

EARLY ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC STYLE WITH
PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE WORKS OF
GEORGE PEELE
BY
HSIN-CHANG CHANG

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CHAPTER I: Introduction: The Study of Style in Pre-Shakespearean Drama.

The study of George Peele has not been pursued as an object in itself by English scholars but has usually formed part of the larger study of pre-Shakespearean drama or of the study of the Shakespeare canon. This is easy to explain, since Peele's contribution to the development of English drama is small in comparison with that of Marlowe or Kyd and his influence on Shakespeare does not go deeper than Lyly's or Greene's. As a dramatist Peele made a few innovations but led no fashion; as a poet his inspiration was occasional and his amount of work slight. His plays are few in number, their texts are corrupt, and, at least as they now stand, they are not good specimens of the types of drama his contemporaries consciously aimed at in writing. In the variety of his work Peele shows versatility, in his frequent departure in dramatic details from contemporary practice, among other things even in his half-hearted efforts at imitation, he shows originality, but neither of these qualities attains full, conscious expression in his extant plays. And indeed his own apparent lack of interest in his writing does not help to bring him enthusiastic appreciation.

The interest of scholars has, on the other hand, been directed toward Peele in their attempts to settle the question of authorship for the many unidentified/

unidentified plays of the period between 1580 and 1595. Among these plays may be mentioned: Selimus, Loocrine, Arden of Feversham, Jack Straw, Mucedorus, Fair Em, An Alarum for London, A Warning for Fair Women, A Knack to Know a Knave, Edward III, Troublesome Reign of King John, King Leir. Different ones of these plays have been ascribed to different playwrights. ✓

Where sole authorship does not seem to account for all the characteristics found in a play the play has been ascribed to two or more authors in collaboration.

In finding the authors of these plays scholars have shown no partiality for Peele. Marlowe, Greene, and Kyd have also been given their shares, though variously by different scholars. Likewise, scholars have tried to trace Peele's hand in the early Shakespearean plays, the three parts of Henry VI and Titus Andronicus, though here also attempts have been made to trace Marlowe's hand. Where scholars go farther than mention a possibility they have sought to prove their ascription by the evidence of style.

In such questions of authorship external evidence is certainly of primary importance. A brief notice given by some contemporary, if significant, will settle the authorship of a play conclusively. But for that body of anonymous plays there is very little external evidence. In discussing their authorship it is necessary, therefore, to fall back on internal evidence, bibliographical/

bibliographical and stylistic. In practice scholars have relied largely on stylistic evidence. The procedure seems dangerous and liable to error, and in the face of unsettled controversies over the authorship of some of the plays, as for example, Lochrine and Selimus, attempts at solving the problem of authorship on stylistic grounds would appear to be futile. And yet plays have actually been accepted by scholars as the work of a certain dramatist mainly on internal evidence: there is no documentary evidence of Marlowe's authorship for Tamburlaine; that The Battle of Alcazar was written by Peele is only testified by the appearance of his name under the six lines from the play quoted in England's Parnassus¹ George a Greene and Soliman and Perseda have been ascribed, though with reservation, to Greene and Kyd respectively by their modern editors, mainly on internal evidence. So the use of stylistic evidence cannot be considered revolutionary and is in fact necessary when other evidence is lacking.

With the Shakespearean plays the problem of finding an author other than Shakespeare is much more complicated. On the one hand there is usually more definite external evidence to deal with, and there is at least the testimony of the Folio. On the other hand/

1. On this question see Malone Society Collections I, 101-6.

hand there is a large body of well-preserved texts from which to gather evidence, bibliographical and stylistic, in arguing one's case. It is around the early Shakespearean plays then that there has been the greatest controversy over authorship, and it is this controversy over the Shakespeare canon which has kept up the interest of scholars in Peele, Greene, Kyd and the other dramatists, quite apart from the intrinsic merits of their work.

In order to deal with these pre-Shakespearean and early Shakespearean plays systematically the most natural course seems to be to study a number of the plays at the same time, to discriminate between the styles they exhibit, and finally to relate these styles to the styles of known dramatists. Mr J. M. Robertson has entered upon such a study and published his results in Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus? (1905), later expanded into Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon (1924). Mr Robertson sets out from the position he maintains in his other studies on the Shakespeare canon, that from the diversity of styles found in a play collaborate authorship may be inferred. Starting from this position he examines the style of Titus Andronicus and of those anonymous plays which he believes may have been written by Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Kyd or Lodge, taking as the unit in his study of style the scene or even the long passage rather than the entire play. He thus comes

to the conclusion that Peele's hand is present in the writing of Titus Andronicus, Jack Straw, Lochrine, Alphonsus Emperor of Germany, King Leir, and Troublesome Reign of King John. In attributing some of these to Peele Mr Robertson is preceded by Fleay. In maintaining that Peele had a part in the writing of the four anonymous plays he is corroborated by Mr H. Dugdale Sykes, though Mr Sykes regards Peele as the sole author of the four plays. Mr Robertson's is the only systematic and exhaustive study of the anonymous plays between 1580 and 1595, and his conclusion makes Peele the author of a large part of Titus Andronicus, and part-author of the originals for Shakespeare's King John and Lear, as well as of other plays. Such a conclusion, if accepted, has important implications, and makes it necessary for scholars to solve the problem of Peele's unsigned work before they can complete the study of the Shakespeare canon.¹

While I do not wish to enter into a discussion of Mr Robertson's methods before I have stated the purpose of this thesis it is necessary to look into the position he starts from at once. It is, of course, clear even upon a first reading that the style of Peele differs in some measure from the style of Greene or Marlowe, and/

1. I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of Mr Robertson's claims since many other scholars have similar views on the subject, but I must confine myself here only to systematic stylistic arguments.

and that it may be possible to capture the difference and define it in words. Similarly the styles of the other dramatists differ perceptibly and probably definably from one another. From this we deduce that in a collaborate play the shares of the collaborators if rather clearly defined may reveal themselves through diversity of styles. In practice the disentangling of the shares of the collaborators in plays of known collaborate authorship has often been attempted, Gorboduc being an example.¹ It does not follow, however, that when a play shows an apparent diversity of styles it must be of collaborate authorship. This objection is not merely axiomatic. It is relevant, because Mr Robertson takes as the unit in his judgement on style the single scene or even a long passage, and would seem to presume that in a play written by one author every scene must be in more or less the same style.

