlet IV. V. 178):

"A document in madness: thoughts and remembrance fitted".

Document. This word is used here by Shakespeare in the sense of the Latin documentum, meaning a warning or admonition, or, - a typical specimen, an object lesson. Latimer (in a sermon delivered by him in the year 1549) uses the word in this sense:-

"In them are fruitful and godly documents".

DISSEMBLE.

Volumnia says (Coriolanus III. II. 62):
"I would dissemble with my nature, where
My fortunes and my friends at stake required
I should do so in honour".

Dissemble: Latin dissimulo, disguise conceal. The word is used prior to Shakespeare by Coverdale (1535): "He dissembled in all that ever he spake".

Compare the following passage in Shakespeare:-

"I'll put it on and will **dissemble** myself in it, and I would I were the first that ever **dissembled** in such a gown".

Cowden Clarke writes on this passage as follows:-

"Shakespeare here uses the word dissemble in the sense borne by the Latin word dissimulare, to cloak, disguise, conceal or dissemble: thus affording ground for the clown's pun while putting on the clerical gown. Mr. Stevens, the commentator, sneeringly remarks that 'Shakespeare has here stumbled on a Latinism: thus Ovid, speaking of Achilles, Veste virum longa dissimulatus erat'. But not only do we believe that Shakespeare was far more intimately and appreciatively acquainted with Ovid than the sneering commentator: we also believe that he never stumbled on any word he uses: on the contrary he shews a most special and discriminating accuracy in the choice, adaptation, and employment of the epithets he **_** introduces, thereby giving one of the many proofs that he had a greatly profounder knowledge of classical languages and the true etymology of his own than superficial judges have ever been able to perceive or willing to allow."
Fenton says (Merry Wives of Windsor. V. V. 241):

"Since therein she doth evitate and shun
A thousand irreligious cursed hours".

Evitate: avoid. Latin evitare, to avoid; shun. The word was used in the year 1588 by a writer named Parke "Mendoza's History of China": "Many other things left out for to evitate tediousness".

Parolles (All's well that ends well. II. III. 35):

"He is of a most facinorous spirit".

The word has the meaning of 'wicked', 'rebelious' and is connected with the Latin noun facinus, a used in a bad sense and the adjective facinorosus: 'wicked', 'evil'. Used in this sense by a writer named Strype (1592):-

"The people having in their memory the facinorous acts of their kyng".

Pistol says (Henry V., II. I. 120):

"His heart is fracted and corroborate".

Fracted. Latin frango frangere, to break: the word is used once prior to Shakespeare: - Boorde (1547): "If the memory be fracted
with the pregnancy of it". Compare Timon of Athens (II. I. 22):

"My reliances on his fracted dates have smit my credit".

The word 'fraction' is taken from the same root. "Disgraceful looks and hard fractions".

(Timon of Athens. II. II. 220).

**IMMANITY.**

King Henry (I. Henry VI., V. I. 13) speaks of

"Such immanity and bloody strife".

Immanity. Latin immanitus: ferocity: savagery. Murray assigns two meanings to the word:

(1). Hugeness, enormity. The word is used for the first time in this sense in the year 1604: "Immanitie, beastlie crueltie, or hugenesse and greatnes".

(2). Monstrous cruelty: e.g. North (1557): "To show more their immanitie they dranke the bloode of him that was lately alyve".

**MACULATION.**

Troilus says to Cressida (Troilus and Cressida IV. IV. 66):

"For I will throw my glove to death himself

That there's no maculation in thy soul".

Maculation: stain: spot, blemish. Latin macula. The word occurs in the Coventry mysteries (1450):- "If he be guilty sum
maculacion pleyne in his face shall shewe it owth".

Compare the words of Moth (Love's Labour's Lost. I. II. 96):

"Most maculate thoughts, master, are masked under such colours".

MURAL.

Theseus says (A Midsummer-Night's Dream V. I. 209):

"Now is the mural down between the two neighbours".

Mural: wall. Latin muria. The word is used by a writer named Langley (1546): "The mural or wal crowne that was geven to him that scaled firste the wallers". Shakespeare uses the word 'mure' in the same sense:--

"The incessant care and labour of his mind
Hath wrought the mure that should confine it in".

(2. Henry IV., IV. IV. 118).

OSTENT.

Gratiano says (Merchant of Venice. II. II. 205):

"Like one well studied in a sad ostent".

Ostent: The word is derived from the Latin ostendo or ostento to show: the classic sense is that of open display or manifestation (Theobald). In the same play Salarino tells Salanio to "employ (his) chiefest thoughts

To courtship and such fair ostents of love".
The word is used once prior to our poet's works: - "Use all the observance of civilitie, like one well-studied in a sad ostent".

Perpend.

Touchstone says to Corin (As you like it. III. II. 69):

"Learn of the wise and perpend"

Perpend: Latin perpendo: to weigh; consider: the word is used by a writer named Fox (Letters to Gardiner) 1527: "My lords grace... ... . . . . perpending and pondering the exoneration of his own conscience".

PERSON.

The Lord Chief Justice speaks to the king (2. Henry IV., V. II. 73):

"I then did use the person of your father
The image of his power lay then in me".

The word 'person' is here connected with the Latin noun 'Persona' a mask. The speaker means that he impersonated the father. The word is used once prior to Shakespeare. "A power strange . . . . . . . . . to be in the person of my inferior subject".

(Murray).

PESTIFEROUS.

Gloucester says to Winchester (I. Henry VI., III. I.):

"Such is thy audacious wickedness
Thy lewd, pestiferous and dissentious pranks"
Pestiferous: (Latin pestifer erus, plague-bringing,) is used only once before Shakespeare's time (according to Murray's Oxford Dictionary):

1542. Boorde Dyetary:—"An order to be used in the pestiferous tyme". This fact, in itself, proves that it was by no means a common English word, and it may have been used independently by two different writers.

PLAUSIBLY.

Shakespeare's Lucrece concludes with the following words:—

"The Romans plausibly did give consent
To Tarquin's everlasting banishment".

Plausibly: with loud consent and clapping of hands.
Latin Plausus: a clapping of hands in approval: applause. The word is used by a writer named Mulcaster (1581):—

"His judgment is so often and so plausibly vouched by the curteouse Maister Askam".

PROPUGNATION.

Paris says (Troilus and Cressida. II. II. 136):

"What propugnation is in one man's valour ?."

Propugnation: Latin propugnatio: defence: protection. The word is used by a writer named Ferne (1586) :- "Signifying that this Scottish Lyon depended wholly upon the propugnation and defence of French lilies".
RELI G IO U S.

(All's well that ends well. II. III. 189):

"As thou lovest me
Thy love's to me religious.


RELI G IO U SLY.

King Henry says (Henry V., I. II. 9): to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

"My learned lord, we pray you to proceed
And justly and religiously unfold".

Religiously: Latin religiose: conscientiously, scrupulously.

Both the word are used once prior to Shakespeare:-
Spenser's Shepherds Calendar (1579): "The opinion of Faeries sticketh very religiously in the myndes of some".

The word religious is used by a writer named Porter in the sense mentioned above:- "A man, devoted to a man, Loyall religious in Love's hallowed vowes".

REMONSTRANCE.

The Duke says (Measure for Measure. V. I. 394):

"You may marvel why I obscured myself

and would not rather
Make rash remonstrance of my hidden power".

The word 'remonstrance' is here used in a sense which is strictly
classical and quite apart from its general meaning. The word means 'a showing or revealing' and is connected with the Latin monstro; the prefix re does not alter the meaning of the word. Hooker (1597) uses the word in the same sense:- "The manifest oddes are remonstrances more than sufficient how all our welfare dependeth wholly upon our religion".
B. (3). LATIN QUOTATIONS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus (IV. III.)):

Terras Astraea reliquit.

These words are taken directly from Ovid's Metamorphoses.

In Titus Andronicus Shakespeare quotes from Horace (Odes I. 12 1-2)

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget mandi iaculis nec amcu.

In Titus Andronicus there are three Latin quotations from Seneca (1) Sit fas aut nefas

Per Styga, permanesvehor.

The second line is taken from Seneca's Hippolytus.

(2) Titus says (Titus Andronicus IV I).

Magne Dominator poli

Tam lentus audis sceleram? Tam lentus vides?

These words are taken almost word for word from Seneca's Hippolytus. Seneca's writes as follows:-

Magne regnator deum

Tam lentus audis sceleram? tam lentus vides?

Rutland says (III Henry VI., I. III):

Di faciant, laudis summa sit ista tuae.

These words are taken from Ovid's Heroides (Epistle II).

Lucentio quotes as follows (Taming of the Shrew III. I. 28-29):

Hic ibat simois: hic est Sigeia tellus
Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.
These two lines are taken from Ovid’s Heroides.
The following Latin quotation at the commencement of the Venus and Adonis:

Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua

is taken from Ovid’s Amores.

Gloucester says (2. Henry VI., II. I):

Tantaene animis caelestibus ierae.

This is taken word for word from _Aeneid_ Virgil Aeneid I. line 2.

Tranio says to his master Lucentio (Taming of the Shrew I. I. 167):

Redime te captum quam queas minimo.

This line is taken from the Eunuchus of Terence (I. I. 30).

The Shakespearean form of the verse is from Lyly’s Grammar.

Timon says (Timon of Athens I. II. 28):

Ira furor brevis est.

These words are taken from Horace (Epistle I. II. 62).

Suffolk says (II. Henry VI., IV. I. 117):

Gelidus timor occupat artus.

The Latin is Virgil’s _Aeneid_ VII. 446.

Holofernes says (Love’s Labour’s Lost IV. II. 89):

Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra.

Ruminat.

The Latin is taken from the First Eclogue of Baptista Mantuanus.

The phrase _Veni vidi vici_ occurs in Plutarch’s Life of Julius Caesar, which we know Shakespeare read.
York says (2. Henry VI., I. IV. 65):

Aio te, Aeacida, Romanis vincere posse.

These are the ambiguous words which Pyrrhus received from the oracle at Delphi before his war against the Romans. The line occurs in Cicero's de Divinatione 256.
The following dialogue occurs in *Hamlet* (V. II):

**Osorio:** "I thank your worship it is very hot".

**Hamlet:** No, believe me, it is very cold: the wind is northerly.

**Osorio:** It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.

**Hamlet:** But yet methinks it is very sultry and hot for my complexion.

**Osorio:** Exceedingly, my lord, it is very sultry.

*conf.* *Juvenal Satire III. 102-3:*

Igniculum brumae sit tempore poscas

*Accipit endromiden: si dixeris "Aestuo", sudat.*

Hamlet, addressing Polonius, refers to Juvenal as the "Satirical Rogue": he then speaks of old men in a manner very similar to the "terrible picture of old age" (Professor Churton Collins) of which we read in the Tenth Satire of Juvenal:

**Polonius:** What do you read my lord?

**Hamlet:** Slander, sir. For the satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards: that their faces are wrinkled: their eyes purging thick amber and plum-tree gum and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams.

*Compare Juvenal Satire X:*

Sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
Plena malis! Deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
Dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
Pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas . . . . . .
. . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Una senum facies cum voce trementia membra
Et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi frangendus
Frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi.

Prince Henry says (I. Henry IV. V. IV) speaking of the
dying Hotspur:-

"When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound.
But now two paces of the vilest earth
Is room enough".

Compare the lines of Juvenal on Pyrrhus (Satire X.168-173):

Unus Pellaecio iuveni non sufficit orbis
. . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Cum tamen a figulis minitam intraverit urbem
Sarcophago contentus erit.

Duncan says (Macbeth I. IV. 2):

"There no art
To find the mind's construction in the face".

Compare the "Frontis Nulla fides" of Juvenal Satire II 8-9.

Prince Henry says (I. Henry IV., I. II):

"If all the year were playing hollidays
To sport would be as tedious as to work
But when they seldom come, they wished for some".

Compare Juvenal Satire XI. 206-8):

Facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
Continuis quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
Magna. Voluptatis commendat rarius usus.

Menecrates says (Antony and Cleopatra II. I):

"We ignorant of ourselves
Beg often for our harms, which the wise powers
Deny us for our good: so find we profit
By losing of our prayers".

This sentiment is very similar to one in Juvenal (Satire X):

Si consilium vis,
Permittis ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat, nobis rebusque sit utile nostris
Nam pro lucundis aptissima quaeque dabant di.

Thersites says (Troilus and Cressida V. VII. 18):

"One bear will not bite another".

For this sentiment compare Juvenal XV. 163):

Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam saevis inter se convenit ursis.

Frelarius says (Cymbeline III. III. 82-3):

"And we will fear no poison which attends
In place of greater state".
These words appear to be a reminiscence of Juvenal, Satire X. 25-27):—

Sed nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus: tunc illa time cum pocula sumes
Gemmata et late Setinum redibit in auro.

In Lear (III. II) in reply to Kent who has been commenting on the terrors of the night, and who says that they are such that "man's nature cannot carry the affliction nor the fear". Lear answers as follows:—

"Let the great gods

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Find out their enemies now: tremble thou wretch
That hast within thee undivulged crimes
Unwhipp'd of Justice".

Lear is referring to those people, who owing to the sins which they have committed would tremble at these evident signs of the divine power. Juvenal, Satire XIII. 223-6 talks at those people who tremble and grow pale at every lightning flash:—

Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent
Cum tonat, examines primo quoque murmure caeli.

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida III. III. 175);

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin"

This idea is borrowed from Juvenal 1534.—
Mollissima corda

Humano generi dare se natura fatetur quae lacrimas detit.

Naturae imperio gemimus quem funus adultae

Virginis occurrit.
SENECA.

Before mentioning passages which appear to be taken from Seneca's tragedies, it may be well to make a few general remarks on the questions of Shakespeare's debt to that Latin poet.

"Whether Shakespeare was directly influenced by Seneca," is a question, says Mr. Cunliffe, as difficult as it is interesting. Mythology is some guide for us; for Hercules, Seneca's favourite hero, is mentioned by Shakespeare about fifty times and an obscure character like Lichas, is referred to in Antony and Cleopatra (IV. II.) :-

The shirt of Nessus is upon me. Teach me,

Alcides, thou mine ancestor,

Let me lodge Lichas on the horns of the moon.

We cannot say for certain that Shakespeare was directly indebted to Seneca for his five acts, since the practice of dividing the play into five acts is introduced into our earliest tragedies, - Gorbovd, the Misfortunes of Arthur, and Tancred and Gismund - : but there is no doubt that in this respect Elizabethan tragedy was guided by Seneca, so that Shakespeare in his use of the five acts even though he may merely have been adhering to the practice of his brother poets, was, to say the least indirectly indebted to Seneca and it was not at all improbable that in this division of his plays, he had Seneca
in his mind and was consciously following the external form of Seneca's tragedies.

In discussing Shakespeare's debt to Seneca, the question of authorship presents some difficulty. If we could be absolutely certain that Shakespeare wrote Titus Andronicus, there would be an end to any doubts concerning his indebtedness to Seneca for this tragedy is Senecan from beginning to end. The characters like those in Seneca vie with one another in barbarity and take an almost fiendish delight in the perpetration of every form of cruelty they can conceive. There is the same difficulty in considering the three parts of Henry VI. and Richard III, since their Shakespearean authorship has been frequently doubted. These plays are quite characteristic of Seneca's style; they are pervaded by the same spirit of violence and bloodshed, and when we see Richard III. bringing in the head of Somerset and Suffolk's mutilated body appeared on the stage, we are reminded of Seneca's more ruthless tragedies.

The following are passages in Shakespeare which appear to be parallels with Seneca and which may be compared both with the original and with the translation of Seneca in use during Shakespeare's time: Tamora says (Titus Andronicus II. III.) :-

The birds chant melody in every bush;
The snake lies rolled in the cheerful sun;
The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind.
Compare Hippolytus. 516.18 :-

Hic aves querulae fremunt
ramique ventis lene percussi tremunt
veteresque fagi.

The English version of Studley runs as follows:-
"And heare the piteous plaining Birds with chirping charmes do chide,
And Branches trembling shake whereon soft windye pusses do glyde
And spreading Beeches"

The third line in Titus Andronicus decides us in favour of Shakespeare's direct indebtedness to Seneca :- "The green leaves quiver in the cooling wind" is exactly the "ramique ventes lene percussi tremunt" of Seneca.

Malcolm says (Macbeth IV. III.) :-

"Give sorrow words: the grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart, and bids it break."

Compare the words of Phaedra to Hippolytus (Phaedra 615).

"Curae leves loquantur, ingentes stupent.
(The English translation of this passage is quite unlike the lines in Macbeth): The English version gives:-

"Light cares have words at will, but great doe make us sore agast".

Tamora says (Titus Andronicus II. III.) :-

The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe
Here never shines the sun: here nothing breeds
Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven.

Shakespeare, when he wrote this passage, may have been thinking of a similar passage in Seneca's Thyestes (650, 5.) The words of Tamora do not closely resemble the language of Seneca, although her ideas are similar. The messenger is describing some place to the Chorus:

Arcana in imo regia recessu patet
alta vetustum valle compescens nemus
penetrale regni, nulla qua lactos solet
praebere ramos arbos aut ferro coli.

Jasper Heywood translates this passage as follows:

"The privis Palace underlieth in secret place aloe,
With ditch ful deepe that doth enclose the wood of privitie
And hidden parts of kyngdome olde: where never grew no tree
That cheerful bowes is woont to beare with knife or lopped be
But taxe and Cypresse and with tree of Holme ful blacke to see
Doth becke and bende the wood so darke.

Compare the words, - "Here nothing breeds

Unless the nightly owl or fatal raven".

with Hercules Furens. 690. 2.
Palus inertis foeda Coeyti iacet
hic vultur, illic luctifer bubo gemit
omenque tristis resonat infaustae strigis.

The English of Heywood is quite unlike Shakespeare:

"The foule and filthy poole to see of slowe Cocytus lyes
On th' one the Grype, on th' other side the mourneful Howlet cries
And sad lucke of th' unhappy strix likewise resoundeth there".

Macbeth says to the Doctor (V, III.)

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
which weighs upon the heart ?".

This is very similar to the words of Hercules to Amphitryon,
(Hercules Furens, 1261.2).-

"nemo polluto queat
animo mederi: morte sanandum est scelus.

The following is the English version of these lines by Heywood:

"No man may heale and lose from gylyt bandes
My mynd defyeld; needes must with death be heald
so haynous yll".
Macbeth says (V. III.):

I have lived long enough: my way of life
Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf
And that which should accompany old age
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends
I must not look to have.

Compare Seneca's Hercules Furens (1265.8):

Cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius
morerque? nihil est: cuncta iam amisi bona,
memem, arma, famam, coniugem, gnatos, manus,
etiam furorem:

Heywood translates these lines as follows:

"Wherefore I longer should sustayn my life yet in this light
And linger here no cause there is: all good lost have I quyhte
My mynd, my weapons, my renoume, my wife, my sonnes, my handes,
And fury to."

We might note that this Shakesperean passage and the one quoted above occur in the same act and scene of Macbeth (Act V. sc. III.): their parallels in Seneca follow one another without any intervening passages:

"gnatos, manus
etiam furorem: nemo pollutque quest
animo mederi".
Might it not then be possible that Shakespeare had this very play of Seneca before him when he wrote Macbeth? or if not that he was well acquainted with the passage in Seneca's Hercules Furens.

Tamora says (Titus Andronicus II. III.):-
They told me, here, at dead time of the night
A thousand fiends, a thousand hissing snakes
Ten thousand swelling toads, as many urchins,
Would make sleep fearful and confused cries,
As any mortal body hearing it
Should straight fall mad or selse die suddenly.

Compare Seneca, Thyostes, 668.673. -

Hic nocte caeca gemere feralis deos
fama est, catenis lusus excussis sonat
ululantque manes: quicquid audire est metus,
illic videtur: errat antiquis vetus
emissa bustis turba et insulant loco
maiora notis monstra.