There is also a more practical objection to Mr Robertson's position. It is the question: how far is it possible to identify the style in an anonymous play with the style of a known playwright? By what standards/

1. cf. Howard Baker: Induction to Tragedy, 15-44; J.W. Cunliffe (ed.) Early English Classical Tragedies, notes to Gorboduc by H.A. Watt, 297-307.

2. See infra. For a more detailed discussion on this point.

standards can a passage or scene be pronounced to be in the style of Peele or Marlowe? These questions cannot satisfactorily be answered in theory, and the pragmatic test has to be applied. But it is necessary to look into the possibilities of such identification.

In practice Mr Robertson finds his answer to these objections by citing passages from known dramatists paralleled by passages in anonymous plays similar to them in words and phrasing, in image, in thought and sentiment, or in rhythm to show that identification is possible and can be carried out. That such parallels are subject to too many interpretations to prove anything has often been pointed out¹, but before we ever reach the stage of interpretation, it must be noted that we cannot cite any passage in Marlowe or Peele and pronounce it to be distinctive or representative of Marlowe or Peele. Passages cited from a known writer should first be shown to be in some way characteristic of the writer before they can be put to use as evidence.

In citing passages from a writer then many factors would have to be considered. Here as in every other aspect of the problem textual bibliography has its claims. If the text is corrupt or can be shown to have been revised caution must be exercised in the choice/

1. See infra p. 38 footnote 1 for discussions on this point.

choice of passages. Even if the text is pure, one has yet to consider the author's intention in writing, whether it is innovation or imitation, whether it is in conformity with stage exigencies or to achieve dramatic effects etc. Negatively there are the possibilities of unconscious imitation, of echoes of other plays performed or in print, and of vague recollections of reading or of source material. It is only after all these things have been taken into account that we can begin to show what passages are or are not characteristic of a playwright. This requires careful study of the works of the particular playwright.

The fundamental weakness in Mr Robertson's procedure is that he has omitted to discuss the styles of the playwrights in their known works in detail. He does not attempt to discriminate exactly between their styles before he begins to identify anonymous work. He tells us, for instance, that a certain scene in a play is in the style of Greene, yet he has not defined for us what Greene's style is. There is no criterion by which to measure or pronounce judgement. Hence, before we can confidently approach these anonymous plays with the hope of identifying them on grounds of style, each one of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors would have to be given independent consideration. This means not only careful study but also disinterested study, the object of which is to discover whether in the acknowledged plays of each one/

of the dramatists he shows any distinct manner of marks of style and to what extent his manner and his marks of style are found in the acknowledged plays of the other dramatists. The purpose of the investigation must not be the proving or disproving of his authorship of some play or plays, though it may supply important evidence towards proving or disproving the authorship. But if it fails to discover positive marks of style in a writer and thus supply definite evidence for style discrimination, it will at least serve as a negative check against careless stylistic claims and arguments. It will also perhaps serve to show deficiencies in the method used in defining style, and lead to more fruitful methods. It is with these purposes in mind that I have made this study of Peele's style in its relation to early Elizabethan drama.

It must be recognized from the start that our machinery for the definition and discrimination of style is quite inadequate. But the difficulty is further augmented by the fact that only a part of the work of the dramatists seems consciously directed toward ideals of art, poetic or dramatic. Much of what is in the plays is mere journeyman's work. Moreover their medium - the blank verse - was rather an innovation than the result of protracted, deliberated experiment. The sudden success of blank verse as a medium for drama, its large and rapid technical advance and its subsequent influence make it a phenomenon difficult to explain, and scholars have tried in vain to/

to discover the secret of its power by tracing its ancestry.¹ But blank verse had no claims on the attention of the court poets, scholars, and rhetoricians of Elizabeth's reign. Surrey experimented with it and Gascoigne wrote blank verse according to his own rigid precepts. Other poets ^{like} ~~as~~ Grimald and Turberville tried their hand at it, but produced comparatively little ^{of it in quantity.} When Marlowe inherited it from Sackville and Norton as a vehicle for declamation he knew its power, but did not foresee its possibilities. On the contrary it was not precept but usage that finally dictated its rules, and declamation on the stage that brought out its full range of effects. In adopting this new medium, and in satisfying the requirements of dramatic representation the University Wits soon shook themselves free, though not all at once, from the training in rhetoric which was an important part of their academic accomplishment. The drama itself did not conform to classical standards, but developed along with the invention of the dramatists, the tastes of the audience, and the limitations of the stage. From the artistic point of//

1. cf. A. Schröder: 'Die Anfänge des Blankverses in England' Anglia IV (1881) 1-72; G.K. Smart, 'English Non-dramatic Blank Verse in the Sixteenth Century', Anglia LXI - (1937) 370-397; H. Baker: Induction to Tragedy, 1939, chap. II. 'The Formation of the Heroic Medium.' Mr. Gregory Smith in his introduction to Elizabethan Critical Essays touches upon the relation of blank verse to critical theory (I. xlix).

of view the development of Elizabethan drama was in every way a free growth. It is hard to lay down standards for the appraisal of style in such writing.

In this, much more than in other literary investigation, it is necessary, I believe, to approach the plays directly and form from them the standards by which to judge them. Fortunately a foundation for such study has already been laid in the work done on various aspects of Shakespeare's style, which would at least give a basis for comparison. But a warning pertaining to such study is: the student must not confine himself to the particular dramatist he happens to be studying, as what may appear distinctive of one dramatist can possibly be common dramatic practice of the time.