The following is the English version: -

"Here all the night the grisly ghosts and gods of death
do crie
The fame reportes: with clinking chaynes resounds the
wood ech where
The sprights cry out and every thinge that dredfull is
to heare.
May there bee scene: of ugly shapes from olde sepulchres sent
A fearefull flocke doth wander there and in that place frequent
Worse things than ever yet were knownne".

In this parallel and the one quoted above (The Trees though summer yet forlorn and lean) both the Shakespearean passages occur in the same speech of Tamora, separated by one line whilst the passages in Seneca from which they appear to be taken occur in the same speech of the Messenger, and are only separated from one another by a few words.

Hamlet says (III. I.):
"The dread of something after death,
The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveller returns."

Compare Hercules Furens (868-870):
Sera nos illo referat senectus
Nemo ad id sero venit unde numquam,
Cum semel venit, potuit reverti.

These lines are translated by Heywood as follows:-
"Let hoary age us thyther bring full late:
No man comes late to that, whence never out,
When once hee is come, turne agayne he may".

Compare also Hercules Oetaeus (1529-1531):
Dic ad aeternos properare manes
Herculem et regnum canis inquieti
Unde non umquam remeavit ullus.

The English version gives - "Display to these that Hercules
to th' Eternall ghostes is gone
And to the bauling mastiffes den from whence returneth
none."

The king says (Hamlet IV. III): "Diseases desperate grown
By desperate applianc[e] are reliev'd
Or not at all".

This is somewhat similar to the words of Clytemnestra
(Agamemnon 155) - Capienda rebus in malis praeceps via est.

What similarity there is in the two passages could not,
we think, have been taken from the English version, which is
quite unlike Shakespeare,-

"In working mischief men do take the rediest way they
fynde".

Macbeth says (I. VII.): "We but teach
Bloody instructions, which being taught, return
To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
To our own lips".

c.f. Hercules Furens (739-740):
Quod quisque fecit, patitur: auctorem scelus
Repetit suoque premitur exemplo nocens.

Heywood translates as follows:

"What eche man once hath done, he feele: and guilt to th' author there
Returns and th' hurtful with their owne example punisht bee".

Rosse says (Macbeth IV. II):

"Things at the worst will cease: or else climb upward
To what they were before".

Antigone utters a similar sentiment (Thebais 198-199):

Cuius haud ultra mala

Exire possunt in loco tuto est situs.

conf. the English version:

"Sith hee in safety standes
And pykes hath passed and now is free from feare of further bandes."

Compare also Oedipus (854):

Tuto movetur quick-quick extremo in loco est.

Nevile, who translated the Oedipus, gives,-

"When things be at the worst, of them a man may safely move".

Similar passages occur in (l) Lear (IV. I.)

"To be worst,
The lowest and most dejected thing of fortune
Stands still in Esperance, lives not in fear:
The lamentable change is from the best".

(II) 3. Henry IV., III. IV:-

"That I may conquer fortune's spite
By living low where fortune cannot hurt me.

Pandulph says (King John III. IV):

"A sceptre snatched with an unruly hand
Must be as boisterously maintained as gained,
And he that stands upon a slippery place
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up."

c.f. Hercules Furens (341-345):

Rapta sed trepida manu
Sceptra obtinentur: omnis in ferro est salus
Quod civilius tenere te invitis scias
Strictus tuetur ensis: alieno in loco
Haud stabile regnum est.

The following is the English version:

"But got with fearful hand
My scepters are obtained: in surrd doth all my safety stand,
What thee then wotst agaynst the will of cytesyns to get,
The bright drawn surrd must it defend: in forrayne country set
No stable kingdom is".

Young Edward says (3. Henry VI., I. II):

"But for a kingdom any oath may be broken
I would break a thousand oaths to reign one year".

Compare the last line in Seneca's Thebais,—

Imperia pretio quolibet constant bene.
Newton translates this line as follows:

"A kingly crowne is never deare, whatever price it cost."

Macbeth says (II. I):

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hands."

Shakespeare may have been thinking (1) of the words of Hercules at the end of the Hercules Furens:

Quis Tanais aut quis Nilus aut quis persica
Violentus unda Tigris aut Rhemus ferox
Tagusve hibera turbidus gaza fluens
Abluere dextram poterit

Haerebit altum facinus.

The English version gives

What Tanais or what Nilus else with his Persyan wave
What Tygris violent of streame or what fierce Rhemus flood
Or Tagus troublesome that flowes with Ibers treasures good
May my ryght hand now wash from gylt?

Yet wyl the mischiefe deepe remayne."

(2) of the words of Hippolytus (Hippolytus 723-726):

Quis eluet me tanais
Non ipse toto magnus oceano pater Tantum
Tantum expiarit seeleris.

Studley translates this as follows:-

"What bathing lukewarme Tanais may I defilde obtenne?
Not Neptune grandsire grave
With all his Ocean folding floud can purge and wash away
This dunghill foule of sinns.

Macbeth says to his wife (II. II):

"Methought I heard a voice cry 'sleep no more' 
Macbeth doth murder sleep, the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care,
The death of each days life, sore labours bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great Natur'es second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.

conf. Hercules Furens (1065 etc.):-

tuque o domitor
somne malorum, requies animi
parhumanae melior vitae

frater durae languide mortis

pax errorum, portus vitae,
Lucis requies noctisque comes.
The English version gives:

"And thou O tamer best
O sleepe of toyles, the quietnesse of mynde
Of all thee lyfe of man the better parte
Of hard and pyning death that brother arte
Of father of all thinges, of lyfe, the gate
Of lyght the rest, of nyght and fellowe fyt.

Titus says (Titus Andronicus I. I):

"In peace and honour rest you here my sons
Rome's readiest champions repose you here in rest
Secure from worldly chances and mishaps
Here lurks no treason, here no envy swells
Here grow no damned grudges, here are no storms
No noise but silence and eternal sleep
In peace and honour rest you here my sons."

Compare the words of Hecuba to the Trojan women concerning the death of Priam:

Iliades - felix Priamus
Dixicite suctorae:liber manes
Vadit ad imos, nec feret umquam
Victra Graium servicia iugum
Non ille duos vidit Atridas
Nec fallacem sernit Ulixem

and the answer of the Trojan women:-

Nunc Elysii nemoris tutis
Errat in umbris interque pias
Felix animas Hectora quaerit
Felix priamus, felix quisquis bello
Moriens, omnia secum
Consumpta tulit.

Heywood translates this passage as follows:-

"O Troyans all full happy is Pryame say
For free from bondage downe descended hee
To the lowest Ghoste: and never shall sustayne
His Captive nekke with Greekes to yoked bee
Hee never shall behold the Atrids twayne
Nor false Ulisses ever shall he see

Now safe in shade he seekes the wanding way
And treads the pathes of Elizius wood
And in the blessed sprightes, ful happy bee
Agayne there seekes to meets with Hector's ghost.
Happy Priam, happy whoso may see
His kingdome all at once with him be lost".

In concluding the Shakespearan and Senecan parallels, we might
say after having compared the passages in Shakespeare with those in Seneca from which they appear to be taken, both in the original and in the English translation in use during our poet's time, that there is not one single instance in which the Shakespearean passage bears a greater resemblance to the translation than to the original. Added to this is the fact that the late Professor Baynes thinks that it is probable that Seneca was one of the Latin books read by Shakespeare at school, and it is more than likely that he read such a popular poet as Seneca was in the Elizabethan age.

If we take the evidence in its cumulative force, although it does not amount to absolute proof, yet it points to an almost certain conclusion that Shakespeare read Seneca in the original.
Professor Sonnenschein writes as follows (Shakespeare and Stoicism) on the exquisitely beautiful speech of Portia on Mercy in the Merchant of Venice "No one I think of the countless thousands who have read this speech has ever doubted for a moment that it was entirely an original creation of the poet's. Yet it is neither more nor less than a beautiful rendering of the leading ideas of the treatise on Mercy (De Clementia) written by the Roman stoic philosopher Seneca in which he addresses an eloquent appeal to the youthful Emperor Nero to exercise his despotic power in a spirit worthy of his position. The following are some of the close resemblances between Seneca's De Clementia and Portia's speech:

I. a. Shakespeare: It becomes

The throned monarch better than his crown.

b. Seneca: Nullum clementia ex omnibus magis quam regem aut principem decet.

Compare Measure for Measure II. II:-

"No ceremony that to great one's long
Not the king's crown
Becomes them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does."
II. a. Shakespeare: 'Tis mightiest in the mighty.

b. Seneca: Ec scilicet formosius id esse magnificentiusque fatebimur, quo in maiore praestabilitur potestate.

III. a. Shakespeare: "But mercy is above that sceptred sway".

It is enthroned in the hearts of kings
It is an attribute to God himself".

b. Seneca: Quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non statim fulminibus persecuuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium.

The latter part of the Shakespearean passage is not unlike one in the Proligario of Cicero:

Nulla de virtutibus gratior miserisordia est. Homines enim ad deos nulla re proprius accedunt quam salutem hominibus praeposito miti animo exercere imperium.

IV. a. Shakespeare: "And earthly power doth then show likest gods

When mercy seasons justice."

b. Seneca: Quid autem? non proximum eis dis locum tenet

qui se ex deorum natura gerit, beneficiis et largus et in melius potens.

V. a. Shakespeare: "Consider this

That in the course of justice none of us

Should see salvation."

b. Seneca: Cogitab quanta (Roma) solitudo et vastitas futura

sit nihil relinquetur nisi quod iudex severus absolverit.
Compare Hamlet's "Use every man after his desert and who shall escape whipping".

VI. Shakespeare: "It is twice blessed

It blesses him that gives and him that takes.

Vitam tibi, inquit Cinna iterum do, prius hosti, mune infidiatori ac parricidae: ex hodierno dic inter nos amicitia incipiatur: contendamus utrum ego meliore fide vitam tibi dederim an tu debeas.

JULIUS CAESAR.

Shakespeare: "Three or four wenches where I stood cried 'Alas good soul, and forgave him with all their hearts. If Caesar had stabbed their mothers they could have done no less".

Seneca: Anus et mulierculae sunt quae lacrimis nocentissimorum moventur quae si liceret, carcerem effringerent.

Seneca's De Beata Vita

Petruchio says to Katharina (Taming of the Shrew IV. III. 171-4):

"Well come my Kate: we will unto your fathers:

Even in these honest mean habiliments,
Our purses shall be proud our garments poor:
For 'tis the mind that makes the body rich,
And as the sun breaks through the darkest cloud,
So honour peereth in the meanest habit.

The sentiments expressed here are very Senecan as Professor
They remind us of a passage in the De Vita Beata. Chapter II. section II.

Quaeramus ergo quid optimum factu sit, non quid usitatissimum et quid nos in possessione felicitatis aeternae constituat non quid volgo veritatis pessimo interpreti probatum sit . . . . . . . . . . . oculis de homine non credo: . . . . . . . . . . animi bonum animus inveniat.
Ceres says (Tempest IV. I. 102):-

"Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait".

This line reminds of Virgil Aeneid I. 46. Juno herself is speaking:- "Art ego, quae Divum incedo regina".

Thomas Phaer's translation of Virgil does not seem to bring out the meaning of the word 'incedo', which is so closely connected with the English word 'gait':-

"But I, that queene of Gods, am calde"

Stanhurst translates the line as follows: -

"And . . . . I then Juno of Sainets al the Princes abyding !"

The line in the Tempest reminds us also of Aeneid I. 405: -

Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

The English versions are quite unlike Shakespeare: -

(1) Phaer: And like a goddesse right she fled.

(2) Stanhurst: Her whisk shewed deity.

If Shakespeare borrowed the description of Juno from Virgil it seems, after comparing the line in the Tempest with the original and with the translations, that he must have read the 1st Aeneid in the Latin.

Claudio says (Measure for Measure III. I. 119) describing the terrors of death : -
"Aye, but to die and go we know not where,
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot:

\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots

\ldots \ldots and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick ribbed ice
To be imprisoned in the viewless winds
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendant world".

Compare the description of the punishments in the lower world (as told by Virgil Aeneid VI. 739):

\begin{center}
Ergo exerceutur poenis veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt: aliæ panduntus inanes
Suspensae ad ventos: atiis surgite vasto
Infectum eluitur seelus aut exuritur igni
\end{center}

Phaer gives:

"Their sondry paines they bide, some hide in ayer
doth hang on pinnes
Some fleeting bend in floods and deep in gulfes
themselves they tier
Till sinnes away be washt or clensed cleere with purgin fier".

Both Standhurst and Surrey omit this passage in their translations.
Titus says (Titus Andronicus IV. I. 102):

"The angry northern wind
Will blow these sands like Sibyl's leaves abroad".

This appears to be a reminiscence of Aeneid VI. 74:­

 Folio Haud ne carmina manda
 Ne turbata volent rapidas ludibria veltis.

Phaer's translation gives:-

"Nor write no line in leaves, lest whirling wind
erewith may play
Confounding them from course, and lest in skies they
flie their way".

A Goth says to Lucius (Titus Andronicus IV. I. 105):­

"Behold in us: we'll follow where thou leadest
Like stinging bees in hottest summers day".

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Henry V. I. I) in the course of a long speech to the king, discourses on the habits and customs of bees as follows:-

"for so work the honey bees
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom
They have a king and officers of sorts
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home
Others like merchants, venture trade abroad
Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent royal of their emperor
Who . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . surveys
The civil citizens kneading up the honey
The poor mechanics, porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,
The sad-eyed justice with his surly hum
Delivering o'er to execution pale
The lazy yawning drone'.

Compare Virgil Aeneid I:--
Qualis apes aestate nova per flores sura
Exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
Educent fetus aut cum liguentia mella
Stipant et dulei distendunt nectaris cellus
Aut onera accipunt venientum aut agmine facto
Ignavum fuocos pecus a praesepibus ascent.

The English version gives: (1) Phaer:--
"And like as bees among the flowers, when fresh the summer falleth
In shine of sun applie their works, when growen is up their youge
Or when their livers they gin to stop and honie sweete is sprouge,
That all their cawes and cellars close with dulceet liquor filleth
Some doth unlude, some other bringes the stuffe with ready wills
Some tune they wyre and all at onee do from their mangers pet
The slouthful drones that would consume and nought will do to get
(2) Stanhurst:

"Lyke bees in summer season, through rustical hamlets
That flirt in sunbeams and toyle with multens humbling
Whe they do foorth carry theyr young swarame fledgy to gathering
Or els ar farcing with dulce and delicat hoonnye
Or porters burdens unloads or clustred in heerd swarame
Feare away thee droone bees with sting from manger or hivecot

Shakespeare seems to have caught the swing and melody of Virgil's lines. We cannot, however, say this of Phaer and Stanhurst.

Orlando says (As you like it. III. II. V):

"O Rosalind! these trees shall be my books
And in their barks my thought I'll character.

The idea of Orlando, says Mr. Theobald, is borrowed from Virgil (Eccl. 10. 52):

"Cestum est ............... .
".... tenens que meos incidere amores
Arboribus".

Fleming's version gives:--

"It is decreed and purposed of me to .......
"....... grave in tender trees my loves".

Tamora says (Titus Andronicus II. III. 14):--

"The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind
And make a chequer'd shadow in the ground".
This is suggestive of Virgil (Eccl: V. 5):

Sive sub incertas Zephyris motantibus umbras

Fleming gives:—

"Whether we do go into the shades
Uncerteine, when the western winds do move and blow"

Gaunt's passionate and patriotic remarks on his native country (Richard II., II. I. 40) recall a similar passage in the 2nd Georgies, where Virgil is describing the glory of Italy. It is more than probably that Shakespeare had Virgil in his mind when he wrote the following magnificent eulogy on England:—

"This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress, built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war.

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Feared by their breed and famously their birth

Is now leased out".
Virgil writes thus of his native country:

Sed neque Medorum silvae, ditessima terra
Nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Herniun
Laudibus Italiae cestent. . . . . . . . . .

Hacc genus acre virum Marsos pubemque Sabelam
Assuetum malo Vigurem Volscosque verutos
Extulit: haec Decios, Mario, magnosque Camillos

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus
Magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artes
Ingredior".

The following are a few lines of Fleming's version of the passage:

"But yet the Medians woods a ground (or countrie) verie rich
Nor Ganges faire . . . . . . . . . . .

May not contend or strive in praisës due to Italie:
O Saturn's land, (our Italie) great mother thou of fruites,
Great mother thou of men, all haile (Salve well may'st thou
fare)
I enter for thy sake on things of old and ancient praise."

The Ghost says (Hamlet I. V. 36):

"But soft! methinks I smell the morning air".

It is curious that in this passage the Ghost of Hamlet's father
is speaking to his son and that in the passage in Virgil which
Shakespeare quotes as follows in his discourse concerning the capture of Sinon: "As he sees a roasted image bound That theons bring to Phrygian shepherds bent Onward to Troy with the bluent Swains he goes."

Compare Aeneid II. 57-58:

Bece ! manus invenum interea post terga revinelun
Pastores magno ad regem clamore transebant
Dardanidae.

In this poem Shakespeare tells us the story of Sinon (as related in the Second Aeneid): but not content with merely following Virgil, he adorns the story with descriptive and almost passionate language, occurring as it does in such a poem. Shakespeare also relates in this work the death of Priam at the hands of Pyrrhus, and the Sorrow of Hecuba his wife, both of which facts are mentioned by Virgil in the Second book of his epic.

"Who sees the burning serpent, stops aside:
But she, bound sleeping, fearing no such thing,
dies at the mercy of her mortal sting"

This passage reminds us of a simile in the 2d Aeneid:

Improprium aseprio relati sui ventibus angue
Preaeit humi niteno, frigidusque repente refugi
Aufientem irac.
Theseus says (Midsummer Night's Dream):—

"The lunatic, the lover and the poet
Are of imagination all compact

The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven:
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name".

The sentiments expressed in this passage are quite similar to those brought forward by Plautus in his Pseudolus (I. IV. 7-10):

Sed quasi poe ta, tabulas quom cepit sibi
quae rer quod nusquam est gentium reperit te men
Facit illud verisimile quod mendacium est

Polonius says to Laertes in Hamlet (II. I):—

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
For loan oft looses both itself and friend
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry".

Compare the Trinumus of Plautus (IV. III):—

Si qui mutuo quid dediris, fit pro proprio

Perditum
Quom repetas, inimicum amicum beneficio invenias tuo
Si mage exigere occipias, duarum rerum exoritur optio.
Vel illud quod credideris perdas, vel illum amicum amiseris.
Hamlet says to his mother (III. III):-

"Assume a virtue, if you have it not".

Compare Plautus Amphitruo (II. II. 187):

Salta si pudoris egeas, sumas mutuam

Shakespeare: Comedy of Errors (III. I):

Dromio of Syracuse: "The porter for this time, sir, and my name is Dromio".

Dromio of Ephesus: "O villain thou hast stolen both mine office and my name".

Plautus: (Amphitruo I. I):

Sosia: Sosiam vocant Thebani.

Mercurius: Ne tu istic hodie malo tuo compositis mandaclis

Advenisti audacios column, consutis dolis

Qui ego sum? ... ego sum, non tu, Sosia.

Shakespeare: (Comedy of Errors III. I):

Luce: Dromio, who are those at the gate?

Dromio of Ephesus: Let my master in, Luce. Master knock the door hard.

Luce: Faith no, he comes too late:

And so tell your master.
Antipholus of Ephesus: You'll cry for this, minion, if I beat the door down.

Plautus (Amphitruo IV. II):

Mercurius is speaking:

Quis ad fores est?

Amphitruo: Ego sum.

Mercurius: Quid ego sum . . . . . . . .

Ita rege paene ecfregisti, fatue, foribus cardines

Amphi ces et nos nobis publicitus praeberier?

Dromio of Syracuse says (Comedy of Errors II. II):

"I am transformed, master, am not I?"

Antipholus of Syracuse: "I think thou art in mind, and so am I".

Dromio of Syracuse: "Nay, master, both in mind and in my shape".