In this thesis I shall attempt to study and analyse the style of George Peele as exhibited in his known plays The Arraignment of Paris, Edward I, David and Bethsabe, Old Wives Tale, and the play The Battle of Alcazar, commonly accepted to be his, and to discover how far Peele's characteristics are found in the plays of Marlowe and Greene, and in other plays of the period, including Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, Lyly's plays, Lodge's Wounds of Civil War, and certain anonymous plays. In discussing the style of Peele I shall also give examples from his poems/

poems, I can claim no more than disinterestedness in my investigation and though I hope the results may be of some little use to students of Shakespeare and pre-Shakespearean drama, I shall not attempt to apply them to discussions of authorship. They do not perhaps warrant any such attempt at all.

Nor indeed shall I enter into the intricacies of the arguments of scholars for or against Peele's authorship of certain anonymous or Shakespearean plays. The external basis of arguments in favour of Peele's authorship of such plays rests on the following facts: Peele's earliest play The Arraignment of Paris was published in 1584 and may have been written earlier. Peele was in London from 1581 to 1583 and again from 1584 presumably until his death in 1596.¹ As a dramatist he was thus on the scene long before Marlowe. He also survived Marlowe and Greene by three and four years respectively. Peele was continually in financial difficulties as may be seen from records of his Oxford days,² and from the begging letter he wrote to Burghley in the year of his death. Peele's extant plays are few in number, and/

1. Peele was buried as a 'household^{er}' at St. James's, Clerkwell, on 9 Nov. 1596. cf. Chambers, Eliz. Stage III. 459.
2. cf. Thorleif Larsen: 'George Peele in the Chancellors Court', MP, vol. 28, (1930-31) 204-7.

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and he wrote plays now lost, among others certainly Iphigenia and The Hunting of Cupid. From these facts it is conjectured that Peele must have written or collaborated in plays now not attributed to him. But it is only with the stylistic evidence in these arguments that I shall concern myself, and even then, I shall only examine the method used to gather such evidence. It is in fact necessary for me to examine all possible approaches to the study of dramatic style before I make my own investigation.

It is in the study of Shakespeare that scholars ^{made} have systematic and successful attempts to analyse dramatic style in all its aspects: versification, diction, imagery, and structure. They have tried to make their study objective. This was possible with versification from the start, and in the study of diction it became possible upon the completion of concordances and the New English Dictionary. The structure of Shakespeare's plays may be referred to no absolute standard, yet the interplay of action frames its own laws and must subordinate itself to the rule of unity. In the study of imagery the work of Miss Caroline Spurgeon definitely established a basis for objective study. Much work remains to be done along these lines of approach. They each demand standards/

standards at once objective and sensitive: such standards remain yet to be evolved.

But even in their varying degrees of objectivity and sensitivity investigation conducted along these lines finds in Shakespeare's plays a style which continually develops in all its aspects. To give concrete instances, in imagery we find among other things the gradual replacement by metaphors in later plays of formal similes of the as or like construction in the early plays.¹ In versification, for example, the later plays show increased variations of stress and in them speeches tend to end more in the middle of a line. In structure the exposition becomes more economical and tends to become a part of the action in later plays. In diction Shakespeare's vocabulary does not remain the same in all periods of his life, and he often ridicules in later plays words used quite seriously in earlier ones.² These are only a part of the development which may be observed in Shakespeare's style. But they serve to show that it is not safe to call Shakespeare's work at any particular period characteristically his own, and that discoveries concerning any single/

1. W. Clemen, Shakespeares Bilder, 30. Clemen gives many other marks of development in Shakespeare's imagery.

2. See O. Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, 208, § 232.

single play can only be regarded as significant in the light of all his plays.

In considering whether these lines of approach may be followed in the study of Marlowe, Peele, or Greene, it is also important to remember Shakespeare's position in English drama. Chronologically, Shakespeare began at the point where Marlowe and Greene broke off. Marlowe's efforts at writing for the stage could only have lasted about six years, Greene's for about the same length of time. The span of Shakespeare's active career lasted at least from 1592 to 1611, twenty years. The demands of the audience continued to change in those years, and new themes and new dramatic devices would bring about a change of style. Conventions or stock characters in his earlier plays Shakespeare often found room for in his later plays as a part of the dramatic scheme, as for instance the soliloquy and the clown. The increased use of feminine endings and run-on lines was not so much an intrinsic accomplishment, as an effort to provide a vehicle for more natural dialogue. In all this his task and accomplishment may be compared with more profit with those of his immediate contemporaries Chapman or Jonson than with his predecessors. It is not quite fair to apply standards evolved in the study of Shakespeare's style to Marlowe, Greene or even Peele, whose career may have been twice as long as that of Marlowe or Greene.

But/

But a more relevant objection is that standards or tests fruitful in the study of a dramatist as varied in his expression and as continuous in his development as Shakespeare may fail to detect any significant traits in dramatists like Marlowe or Peele whose accomplishments are more to be sought in their initial than in their final achievements.

With these considerations in mind I proceed to examine how the methods used in the study of Shakespeare's style have been used in the study of the style of individual pre-Shakespearean dramatists.

In the study of Shakespeare's versification emphasis has usually been laid on three points: 1. the rimed lines and lines of prose, and their numerical proportion to the lines of blank verse; 2. variations of stress and syllabic variations in the blank verse, and in particular, the feminine ending; 3. pause variations in the blank verse, including the mid-line pause (caesura), the line broken by speeches, and, particularly, the overflow. In each of these points it is desirable to refer individual instances to the context in which they occur, but numerical tabulation may also be made without reference to the context. Systematic tabulation of these began with Fleay¹ who/

1. cf. F.G. Fleay Shakespeare Manual, 107 §6. The metrical table is found on P.135. Fleay does not tabulate the mid-line pauses, the overflow, or the weak-ending.