Compare the words of Sosia (Amphitruo I. I. 300):

Ubi ego perii? ubi immutatus sum? ubi ego formam perdid

The following passage occurs in the Comedy of Errors III. I:-

Antipholus of Ephesus: "Well I'll break in: go borrow me a crow

Dromio: of Ephesus: A crow without a feather: master mean you so?

If a crow help us in sirrah we'll pluck a crow together.

In the above passage there is a pun on the word crow meaning the crowbar and the bird called the crow. A very similar pun occurs in the Captivi of Plautus (V. III) where Tyndarus plays on the meaning of the word 'upupa' meaning a 'hoopoe' and a 'mattock' -
Nam ubi illo adveni, quasi patriciis pueris aut monerulae
. . . . . Aut coturnices dantur quicum lusitent
Itidem mi haec advenienti upupa qui me delectem datuast.

Examples from the Comedy of
Eros follow.
We have already compared the plot of the Comedy of Errors with that of the Menaechmi of Plautus and that of portions of the Amphitruo written by the same poet (see under Shakespeare's General Knowledge of Classical Antiquity and Mythology). We will now point out a few passages in this play, which appear to be reminiscences of the language of Plautus:

Antipholus of Syracuse says referring to the town of Ephesus (I. II. 97):

"They say this town is full of cozenage,
As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye
Dark working sorcerers that change the mind,
Soul killing witches that deform the body,
Disguised teachers, prating mountebanks
And many such like liberties of sin".

Compare the words of Mersenio (Menaechmus II. I. 33-39):

Nam itast haec hominum natic: inèpidammiis
Voluptarii atque potatorès maximi
Tum sucophaṭas et palpatorès plurimi
In urbe hac habitant: tum meretrices mulieres
Musquam perhibentur blandiores gentium
Reference is made both in the Comedy of Errors and in the
Menæchmi to the idea of reading the minds complexion in the face:-

Adriana says to her sister Luciana (Act IV. sc. II):-

"Ah! Luciania, did he tempt thee so?
Might'st thou perceive austerly in his eye
That he did plead in earnest, yea or no?
Looked he or red or pale or sad or merrily
What observation madest thou in this case
Of his heart's meteors tilting in his face?"

The wife of Menæchmus of Epidamus says to her father,
concerning her supposed husband, who is really Menæchmus Sosivles:

[Viden tu illic oculos livere?]
Vide et temporibus atque fronte: ut oculi scintillant, vide.

Ben Jonson in his 'Silent Woman' has a very similar passage
which he seems to have modelled on the above mentioned one from
Plautus:-

"Lord, how idly he talks and how his eyes sparkle! he
looks green about the temples! Do you see what blue spots he
has?" (Silent Woman IV. IV).

Antipholus of Ephesus says to Adriana (IV. IV.):

"With these nails I'll pluck out these false eyes.
Adriana: 'O bind him, bind him, let him not come near me".
Compare Plautus' Menæchmi (V. II. 87): where Menæchmus Sosicles says that Apollo by his oracle commands him to burn out the eyes of his brother's wife:

Menæchmus Sosicles:

Roce Apollo ex oraclo mi imperat, ut ego illic oculos exuram lampudibus ardentibus
Senex: Adducam qui hunc hine tollant et domi divinciant.

Antipholus of Syracuse, yielding to the persuasions of Adriana, who mistakes him for her husband, at last consents to go to her house and dine with her:

"Am I in earth, in heaven or in hell?
Sleeping or waking, mad or well advised
. . . . . . . . . . . . . .
I'll say as they say and persevere so
And in this mist at all adventures go".

Shakespeare was probably thinking of a very similar passage in the Menæchmi of Plautus, where Menæchmus Sosicles at last consents to go and dine with Ercûtion at her house:

Menæchmus Sosicles:

Herœle opinor pernegari non potest . . . . adsentabor,
quidquid dicit, mulieri, si possum hospitium nascisci: nunc quando vis eamus intro.
Antipholus of Ephesus says (III. I.) when he is angry with his wife for keeping him indoors:

"I know a wench of excellent discourse -
Pretty and witty wild and yet too gentle
There will we dine".

Compare the words of Menaechmus of Epidamnus to his wife, when he is upbraiding her for always questioning him about his whereabouts:

Atque adeo ne me mequiquam serves, ob eam industrium
hodie ducem scortum adque ad cenam aliquo condicam foras.

The same character says (III. I.):

"Get you home (to Angelo the Goldsmith)
And fetch the chain: by this I know 'tis made
... ... ... ... : That chain will I bestow
(Be it for nothing but to spite my wife)
Upon mine hostess here".

Again Antipholus of Ephesus says to Angelo the Goldsmith:

"My wife is shrewish when I keep not hours
Say, that I lingered with you at your shop
To see the making of her caskanet".

Adriana had told her sister (Act II. sc. I) that her husband had promised her a chain.

The first passage reminds us of a similar one in the
Menaechmi (Act I. sc. II) where Menaechmus of Epidamnus tells us that he has stolen his wife's mantle and is taking it to his mistress:—

Hanc modo utri intus pallam surripui; ad scoetum fero.

There is a passage in this play (Act III. III. I. etc) where reference is made to the mending of a bracelet:—

A maid of Erotium tells Menaechmus Sosicles that her mistress wishes him to take a bracelet to the goldsmith's to "add to it an ounce in weight of gold and order the bracelet to be fashioned anew":—

Menaechme, amare ait te multum Erotium
Ut hoc spinter una opera iam ad aurificem defereas et
Atque huc ut addas aurum pondo unam unciam

Tubesque spinter novum reconcinnarier.

There is yet another passage in the Menaechmi referring to the theft of a mantle and trinkets by Menaechmus of Epidamnus. The wife of Menaechmus of Epidamnus says to Menaechmus Sosicles, (mistaking him for her husband):—

Pallas atque aurum meam
Domo Suppilas tu tuae uxori et tuae
Degeris amicae.

Antipholus of Ephesus says to Angelo (III. I.):—
"Good Signior Angelo, you must excuse us all,  
My wife is shrewish when I keep not hours".

Luciana comforts her sister with the following words:-  
"A man is master of his liberty  
Time is their master and when they see time  
They'll go or come: if so be patient, sister".

Here also Shakespeare may have been thinking of the advice which the Old man tenders to his daughter, on hearing her complaint  
Ita istaec solent, quae viros  
Subservire sibi postulant, doli poetae feroces  
Quoties monstravi tibi viso ut morem geras?  
Quod ille faciat ne id observes, quo eat, quid rerum gerat.

C.f. the words of Menaechmus of Epidamnus to his wife:-  
Rogitas quo ego eam, quam remagam, quid negotii geram  
Quid petam, quid feram, quid foris egerim.

Antipholus of Ephesus says (III. I):-  
"Good sir, make haste,  
Since mine own doors refuse to entertain me  
I'll knock elsewhere, to see if they'll disdain me".

Compare Plautus Menaechmi (IV. III): Menaechmus of Epidamnus is speaking:-  
Malo mi uxor sese fecisse censet, quam exclusit foras  
Quasi non habeam, quo intro mittar, alium meliorem locum  
Si pibi displiceo patiundum: at placuero huic árctic
Quae me non excludet ab se, sed apud se oculudet domi.

Ferdinand says (Tempest III. I. IV):-

"This my mean task
Would be as heavy to me as odious, but
The mistress which I service quickens what's dead
And makes my labours pleasures".

This passage recalls the words of Stephano, when he has been allotted the pleasant task of drawing water from a well for the maiden Ampelixa (Rudens II. 5. I-IV):-

Pro di immortales, in aqua numquam credidi
Voluptatem inesse tantum! ut hanc traxi lubens!
Nimio minus altus putes visust quam prius
Ut sine labore hanc extraxi

Professor Sonnenschien says, in a note connected with this passage, that "the very name 'Tempest' might serve as an excellent English equivalent for Rudens as the title of the play".

Falstaff says (Merry Wives of Windsor):-

"My honest lads, I will tell you what I am about".

Pistol: "Two yards and more."

c.f. Plautus Pseudolus I. 5. "where we have", says the late Professor Churton Collins, "Plautus's untranslatable turn":-

Salve: quid agitatur?
Statur hic ad sune modum.
The Friar says (Much ado about Nothing) IV. I. 217:

"For it so falls out

That what we have, we prize not to the worth

While's we enjoy it: but being lacked and lost

Why then we rack the value".


Ergaslus is speaking to Hegio:

Tum denique homines nostra intellegimus bona

Cum quae <potestate lubuimus, sae misimus>
Slylock says to Jessica (Merchant of Venice II. 5):

"Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum
And the vile squeaking of the wry-necked fife
Clamber not you up to the casements then
Nor thrust your head into the public streets".

With this passage we might compare a very similar one in Horace (Odes III. 29-30):

"Prima nocte dormum claude: neque in vias
Sub cantu querulae despice tibrae".

Now there was no translation of the Odes of Horace existing in Shakespeare's time; if therefore Shakespeare was indebted to Horace for the above passage, we must infer that he read the Odes of Horace in the original.

Hastings says (Richard III., III. IV)

"Who builds his hope in air of your fair looks
Lives like a drunken sailor".

This is quite similar to the "nescius aevae fallacies" of Horace (Odes I. 5).

The Bishop of Ely says (Henry V., I. I) "Which no doubt grew, like the summer grass, fastest by night
Unseen yet crescive in his faculty."
Crescit occulto velut arbor acvo
Fama Marcelli.

Antony says (I. II. 20):
"What our contempts do often hurl from us
We wish it ours again".

Compare Horace (Odes III. 24. 31-2):
Virtutem incolorem odimus
Sablatam exculis quaerimus intvida.

The following passage in Much ado about Nothing is very Horatian and calls to our minds the lines from Horace quoted in our last comparison:
"What we have we prize, not to the worth
While we enjoy it: but being lack'd and lost
Why then we rack the value, then we find
The virtue that possession would not show us
While it was ours."

King Lear says (Lear III. VI. 85):
"You will say they are Persian attire"

This is very classical and is exactly the "Persicos apparatus" of Horace (Odes I. 38. I).

In sonnet 55. occur the following lines:
"Not marble, not the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive the powerful rhyme
When wasteful war shall statues overturn
And broils root out the work of masonry
Nor mars his sword, nor war’s quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory
'Gainst death and all oblivious enmity
Shall you face forth”.

This is a paraphrase of Horace (Odes III. 30):

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorun series et fuga temporum

Belarius says (Cymbeline IV. II):

"Cowards father cowards and base things sire base”.

This sentiment reminds us of a similar one in Horace (Odes IV. 4. 29-32):

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis

... Neque imbellem feroces progenant
Aquilae columbam.

Polonius says (Hamlet II. I):

"Though this be madness, yet there’s method in it”.

conf. Horace:

"Insanire paret cesta ratione modoque".
"I shall be loved when I am lacked"

This is very Horatian and may be compared with the "extinctus amabitus idem" of Horace.

Vincentio says (Measure for Measure I. I. 38):

"If our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not".

Horace gives us the same sentiment (Odes IV. 9):

"Paullum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus".

King Henry says (2. Henry VI., III. II. 232):

"What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!
Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just".

This closely resembles Horace's:

"Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat".
The grave-digger says (Hamlet V. I. 150):

"There the men are as mad as he"

This is exactly the

Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, ac quod
Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem, of Horace
(Satires II. III. 120-121).

Drant translates this passage as follows:

Sum will not houlde them mad
Because the moste of weallthie men
Be now as vyle and bad.

Cleopatra says (Antony & Cleopatra V. II. 172):

"Or I shall shew the cinders of my spirit
Through the ashes of my chance.

Mr. Theobald says this is imitated from Horace (Odes 217).

Et incides per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Macbeth says (V. V. 19):

"Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow
Creeps in this petty space from day to day
To the last syllable of recorded time
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death".

conf. Persius Satire V. 66:--

Cras hoc fie: idem cras fiet. quid quasi magnum
Nempe diem donas ? sed cum lux altera venit
Iam cras hesternum consumpsimus: ecce
Egerit hos annos et semper palaum erit ultra aliud cras.

Laertes says (Hamlet V. I.):

"From her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring".

These words recall Persius, Satire I. 39-40:--

Nunc non e tumulo fortunataque favilla
Nascentur violae ?.

Hector says (Troilus and Cressida IV. V. 142):

"Not Neoptolemus so mirable
On whose bright crest Fame and her laudest eyes
Cries 'This is he'. "
Whalley considers this sentiment to be borrowed from a line in the First Satire of Persius:

At pulchrum est digito monstrare et dicere "Hic est".
Lorenzo says to Jessica (Merchant of Venice V. I):

"Sit Jessica, look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim
Such harmony is in immortal souls
But, while this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it".

With these words we might compare a passage in Cicero's
Somnium Scipionis; where Cicero alludes to the music of the spheres:

Quis est qui complet aures meas tantus et tam dulcis sonus? Hic est, inquit ille qui intervallis disjunctus imparibus sed tamen pro rata parte . . . . . . . . impulsiu et motu insorum orbium efficitur et accita cum gravibus temperat us vatus aequabiliter consentus efficit: hoc genitu oppletae aures hominum obscurashunt.

Cleopatra compares Antony's voice with the 'tuned spheres' and Pericles hears music which he calls the 'music of the spheres'

Tamora says to Titus (Titus Andronicus I. I. 117):

"Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods?
Draw near them then in being merciful".
c.f. Cicero's Pro Ligario:

Nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirablior nec gratior misercordia est. Homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.

-------------- : ------------------
Othello says (Othello II. i. 190):

"If it were now to die
'Twere now to be most happy: for I fear
My soul hath her content so absolute
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate".

This is very suggestive of the following passage in the Eunuchus of Terence (III. v. II):

Pro Jupiter

Nunc est profecto interfici quum perpiti me possum,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aegritudine aliqua.

The English versions of Bernard and Udall do not enable us to state that they were the source of this passage in Othello. We know that Terence was one of the Latin poets studying at the Grammar Schools of Shakespeare's day, and it is quite possible that Shakespeare had read that writer.

Bernard translates the above passage as follows:-

"O god of heaven now at this present time so is it that I could find in my heart to die and suffer my selfe to be killed that my living might not staine and marre this joy of mine by any grieue of mind".

Udall's translation is quite as unlike Shakespeare as Bernard's.
"O lorde, now at this present tyme, so it is that I could be content to die that life might not hereafter disteyne this gladnes that I am in by any misfortune, displeasure or sorrows".

The Duke says (Twelfth Night I. I. 33):

"O she that hath a heart of that fine frame
To pay this debt of love but to a brother,
How will she love when the rich golden shaft
Hath killed the flock of all her affections else"?

conf. the words of Simo (Terence Andria I. I):

His parvae consuetudinis
Causa huius mortem tam fert familiariter
Quid si ipse amasset!

Bernard translates this passage as follows:-

"He that upon small acquaintance and familiartie takes this woman's death so to heart, what if he had loved her himselfe ?

Udall omits this passage in his translation of the Andrea.
Hamlet says to his mother (III. IV. 183):—

"Pinch wanton on your cheek: call you his mouse".

c.f. Martial (XI. 33. 3):— (in an epigram addressed to Phyllis):

Nam cum me murem, cum me tua lumina dicis.

The following passage occurs in King John (II. I. 137):

"You are the hare of whom the proverb goes,
'Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beards."

c.f. Martial (X. 99):

Quare si pudor est . . . . . . noli
Barbam vellere mortuo leoni.
Banquo (Macbeth I. III. 123):

"And oftentimes to win us to our harm
The instruments of darkness tell us truths
Win us with honest trifles to betray us
In deepest consequence."

conf. Livy (28. 42.):

Et fraus fidem in parvis sibi praestruit ut cum operae pretium sit, cum mercede magna fallat.
LUCRETIUS.

Lear says (IV. VI): 

"Thou must be patient: we came crying hither
Thou know'st the first time that we smell the air
We wail and cry .................
When we are born we cry that we are come
To this great stage of fools".

This is almost a translation of Lucretius V.223-237:—

Tum porro puer ... cum primum in luminis oras
Nixibus ex alvo matris natura profudit
Vagituque locum lugubri complet ut aequomst.

c.f. Macbeth I. VIII 21:—

"And pity like a naked new-born babe
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye
That tears shall drown the wind."
Hamlet speaks of the
"Undiscovered country
From whose bourn no traveller returns".

Compare Catullus:

Qui nunc it per iter tenebris cosum
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam.

Miranda says to Ferdinand (Tempest III. I):

"I am your wife if you will marry me
If not I'll die your maid ........
........ . I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no".

These lines are very similar to the following passage in Catullus:-

Si tibi non cordi fuerant commibia nostra
Attamen in vestras pomubi dueere sedes
Quae tibi fucundo famularer serva labore.

Adriana says to her husband (Comedy of Errors II. II. 75):

"Come I will fasten on this sleeve of thine
Thou art an elm my husband, I a vine
Whose weakness, married to my stronger state
Makes me with thy strength to communicate".
Compare the following passage in Catullus:

Lenta qui velut assitas
Vitis implicat arbores
Implicabitur in tuum
Complexum.

c.f. Cymbeline (IV. II. 50):

"And let the stinking elder grief entwine
His perishing root with increasing mine".

Boyet says (Love's Labour's Lost II. I. 9):

"Be now as prodigal of all dear grace
As nature was in making graces dear
When she did starve the general world beside
And prodigally gave them all to you".

These words remind us of the following words of Catullus to Lesbia:

Quae cum pulcherrima tota est,
Tum omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres.
Prospero says (Tempest V. I):

"Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves

By whose aid

(Weak masters though ye be) I have bedimm'd
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt: the strong based promontory
Have I made shake: and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar: graves, at my command
Have wak'd their sleepers: oped and let them forth
By my so potent art".

Let us compare firstly Ovid Metamorphoses (VII, 197-206) and secondly Goldings version of Ovid's lines with the above passage from Shakespeare. Ovid writes as follows:

Auraeque et venti montesque amnesque lacusque
Dique omnes nemorum, dique omnes noctis, adeste
Quorum ope, cum volui, ripis mirantibus, amnes
In fontes rediere suos: concussaque sisto
Stantia concutio cantu freta: nubila pello
Nubilaque induco: ventos abigoque vocoque

...
Vivaque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terra
Et silvas moveo: iubeoque tremiscere montes
Et mugire solum, manesque exire sepulcris

The following is Golding's translation:—

"Ye ayres and windes, ye elves of hills, of brookes, of
woodes alone
Of standing lakes, and of the night, approche ye every
one
Through help of whom (the crooked bankeis much wondering at
the thing)
I have compelled streames to run cleare backward to their
spring;
By charms I make the calm seas rough and make the rough
seas playne
And cover all the sky with cloudes and chase them thence
again
By charms I raise and lay the windes
And from the bowells of the earth both stones and trees do
draw
Whole woodes and forestes I remove, I make the mountaines
shake
And e'en the earth itself to moane and fearfully to quake
I call up dead men from their graves
Our sorcerie dimmes the morning faire and darks the sun at
noone".

Shakespeare appears to have got his 'standing lakes' from Golding'
of standing lakes', since in Ovid there is no word corresponding
to Golding's 'standing'. On the other hand Shakespeare
represents the 'ventos voco' of Ovid in his 'call'd forth the
mutinous windes', which Golding translates by "I raise the
windes". Again Shakespeare has caught the "manesque exire
sepulcris" of Ovid in his up'd and let them forth", a nice point
which Golding in his "I call up dead men from their graves"
seems to have missed altogether, for he omits to represent in
his translation the weird and startling picture of the graves
opening and the sleepers issuing forth, an incident which is
faithfully portrayed both by Shakespeare and Ovid. Again
we have Ovid's "Sus convulsaque robora terra" in Shakespeare's
"And rifted Jove's stout oak", whereas Golding simply gives
"And from the bowels of the earth trees do move". The
probability is that Shakespeare had both the original and
Golding's version in his mind, and that he used the former
much more than the latter. "How admirably" says the late
Professor Churton Collins "has Shakespeare caught the colour,
ring and rhythm of the original, and how utterly are they missed
in the lumbering homeliness of Golding".