who prepared a table giving for each of Shakespeare's plays the total number of lines, lines of blank verse, of prose, of rimed lines, of abnormally long or short lines, and of double endings. In spite of Fleay's numerous inaccuracies¹ he stressed the importance of objectivity and was careful to separate 'quantitative positive results' from results which partly depend on 'the aesthetic sense of the critic'. Other scholars² in Germany and in England continued to work along these lines, achieving greater accuracy and finer distinctions. In particular, tabulation of the overflow and the mid-line pause, not attempted by Fleay, was made by later scholars, though this would involve individual judgement, a subjective element. It must be recognised, of course, that such tabulations ignore many subtleties of Shakespeare's versification, since reference is not made to the context of particular lines. Yet they show in Shakespeare's plays a fairly consistent development in the direction of an increased number of feminine endings, overflows, speeches with broken ends, lines split between speeches, and mid-line pauses, though/

1. cf. E.K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I. 256-7

2. cf. Chambers, op. cit. I.255 ff. Chambers gives a very complete and impartial summary of the whole question of metrical tests.

though tabulation of rimed lines and lines of prose do not lead to the conclusion of gradual consistent development.¹

Fleay applied the same methods to the study of other dramatists, Elizabethan and Jacobean. He actually tried to demonstrate the diverse metrical characteristics of the various dramatists by reconstructing a speech from Dryden's All for Love in the respective manners of Fletcher, Beaumont, Massinger, Greene, and Rowley. This was to show that discrimination of styles through metrical characteristics was possible.² Fleay's chief purpose in his study of versification was to form tests for the authorship and chronology of Shakespearean plays. In this he is followed by Mr. J.M. Robertson, who shows the same faith in metrical evidence. But questions of authorship apart, the tabulation of Shakespeare's metrical characteristics has proved itself to be valuable.

Detailed study of the versification of Elizabethan dramatists have been made by German scholars. Emil Penner made an exhaustive study of Peele's versification in Herrig's Archiv Vol. 85.³ In this study Penner's/

1. of. Chambers, op. cit., II. Appendix H. Tables.

2. Fleay, Shakespeare Manual, 123-6.

3. Emil Penner, 'Metrische Untersuchungen zu George Peele.', Archiv, Vol. 85, (1890). 269-308

Penner's methods are those used by Schipper in Englische Metrik, and by Elze and König, scholars after Fleay who continued to study metrical characteristics in Shakespeare and in Elizabethan drama. In scope it is more than a mere study of style. It is divided into three parts. In the first part Penner goes over the plays and poems of Peele, points out all irregularities in the verse, and attempts to give correct readings to apparently irregular lines. He counts the lines of blank verse, rimed iambic pentameter lines, lines of alexandrines, of fourteeners, lines of two, three, and four feet, of Latin and Italian, and gives their percentages to the total number of lines. He also enumerates lines with feminine endings, trochaic first feet, overflow, and other irregularities in each play and poem. In the second part Penner studies in detail Peele's use of the pentameter, the hexameter, and the fourteener. For the iambic pentameter he gives exhaustive examples of variation of stress in all its forms, of the mid-line pause in all its forms, including feminine endings and trisyllabic feminine endings before the mid-line pause (klingende epische, gleitende epische, gleitende lyrische Cäsur), of feminine and trisyllabic feminine endings at the end of the verse (klingender u. gleitender Versausgang), of syllabic variations at the beginning and in the middle of a line, and of the overflow/

overflow in its various grammatical forms. The same is done for the hexameter and the fourteener. Penner also gives a table of the percentage of blank verse lines in each play to the total number of lines and of the percentage of feminine endings, of run-on lines, and of rimed lines to the number of blank verse lines. In the third part Penner goes into the intricacies of scansion, of the lengthening and contraction of syllables, of the accentuation of words and of rime. The discussion is technical and though all examples are taken from Peele the conclusions reached have wide application, and are not confined to Peele's characteristics.

In fact, Penner has constructed a prosody for Peele comparable to Abbot's work on Shakespeare's prosody in A Shakespearian Grammar. In addition, however, he has tabulated variations in the blank verse of Peele, the results of which may be used in comparison with the work of other dramatists. I give the table of his tabulations in percentage form as follows, and add the actual figures for blank verse lines etc. as given in his study:

P.T.O.

	Arraign- ment	Edward I	Old Wives Tale	Alcazar	David
Percentage of					
Blank verse to total no. of lines.	15.96	54.59	16.18	100	98
Feminine endings in blank verse	3	3	8.3	5.09	5.67
Run-on lines in blank verse	10	7	9	15.53	15.23
Rimed lines in blank verse	---	4.67	--	2.46	3.63
<hr/>					
Lines of Blank verse	200	1498	192	1455	1865 (not given; by computa- tion from percentage given)
Total no. of lines	1253	2744	964	1455	
Other lines	259 four- teens (=20.67 %)	659 rimed penta- meter (=52.59%)	757 prose (=27.59% of total)		1903*

* Should be in column for Total no. of lines.

From this table one point is obvious: Peele's blank verse is comparatively small in quantity. Only two or perhaps three of his plays can be called blank verse plays. Penner himself is doubtful of the value of such tabulation for the chronology of Peele's plays. And indeed the results of tabulation reveal almost nothing. Penner's own comment is: 'For the chronology of the pieces nothing may be gathered from this table. The Arraignment of Paris, Edward I, and Old Wives Tale can hardly be taken for comparison, Arraignment of Paris and Old Wives Tale because of their peculiar character, which is not that of drama in a higher sense, Edward I because of its extremely unreliable text. And Alcazar and David and Bethsabe are on about the same level with respect to run-on lines and feminine endings, the former containing a lower percentage of rimes. It certainly cannot be concluded that Alcazar was on that account written only somewhat later than David and Bethsabe - in short, the Metrical Tests which may be of value in the study of other poets are contradictory and worthless in the study of Peele.¹

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1. 'Für die Chronologie der Stücke ergibt sich daraus gar nichts; AP., Ed., O.W. sind schlecht zur Vergleichung heranzuziehen, A.P. und O.W. wegen ihres eigentümlichen Charakters, welcher nicht der eines Dramas im höheren Sinne ist, Ed. wegen seiner ausserordentlichen Unzuverlässigkeit. Und B.A. und D.B. halten sich in Bezug auf run-on lines und weibliche Endungen ziemlich auf gleicher Stufe, ersteres enthält aber einen geringeren Prozentsatz an Reimen. Nun kann aber gar keine Rede davon sein, dass BA. darum nur etwa später als DB. geschrieben sei - kurz, die Metrical Tests, welche bei anderen Dichtern von Wert sein mögen, sind bei Peele widerspruchsvoll und wertlos.' s. 292.