In Cymbeline I. IV occurs the following conversation
between Imogen and Pisanio concerning the sailing away of
Posthumus.

Pisanio: "No madam: for so long
As he could make me with this eye or ear
Distinguish him from others, he did keep
The deck with glove or hat or handkerchief
Still waving, as the fits and stirs of his mind
Could best express how slow his soul sail'd on
How swift his ship."
Imogen: "I would have broke mine eyestrings, crack'd them
To look upon him: till the diminution
Of space had pointed him as sharp as my needle:
May, followed him till he had melted from
The smallness of a gnat to air, and then
Have turned mine eye and wept".

Shakespeare was probably thinking here of the passage in
the 11th book of the Metamorphoses 460-471. in which Ovid
describes Halcyone watching the departure of Ceyx,-

"Tristique miserrima tandem
Ore "Vale" dixit .................
.............................. sustulit illa
Humentas oculos, stantemque in pupile recurva
Concussaque manu dantem notas: tibi terra recessit
Longius atque oculi nequeunt cognoscere vultus
Dum liest, insequitur fugientem lumine pinum haec
Haeo quoque ut haud poterat spatio submota videri
Vela tamen spectat summo fluitantia malo
Ut nec vela videt: vacuum petit anxia nectum
Seque tore ponit.

On the above passage the late Professor Churton Collins
remarks that a comparison of Shakespeare's narrative with Golding
and Ovid will show that he was much more likely to have been
thinking of the original than of the version.
Holding translates the passage as follows:—

"Poore wretched soule, her last farewell at length
Shee sadly tooke . . . . . . . . . . . .
Shee lifting up her watery eyes behill'd her husband
Making signes by beckoning with his hand
And shee made signes to him againe. And after that
Was farre removed from thee shippe and that the sight
Began too
Bee unable too discerne the face of any man
As long as are shee could shee look't uppon the rowing
keele. And when she could no longer tyne for distance ken
Shee looked still uppon the sayles that flanked with
Uppon the mast. And when shee could the sayles no
longer fynd
Shee gate her too her empty bed with sad and sorye
hart
And layd her downe."

In comparing the Shakespearean and Ovidian passages we notice one remarkable simiilarity between the two writers which seems to prove that Shakespeare was indebted to Ovid for the above passage.

In Shakespeare Imogen, had she been at the harbour during the departure of Posthumus she would have followed him (1) till the diminution of space had pointed him as sharp as my needle (2) till he had melted from the smallness of a gnat to air, (3) then she would have turned her eye and wept. In other words the departure of Posthumus would have been heralded by three actions on the part of Imogen. We notice that in Ovid the departure
of Ceyx resulted in three actions on the part of Halcyone (1)
Dum licet, Insequitur fugientem lumine pinum (Haeo quoque ut
hand poterat spatio submota sideri).
(2) Vela tamen spectat summo fluitantia malo
(Ut nee vela videt) (3) Vacuum petit anxia lectum
Seque toro tonit.
The last action is almost the same in Shakespeare and Ovid.
we can hardly imagine that Halcyone "gat her too her empty bed
with sad and sorrow hart and layd her downe" without shedding
some tears for her departed lover. We might note also how
Shakespeare avoids copying the very words of Ovid. Instead of
making Imogen say that she would first look upon the ship and
then upon the sails (as Ovid writes), Shakespeare places into
her mouth the meaning of Ovid expressed in entirely different
language.

There is one passage in the Venus and Adonis for which
Shakespeare seems to have been indebted to Ovid's Metamorphoses
and not to Golding's translation of that work:-

He 'gins to chide but soon she stops his lips
And kissing speaks with lustful language broken
If thou wilt chide thy lips will never open.
c,f. Ovid Metamorphoses Book X:-

Sic ait: ac mediis interserit oscula verbis.
Golding translates this line as follows:-
Shee thus began and in her tale she bussed him along.
"The story, as told by Shakespeare," says the late Professor Churton Collins, "follows the story as told by Ovid in the Second book of the Fasti. It had also been told in English by four writers who had likewise modelled their narratives on Ovid, by Chaucer in the Legend of Good Women, by Lydgate in his Fall of Princes, by Gower in his Confessio Amantis, and in prose by Painter in his Palace of Pleasures; but a careful comparison of these narratives with Shakespeare's will conclusively show that Shakespeare has followed none of them, that Ovid and Ovid only is his original. The details given in Ovid, which neither Chaucer nor any of the other narrators reproduce but which are reproduced by Shakespeare, place this beyond question.

The following are some of the chief similarities in sentiment and language between Lucrece and Ovid's Fasti:

I. (a). Shakespeare: (Lucrece):

"This earthly saint, adored by this devil
Little suspecteth the false worshipper

So guiltless she securely gives good cheer
And revent welcome to her princely guest
Whose inward ill no outward harm expressed.
But she that never coped with stranger eyes
Could pick no meaning from their parling looks".

I. (b). Ovid:— (Fasti II. 695-698):
Hostis, ut hospes, init penetralia Collatina
Comiter excipitur: . . . . . . . .
Quantum animis erroris inest: parat inscia rerum
Infelix epulas hostibus illa suis.

II. (a). Lucrece:—
"Now stole upon the time the dead of night,
When heavy sleep had closed up mortal eyes:
No comfortable star did lend his light".

(b). Ovid:— (Fasti II. 700):
Nox erat et tota lumina nulla domo.

III. (a). Lucrece:—
Tarquin, meditating with himself, says of Collatimus:—
(137-138)—
"But as he is my kinsman, my dear friend,
The shame and fault finds no excuse nor end".

(b). Ovid: Lucrece entertains Tarquin, for he was, (says Ovid, Fasti II. 196) "Sanguine iunctus erat".

IV. (a). Lucrece:— (365) —
"Into the chamber wickedly he stalks".

(b). Ovid (102):—
Et venit in thalamos, mupta pudica, tuos.
V. (a). Lucrece:--

"Her breasts like ivory globes circled with blue
A pair of maiden worlds unconquered
Save of their lord no bearing yoke they knew."

(b) Ovid:--

Positis urgentur pectora palms,
Nunc primum externa pectora tecta mamu.

VI. (a). Lucrece:--

"Lucrece", quoth he, "this night I must enjoy thee,
If thou deny then force must work my way:
For in thy bed I purpose to destroy thee
That done, some worthless slave of thine I'll slay
To kill thine honour with thy life's decay:
And in thy dead arms do I mean to place him
Swearing I slew him, seeing thee embrace him."

(b) Ovid:--

"Nil agis: eripaim", dixit pro crimine vitam:
Falsus adult eri testis adulter erit
Inter impe famulam sum quo depraesu fereris.

VII. (a). Lucrece:--

In Lucrece the trembling of the heroine is compared with
the trembling of a new killed bird:--

"Wrapp'd and confounded in a thousand fears
Like to a new killed bird she trembling lies".
VII (b). Ovid:—

The Latin poet speaks of her trembling comparing it with that of a little lambkin lying under the wolf, its deadly foe:—

Sed tremit ut quondam stabulis depensa relictis
Parva sub infesto cum iacet agna lupo.

VIII (a) Lucrece:—

"Come, Philomel, that sing'st of ravishment
Make thy sad grove in my dehevell'd hair"

(b). Ovid:—

Passis sedet illa capillis.

IX. (a). Lucrece:—

"A captive victor that hath lost in gain".

(b), Ovid:—

Quid, victor, gaudes? Haeo te victoria perdet.

X. (a) Lucrece:—

"Three times with sighs she gives her sorrow fire
Ere once she can discharge one word of woe."

(b). Ovid:—

Ter conata loqui, ter destiti.

XI. (a). Lucrece:—

"With this they all at once began to say
Her body's stain her mind untainted clears:
'No, No' quoth she, 'no dame hereafter living
By my excuse shall claim excuse's giving'. "
XI. (b). Ovid:—

Dant veniam facto genitor coniunx caecto
Quam, dixit, veniam vos datis, ipsa nego.

XII. (a). Lucrece:—

"He finds his Lucrece clad in mourning black
And round about her tear distained eye
Blue circles streamed, like rainbows on the sky"

"What uncouth ill event
Hath thee befallen, that thou dost thembling stand?
Sweet love, what spite hath thy fair colour spent?
Why art thou thus attired in discontent?"

(b). Ovid:—

Utque vident habitum: quae luctus causa requirunt,
Cui parest exsequias, quoe sit icta male.

XIII. (a) Lucrece:—

"Till Lucrece' Father that beholds her bleed
Himself on her self slaughtered body threw."

Shakespeare describes Collatine falling on the dead body of Lucrece as follows:—

"And then in key cold Lucrece' bleeding stream
He falls and bathes the pale fear in his face"
XIII. (b). Ovid:--

Ecce super corpus, communia damna querentes
Obliti decoris virque paterque dàcent.

XIV. (a). Lucrece:--

"When they had sworn to this advised doom
They did conclude to bear dead Lucrece thence
To shew her bleeding body through Rome
And so to publish Tarquin's foul offence:
Which being done with speedy diligence
The Romans plausibly did give consent
To Tarquin's everlasting banishment".

(b). Ovid:--

Fertur in exsequias anima matrona virilis
Vulnus inanés patet: Brutus clamore Quirites
Concitat et regis facta nefanda refert
Tarquinius cum prole fugit.

XV. (a). Lucrece:--

"Brutus, who plucked the knife from Lucrece' side,
Seeing such emulation in their woe
Began to clothe his wit in state and pride,
Burying in Lucrece' wound his folly's show.
He with the Romans was esteemed so
As silly jeering idiots are with kings,
For sportive words and uttering foolish things."
XV. (b). Ovid:–

Brutus adest: tandemque animo sua nomina fallit
Fixaque semianimi corpore tela rapit.

XVI. (a). Lucrece:–

"Even here she sheathed in her harmless breast
A harmful knife that thence her soul unsheathed."

(b). Ovid:–

Nec mora: celato figit sua pectora ferro.

XVII. (a). Lucrece:–

"Courageous Roman, do not steep thy heart
In such relenting dew of lamentations
But kneel with me and help to bear thy part
To rouse our Roman Gods with invocations,
That they will suffer these abominations,
Since Rome herself in them doth stand disgraced,
By our strong arms from forth her fair streets chased".

(b) Ovid:–

Stillantemque tenens generoso sanguine cultrum
Edidit impavidos ore minante suos
Per tibi ego hunc iuro fortem castumque cruorem
Perque tuos Manes, qui mihi numen erunt,
Tarquinium poenas profuga cum turpedaturum
Iam satis est vittus dissimulata diu.
XVII. (a) Lucrece:—

Shakespeare describes the beauty of Lucrece in the following lines:—

"Her eyes, like marigolds, had sheathed their light; Her hair, like golden threads played with her breath."

(b) Ovid:—

1. Neglectae collo sis iacuere comae.
2. Forma placet niveusque color flavique capilli.

XIX. (a). Lucrece:—

"Borne by the trustless wings of false desire Lust-breathed Tarquin leaves the Roman host."

(b). Ovid:—

Interea ruenis furiatos regius ignes
Concipit et caeco raptus amore furtit.

XX. (a). Lucrece:—

"When at Collatium this false lord arrived,
Well was he welcomed by the Roman dame."

(b). Ovid:—

Accipit aerata iuvenem Collatia portia
Consittere iam vultus sole parante suos.

XXI. (a). Shakespeare:— (Lucrece).

"For then is Tarquin brought unto his bed,
Intending weariness with heavy spright
Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight."

XXI. (b). Ovid:

Functus crat dapibus: poscunt sua tempora somni.

"Shakespeare," says the late Professor Baynes, "has developed the original sketch (that is i.e. Ovid's version of the story) into a completed picture, suggested by his vivid realisation of the scene in all the fullness of its tragic and pathetic detail. The development is carried much further than in the Venus and Adonis and the Lucrece is thus proportionately a considerably longer poem, but in the closing scene the agreement between the Fasti and the Lucrece is almost as close as the genius of the different languages will admit of."
OVID.

Tamora says Titus Andronicus (II. III. 17):

"And whilst the babbling echo mocks the hounds"

The babbling echo is the "Nympha vocalis" of Ovid Metamorphoses III. 357. Golding's translation gives: "A babbling nymph that echo hight".

The following line in the Titus Andronicus -

"Forced in the ruthless vast and gloomy woods"
calls to our minds the following line in Ovid:-

In stabula alta trahit silvis obscura vetustis.

Jacques says (As you like it II. II. 7):-

"O knowledge ill-inhabited ! worse than Jove in a thatched house.

c.f. Ovid Metamorphoses VIII. 629-630:-

Tamen una recept

Parva quidem, stipulis et canna tecta palustri.

Golding translates these words as follows:-

"Nerethelesse one Cottage afterward
Receyved them and that was but a pelting one indeede
The roofe thereof was thatched all with straw and fennish reede.

Ovid is referring to the story of Baucis and Philemon, who welcomed Jove and Mercury to their cottage. Here again Shakespeare shows his knowledge of the myth without relating the story.
Juliet says (Romeo and Juliet II II. 92):-

"Thou may'st prove false: at lovers purjuries
They say Jove laughs".

Mr. R. M. Theobald compares this passage with a line in Ovid, (Amores I. 633):

Iupiter ex alto perurias ridet amantium.

Was the Amores translated at the time from which the English version seems to have been taken, or were the lines taken without any connection from Ovid, I. 1. 220.
Shakespeare obtained his material for Venus and Adonis partly from the tenth books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, partly from the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in the fourth book and partly from the story of the Calydonian boar hunt in the eighth book. But since the *Metamorphoses* had been translated by Golding (1575), we cannot cite this poem as an example of Shakespeare's Latin scholarship, unless we can adduce passages which bear a much greater resemblance to Ovid than to Golding.

It is in the struggle between Venus with all her ardent desire and passionate entreaty on the one hand and Adonis in his indignant disdain and surprise on the other that Shakespeare borrows from the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in the fourth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The shyness and coldness of Adonis are reflected in the following passages in the poem:-

I. (a) Shakespeare:-

"He burns with bashful shame: she with her tears
Doth quench the maiden burning of his cheeks

Still is he sullen, still he low'rs and frets
'Twixt crimson shame and anger ashy pale."
Upon this promise did he raise his chin,
Like a dive dapper peering through a wave,
Who, being look'd on, ducks as quickly in;
So offers he to give what she did crave;
But when her lips were ready for his pay,
He winks, and turns his lips another way.

And now Adonis, with a lazy spright,
Souring his cheeks, cries 'Fie, no more of love!
The sun doth burn my face: I must remove.'

At this Adonis smiles, as in disdain,
That in each cheek appears a pretty dimple:
'Give me thy my hand' saith he, 'why dost thou feel it?'
'For shame' he cries, 'let go, and let me go;

Let us part.
And leave this idle theme, this bootless chat:
He sees her coming and begins to glow
Even as a dying coal revives with wind."

I. (b). Ovid:-

Nais ab his tacuit. Pueri rubor ora notavit
Nescia quid sit amor; sed et erubuisse decebant
Hic color aprica pendentibus arbore pomis
Aut ebori tincto est aut sub candore rubenti
Cum frustra resonant aera auxiliaria Lunae
Poscenti Nymphae sine fine sororia saltem
Oscula, iamque manus ad eburnea colla ferenti
Desine vel fugio tecumque aut ista relinguo.

I. (c). Golding:-
"This said the nymph did hold her peace and therewithall the boy
Waxt red: he wist not what love was; and sure it was a joy
To see it how exceedingly well his blushing him became
For in his face the colour fresh appeared like the same
That is in Apples which doe hang upon the sunnies side
Or Ivorie shadowed with a redd or such as is espide
Of white and scarlet colours mixt appearing in the moone
When folke in waine with sounding brasse would ease unto his done
When at the last the nymph desirde most instantly but this
As to his sister brotherly to give her there a kiss
And therewithall was clasping him about the Ivorie necke
Leave of (quoth he) or I am gone and leeve thee at a becke
With all thy trickes".

II. (a) Shakespeare:- "Fondling" she saith, "since I have hemm'd
Within the circuit of this ivory pale"

Shakespeare in this passage might have been thinking either of
Ovid or of Golding.
II. (b). Ovid:-

Iamque manus ad eburnea colla ferenti

(c). Golding:-

"And therewithall was clasping him about the Ivorie

\underline{\text{Unwe}}\underline{\text{necke}}".

III (a). Shakespeare:-

"On his bow back he hath a battle set

Of bristly pikes that ever threat his foes

His eyes, like glow-worms, shine when he doth fret

His snout digs sepulchres where'er he goes

Being moved he strikes whate'er is in his way

And whom he strikes his cruel tuches slay.

His brawny sides with hairy bristles armed

Are better proof than thy spear's point cannenter

The thorny brambles and embracing bushes

As fearful of him, part; through whom he rushes.

(b). Ovid:-

Sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget ardua cervix

Et setae densic similis hastilibus horrent

Stantque \textit{\textit{v}}\text{\textit{\textnu}t} vallum, velut alta hastilia setae

Fervida \textit{cum} rauco latos stridore per armos

Spuma fluit: dentes aequantur dentibus Indis

Flumen ab ore venit: frondes afflatibus ardent

Is modo rescenti segetes proculcat in herba

Sternitur \textit{in \textit{\textc{e}rsu nemus et propulsa fragorem}}
Silva det . . . . . . . . .
Ille ruit spargitque canes ut quisque ruenti
Obstat et oblique latrantes dissipat ictu.

Part of Golding's translation of this passage is very similar to the lines in Shakespeare:-

"His eies did glister blud and fire; right dreadfull was to (see
His brawned necke, right dreadfull was his beare which grewe (as thicke
With pricking points as one of them could well by others (sticke
And like a front of armoured pikes set close in battall ray
The sturdie bristles in his back stoode staring up alway".

IV. (a) Shakespeare:-

"Alas ! he nought esteems that face of thine
To which Love's eyes pay tributary gazes
Nor thy soft hands, sweet lips and crystal eyne
Whose full perfection all the world amazes."

(b). Ovid:-

Non movet aetas

Nec facies nec quae Venerem movere, leoles

Setigerosque suas oculosque animosque ferarum.

(c). Golding:-

"Thy tender youth, thy beawty bryght, Thy countenance fayre and brave
Although they had the force too win the hart of Venus, have
No powre against the lyons nor against the bristled swyne
The eyes and harts of savage beasts doo naught too theis inclyne."
V. (a) Shakespeare:—

"And in his blood that on the ground lay spill'd
A purple flower sprung up chequer'd with white
Resembling well his pale cheeks and the blood
Which in round drops upon their whiteness stood."

(b) Ovid:—

Nec plena longoir hora
Facta mora est cum flos e sanguine concolor ortus.

VI. (a) Shakespeare:—

"But if thou needs wilt hunt be ruled by me:
Undulpe at the timorous flying hare
Or at the fox which lives by sublety
Or at the roe which no encounter dare
Pursue these fearful creatures o'er the downs
And on thy well breath'd horse keep with thy hounds."

(b) Ovid:—

Tutaeque animalia praedae
Aut pronos lepores aut scelsum in cornua cervum
Aut agitat dammas.

VII. (a) Shakespeare:—

"The Boar" quoth she,"wherat a sudden pale
Like lawn being spread upon the blushing rose
Usurps her cheek: she trembles at his tail

"Oh be advised thou know'st not what it is
With javelin's point a churlish swine to gore
Whose tushes never sheath'd he whetteth still
Like to a mortal butcher bent to kill

His short, thick neck cannot be easily harmed
Being irreful on the lion he will venture
Oh, let him keep his loathsome cabin still;
Beauty hath nought to do with such foul fiends
Come not within his danger by thy will

And more than so presenteth to mine eye
The picture of an angry chafing boar
Under whose sharp pangs on his back doth lie
An image like thyself all stained with gore

But if thou needs wilt hunt be ruled by me
Uncouple at the timorous flying hare."

VII. (b). Ovid:—

A fortibus abstinet apris
Raptoresque lupos, armatosque unguibus uracos
Vitat et armenti sertaratos caede leons
Te quoque ut hos timeas, (si quid prodesse monendo
Possit), Adoni, monet: Tortisque pugnacibus esto"
Inquit: "in audaces mon est audacia tuta
Parce meo, iuvenis, temerarius esse teri elo
Neve feras, quibus arma dedit Natura, lacesse
Stet mihi ne magno tua gloria .........
Fulmen habent acres in aduncis dentibus apri
Impetus est fulvis et vasta leonibus ira
Invisunque mihi genus est".

VII. (c) Golding:

"But with the sturdy Boare
And ravening woolf and Beare whelpes arm'd with ugly pawes and eeke
The cruel Lyons which delight in blood and slaughter seeks
Sheepmeddled not: and of theis same shee warned also thee
Adonis for too shoone them, if thou would'st have warned bee.
Bee bold on cowards (Venus sayd) for whose dooth advance
Himselfe against the bold, mayhap to meete with sum mischaunce
Wherefore I pray thee my sweetes boy forbears too bold too bee
For feare thy rashnesse hurt thyselfe and woork the wo of mee
Encounter not the kynd of beastses whom nature armed hath
For dott thou by thy prayse too deere procuring thee sum scath

Thee cruel Boares heare thunder in theyr hooked tushes
And sure I hate them at my hart".

We might notice that both Shakespeare and Golding use the word "tushes".

(It might be interesting to note that in addition to supplying the material for part of the Venus and Adonis, the fable of
Salmacis and Hermaphroditus may be compared with the 4th and 6th sonnets of the Passionate Pilgrim. In both Shakespeare and Ovid the lovers are sitting by a brook:

"Sweet Cytherea sitting by a brook
With young Adonis lovely fresh and green"

The whole situation of the 6th sonnet is taken from the fable of Salmacis. Compare:

"The sun looked on the world with glorious eye
Yet not so wistly as this queen on him"

and Metamorphoses IV. 347-49:

"Flagrant quoque lumina nymphae
Non aliter quam cum puro nitidissimus orbe
Opposita speculi reperitur imagine Phoebus".

It is difficult to decide after comparing the passages in Venus and Adonis with the corresponding passages in Ovid and Golding, whether Shakespeare was indebted to the Latin poet or to the English translator. Some parts of the poem bear more resemblance to Ovid, others to Golding, and the probability is that Shakespeare had the original as well as the translation in his mind when he wrote his Venus and Adonis. The line "And kissing speaks with lustful language broken" (mentioned among passages taken directly from Ovid) seems with the exception of the word 'lustful' to be a poetical translation of Ovid's "Ac mediis interserit oscula verbis" and is much closer to Ovid than
to Golding's "And in her tale she bussed him along". On the other hand the use of the words 'ivory' and 'tushes' both by Shakespeare and Golding and the very close resemblance between Shakespeare's:

"On his bow back he hath a battle set
Of bristly pikes that ever threat his foes"

and Golding's

"And like a front of armed Pikes set close in battall ray
The sturdie bristles in his back stoode staring up alway"

seem to suggest that Shakespeare (at any rate in these instances) was indebted to Golding and not to Ovid.

(Why? Ovid has claimen; see p. 224)

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There is one passage in the Comedy of Errors which seems to make it possible that Shakespeare may have read Warner's translation of the Menaechmi. Adriana says of her husband:-(II. I):- "But too unthankfully he breaks the pale

....... poor I am but his stale",

Warner translates the wife's complaint in the Menaechmi when she says "Ludibro habeor", "He makes me a stale and a laughing stock to all the world".
There can be little doubt that for some of his material in *Timon of Athens* Shakespeare was indebted to Lucian's *Timon*:

"We have in Lucian" says Mr. Stapfer, "the conception of the misanthrope as a deceived and disappointed philanthropist". The Greek writer also tells us of Timon's withdrawal to a wild and desolate place, of his discovery of a treasure and of his angry reception of the false friends who come to flatter him when they learned that he has again become rich. Lucian lays far greater stress on the latter point than Shakespeare does. We can even catch a note of affection and pity in some of the Shakespearean Timon's later speeches: he gives gold to some of those who come to visit him. In Lucian all this is absent, and no epithets are too abhorrent for him to use in the anger which he feels against his false friends.

At the beginning of Lucian's dialogue Timon tells us that in his former days he had been rich and had generously distributed his wealth among his fellow-men, but that now being poor he was despised by the men who had formerly been only too willing to show his respect for him:— *(Timon speaking)*:

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καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ἄλλοις ταῦτα ἔδωκεν, πολλοὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπὶ ἄγγελος
ἐπὶ μὲν προσμοιρῶν ἐκ περιττίκαιων ἐκομήσας
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*(Fairly in Greek)*
In Shakespeare we read how the philanthropist, cheated of all his fond hopes concerning the characters of his friends, retires into the woods and becomes a misanthrope of the worst type. Lucian writes of his retirement from the company of man in the following passage:

We learn in Act IV. scene III. (Timon of Athens) who occupies his time in digging has unexpectedly lighted upon some
gold:-

"What is here?
Gold?. Yellow, glittering, precious gold?"

Timon then proceeds to moralise on the baneful effects of gold:-

"This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions: Bless the accursed;
Make the hoar leprosy adored."

In Lucian we read that Jupiter, on learning of Timon's misfortune pities him and refuses to desert him; for he has not forgotten "the many hind-quarters of beef and mutton, the delicious smell whereof I have still in my nostrils" (Stapfer). Accordingly the king of the gods bids Mercury take Plutus (the God of Riches) with him and set him up with all speed in Timon's dwelling:-

The Greek writer tells us that at first Timon does not want to have anything to do with Plutus: addressing Mercury and Plutus he speaks as follows:-
Conf: Timon of Athens. (IV. III.) when the misanthrope first sees the gold which he has dug up:

"What is here?

Gold? . . . . . . No, Gods,

I am no idle votarist. Roots, you clear heavens.

Thus much of this will make black white, foul fair,
Wrong right, base noble: old young: coward valiant.

Ha, you gods! Why this? What this, you gods?

Why this
Will lug your priests and servants from your side;
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads.

...
THE EPIGRAMS OF THE ANTHOLOGY.

The popularity of these epigrams during the sixteenth century is proved by the fact that many additions were published between the years 1494 and 1600. After the year 1529 Latin translations were generally printed along with the Greek texts. Shakespeare's sonnets, his dramas, and especially Romeo and Juliet contain many reminiscences of these epigrams.

Balthazar says (Romeo and Juliet V. I):

"Her body sleeps in Capell's monument
And her immortal part with angels dwell".

Compare the Latin translation 1529 of the Epitaph on Plato:

(Selecta Epigrammata):

Corpus habet gremio contextum terra Platonis
Mens sed habet superum tecta beata deum.

Paris also speaks of "Fair Juliet that with angels dost remain".

Romeo says (Romeo and Juliet V. III):

"Can I believe
That unsubstantial death is amorums ?

This is a reproduction of the Latin version of one of the epigrams in the Selecta Epigrammata.

Pluto, suavissimam amicam
Cur rapis ? An Veneris te quoque tela premunt ?.
Sonnets 153 and 154 may be compared with an epigram of Marianus
(Palatine Anthology 14: 637):—

Cupid laid by his brand and fell asleep
A maid of Dian's this advantage found
And his love-kindling fire did quickly steep
In a cold valley-fountain of that ground

The little love-god lying once asleep,
Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand
Whilst many nymphs that vowed chaste life to keep
Came tripping by: but in her maiden hand
The fairest votary took up that fire
Which many legions of true hearts had warmed

This brand she quenched in a cool stream well by
Which from love's fire took heat perpetual
Growing a bath and healthful remedy
For men diseased:

c.f. Marianus:— Τάς ὥπος ταῖς παταγοῖς ἄπαν τοῦτοις ἐποίησεν ὕπνοιν ἐκείνῃ ἐπαφῇς, Νυμφαῖς ἡμᾶς παρθένες ἐπιτάχθησαν, Νυμφαῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ μεθημένη, δίδε τούτωθεν ὀργανῶσθαι ἐν ἐποίησις, ἐν ὑπερ ἱεράς μεταφοράν ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκάστη ἐρυθροῦ ἐκείθεν, Νυμφαῖς ἔρωτικὴς τουτεροχειρίν ὑποτάσσει.
The Friar says (IV. I) to Juliet:—

"Now when the bridegroom in the morning comes
To rouse thee from thy bed, there art thou dead
Then (as the manner of our country is)
In thy best robes uncover'd on the bier
Thou shalt be borne to that same ancient vault
Where all the kindreds of the Capulet's lie".

These words remind us of an epigram which describes the marriage festivities being turned into funeral grief and sorrow. The Latin version of the epigram by Lubinus (in the Florilegium) gives:—

Non nuptias sed mortem sponsalem Clearista
Accepit virginitatis vincula solvens

............................ hymenaeus

Tacens luctuosum planetum coniumgebavit
Ipsae vero et lucem praebant in thalamo

Hamlet speaks of almost the opposite taking place when he talks to Horatio of the "funeral baked meats coldly furnishing forth the marriage table".
Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida. III. II. 102):—

"A strange fellow here

Write me: That man

Achilles:

"This is not strange, Ulysses,
The beauty that is borne here in the face
The bearer knows not, but commends itself
To other's eyes: nor doth the eye itself
That most pure spirit of sense behold itself
Not going from itself but eye to eye opposed
Salutes each other with each others form.

Ulysses: "I do not strain at the position
It is familiar, but at the author's drift"

"The 'strange fellow' (says the late Professor Churton Collins) is Plato himself and the whole passage is similar in many ways to one in the Ist Alcibiades of Plato (sect. 28), where Socrates speaks of the eye of one person looking into the eye of another:—

Socrates: ἄφθοχον ἐν δόποις ἐστι τούτο Βυσσην καὶ Βικτωρ.

Alcibiades: Δητον.

Socrates: ἐννοημέν ἔσται το Βυσσήνετος τού ὄντων ἑκεῖνο ἐπομεν ἡμικ αὶ τοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς."
Alcibiades: Διὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος ὁ Ὀμυράτης, ὅτι εἰς κατοπτρά καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.
SOPHOCLES.

We might say here that owing to the numerous Latin translations of this poet which were in use during Shakespeare's time, it is impossible to name any one to which our poet may have been indebted. In the passages compared by us we have the versions of Winshemius or Naogeorgus, or both these translators.

"Those wounds heal ill
That men do give themselves".

This is very similar to a passage in the Oedipus Rex (1230-1):

The Latin translation of Winshemius gives:-

"Maloram vero
ea quae sponte contrahuntur, maxime dolent."

Thomas Naogeorgus (1588) translates the passage as follows:-

Detrimenta enim illa maxime
Molesta sunt, quae ultrro quis accessat sibi.

Tamora says (Titus Andronicus IV. IV.):-

"The eagle suffers little birds to sing
And is not careful what they mean thereby
Knowing that with the shadow of his wing
He can at pleasure stint their melody".

This, says the late Professor Churton Collins, "is precisely
with the substitution of an eagle for a vulture, Ajax 167-172:—

\[
\alpha\mu\nu\sigma\mu\alpha\nu \varepsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\nu\theta\sigma\mu\nu \delta\epsilon\nu\gamma\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\nu \\
p\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\nu \varepsilon\omicron\nu\nu \delta\epsilon\nu\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\nu \\
\chi\iota\omicron\epsilon\omicron\nu \varepsilon\omicron\nu\nu \delta\epsilon\nu\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\nu \\
\tau\omicron\nu \varepsilon\omicron\nu\nu \delta\epsilon\nu\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\nu \\
\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\nu \varepsilon\omicron\nu\nu \delta\epsilon\nu\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\sigma\nu.
\]

Winshemius translates this passage as follows:

\[
\text{sed quando illi faciam tuam videam,}
\]
\[
\text{Trediant, relab aviam greges}
\]
\[
\text{magnum aquilam vel vultarem metuentes,}
\]
\[
\text{sed si tu forte subito illis eos spectes faceris}
\]
\[
\text{Nate silentior et metu percussi tacebant.}
\]

With regard to the substitution of the vulture for the eagle we might note that Sophocles merely used the word άιγυπτιον (i.e. Vulture) but Winshemius in his translation of that line \"μεγαλ' άιγυπτιον \νποδοικάτες gives Magnum aquilam vel vultarem metuentes, thus bringing in the eagle. May not Shakespeare then have got the above passage from the translation of Winshemius, if he read the Greek tragedies in Latin translations?

Ulysses says (Troilus and Cressida IV. V) referring to the youthful Troilus:

The youngest son of Priam, a true knight
Speaking in deeds and deedless in his tongue.

Compare Philoctetes 97:—

\[
\gamma\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \mu\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron \chi\iota\omicron\omicron \delta\iota\omicron\omicron \omicron \omicron.
\]
Winshemius translates as follows:

Linguam otiosam, manum habeam strenuam.

Naogorgus gives:

Lingua agebam . . . .

..... osium et sola laborabam manu.

In II Henry IV. III. in occur the following line:

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just".

c.f. Oedipus Coloneus 880:-

Tais toi dikaios xip brax xip vniko acyv.

Latin versions:

(1) Winshemius: in causa ista et iam parvus vincit magnum.

(2) Naogorgus: in est in re frequenter parvulus magnum superat.

Hermione, after relating all the miseries and sufferings which she has undergone during her life says (Winter's Tale III. I)

"Now my liege

Tell me what blessings I have here alive

That I should fear to die? Therefore proceed".

c.f. Aontigone (461-4) Antigone is speaking to Creon:

E se Tov xronov

προβ' θες βαρουλη, κερόσα δου, εγώ πέμπω
οπις μερ θειοτοίσιν ως εγώ κακος
ιθ, πως δε ουκ ικατερνων κερόσα περει

Latin translations:

(1) Winshemius: Nam si aliquanto ctitius moriar, lueream hoc dixer

Nam qui in magnis malis, ut ego, vixit hinc mors pro lucro est.
(2) Naogeorgus:

Pono si am te tempus hinc
Excessus ingenios illad arbitror lucem
Quaeque vivi in malis attigit malis
Quam modo ille tandem facere temerius lucem

"To be slow in words is a woman's only duty . . . . .
place it for her chief virtue. (Two-Gentlemen of Verona V. III. 1)
conf. Ajax. 293. Telemachus is speaking:--

(1) Winshemius:

Mulier silentium decus afferat malefabulus

(2) Naogeorgus:

Mulier, mulierum omatus est silentium.

Warwick says to King Henry (2 Henry IV., III. I):--

"Things

As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
And weak beginnings lie untreasured,
Such things become the hatch and brood of time."

These lines remind us of the words of Ajax (Ajax 646-5):

Latin translations: (1) Winshemius:

"Omnia longam et in tempus tempestas
Recula in lucem product et abdit presentia
Neque quidquam est quod quis fremit non posse credit
Omnia prospicat."
Romeo says (Romeo and Juliet III. I):

"O sweet Juliet
Thy beauty hath made me effeminate
And in my temper softened valour's steel".

Compare the words of Ajax (650-653): he is speaking of the momentary effect produced on him by the words of Teseidusa his wife:

\[
\text{κάγω γερ ὡς τα δείχνῃ ημερόν τοτε}
\text{Βαμφ οίδηρος ὡς ἐθηρω θυόμαι}
\text{πρὸς τοῦς τὸς γυναῖκας.}
\]

c.f. (1) Winshemius:

Ita ego, qui dum dudum vehementer obduco
het ferraum tinctum, nunc mollius logum combo
Ab ista malleia.

The Ghost says (Hamlet I. 5):

"Unhousew'd, disappointed, unannel'd".

conf. Antigone:

\[
\text{ἄθικτος, όνειρος, αὔεις} (\text{Vεκλφ}).
\]
Naogeorgus translates the line as follows:-

\[-\text{exer deum, profanum et exsequiis carens.}\]

Macbeth says (III. II):

"Things without all remedy
Should be without regard: What's done is done".

Compare Sophocles Ajax (370-371):

\[\text{καταστήγης ἐκείνης ἐπὶ ἑαυτῷ, θεοῖς;}
οὐ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ἐν ταύτῃ ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ ὅσ' ἐξήν}

Winshemius:-  Quid adeo doles ob facta
Quae iam infecta fieri non possunt.

With regard to the words "Night's candles are burnt out" - (Romeo and Juliet III. 5), the late Professor Churton Collins says that "they may be an adaptation suggested by the Latin version of

\[\text{ης καὶ ἐσπερωπεῖ}
ταμπετρ̄ος ὅρκητ ἰθνών (Sophocles. Ajax)\]

Latin versions: (I) Winshemius:

\[\text{Quae tempore vestrore vestriti}
lychni non amplius lucebant.}\]

(II). Naogeorgus:

\[\text{Quando hanc amplius}
serotonie ardebant luceae.}\]

Another English version (published at Paris) gives:-

\[\text{iam nusquam amplius}
vespertini faces praebulent lumina.}\]
Brutus says (Julius Caesar II. I):

"That we shall die we know: 'tis but the time
And drawing days out that men stand upon".

Conf. Ajax (475-476):

The Latin version of Winshemius gives:-

Quid enim dies ad diem invare potest
Addita quae differt mortem.

Cassio (Othello II. III) talks of "Discoursing fustian with ones own shadow":-

These words seem to be a reminiscence of the

(Sophocles Ajax 301-302).

Latin translations:

(1) Winshemius: Cum umbra quadam sermones habuit.

(2) Naogorgus: locutus est umbrae alienae.

Hamlet tells his mother (Hamlet III. IV) that his

"Madness speaks:

It will but skin and film the ulcerous place
While rank corruption, mining all within
Infests unseen".

This is a paraphrase of the words:
Latin versions:

(1) Winshemius: Quale me
Subpulchra specie purulentum malum enutristes.

(2) Naogcorgus: Decus me quale nam
Enutristis, omnibus tectum malis.
Northumberland says (2. Henry IV., Act I. sc. I):

"The first bringer of unwelcome news
Hath but a losing office".

Compare - Aeschylus Persae:

Conf. the Latin version of Ioannes. Sanravius:

Heu malum quidem, primo munciare mala.

Valentine says (Two Gentlemen of Verona. II. IV): alluding to Proteus:

"His years but young, but his experience old".

This is exactly the

of Aeschylus (The seven against Thebes. 618)

Sanravius translates the line as follows:-

"Coin heaven's image
In stamps that are forbid."

This is a metaphorical expression not unlike one which occurs in the Supplices of Aeschylus (278-9)
The Latin version of Sanravius’ gives:

Cyprus characterque in muliebribus formis
Imago cussæ a est a fabris masculis.

In addition to separate passages we might compare phrases like:

(1) the “blossoms of your love” with the “ἐρωτική σε λαβέ” of the Iliad (VII 177)

(2) Hamlet’s “sea of troubles” with the “ἐλονὸς ἡ ταῖνα” of Homer

(3) “The anvil of my sword” (Coriolanus IV, V) with the “ἀχθαυξής” of Hesiod's Works and Days

(4) “My seated heart knocks at my ribs” (Macbeth I, III) with the “κριθεὶς ἐς φοβιζομενος ἡ τακτική” (Prometheus Vincit) 900.

(5) The “woven wings” (for ships’ sails) with the “ἵνων ἡ ἀφάλαξις” of Aeschylus' Agamemnon

Macbeth says to his wife, referring to the ghost of Banquo (III, IV)

“It will have blood; they say, blood will have blood”.

c.f. Aeschylus. Coephoroe:

Volumnia says to her son (Coriolanus II, II):

“Waving thy head
Which often, thus, correcting thy stout heart
Now humble, as the ripest mulberry
That will not lidd the handling”.

The last two lines in this speech recall a line in the Fragments of Aeschylus (249):-

The Queen says to Hamlet (III. IV):

"There words like daggers enter in mine ears

No more, sweet Hamlet".

Compare. Aeschylus Coephoroe. 373-4:--
EURIPIDES.

Edward says (3. Henry VI., I. II):

"But for a kingdom any oath may be broken".