I have not tried to check Penner's figures. Even allowing for possible differences in the counting of lines and in the estimate of the overflow, the figures must remain more or less the same. They are not significant and the only value they have is a negative one: they speak against attributing to Peele plays with a high percentage of feminine endings, or with almost entirely end-stopped lines. I think that Penner has shown conclusively that it is not fruitful to approach Peele's works with a formal apparatus for the tabulation of metrical characteristics.

I believe, however, that the same difficulty will be met with, though to a less extent, in the study of Marlowe and Greene.¹ That they have each left more blank verse than Peele in his extant plays and that their plays are more homogeneous in character must be conceded. But textual corruption makes different parts of the plays uneven in quality, and two of the plays, Greene's Orlando, and Marlowe's Massacre of Paris, far inferior to the rest. Formal tabulation must ignore these considerations; modification of the formal procedure/

1. I have not been able to examine J. Schipper's De Versu Marlovii, Bonn, 1867, and C. Knaut's Über die Metrik Robert Greenes, Halle, 1890, which I presume to be studies similar to Penner's work on Peele, to see the results of their investigation.

procedure may bring more accurate results. And so though for our immediate purpose, the study of Peele through versification, we have reached the conclusion that tabulation is not fruitful, I propose to look at Professor Tucker Brooke's study of Marlowe's versification,¹ for his more flexible methods.

Professor Brooke begins his study by giving a list of the efforts in the use of blank verse in poetry and drama before Marlowe's Tamburlaine in order to place Marlowe's achievement in its proper historical perspective. His study itself is largely concerned with Tamburlaine because it was an early and deliberate effort, not under the direct influence of any play preceding it. Moreover, it is transmitted to us in a good text. One may therefore claim every discovery in it to be significant and to be characteristic of Marlowe.

Professor Brooke considers Marlowe's most important achievement in Tamburlaine to be his adoption of the regular iambic pentameter line as his own characteristic vehicle of expression and his consequent success in making blank verse native to the genius of the English language. This pentameter line is metrically so regular/

1. C.F. Tucker Brooke, "Marlowe's Versification and Style" in Studies in Philology, Vol. 19(1922) 186-205.

regular as to be of no interest. Marlowe's secret in his mighty lines, 'marked usually by no metrical irregularities or equivalences, yet brilliant in the accuracy with which each gives voice to a perfectly distinct emotion', is perhaps to be sought beyond versification. But Professor Brooke tries to bring out the differentiating agencies by which Marlowe avoids monotony and gains his effects in the blank verse line: the use of the alexandrine, of the nine-syllabled line, and of the tetrameter. He gives many examples for each of these and indicates the effects gained through their use. Professor Brooke also points out various forms of change of stress and other irregularities of scansion characteristic of Marlowe: the trochaic first foot, use of the pyrrhic at the end of a line (polysyllabic ending), the omission of a syllable after a pause or in connection with an emphatic word, and the introduction of extra-metrical words. For all these forms he gives examples and, rather than try to explain these irregularities on metrical grounds, he points out whenever possible Marlowe's purpose in using the forms.

In addition to the wielding of the blank verse line Professor Brooke regards Marlowe's achievement in Tamburlaine to be the construction of the lyrical 'verse/

'verse paragraph', in which 'the perfect single line is not absorbed in the sense of the speech as a whole, but forms the theme of a burst of sustained emotion which plays about it and often repeats it as a refrain.'

Though these verse paragraphs are often found even in Tamburlaine, Marlowe's later plays show, Professor Brooke points out, an increasing tendency to subordinate the individual verse to the speech. This is accompanied by the increased breaking up of the normal flow of the verse by a strong caesural pause. In the later plays feminine endings, trochaic first feet, and short lines and hemistiches also increase, while rimed lines and pyrrhic endings become less in number, though in the run-on line Marlowe's plays show no development. Professor Brooke notes a corresponding development toward a plainer style in Marlowe's imagery and diction, and cites an early and a late passage from Marlowe¹ as a concrete illustration of the development in versification, imagery, and diction.

In his tabulation of metrical characteristics in the plays, Professor Brookes gives consideration both to the purity of the text and to the context in which the examples are found. Thus in ^{the} tabulation of run-on lines, mid-line pauses, and short lines and hemistiches etc. he restricts himself to three hundred lines from each/

1. The two passages cited are: 2 Tamburlaine, 3046-63 and Edward II, 2507-18.

each play, using when necessary an aggregate of three hundred lines from different passages of good text in the play, as in Faustus and Jew of Malta. He also checks the results for run-on lines reached in this way with those tabulated from a hundred lines from each play consisting of long speeches. In the same way, in comparing the frequency of rimed lines in the different plays Professor Brooke presents his count for rimed lines for the plays as a whole, as well as for rimed lines at the close of a blank verse speech or scene.

I have not tried to summarize the results of Professor Brooke's study. Fewer details and some examples would be more satisfactory for a summary. My concern has been with his method, which seems to me instructive in the following ways. First, he distinguishes clearly between Marlowe's initial achievement and his subsequent development. Unless this distinction is remembered one is apt to underrate the importance of Marlowe's regular iambic decasyllable and to pay undue attention to the use Marlowe made of a few metrical devices for variation, which were actually very simple. Secondly, Professor Brooke judiciously restricts his field of investigation in statistical tabulation, relying for his results rather on a fair amount of good texts than on imperfect, complete plays. This would avoid the kind of detailed, editorial consideration of scansion which takes up a large part of Penner's study. Besides/

Besides, the restricted field makes fewer demands on the time of the investigator and ensures a more consistent procedure, hence, greater accuracy. For many points which do not require such support Professor Brooke gives no statistical results, but merely gives a number of relevant examples. It must be admitted that such a method is not completely objective, but it is known at every stage of the investigation exactly where the judgement of the investigator enters, and this judgement may be tested and the results reached may be checked, while in comparison with formal indiscriminate tabulation such a method has gained vastly in sensitivity. It is the sane balance of carefully exercised individual judgement against objective evidence which makes Professor Brooke's study of Marlowe's versification particularly valuable.

As for the results of his study, some of them have been pointed out by scholars¹ before him, and they agree in the main with the conclusions given in general studies of English prosody². Mr. John Bakeless' recent work The Tragicall History of Christopher/

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1. For instance, Marlowe's frequent use of polysyllabic words at the end of a line was pointed out by Root. (p. 194)
 2. cf. E. Hamer, The Metres of English Poetry, 1930, chapter IV, esp. 64-66; Sir George Young, An English Prosody on Inductive Lines, 1928, chapter XIV. 145 ff.

Christopher Marlowe contains a chapter² on Marlowe's
versification/

22 chapter XV "The Mighty Line" in The Tragical
History of Christopher Marlowe, 1942, Vol. II. Mr.
Bakeless lists fourteen devices used by Marlowe 'to
alter his meter or his music and fit it to the
changing mood that he had to express.' (II. 183)
Of these all the significant ones have been pointed
out by Professor Brooke: the verse paragraph (listed
by Bakeless as device no. 14), introduction of
alexandrines (no. 2), use of the trochee, the pyrrhic
ending etc (no. 6), the nine-syllabled line (no. 7),
extra-metrical syllables (no. 8), tetrameters and
even shorter lines (no. 9). For the last three
devices (nos. 7, 8, and 9) Mr. Bakeless gives 42
examples, including three from Shakespeare. Of
these 42 examples, I find 39 in Brooke's study,
including the examples from Shakespeare, yet no
acknowledgement is made to Brooke for any of the
points that come under the three devices or for any
of the examples. The following devices not
characteristic of Marlowe dealt with by Brooke are
also listed by Bakeless: enjambement (no. 1),
feminine endings (no. 4) alliteration (no. 11) rime
(no. 12). All the examples given of alliteration
(no. 11) are listed in Brooke's study. It is only
in the discussion of alexandrines (no. 2) and
feminine endings (no. 4) that Bakeless alludes to
Brooke's study in a footnote. Bakeless departs from
Brooke in four points. First, he makes "tumbling"
endings, ie. trisyllabic feminine endings, a separate
device (no. 3) but finds it easier in discussion to
combine them with the alexandrines (no. 2) since
there is no clear-cut division between the two.
Secondly, he claims for Marlowe 'a more artful use
of both epic and lyric caesura', (no. 5) and gives
examples of the caesura after the first foot and
after the third syllable. Brooke only notes the
increase of strong casual pauses in the later plays.
Thirdly, he lists as Marlowe's device the 'breaking
of lines between characters to give a livelier, more
conversational pitch to certain passages.' For this
he cites only one example (Faustus, 548-550).
Fourthly, he claims for Marlowe a 'careful choice of
vowel sounds' (no. 13) but cites only a few examples.
Regarding other merits and demerits of Mr. Bakeless'
book, it is best to refer to Mr. Hazelton Spencer's
review in MLN, vol. 58(1943) 217-220. Cf also the review
by Dr. F.S. Boas in MLR vol. 39(1944) 75-76. I wish to
point out that this chapter at least adds little to what
is already known of Marlowe's versification.

versification based almost entirely on Professor Brooke's study. It is not very creditable to Mr. Bakeless' scholarship that he takes over examples by the dozen without acknowledgement from Professor Brooke's study and makes a tedious elaboration of all of Professor Brooke's points. It gives a finality to Professor Brooke's work, which should only be the beginning of further investigation.

In/

In the study of imagery Miss Marion B. Smith has applied the methods of Miss Spurgeon to the works of Marlowe in her doctoral dissertation.¹ Her application of the methods to Marlowe is justified by the fact, best stated in Miss Smith's own words, that 'Marlowe's work is rich in imagery, averaging, over the whole, one image to every twelve lines. Although this proportion varies considerably from play to play, and according to the dramatic mood within the play, few passages of any length are entirely bare of figure. Yet, Marlowe seldom wasted his powers, despite his love of fine writing for its own sake. Unlike many of his contemporaries who used rhetorical figures to pad out insufficient matter, Marlowe is most interested when he writes most imaginatively. When his interest flags, or when a minor character holds the stage, a marked falling off in imagery is immediately perceptible². Miss Spurgeon's methods yield results which are of use to the investigator in many ways. They reveal the range of a dramatist's image sources as shown in all his works and in the individual plays and are thus a clue to the quality of his style. They give hints of the mental habits and intimate experiences of the dramatist, from/

1. Marion Bodwell Smith, Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon, Philadelphia, 1940.

2. op. cit. p. 15

from which it may be possible to describe his personality. They are also a valuable instrument in the determination of authorship. In her dissertation Miss Smith makes use of her results in all these ways. She classifies Marlowe's image sources into their various categories, draws conclusions from them respecting Marlowe's style, surveys biographical facts known of Marlowe in the light of his personality as revealed through his images, and applies her results to the problem of fixing the Marlowe canon.

In such a study the real difficulties are the disentangling of complex images, the rejection of fossilized images, and the classification of image sources into categories.¹ No hard and fast rules may be laid down for these, not even for the classification of image sources. The broad distinctions between categories may be entirely matter-of-fact, but in placing image sources, i.e. the objects used as images, within the categories the investigator has to rely on his own judgment. In her classification Miss /

1. cf. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Shakespeare Imagery and what it tells us, 1935, Appendix I, 359-360; also review of Spurgeon's book by Kathleen Tillotson in RES, Vol. 12 (1936), 458-461; U. M. Ellis Fermor, Some Recent Research in Shakespeare's Imagery, 1937, pp. 5-15.