This recalls the following lines in the Phoenissae of Euripides:

\begin{verbatim}
επερ γαρ ἀδίκεν Χρη, Τοῦρανυσος περὶ
καθήσαν ἀδίκεν
\end{verbatim}

But Shakespeare may have been thinking of Seneca's Phoenissae, as has already been pointed out:-

Imperis frotis quolibet constant bene.

"Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind".

conf. Euripides Fragments:

\begin{verbatim}
οὗ γαρ δεθήναις σπῆτις κριγον, ἀδίκος
\end{verbatim}

Compare Falstaff's famous remark:-

"The better part of valour is discretion"

with Euripides' Supplices 510:

\begin{verbatim}
κατὰ τῶν τὰυτὰ τοι ἀπὸ τὸν προμῆθει.
\end{verbatim}

Compare (1) "The lazy foot of time" (As you like it. III. II) with the "ἵκον χρονού ποδί" of Euripides Bacchae 889.

(2) Hamlet's "my prophetic soul" with the "προμῆθες θεός" of the Andromeda.

(3) "The muddy vesture of decay" with the "ὑδρίων ἐπεδιοδίων" of the Hercules Furens 1269
There is one resemblance between Macbeth and North's translation from Amyot's French version of Plutarch's Antony:

I. (a). Shakespeare:- Banquo says (I. III. 83.):

"Were such things here as we do speak about?
Or have we eaten on the insane root,
That takes the reason prisoner?".

(b). North:- "In the ends they were compelled to live of erbes and rootes, but they found few of them that men do commonly eate of and were enforced to tast of them that were never eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them and made them out of their witts. For he that had once eaten of it, his memorye was gone from him and he knew no manner of thing".
Lucian was not the only writer of antiquity, to whom our poet was indebted for the material of his Timon of Athens. There is a passage in Plutarch's Antony, in which the Biographer tells us how Antony, after the battle of Actium, abandoned the company of his friends and, in the words of North, "built him a house in the sea by the ile of Pharos. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
saying that he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him that was before offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto and whom he took to be his friends he was angry with all men and would trust no man". In this passage Plutarch tells us of Alcibiades, and his friendship with Timon, of Apemantus, of the anecdote of the figtree, of Timon's tomb and of the epitaph inscribed thereon.

I. (a). Shakespeare:— Timon says to the Senators who have come to visit him in his retreat: —

I have a tree which grows here in my close
That mine own use invites me to cut down,
And shortly must I fell it: Tell my friends,
Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree
From high to low throughout, that whoso please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe
And hang himself, - I pray you do my greeting.

I. (b). North:- It is reported of him also that this Timon
on a time, got up into the pulpit for orators .............
and silence being made ............. he began to speak in
this manner: "My lords of Athens I have a little yard at my
house where there groweth a fig tree on the which many citizens
have hanged themselves and because I mean to make some building
on the place I thought good to let you all understand that, before
the fig tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may
there on time go hang yourselves."

II. (a). Shakespeare:- Apemantus says to Timon, who is living
apart from his fellow-creatures:

I was directed hither: men report
Thou dost affect my manners, and dost use them.

Here: I will mend thy feast.
       (Offering him something).

Timon:
First mend my company, take away thyself:

Apemantus:
So I shall mend mine own, by the lack of thine.
What would'st thou have to Athens?

Timon:
Thee thither in a whirlwind.
In Plutarch's Antony, Timon treats Apemantus in much the same way when they are dining together at a feast called the Choae:-

II. (b). North:— This Timon sometimes would have Apemantus in his company because he was much like of his manner and conditions and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feast called Choae at Athens . . . . . . . . . and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus said unto the other: 'O, here is a trim banquet, Timon? Timon answered again 'Yea' said he, 'so thou wert not here'.

III. (a). Shakespeare:—

Alcibiades: I am thy friend and pity thee, dear Timon.

Timon: How dost thou pity him, whom thou dost trouble?

Alcibiades: When I have laid proud Athens on a heap, —

Timon: Warr'st thou 'gainst Athens?

Alcibiades: Ay, Timon, and have cause.

Timon: The gods confound them in all thy conquest and Thee after thou hast conquered.

It is owing to the fact that Alcibiades will one day do harm to Athens that causes Timon to seek his friendship in Plutarch. The Biographer tells us that Timon, when he was asked by Apemantus "what he meant to make so much of that young man (i.e. Alcibiades) alone and to hate all others" answered him:
(b) North:— "I do it", said he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians".

IV. (a). Shakespeare:— A soldier says to Alcibiades:

My noble general, Timon is dead,
Entomb'd upon the very hem o' the sea:
And on his grave-stone this insculpture:

(Alcibiades Reads):
Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft:
Seek not my name: A plague consume you wicked caitiffs
Here lie I Timon; who, alithe, all living men did hate:
Pass by, and curse thy fill; but pass and stay not here

IV. (b). North:— "He (Timon) died in the city of Hales and was buried upon the sea side. Now it chanced so that the sea getting in, compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it; and upon the same was written this epitaph:—

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft.
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches

It is reported that Timon himself, when he lived, made this epitaph, for that which is commonly rehearsed is not his, but made by the poet Callimachus:—

Here lie I, Timon, who alive all living men do hate;
Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass and stay not here

The marginal note has 'journey' (explaining the word 'gate').

158.
Shakespeare obtained his material for Antony and Cleopatra from Plutarch's Life of Marcus Antonius in North's translation. There is evidence that Shakespeare had already been interested in the life of Mark Antony, for, as has been pointed out, he had utilised North's translation for two passages in Macbeth, a play which he had written in the year 1606, or a year before Antony and Cleopatra came out.

The following are some of the chief parallels with North's Plutarch:

I. (a). Shakespeare: - Caesar says:

"When thou once
Wast beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st
Hortius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel
Did famine follow; whom thou fought'st against,
Though daintily brought up, with patience more
Than savages could suffer: thou did'st drink
The stale of horses, and the gilded puddle
Which beasts would cough at; thy palate did then deign
The roughest berry on the rudest hedge;
Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets,
The barks of trees thou browsed'st; on the Alps
It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,"
Which some did die to look on: And all this
(It wounds thine honour that I speak it now)
Was borne so like a soldier, that thy cheek
So much as lank'd not. (I. IV. 56).

I. (b). North:- "These two consuls (Hæcius and Pansa)
together with Caesar, who also had an armye went against
Antonius that beseiged the citie of Modena, and there overthrew
him in bêtell; but both the consuls were slaine there. Antonius
flying upon this overthrowe, fell into great miserye all at
once; but the chiefest want of all other and that pinched him
most, was famine. Howbeit, he was of such a strong nature,
that by pacience he would overcome any adversitie and the heavier
fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he him selfe.

. . . . . . . . It was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to
see Antonius that was brought up in all fineness and superfluitie
so easily to drink puddle water and to eate wild fruities and
rootes: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed
the Alpes, they did eate the barks of trees and such beasts, as
never man tasted of their flesh before".

II. (a). Shakespeare:- Enobarbus says (I. II.): "We cannot call
her winds and waters sighs and tears: they are greater storms
and tempests than almanacs can report".

'Here too', says Professor MacCallum, 'the hint is given
by Plutarch, but in a later passage, when she (Cleopatra) fears
Antony may return to Octavia'.

II. (b). North:— "When he went from her she fell a weeping and blubbering, looking rufully of the matter and still found the meanes that Antonius should often tymes finde her weeping".

III. (a). Shakespeare:— Enobarbus says (II. II. 196):

"The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
Burned on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them: the oars were silver
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person
It beggar'd all description: she did lie
In her pavilion, - cloth of gold, of tissue,-
O'er picturing that Venus, where we see
The fancy outwork nature: on each side of her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they did undid.
Her gentlewoman, like the Nereides
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes
And made their bends adornings: at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers; the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands
That rarely frame the office. From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthron'd in the market place, did sit alone.

Upon her landing Antony sent to her,
Invited her to supper: She replied
It should be better he became her guest
Which she entreated: Our courteous Antony
Whom ne'er the word of 'No' woman heard speak
Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast
And, for his ordinary, pays his heart,
For what his eyes eat only".

III. (b). North:- "She disdained to set forward otherwise
but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof
was of gold, the sailes of purple and the owers of silver, which
kept stroke in rowing after the sounde of the musick of flutes,
nowboyes, citherns, violls and such other instruments as they
played upon in the barge. And now for the person of herselv:
she was layed under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue,
apparelled and attired like the goddesse Venus, commonly drawen
in picture: and hard by her, on either hande of her, pretie faire
boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth God Cupide, with little fannes in their hands, with which they fanned wind upon her. Her laidies and gentlemen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphaes Nereides (which are the mermaides of the waters) and like the Graces, some steearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of which there came a wonderfull passing sweete savor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharves side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people ......... others also ran out of the citie to see her coming in ............ Antonius was left alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to give audience ............... When Cleopatra was landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper with him. But she sent him word againe, he should doe better rather to come and suppe with her. Aonto nius therefore, to shew hime selfe courteous unto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare that no tongue can expresse it."

Shakespeare was evidently thinking of the above passage from Noth's Plutarch when he wrote the following lines in Cymbeline (II. IV. 68.): Iachimo says:-

"First, her bed chamber, it was hanged
With tapestry of silk and silver; the story
Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman
V. (a). Shakespeare:— Mecaenas says (II. II. 246):

"If beauty, wisdom, modesty, can settle
The heart of Antony, Octavia is
A blessed lottery to him".

(b). North:— This description of Octavia closely resembles that given to her by Plutarch where (in North's translation) she is described as "having an excellent grace, wisdome and honestie, joined unto so rare a beawtie".

It is Shakespeare's usual custom in the transmutation of his material from North to embellish the latter's language by adding certain delicate touches of his own: we note this characteristic in his treatment of Ovid and Seneca and indeed of all classical works. But in Antony and Cleopatra we see a curious change, in fact a direct opposite; instead of adding to and amplifying North, we see him sometimes condensing whole paragraph's of that translation into a single sentence.

VI. (a). Shakespeare:— Mecaenas says (II. II. 183):

Eight wild boars roasted whole at a breakfast and but twelve persons there: is it true ?.

(b). North:— "I have heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Physition born in the citie of Amphissa, told him that he was at the present time in Alexandria and studied physicke: and that having acquaintance with one of
Antonius' cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius' house, (being a young man desirous to see things) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen and saw a world of diversities of meates and amongst others eight wilde boars roasted whole, he began to wonder at it and sayd 'Sure you have a great number of ghestes to supper'. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him: 'No' (quoth he) 'not many ghestes nor above twelve in all.'

VII. (a) Shakespeare:- Caesar says (V. II. 356):

"Most probable
That so she died: for her physician tells me
She hath pursued conclusions infinite
Of easy ways to die."

(b). North:- Now to make prooffe of those poysons which made men dye with least paine, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poysons that were sodaine and vehement and brought speedy death with grievous torments; and in contrary manner, that such as were more milde and gentle had not that quicke speede and force to make one dye sodainly: she afterwaordes went about to prove the stinging of snakes and adders and made some to be applied to men in her sight, some in one sorte and some in another. So when she had dayly made divers and sundrie prooves, she found none of all them she had proved so fit as the biting of an Aspicke.
VIII. (a). Shakespeare: - Agrippa says (III. VI. 23):

"Who does he accuse?

Caesar: Caesar: and that, having in Sicily
Sextus Pompeius spoil'd, we have not rated him
His part o' the isle: then does he say he lent me
Some shipping unrestor'd: last, he frets
That Lepidus of the triumvirate
Should be deposed: and, being, that we detain
All his revenue.

Agrippa: This should be answered.

Caesar: 'Tis done already, and the messenger gone
I have told him, Lepidus was grown too cruel;
That he his high authority abus'd,
And did deserve his change; for what I have conquer'd,
I grant him part; but then, in his Armenia,
And other of his conquered kingdoms, I
Demand the like.

VIII. (b). North: - "And the chiefest poynettes of his accusations
he charged him with, were these: First, that having spoiled
Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not give him his partes of the
Ile. Secondly that he did deteyne in his handes the shippes
he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that having put
Lepidus their companion and triumvirate out of his part of the
Empire, and having deprived him of all honours: he retayned for
himselfe the lands and revenues thereof, which had been assigned to him for his part . . . . . . . . Octavius Caesar answered him againe: that for Lepidus, he had indeede deposed him and taken his partes of the empire from him, because he did over cruelly use his authoritie. And secondly for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia."

IX. (a). Shakespeare:— Caesar says (III. VI. 68):

He hath assembled
Bocchus, the king of Libya; Archelaus
Of Cappadocia; Philadelphos king
Of Paphlagonia; the Thracian king, Adallas:
King Malchus of Arabia; king of Pont;
Herod of Jewry; Mithridates, king
Of Comagene; Polemon and Amintas,
The kings of Mede and Lymaonia,
With a more larger list of sceptres".

IX. (b). North:— He had with him to ayde him these kinges and subjects following: Bocchus, king of Libya . . . . . . . . . . . .
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus, king of Palphlagonia, Mithridates, king of Comagene and Adallas king of Thracia . . . .
The residue that were absent sent their armies, as Polemon king of Pont, Malchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Jury and
Furthermore Amyntas king of Lycaonia and of the Galatians: and besides all these he had all the ayde the king of Medes sent unto him.

X. (a). Shakespeare:—Thyreus says (III. XIII. 56):

He knows that you embrace not Antony
As you did love, but as you fear'd him.

Cleopatra: O !

Thyreus:
The scars upon your honour, therefore he
Does pity as constrained blemishes
Not as deserved.

Cleopatra:
He is a god, and knows
What is most right: mine honour was not yielded
But conquer'd merely.

In Plutarch this cause of Cleopatra's downfall is hinted at in her interview with Caesar, whereas in Shakespeare it is introduced in her conversation with Thyreus. Shakespeare, in dealing with North's translations, frequently alters the context of passages.

X. (b). North:—When Caesar had made her lye downe againe
and sate by her beddes side: Cleopatra began to cheere and excuse herselfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had
of Antonius. Caesar, in contrarie manner, reproved her in every poynst.

XI. (a) Shakespeare:— *Antony* says (III. XIII. 140):

Look thou say

He makes me angry with him, for he seems

Proud and disdainful . . . . . . . .

he makes me angry,

And at this time most easy 'tis to do't.

XI. (b) North:— "he made him angie with him, because he shewed him selfe prowde and disdainfull towards him, and now specially when he was easie to be angered, by reason of his present miserie".

XII. (a) Shakespeare:— *Antony* says (III. XIII. 147):

If he mislike

My speech and what is done, tell him he has

Hipparchus, my enfranchised bondman, whom

He may at pleasure whip or hang or torture

As he shall like, to quit me.

XII. (b) North:— If this mislike thee, thou hast Hipparchus one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance.
XIII. (a). Shakespeare:– Cleopatra (I. V. 73): talks of the days when Caesar and Pompey were under her spell as her

"salad days
When I was green in judgment,—cold in blood".

Shakespeare has obtained this clue from North's Plutarch:–

XIII. (b). North:– For Caesar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young thing and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beautie is at the prime and she also of best judgment.

XIV. (a). Shakespeare:– "The miserable change now at my end
Lament nor sorrow at: but please your thoughts
In feeding them with those my former fortunes
Wherein I lived, the greatest prince o' the world;
The noblest: and do now not basely die
Not cowardly put off my helmet to
My countryman,—a Roman by a Roman
Valiantly vanquished.

XIV. (b). North:– "She should not lament nor sorowe for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes and honors he had received, consdering that while he lived he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the world, and that now he was overcome, not cowardly but valiantly,
a Romane by an other Romane".

XV. (a). Shakespeare:— Dolabella says (V. II. 200):
"Caesar through Syria
Intends his journey and within three days
You with your children will he send before:
Make your best use of this: I have performed
Your pleasure and my promise".

XV. (b). North:— He sent her word secretly as she had requested him, that Caesar determined to take his journey through Suriia and that within three days he would send her away before with her children.

XVI. (a). Shakespeare:— 1st. Guard (V. II. 238):
"Charmain, is this well done?
Charmain: It is well done and fitting for a princess descended from so many royal kings."

XVI. (b). North:— "One of the souldiers seeing her, angrily sayed unto her: 'Is that well done, Charmain ?'. 'Verie well', sayed she againe, 'and meete for a Princes descended from a race of so many noble kings'. "

XVII. (a) Shakespeare:— Caesar says (V. II. 128):
"If you seek
To lay on me a cruelty, by taking
Of my good purposes, and put your children
To that destruction; which I'll guard them from
If thereon you rely."

XVII. (b). North:— But Caesar mistrusted the matter by many conjectures he had and therefore did put her in fear and threatened her to put her children to shameful death.

There is one reference in Antony and Cleopatra for which Shakespeare seems to be indebted to Plutarch's Julius Caesar.

XVIII. (a) Shakespeare:— (II. VI.):

Pompey: Then so much have I heard:—
And I have heard, Apollodorus carried—
Enobarbus No more of that:— He did so.

Pompey: What, I pray you?
Enobarbus A certain queen to Caesar in a mattress.

XVIII. (b). North:— (Plutarch's Caesar): And thereupon (Caesar secretly sent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come unto him. She, only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little boat and . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other mean to come into the court without being known she laid herself down upon a mattress or flockbed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle and so took her upon his back and brought her thus hampered in this fardle unto Caesar in at the castle gate.
In the account of Caesar's visit to Cleopatra, Shakespeare merely mentions the chief incidents, omitting a great deal of Plutarch. He does not describe the miserable state of the fallen queen, nor does he tell us in this part of the play how she at first attempted to impute all the blame to Antony. But the disclosure of Seleucus and Cleopatra's subsequent rage when her deceit is revealed, are related fully both by the biographer and the poet.

XIX. (a) Shakespeare's-

**Dolabella:** 'Tis the emperor, madam.  
**Cleopatra:** Sole sir o' the world,  
I cannot project mine own cause so well  
To make it clear; . . . . . . . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

This is the brief of money, plate and jewels,  
I am possess'd of; 't is exactly valued,  
Not petty things admitted.- Where's Seleucus?

**Seleucus:** Here, madam.

**Cleopatra:** This is my treasurer; let him speak, my lord.  
Speak the truth, Seleucus.

**Seleucus:** Madam.  
I had rather seal my lips, than, to my peril  
Speak that which is not.
Cleopatra: What have I kept back?
Soleucus: Enough to purchase what you have made known.
Cleopatra: See, Caesar! O, behold

How pomp is followed! mine will now be yours;

... O slave, I'll catch thine eyes,
Though they had wings: Slave, soulless villain,

O rarely base!

XIX. (b). North:- Shortly after, Caesar came himself in person
to see her and to comfort her, Cleopatra .........
fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured. When Caesar made
her lie down again .............. Cleopatra began
to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all the
blame to the fear she had of Antonius. ..............

At length she gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready
money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood one
Soleucus by, one of her treasurers, who to seem a good servant
came straight to Caesar to disprove Cleopatra that she had not
set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was
in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him and took him by
the hair of the head and boxed him well favouredly.
CORIOLANUS. (1608).

Sir Thomas North's translation of Amyot's French version of Plutarch's life of Coriolanus:

("The plot and character of Coriolanus came straight from this source. "But", says Mr. Chambers in his edition of Coriolanus, "Shakespeare has added or omitted details of the plot in order to ensure dramatic simplicity and he has clothed it in the dramatic flesh and blood of imaginary scenes. Similarly in the secondary men and women, Menenius, Aufidius, Volumnia, Virginia and the Tribunes, he has worked upon mere hints and suggestions of Plutarch to create living figures, and in two or three memorable passages he has borrowed the very terms and phraseology of Plutarch's speeches.").

The following are some of the chief parallels between Shakespeare's Coriolanus and North's translation:

I. (a). Shakespeare: The First Citizen says (I. I.): "I say unto you what he hath done famously he did it to that end: though soft conscience men can be content to say it was for his country he did it to please his mother".