Miss Smith follows Miss Spurgeon's categories very closely. She classifies the sources of the images most frequently found in Marlowe into seven categories, which are, in order of frequency, learning, the body, domestic images, daily life, inanimate nature, animals, the arts. Into these categories she has to crowd a wide range of images. She places, for instance, images drawn from fire, heat, light and darkness under domestic images "because they were associated most frequently in Marlowe's mind with some aspect of the household, with the cheery warmth of the hearth - the focal point of the home - or the brightly lighted room."¹ Her results confirm the general impression that Marlowe's images are chiefly taken from learning and classical sources. On the other hand they bring out aspects in Marlowe's imagery not usually noticed, as for instance that images from daily life constitute one-sixth of the whole of Marlowe's images, whereas those from inanimate nature, including celestial bodies, constitute only one-eighth of the whole. In the examination /

1. op. cit. p. 41.

examination of images drawn from the body Miss Smith finds that they are merely drawn from the head and face, the eyes, sinews, entrails, blood, and legs, and thus reveal Marlowe's lack of subtlety and absence of interest in detail.

From her results as a whole Miss Smith comes to conclusions about Marlowe's image style.¹ She finds the two most striking characteristics in him to be his emphasis on magnificence of tone and his tendency to lavish his most elaborate imagery upon the speeches of the central figure in moments of emotional tension. In setting forth his images he is fond of using words that are musical in sound, especially polysyllabic proper names. These characteristics are well shown in Tamburlaine. Miss Smith finds in the later plays a gradual development toward greater restraint and more careful choice in the use of imagery. She notes the replacement of the more obvious simile by the subtler metaphor and of magnificence by the more gracefully figurative ornament which begins with Faustus, grows in Jew of Malta, and reaches its full course with Edward II.

I /

1. op. cit. p. 87 ff.

I shall pass over the other uses to which Miss Smith puts her results. Her construction of Marlowe's life and personality is valuable. In comparing Marlowe's images with the images in plays attributed to him she finds that Marlowe may have written the whole or part of Arden of Feversham, An Alarum for London, 1 Henry VI, The True Tragedy and 3 Henry VI. But with this I am not concerned. Miss Spurgeon's methods must be regarded as useful and illuminating if only because they enable us to catch intimate glimpses of a dramatist's mind. Miss Smith has shown that these methods may be used with success in the study of Marlowe, though, as the quality of Marlowe's mind is straightforward rather than subtle,¹ intimate glimpses tend perhaps only to confirm our first impressions. But for purposes of comparison and differentiation a study proceeding by these methods would give a set of data for one dramatist by which the range and frequency of image sources in other dramatists could be measured. There can be no doubt of the value of having such systematic data for each one of the dramatists preceding or contemporary with Shakespeare: definite bounds may perhaps then be established between the styles of each in their imagery, and problems of authorship simplified.

But/

1. Miss Smith notes Shakespeare's insight into the minutiae of human life as distinct from Marlowe's keen, lightning-quick mind. op. cit. p. 86.

But it remains to be demonstrated that these methods are of universal application. Marlowe's verse abounds with images, deliberately employed in the service of imagination. The same cannot be said of Peele or Greene. If tabulation of image sources is applied to the works of a poet or dramatist of uneven quality like Peele, who has besides left comparatively little known work, the results may not be numerically satisfying, nor may his different plays, varied in types and quality, show perhaps the same range or frequency of images. As a matter of fact the examination of the works of a lesser poet or dramatist may be a real test of the value of Miss Spurgeon's methods. It would be interesting to note the results if such a study is undertaken for Lyly's imagery: the preponderance of 'natural history' similes can easily obscure fresher and more spontaneous images in him; on the other hand, in that throng of artificial images the most characteristic ones may yet reveal themselves through recurrence.¹ It is not advisable to draw conclusions before such an investigation is undertaken. But one thing is clear: one has to expect far fewer spontaneous images in the lesser poet or dramatist, and when the factors of imitation/

1. Bond indeed argues for Lyly's authorship of the 'Sonnet' appended to 'Polyhymnia' because of the bee and helmet image in it which he regards as characteristic of Lyly. See R.W. Bond, (ed.) Lyly's Works, I. 405.

imitation, burlesque, borrowing, conscious and unconscious, are considered, it would be safer, perhaps, to rely on more immediate evidence than on statistical tabulation and formal classification. It would be profitable, when direct literary sources are known, to examine the sources for parallels in phrasing and imagery, though to track images through the labyrinth of contemporary poetry and plays and other literature for their originals would of course not be possible. In the case of Peele, Mr. Sykes has pointed out the borrowings from Du Bartas in David and Bethsabe. For the same play, I shall give those passages from the Great Bible, the Bishop's Bible, and the Genevan Bible¹ which give the exact phrasing, often figurative, in the play. The material will be scanty, but it may be possible to catch a glimpse of Peele's workmanship through it.

The study of diction is another approach to Shakespeare's style which has been taken up in the study of pre-Shakespearean drama. But the quality of diction, like the quality of imagery, cannot be assessed objectively, and certainly not systematically. Systematic study has therefore been mainly concerned with the source and range of a writer's vocabulary, with words and expressions which occur frequently in his works, and with words to which/

1. II. Samuel XI ff. See Infra, Chapter IV.

which he attaches unusual shades of meaning. From these may be reached conclusions regarding the writer's characteristics in the use of words. Scholars have also relied on these as a test of authorship. A broad foundation for such study has been laid in the compilation of the Shakespeare and Spenser Concordances, and of the New English Dictionary. But for many dramatists, including Peele and Greene, there are no concordances.

In addition to the study of diction, or vocabulary, the study of grammatical and rhetorical usage has also been resorted to as an instrument in detecting the peculiarities of a writer's style. Unusual grammatical forms of words such as adjectival compounds or adjectives formed from nouns with unusual suffixes, parallelism and antithesis in the arrangement of phrases or clauses, inverted word-order in the sentence and other unusual or characteristic grammatical or rhetorical forms can be noted as a set of data distinguishing the style of a particular dramatist. It is the forms particular to a dramatist that are sought, not forms common to writers of the time. For such a study Abbott's and Franz's work on Shakespeare would be helpful since their Grammars as also Schmidt's Lexicon, can be a check for forms which occur in Shakespeare, whether common to other poets and dramatists or not. For checking rhetorical usage, which is more indefinite and less tractable, Elizabethan rhetoric manuals would be of some use, but in the works of/

of Spenser, the conscious, deliberate artist, one may expect to find most if not all of the rhetorical devices employed by the dramatists. Here, of course, the Concordance cannot help, and intimate knowledge of the poet is necessary.