(b). North: "But touching Martius the only thing that made him to love honour was the joy he saw his mother did take of him".
II. (a). Shakespeare: Brutus says (II. III. 229-236):

"and what stock he springs of,
The noble house of the Marcians: from whence came
That Ancus Marcius, Numa's daughter's son
Who after great Hostilius here was king.
Of the same house Publius and Quintius were
That our best water brought by conduits hither;
And Censorinus, darling of the people -
And nobly named so, being censor twice -
Was his great ancestor".

(b). North: "The house of the Martians at Rome was of
the number of the Patricians, out of the which hath sprung many
noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numa's
daughter's son, who was king of Rome after Tullus Hostilius: of
the same house were Publius and Quintius who brought to Rome
their best water they had by conduits. Censorinus also came
of that family that was so surnamed because the people had chosen
him censor twice."


"There was a time when all the body's members
Rebelled against the belly: thus accused it -
That only like a gulf it did remain
'In' the midst of the body, idle and inactive
. . . . . . . . . . where the other instruments
Did see and hear, devise, instruct, walk, feel
And mutually participate, did minister
Unto the appetite and affection common
Of the whole body".

"Your most grave belly was deliberate
Not rash like his accusers and thus answered,
'True is it, my incorporate friends?, quoth he,
'That I receive the general food at first
Which you do live upon. But if you do remember
I send it through the rivers of your blood

The strongest nerves and small inferior veins
From me receive that natural competency
Whereby they live.

The senators of Rome are this good belly
And you the mutinous members: For examine
Their counsels and their cares: digest things rightly.
No public benefit, which you receive
But it proceeds or comes from them to you,
And no way from yourselves."

III. (b). North: "On a time all the members of man's body did
rebell against the belly, complaining of it that it only
remained in the midst of the body without doing anything neither
did bear any labour to the maintainence of the rest: whereas all
other parts and members did labour painfully and were very
careful to satisfy the desires and appetites of the body: and
so the belly all this notwithstanding laughed at their folly and
said, 'It is true I first receive all meats that nourish man's
body, but afterwards I send it again to the nourishment of the
same'. Even so, (Quoth Menenius), 'O you, my masters and
citizens of Rome, the reason is alike between the senate and
you. For matters being well digested and their counsels
thoroughly examined, touching the benefit of the commonwealth,
the senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto
every one of you'.

(IV. (a). Shakespeare: Marcius says, (I. I.): in answer to the
question of Menenius who asks what is granted to the people:-

"Five tribunes, to defend their vulgar wisdoms,
Of their own choice: One's Junius Brutus,
Sicinius Velutus, and I know not"

(b). North: "These persuasions pacified the people
conditionally that the senate would grant there should be yearly
chosen three magistrates which they now call Tribune plebs: so
Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus were the first tribunes of the
plebs that were chosen".

V. (a). Shakespeare: Lartius says, (I. IV. 56):

"Thou was a soldier
Even to Cato's wish, not fierce and terrible
Only in strokes; but with thy grim looks and
The thunder-like percussion of the sounds
Thou mad' st thine enemies shake, as if the world
Were few erous and did tremble".

V. (b). North:- "For he was even such another as Cato would
have a soldier and a captain to be, not only terrible and fierce
to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeard with the sound of
his voice and grimness of his countenance".

(The description of the battle before Corioles, when the
Romans are beaten back from the trenches and the Volscians fly,
Martius following them to the gates and afterwards reproaching
the Romans for thinking of booty before the battle was finished,
is very similar in Shakespeare and North).

VI. (a). Shakespeare: Martius says to Cominius: "O let me
clip you ij arms as sound as when I woo'd."

Martius: "How lies their battle? Know you on which side
They have placed their men of trust?

Cominius: As I guess, Martius,
The bands in the vaward are the Antiates
Of their best trust: o'er them Aufidius
Their very heart of hope.

180.
Martius: I do beseech you

By all the battles wherein we have fought
Set me against Aufidius and his Antiates.

VI. (b). North: "But soon after when they saw him run with a lively cheer to the consul Cominius, and take him by the hand and saw the consul Cominius also kiss and embrace him, then there was not a man that took heart again to him and began to be of a good courage. Martius asked him (the consul) how the order of their enemy's battle was and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The consul made him answer that he thought the bands which were in the vaward of their battle were those of the Antiates whom they esteemed to be the warlikest of men: they prayed Martius to be set directly against them."

Here to begin with Shakespeare simply changes the narrative from the direct to the indirect form, but afterwards by the introduction of Aufidius, the famous leader of the Corioli, he adds a certain "dramatic" significance to the picture as a whole.

VII. (a). Shakespeare: Martius (now Coriolanus) says (III. i. 68-71):

"I say again

In soothing them, we nourish 'gainst our senate
The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedition
Which we ourselves have ploughed for, sow'd and scatter'd
By mingling them with us, the honoured number".
VII. (b). North: "Moreover" he said, "they nourished against themselves the naughty seed and cockle of sedition, which had been sowed and scattered abroad amongst the people".

VIII. (a). Shakespeare: Martius says (III. I. 110-115):

"Whoever gave that counsel, to give forth
The corn O'the store-house gratis, as 'twas used
Sometime in Greece -
Though there the people had more absolute power -
I say, they nourished disobedience,
Fed the ruin of the state".

VIII. (b). North: "Therefore" said he, "they that gave counsel and persuaded that the corn should be given out to the common people gratis, as they used to do in the cities of Greece where the people had more absolute power, did but only nourish their disobedience which would break out in the end to the utter ruin and overthrow of the whole state."

IX. (a). Shakespeare: Cominius says (I. IX.):

"Of all the horses,
(Whereof we have ta'en good, and good store,) of all
The treasure, in this field achiev'd, and city,
We render you the tenth".

Martius:

"I thank you, general;
But cannot make my heart consent to take
A bribe to pay my sword; I do refuse it."

Cominius:

"In token of the which
My noble steed, known to the camp, I give him
With all his trim belonging"

Martius:

"Howbeit, I thank you,
I mean to stride your steed."

"I that now
Refus'd most princely gifts, am bound to beg
Of my lord general.

I sometime lay, here in Corioli,
At a poor man's house; he us'd me kindly:
He cried to me; I saw him prisoner;
But then Aufidius was within my view,
And wrath o'erwhelmed my pity: I request you
To give my poor host freedom."

IX. (b). North:— So in the end he (Cominius) willed Martius
that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of
their enemies and of all the goods they had won ten of every sort
which he liked best; besides a goodly horse with a caparison and
all furniture to him. Martius, however, refusing the goods
but accepting the gift of the horse proceeds as follows: "Only this grace I crave and beseech you to grant me. Among the Volscæs there is an old friend and host of mine, an honest wealthy man and now a prisoner, who living before in great wealth in his own country liveth now a poor prisoner in the hands of his enemies; yet notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure, if I could save him from this one danger to keep him from being sold as a slave".

In connection with this parallel Professor MacCallum points out a mistake in North's text which has been copied by Shakespeare: "It has been shown" he says, "that North, owing to a small typographical error in the French, misunderstood the scope of Cominius' offer to Martius".

Amyot gives: Et en fin lui dit que de tous les chef-aeux prisonniers, et autres biens qui avoient este fris . . . . . . . il en choisit aix de chaque sorte à sa volonté.

A comma ought really to have been placed after cheveaux, Martius being told to choose ten of the horses, prisoners and other chattels. But North took the prisonniers as used adjectually in agreement with the preceeding noun, translating: "He willed Martius, he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their enemies . . . . . . tenne of every sort which he liked best!"

Compare the passage in Shakespeare's Coriolanus:-

"Of all the horses
Whereof we have ta'en good and good store, of all
We render you the tenth."

X. (a). Shakespeare:— Coriolanus says (V. IV.):

"My name is Caius Marcius who hath done
To thee particularly and to all the Volsees,
Great hurt and mischief: there to witness may
My surname, Coriolanus: the painful service
The extreme dangers and the drops of blood
Shed for my thankless country are requited
But with that surname: a good memory
And witness of the malice and displeasure
Thou shouldst bear me: only that name remains.
The cruelty and envy of the people
Permitted by our dastard nobles, who
Have all forsook me, hath devoured the rest

Now, this extremity
Hath brought me to thy hearth: Not out of hope
Mistake me not, to save my life: for if
I had feared death, of all the men i' the world
I would have voided thee.

Then, if thou hast
A heart of wreck in thee, that will revenge
Thine own particular wrongs; speed thee straight
And make my misery serve thy turn.

But if so be
Thou dar'st not this and that to prove more fortunes
Thou art tired, then in a word, I also am
Longer to live most weary and present my throat to thee
Which not to cut would shew thee but a fool.

X. (b). North:- "I am Gaius Marcius, who hath done to thyself particularly and to all the Voices generally great hurt and mischief which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I have never had other benefit or recompense of the true and painful service I have done and the extreme dangers I have been in but this only Surname, a good memory of the malice and displeasure thou should'st bear me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest the envy and cruelty of the Roman people have taken from me by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates who have forsaken me and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor to take thy chimney hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby: for if I had feared death, I would not have come in hither to have put my life in hazard. Wherefore if thou hast any heart to be wrecked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee now and let my misery
serve thy turn. ... And if it be so that thou dare not and that thou art weary to prove fortune any longer, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee to save the life of him who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure thee."

XI. (a). Shakespeare:— Coriolanus says (II. II. 130-150):

"I do beseech you

Let me o'erleap that custom: for I cannot
Put on the gown, stand naked and entreat them
For my wound's sake to give their suffrage.

To bray unto them, - Thus I did and thus
Shew them the unaching scars, which I should hide,
As if I had received them for the hire
Of their breath only."

XI. (b). North:— "For the custom of Rome was at that time that such as did sue for any office should for certain days before being in the market place only with a poor gown on their backs and without any coat underneath to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of the election which was thus devised either to move the people the more by requesting them in such mean apparel or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten
in the wars in the service of the commonwealth."

XII. (a). Shakespeare:— Brutus says (III. III. 1-3):

"In this point I charge him home, that the affects Tyrrannical power: if he evade us there Enforce him with his envy to the people".

Sicinius says (III. III. 63-67):

"We charge you that you have contrived to take From Rome all seasoned office and to wind Yourself into a power tyrrannical For which you are a traitor to the people".

XII. (b). North:— "The Tribunes answered him that they would shew how he did aspire to be king and would prove that all his actions tended to usurp tyrannical power over Rome."

XIII. (a). Shakespeare:— Coriolanus says (III. III. 40-41):

"Shall I be charged no father than this present? Must all determine here?".

(b). North:— "Conditionally (quoth he) that your charge me with nothing else beside".

XIV. (a). Shakespeare:— Sicinius says (III. III. 10-12):

"Have you collected them by tribes?"

(b). North:— "And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the people would proceed to
give their voices by Tribes and by hundreds".

Besides mentioning the fact that the people "gave their voices by Tribes" Plutarch notes the advisability of adopting this method for he says, in North's version, (if they gave their voices by hundreds) "the multitude of the poor needy people and all such rabble as had nothing to lose and had less regard of honesty before their eyes came to be of greater force than the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serve the commonwealth in their wars".

Shakespeare, as can be seen in the passage quoted above, simply notes the fact that the people were "collected by tribes" without commenting in any way on the process.

XV. (a). Shakespeare:- _Volumnia_ says (IV. II.):

"Should we be silent and not speak, our raiment
And state of bodies would bewray what life
We have led since the exile. Think with thyself
How more unfortunate than all living women
Are we come hither: Since that thy sight, which should
Make our eyes flow with tears, hearts dance with comfort
Constrains them weep and shake with fear and sorrow:
Making the mother, wife and child to see
The son, the husband and the father tearing
His country's bowels out. And to poor we
Thine enmity's most capital: thou barr'st us
Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
That all but we enjoy. For how can we
Alas! how can we for our country pray
Whereeto we are bound? together with thy victory
Whereeto we are bound? Alack! or we must lose
The country, our dear nurse, or else thy person
Our comfort in the country. We must find
An evident calamity, though we had our wish,
Which side should win: for either thou
Must, as a foreign recreant, be led
With manacles through our streets or else
Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin;
And bear the palm for having bravely shed
Thy wife and children's blood. For myself, son
I purpose not to wait on fortune, till
These wars determine: if I cannot persuade thee
Rather to show a noble grace to both parts
Than seek the end of one, thou shalt no sooner
March to assault thy country, than to tread
(Trust to 't thou shalt not) on thy mother's womb
That brought thee to the world".

XV. (b). North:— "If we held our peace my son and determined
not to speak, the state of our poor bodies and present sight of
our raiment would easily bewray to thee what life we have led
at home, since thy exile and abode abroad, but think now with
thyselph how much more unfortunately than all the women living we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all others to behold, spiteful fortune had made most fearful for us, making myself to see my son and my daughter her husband beseiging the walls of his native country, so that as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adversity and misery to pray unto the gods and to call to them for aid is the only thing which plungeth us into most deep perplexity. For we cannot alas together pray both for victory to our country and for safety of thy life also . . . . . . . . . . . . . . For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy wife and children to forego one of the two either to lose the person of thyself or the nurse of their native country. For myself, my son, I am determined not to tarry till fortune in my lifetime do make an end of this war. For if I cannot persuade thee rather to do good unto both parties than to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring love and nature before the malice and calamity of wars thou shalt see my son, and trust unto it thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy country, but thy foot shall tread upon thy mother's womb that brought thee first unto this world".

XVI. (a). Shakespeare:-  

Volumnia says (V. II):

Maj go not from us thus.

If it were so, that our request did tend
To save the Romans, thereby to destroy
The Volsces whom you serve, you might condemn us
As poisonous of your honour: No, our suit
If that you reconcile them ........
........ Thou know'st, great son
The end of war's uncertain: but this certain
That if thou conquer Rome, the benefit
Which thou shalt thereby reap, is such a name
Whose repetition will be dogged with curses;
Whose chronicle thus writ, - 'The man was noble,
But with his last attempt he wip'd it out.
............ Speak to me, son
Thou hast affected the fine strains of honour.
Think'st thou it honourable for a noble man
Still to remember wrongs? ........
............ There is no man in the world
More bound to his mother; yet here he lets me prate
Like one i' the stocks. Thou hast never in thy life
Shew'd thy dear mother any courtesy.

Coriolanus:

"O mother, mother,
What have you done? O my mother, mother! O!
You have won a happy victory to Rome:
But for your son, - believe it, O believe it.
Most dangerously you have with him prevailed
If not most mortal to him".

XVI. (b). North:- For if it were so that my request tended to
save thy country in destroying the Volscen, I must confess thou
wouldst hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. So though the
end of war be uncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain
that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou
reap of thy goodly conquest to the chronicled the plague and
destroyer of thy country and if fortune also overthrow thee
then the world will say that through desire to revenge thy
private injuries thou hast for ever undone thy good friends...

Hereupon she began again to speak unto him and said "My
son, why dost thou not answer me? Dost thou take it honourable
for a noble man to remember the wrongs and injuries done him.
No man living is bound to shew himself thankful in all parts and
respects than thyself. Besides thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poor mother any
courtesy." Martius seeing that could refrain no longer but
went straight and lift her up, crying out, 'Oh mother, what have
you done to me.' 'Oh mother' said he, 'you have won a happy
victory for your country but mortal and unhappy for your son,
for I see myself vanquished by you alone'.

XVII. (a). Shakespeare:- Cominius says (II. II. 87):
"It is held
That valour is the chiefest virtue and
Most dignifies the haver"
XVII. (b). North:- Now in those days, valianctnes was honoured in Rome above all the other vertues.

XVIII. (a). Shakespeare:- Martius says (I. IV. 43):  
So now the gates are ope: now prove good seconds.  
'Tis for the followers fortune widens them,  
Not for the fliers.

XVIII. (b). North:- He did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them that fortune had opened the gates of the city more for the followers than the fliers.

XIX. (a). Shakespeare:- Brutus brings the following charge against Coriolanus (III. I. 43):  
When corn was given them gratis, you repined;  
Scandal'd the suppliants for the people, called them Time-pleasers, flatterers, foes to nobleness.

(b). North:- (On the proposal being brought forward to distribute corn to the people). "Martius standing up on his feet did somewhat sharplyy take up those who went about to gratify the people therein and called them people-pleasers and traitors to the nobility."

XX. (a). Shakespeare:- Coriolamis says (V. II. 206):  
Ladies, you deserve  
To have a temple built you.

(b). North:- The senate ordained that the magistrates to gratify and honour these ladies, should grant them all that they
would require. And they only requested that they would build a temple of fortune of the women. (The marginal note in North's Plutarch gives: "The temple of Fortune built for the women").

"From the worshippers (in Plutarch)" says Professor MacCallum, "they (i.e., the women) become the worshipped (in Shakespeare)".

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of borrowing in this play occurs in the account of the candidature where Shakespeare not only mentions with Plutarch that the people at first support Martius, but with Plutarch he actually alludes to the facts a second time:

XXI. (a). Shakespeare:-

1. The Second officer says (II. II.):

He hath so planted his honours in their eyes and his actions in their hearts that for their tongues to be silent and not confess so much were a kind of ungrateful injury: to report otherwise were malice, that giving itself the lie, would pluck reproof and rebuke from every ear that heard it.

2. First citizen: Once, if he do require our voices, we ought not to deny him.

Second citizen: We may, sir, if we will.

Third citizen: If he tell us his noble deeds, we must also tell him our noble acceptance of them. Ingratitude
is monstrous: and for the multitude to be ingrateful were to make a monster of the multitude; of the which, we being members, should bring ourselves to be monstrous members.

XXI. (b). North:- Shortly after this, Martius stood for the Consulship and the common people favoured his suit, thinking it would be a shame to deny and refuse the chiefest noble man of blood and most worthy person of Rome and specially him that had done so great service and good to the commonwealth . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

There was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himself, to refuse so valiant a man: and one of them said to another, "We must needs choose him Consul, there is no remedy"1

In bringing to a conclusion the parallels with Plutarch we cannot do better than quote (1) Professor MacCallum, who referring to the subject matter in Coriolanus says that "The first impression produced by a comparison of the biography and the play is that the latter is little more than a scenic replica of the former".

(2) Delius who, in a paper connected with this subject states, alluding to Coriolanus, that "This harmonious colouring would make it impossible for us, in respect of style to discover real or supposititious loans from Plutarch in Shakespeare's drama and definitely identify them as such, if by chance North's translation were inaccessible."
What could be greater praise for Shakespeare than these words of Delius, or what more genuinely true concerning the methods adopted by our poet in handling the subjects of every classical writer to whom he is indebted?. -- A method in which he proves himself superior to his contemporaries and brilliantly transcends his creditors of antiquity.
With the exception of one or two passages in Antony's Funeral Oration, which he may have obtained from Appian's Civil Wars and phrases like the 'Et tu Brute', Shakespeare found in Plutarch "practically all the stuff and substance for his play, except what was contributed by his own genius". "All the persons except Lucius", says Professor MacCallum, "came from him and Shakespeare owes to him a number of their characteristics down to the minutest traits. Cassius' leanness and Antony's sleekness, Brutus' fondness for his books and cultivation of an artificial style, Caesar's liability to the falling sickness and vein of arrogance in his later years are all touches that are taken over from the Biographer. There is thus hardly a link in the action that was not forged on Plutarch's anvil". Shakespeare obtains a great deal of his material from the Life of Brutus, but the Life of Caesar if freely employed, whilst our poet also obtains some of his knowledge from the Life of Antony. But here again, as in his other Roman plays, Shakespeare alters and modifies and adds certain delicate touches of his own - a process which was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that, his material was widely scattered and that in the transmutation of that material he had to deal with, not one separate and distinct Life, but three Lives of three entirely
different characters.

The following are a few of the many passages in which Shakespeare has borrowed from Plutarch:—

I (a). Shakespeare:— Casca says (I. III. 10):

But never till tonight, never till now,
Did I go throw a tempest dropping fire.

A common slave — you know him well by sight —
Held up his left hand which did flame and burn
Like twenty torches join'd; and yet his hand,
Not sensible of fire, remain'd unscorched.

and there were drawn

Upon a heap a hundred ghastly women,

Transformed with their fear; who swore they saw
Men all in fire walk up and down the streets.

And yesterday the bird of night did sit,

Even at noonaday, upon the market place,

Hooting and shrieking.

(b). North:— "For touching the fires in the element and

spirites running up and downe in the night and also these

solitarie birdes to be seene at noone dayes sittinge in the

great market place: are not all these signes perhappes worth

the noting in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened ?. But

Strabo the Philosopher wryteth that divers men were seene going

up and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of
the soldiers, that did cast a marvelous burning flame out of his hande, insomuch as they that saw it, thought he had been burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt.

(Life of Caesar.)

II. (a). Shakespeare. Portia says (II. I. 280):

Within the bond of marriage, tell me, Brutus
Is it expected I should know no secrets
That appertain to you? Am I yourself
But, as it were, in sort or limitation;
To keep with you at meals, comfort your bed,
And talk to you sometimes? Dwell in but in the suburbs
Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife.

Brutus:
You are my true and honourable wife;
As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
That visit my sad heart.

Portia:
If this were true, then should I know this secret.
I grant I am a woman; but, withal,
A woman that lord Brutus took to wife:

A woman well reputed,- Cato's daughter.
Think you I am no stronger than my sex,
Being so father'd, and so husbanded?.
I have made strong proof of my constancy,
Giving myself a voluntary wound,
Here, in the thigh: can I bear that with patience,
And not my husband's secrets?.

Brutus:

O ye gods,

Render me worthy of this noble wife!

(b) North:— "I being, O Brutus, the daughter of Cato, was married unto thee, not to be thy bedde fellowe and companion at bedde and at borde onlie, like a harlot: but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and evill fortune. . . . . . . . .

But for my paste, how may I showe my dutie towards thee and howe muche I woulde doe for thy sake if I cannot constantlie beare a secret mischaunce or griefe with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity?. I confesse that a woman's wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely. . . . . . .

And for my selfe I have this benefit moreover that I am the daughter of Cato and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, until that now I have found by experience, that no paine nor griefe whatsoever can overcome me. With these wordes she shewed him her wounde on her thigh and told him what she had done to prove her selfe.

Brutus . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . besought the goddes
to give him grace that he might bring his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be found a husband, worthie of so noble a wife as Portia.

(Life of Marcus Brutus.)

III (a). Shakespeare:— Brutus says (II. I. 112):
Give me your hands all over one by one.

Cassius:
And let us swear our resolution.

Brutus:
No, not an oath: If not the face of men,
The suffrance of our souls, the time's abuse,—
If these be motives weak, break off betimes.

(b). North:— The onlie name and great calling of Brutus did bring in the most of them to give consent to this conspiracie. Who having never taken othes together, nor taken or given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious othes, they all kept the matter so secret to themselves.

(Life of Marcus Brutus.)

We might notice the difference between Shakespeare's and Plutarch's treatment of these facts. Plutarch regards the nobility of Brutus' character, and the peculiar nature of the conspiracy, in which the conspirators were bound by no oaths of any description as two separate and as stated facts. Shakespeare however, sees a close connection between them, and has accordingly
linked them together in his tragedy.

IV. (a). Shakespeare:- Lucius says (II. I. 310):

Here is a sick man that would speak with you.

Brutus: O, what a time have you chosen out, brave Caius
          To wear a kerchief! Would you were not sick.

Ligarius: I am not sick, if Brutus have in hand
          Any exploit worthy the name of honour.

This passage again is unlike the corresponding one in the
Biography, in which Brutus goes to see Ligarius, whereas in
(\textit{Brutus})
Shakespeare the sick Ligarius comes to his house.

IV. (b). North:— Brutus went to see him being sicke in his
bedde and sayed unto him: 'O Ligarius, in what a time art thou
sicke!' Ligarius rising up in his bedde and taking him by
the right hande, sayed unto him: 'Brutus', sayed he, 'if thou
hast any enterprize in hande worthie of thy selfe, I am whole'.

\textit{(Life of Marcus Brutus)}.

V. (a). Shakespeare:- Caesar says: (II. II. 11.)—

Thrice hath Calphurnia in her sleep cried out,

'Help, ho! They murder Caesar!' Who's within?

Calphurnia:

And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.

Servant:

They would not have you to stir forth today

Plucking the entrails of an offering forth
They could not find a heart within the beast.

V. (b). North:— "For touching . . . . . . . . the spirites running up and downs in the night . . . . . . . . are not all these signes perhaps worth the noting in such a wonderfull chaunce as happened ?.

. . . . . . . . Caesar's selfe also doing sacrifice unto the Goddes found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no hart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. . . . . . . . For she (Calphurnia) dreamed that Caesar was slaine and that she had him in her armes. (Life of Julius Caesar).

We might notice how Shakespeare has distributed the material obtained from Plutarch, assigning the dream of Calpurnia to Caesar's speech, the appearance of the ghosts to Calpurnia's, and the ominous results of the sacrifice to the servants. Again in Plutarch, Caesar is himself sacrificing to the Gods, whereas in Shakespeare he sends his servant to "bid the priests do present sacrifice".

VI. (a). Shakespeare:- Artemidorus says (III. I. 3.):

Hail Caesar! read this schedule.

Decius: Trebonius doth desire you to o'er-read,

At your best leisure, this his humble suit.

Artemidorus: O Caesar, read mine first; for mine's a suit

That touches Caesar nearer, read it, great Caesar.
Caesar: What touches us ourself shall be last served.

VI. (b). North:—"He (Artemidorus) marking howe Caesar received all the supplications that were offered to him . . . . . . . pressed neerer to him and said: 'Caesar, reade this memoriall to your selfe and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight and touch you neerely'. Caesar took it of him, but could never reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the multitude of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hande, keeping it to himselfe, went on withall into the Senate house. (Life of Julius Caesar.)

We might notice how Shakespeare, in order to magnify the character of Caesar, gives us a reason for his not reading the schedule, one quite different from that which Plutarch mentions. In Plutarch, Caesar is prevented from perusing the schedule by the "multitude of people that did salute him"; in Shakespeare he is careless of anything connected with his own welfare, and so he pays no attention to the request of Artemidorus. The Shakespearean passage is one of the very few examples, in which the character of the titular hero is exalted: as a rule Shakespeare keeps his good points in the background and only mentions those qualities in his character, which might serve to excuse or to some degree extenuate the act of the conspirators in assassinating him.
VII. (a). Shakespeare:- (III. I.)

Popilius: I wish your enterprise to-day may thrive.
Cassius: What enterprise, Popilius ?.
Popilius: Fare you well.
Brutus: What said Popilius Lena ?
Cassius: He wish'd today our enterprise might thrive.
I fear our purpose is discovered.
Brutus: Look how he makes to Caesar: mark him.
Cassius: Casca, be sudden, for we fear prevention.
Brutus, what shall be done ? If this be known
Cassius or Caesar never shall turn back,
For I will slay myself.
Brutus: Cassius, be constant:
Popilius Lena speaks not of our purpose,
For look he smiles and Caesar does not change.

VII. (b). North:- Popilius Lena that had talked before with
Brutus and Cassius and had prayed the goddes that they might
bring this enterprise to passe, went unto Caesar and kept him
a long time with a talke. Wherefore the conspirators . . . .
. . . . conjecturing . . . . . . that his talke was none other
but the verie discoverie of their conspiracie, were affrayed
everie man of them . . . . . . . . . . . it was easie to see that
they all were of a minde . . . . . . . . that they should kill
themselves with their owne handes. Brutus marking the
countenance and gesture of Laena and considering that he did
use himself rather like an humble and earnest suiter . . . . .
with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius.

(Life of Julius Caesar.)

VIII. (a). Shakespeare:—Antony says (III. II. 92.):

Even at the base of Pompey's statue
Which all the while ran blood.

(b). North:—Caesar was driven . . . . . . against
the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ranne all of a
goare blood.

On this parallel Professor MacCallum writes as follows:

"North's actual slips or blunders are received into the play.
This clause, probably by accident, adds picturesqueness to Amyot's
simple description "qui en fust toute ensanglantee". Both
Plutarch and Amyot meant by their different versions that Pompey's
statue was covered with the blood of Caesar's wound. North
misrepresents this passage by adding to it, and is apt to
midlead the reader into thinking that blood ran from Pompey's
statue - a fallacy which is so completely worked out in
Shakespeare that the poor reader, did he not know the actual
circumstances, would be utterly deceived.

IX. (a). Shakespeare:—Lucilius says (V. IV. 21.):

I dare assure thee that no enemy
Shall ever take alive the noble Brutus:
The gods defend him from so great a shame!
When you do find him, or alive or dead
He will be found like Brutus, like himself.

This is nothing else but a poetical translation of North's prose version:

IX. (b). North:- I dare assure thee that no enemie hath taken, nor shall take Marcus Brutus alive: and I beseeche God keepe him from that fortune. For wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himselfe.

(Life of Brutus.)

X. (a). Shakespeare:- Brutus says (V. I. 101.):

Even by the rule of that philosophy
By which I did blame Cato for the death
Which he did give himself, I know not how
But I do find it cowardly and vile
For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
The time of life: arming myself with patience
To stay the providence of some higher powers
That govern us below.

No, Cassius, No: think not thou noble Roman
That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
He bears too great a mind. But this same day
Must end that work the Ides of March began.
X. (b). North:— "I trust (I know not how) a certaine Rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue Cato for killing of him selfe: as being no godly or lawful acte, touching the goddes nor concerning men valiant . . . . . . . . . . not constantly and paciently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him to send us, but to drawe backe and flie: but being now in the middest of the daunger, I am of a contrarey mind. For if it be not the will of God that this battell fall out fortunate for us I . . . . . . . . . will rid me of this miserable world. . . . . . . . . For I gave up my life for my country in the Ides of Marche, for the which I shall live in another more glorious worlde."

(Life of Brutus.)

Here again Shakespeare follows the mistranslation of North. Amyot's French version runs as follows:

"Jefeis ne scay comment un discours de philosophie, par leguel je refrenois et blasmois fort Caton d'estre desfaits o y mesme".

North translates "feis" as coming from "fier" instead of "faise" and gives to "discours" the wrong meaning of "rule".

XI. (a). Shakespeare:— Brutus says (IV. III. 21.):

What, shall one of us
That struck the foremost man of all the world
But for supporting robbers; shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes?.
Shakespeare appears to have got this opinion of Caesar's character from Plutarch's Antony, where we are told that Caesar's soldiers and Antony especially committed many outrages and robberies during the wars, but that Caesar himself paid no heed to these.

XI. (b). North:— Caesar's friends . . . . . were cause why they hated Caesar's government, by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius deserved most blame. But Caesar . . . . . .

made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him.

XII. (a). Shakespeare:— Cassius says (IV. III. 11.):

You have condemned and noted Lucius Pella
For taking bribes here of the Sardians

In such a time as this, it is not meet
That every nice offence should bear his comment.

Brutus:
Remember March, the Ides of March remember
Did not great Julius bleed for justice sake?

What, shall one of us
That struck the foremost man of all the world
But for supporting robbers, shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes?

XII. (b). North:- The next day Brutus upon complaint of the
Sardians did condemne and noted Lucius Pella for that he was accused and convicted of robberie and pilferie
in his office. And therefore he (Cassius) greatly reproved Brutus for that he would shew himselfe so straight and severe in such a tyme, as was meeter thing to bear a little, then to take things at the worst.
Brutus aanswerered that he should remember the Ides of Marche, at which tyme they slue Julius Caesar, who onely was a favorer and suborner of all them that did robbe and spoyle by his countenaunce and authoritie.

XIII. (a) Shakespeare:- Brutus says (IV. III. 69.):
I did send to you
For certain sums of gold, which you denied me.

Cassius:
I denied you not.

(b) North:- Brutus prayed Cassius to let him have some
part of his money whereof he had great store. Cassius' friends hindered this request. This notwithstanding Cassius gave him the third part of his totall summe.
Shakespeare, although he appears to know the real state of things as represented by Plutarch, nevertheless changes the facts. In Shakespeare, Brutus says that Cassius refused to lend him money, - an accusation which Cassius vehemently denies. In North there is no mention of any refusal on the part of Cassius; the latter's friends had tried to persuade him not to send any money to Brutus, but had failed in this attempt.

XIV. (a). Shakespeare:— Brutus says (IV. III.):

Art thou some god;

Speak to me what thou art ?.

Ghost: Thy evil spirit, Brutus.

Brutus: Why comest thou ?.

Ghost: To tell thee, thou shalt see me at Philippi.

Brutus: Well then, I shall see thee again.

Boy! Lucius! Varro! Claudius! Sirs awake !.

(b). North:— So Brutus boldly asked what he (the spirit) was; a god or a man. ............... The spirit answered him 'I am thy evill spirit, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the citie of Phillipes'. Brutus ............... replied 'Well then, I shall see thee agayne'. The spirit presently vanished away and Brutus called his men unto him.

In addition to direct passages borrowed from Plutarch,
Shakespeare obtained from that writer many of the characteristics and qualities of his Dramatis Personae. In North's Plutarch he could read of Antony's sleekness and Brutus' and Cassius' leaness.

Compare: Julius Caesar I. II. - Caesar says to Antony:-

Let me have men about me that are fat;

Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights:

Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look.

and the following passage in North's Plutarch:-

"For intelligence being brought him one day that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him, he answered "That these fat long-haired men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely-faced fellows meaning that by Brutus and Cassius.

Both Shakespeare and Plutarch tell us of the studious turn of mind in Brutus and of his love of Philosophy:-

Look Lucius, (says Brutus) here's the book I sought for so;

I put it in the pocket of my gown . . . . . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Let me see; Let me see: - Is not the leaf turned down Where I left reading ?

Again Brutus remarks (meditating on the advisability of suicide)-

Even by the rule of that philosophy

By which I did blame Cato for the death

Which he did give himself . . . . . .
I do find it cowardly and vile

... to prevent
The time of life.

Plutarch alludes to Brutus' manners and habits (North's Plutarch) as follows:- But this Marcus Brutus having framed his manners of life by the rules of virtue and study of philosophy and having employed his wit which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things, methinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue. Touching the Grecian philosophers, there was no sect nor philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it.

Again both Shakespeare and Plutarch show their knowledge of the peculiar style, cultivated by Brutus. In this case it might be well to quote North's Plutarch first:

He counterfeited that brief compendions manner of speech of the Lacedaemonians. As he wrote unto the Pergamenians in this sort: "I understand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done it willingly, you confess you have offended me; if against your wills, shew it then by giving me willingly." Another time again unto the Samians: "Your councils be long, your doings be slow, consider the end".
and in another epistle he wrote unto the Patareians. — "The Xanthians have made their country a grave of despair; the Patareians have lost no jot of their liberty: and therefore, whilst you have liberty, either choose the judgment of the Patareians or the fortune of the Xanthians.

(Life of Marcus Brutus).

One speech in our play will suffice to prove that Shakespeare was aware of this style:

Brutus says to Cassius (I. II.):
That you do love me, I am nothing jealous
What you would work me to, I have some aim
How I have thought of this and of these times
I shall recount hereafter. What you have said
I will consider: What you have to say
I will with patience here.

To Shakespeare's and to Plutarch's Brutus "Brevity was the soul of wit": they voice their sentiments and opinions in as few words and in as clear a manner as possible.

Both Shakespeare and Plutarch refer to Caesar's sickness. Cassius, attempting to win over Brutus to his side, says to him (concerning Cassar):

"He had a fever, when he was in Spain
And when the fit was on him, I did mark
How he did shake".
Plutarch alludes to Caesar's health with the following words: "For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was often subject to headache and otherwise to the falling sickness (the which took him the first time in Corduba, a city of Spain)."

Again Plutarch writes concerning Caesar's campaign in Africa: "For as he did set his men in battle ray, the falling sickness took him, whereunto he was given: and therefore feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle".

For his knowledge of the Impercalia, of the offering of the crown to Caesar by Antony, and of Caesar's subsequent refusal of the same, Shakespeare is indebted to Plutarch's Antony:-(1) Shakespeare:- (Act I. sc. I): Marullus says:-

May we do so?
You know it is the feast of Impercal:

Brutus to Casca (Act I. sc. II):
Tell us what hath chanced today.

Casca:
Why there was a crown offered him: and being offered him, he put it back with the back of his hand thus:
and then the people fell a shouting.

Brutus:
What was the second noise for?

Casca:
Why for that too.
Cassius:
They shouted twice: what was the last cry for?

Casca:
Why for that too.

Brutus:
Was the crown offer'd him thrice?

Casca:
Ay, many was't, and he put it by, thrice.

Cassius:
Who offered him the crown?

Casca:
Why Antony.

(2) Plutarch (North):— The Romans by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia. . . . . . . . . . .
He (Antony) ran to the tribune where Caesar was set and carried a laurel crown in his hand . . . . . . . which, in old time was the token of a king. When he was come to Caesar . . .
. . . . he did put his laurel crown upon his head . . . . . .
But Caesar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Caesar again refused it: and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown
unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Caesar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands.

Shakespeare also learnt from Plutarch's Antony of Brutus' refusal to allow Antony to be murdered along with Caesar; of the apparent conciliation of Antony and the conspirators; and of the funeral oration of Antony, which from a few lines in Plutarch he has moulded into a perfect masterpiece of persuasive oratory.

From Plutarch's Brutus (in addition to the parallels already mentioned) Shakespeare learnt of the gradual winning over of Brutus to the side of the conspiracy; of Cassius' hatred of tyranny; of the fact that the conspirators hid their plans from Cicero; of the weakness and fear of Portia, in continually asking about the acts of her husband on the Ides of March; and lastly of the great mistake of Brutus in permitting Antony to address the people, whilst Antony's funeral oration is also alluded to in this Life.

In Plutarch's Julius Caesar, Shakespeare might have read about the Lupercalia and Caesar's refusal of the crown offered him by Antony; of the prophesy of the day of Caesar's death by the soothsayer; of the fact that Caesar was to strike the first blow, and lastly, about the very important will of Caesar, which when it was read had such an effect on the Romans generally, "that there was no order to keep the multitude and people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables and stools and laid them all about
the body, and setting them on fire burnt the corse."
In conclusion we might add that Shakespeare, in regard to his classical knowledge, has suffered greatly owing to the comparisons which have been made between his own acquaintance with classics and that of his contemporaries, notably, Ben Jonson. The very age in which he lived seems to have unscionably added to the exaggerated ideas on this subject; for as has already been pointed out, in the time of Elizabeth the popularity of classical learning was as great, if not greater, than it has ever been since; probably therefore Shakespeare's knowledge of classics was somewhat confined compared with that of the literary celebrities of his day. But this is not equivalent to saying that he knew little or next to nothing of classics. In considering this question we cannot do better than quote the acute remarks of Mr. Stapfer on the subject: this writer says that "there is perhaps no more pernicious source of error in criticism than the mania for contrasting celebrated contemporaries on hard and fast lines". We think that it is this comparative criticism which placed Shakespeare beside such eminent Latinists as Jonson, that has planted in the minds of posterity an idea which she has never been able to rid herself of, Shakespeare's ignorance of antiquity. And yet no disparagement is thrown over our poet's fame, even if we agree with Dr. Farmer that he was more familiar with translations than with the originals.

We can even conceive this piece of criticism as adding to his
reputation, knowing as we do the quality of the translations which existed in his time. If by any chance his knowledge of antiquity was regulated by translations, and cumulative evidence points to the very opposite supposition, we cannot but admire the use he has made of that knowledge. "The Classics", says Mr. Root, "supplied Shakespeare with the rough marble, blocks of Parian perchance, and a few tools more or less suited to the work: but it was himself, his soul, his intellect and his good right arm which have produced almost living and moving forms:--

See, my lord,

Would you not deem it breathed? and that those veins

Did verily bear blood?"

(Winter's Tale. V. III.).

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