It is evident, then, that complete, objective investigation of these aspects in dramatists like Greene or Peele is difficult, and that the investigator must rely to a large extent on his own memory. For this reason the work of Mr. Robertson, Mr. Sykes, and Mr. H.C. Hart¹ fills a need in such investigation: their memory seems an inexhaustible storehouse of words and phrases, and of striking grammatical and rhetorical forms, and carries them beyond the limitations of lexicons and concordances. In the absence of complete and systematic evidence they build their case on the evidence retained in their memory in addition to that supplied by lexicons and concordances when discussing the styles of the different pre-Shakespearean dramatists. The results they arrive at in this way cannot be complete, but may reveal many fine distinctions, and, if kept within definite limits, the procedure can bring very valuable results.

Their/

1. J. M. Robertson, Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon, 1924. H. Dugdale Sykes, Sidelights on Shakespeare, 1919, Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama, 1924; H.C. Hart, Introductions and notes to the Arden edition of Henry VI (in three parts).

Their fault is that they put their findings immediately to use in questions of authorship and collaboration before they have stated definitely what the characteristics of each of the dramatists are. They are thus obliged at every stage in their arguments to cite particular passages or expressions from the works of a dramatist to prove their point. In attributing a play or a scene in a play to a dramatist they are reduced to the expedient of giving passages from it which are parallel in vocabulary or phrasing or construction to passages from the known works of the dramatist. The evidence cannot be conclusive, for parallels are subject to alternative interpretations,¹ while indiscriminate quarrying of parallels only obscures the significance of relevant parallels. What is more, the citing of parallels which are not strictly close or relevant may be made without the aid of memory or individual judgement, it may be done mechanically, and in such a task memory cannot keep pace with lexicons and concordances. Mr. Robertson indeed, does not rely entirely on parallels, but invariably uses metrical evidence as a more fundamental check. Mr. Sykes bases his case almost completely on parallels, but makes use only of relevant/

1. cf. Muriel St. C. Byrne "Bibliographical Clues in Collaborate Plays", The Library, Vol XIII (1932-33) 24 ff; review of Sykes's Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama by W.W. Greg in MLR, vol. 20 (1925) 195-200; P. Alexander, Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III, 146 ff.

relevant parallels. In his discussions on the authorship of plays, Mr Sykes lays bare faithfully the series of impressions which have wrought in him the conviction that certain plays are by Peele or some other, and it is because he does this that his conclusions have often been accepted by scholars, not because he has proved his case.¹ The parallels cited by Mr. H.C. Hart between the three parts of Henry VI and the works of Greene, Peele, Nashe, Kyd, Marlowe, and Lyly and of Spenser, and other literature of the time are seldom close to each other. But Mr. Hart also tries to trace the occurrence in Spenser and other Elizabethan poetry and prose of certain unusual grammatical forms and constructions, as well as certain phrases and idioms, found in 1.2.3 Henry VI and in the plays of Shakespeare's predecessors. This part of Mr. Hart's work is disinterested and, though fragmentary, is important in that it points to a new direction for study. The results themselves are also useful to other investigators. But in discussions of authorship, Mr. Hart depends entirely on parallels, and is in essentially the same position as Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson.

In the respect of vocabulary parallels can be checked against concordances, which may bring out further/

1. cf. A.W. Pollard, Introduction to ^{Shakespeare's} Henry VI and Richard III by P. Alexander, 19-20; J.Q. Adams, Life of William Shakespeare, 134n., 136n., 217n. etc; also the review by W.W. Greg already cited.

further parallels. Words and expressions regarded as characteristic of an author can be shown to occur just as frequently in some other author.¹ This is done by Mr. A.M. Sampley² for the evidence used by Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson in attributing the whole or a part of Titus Andronicus, Troublesome Reign, Alphonsus Emperor of Germany, etc. to Peele. For this purpose Mr. Sampley makes use of the New English Dictionary, the Concordances to the works of Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, and Kyd, the indexes to Grosart's edition of Greene and McKerrow's edition of Nashe, and Mr. Sampley's own findings from other plays and other contemporary literature. Mr. Sampley shows that the majority of words and expressions regarded by Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson as characteristic of Peele are not actually very frequent in Peele's works and that they often occur in other dramatists, in Shakespeare and Spenser, and in other literature of the time. Mr. Sampley notes that, of the 133 words and phrases regarded by Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson as characteristic of Peele, sixty-five occur only once in Peele³, twenty-seven twice, and thirty-four more than twice, according to the evidence of/

1. cf. Muriel St. C. Byrne, op. cit. p. 27.

2. A.M. Sampley "'Verbal Tests' For Peele's Plays" in Studies in Philology, vol. 30(1933) 473-496.

3. for a more detailed explanation see *infra*, p. 45 footnote (5)

of Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson, who do not give the number of occurrences for seven words. Of the thirty-four words which occur more than twice many are found in other authors or anonymous works, often as frequently or even more frequently than in Peele. For the word 'gratulates', for instance, which is listed by Mr. Robertson as occurring seven times in Peele, Mr. Sampley cites instances of its occurrence elsewhere, as follows:-

Greene, Orlando Furioso, 840 (Malone Society Reprint).
Greene, James IV, Grosart's ed. Vol. XIII, 1.97
(cited by Grosart, Englische Studien, XXII 420-427).
Chapman, Bussy D'Ambois (cited by Parrott, Tragedies of Chapman, p. 689) xiv. 76 ; xvi. 18
Taming of A Shrew, ii. 34; ~~xiv. 18~~ (Praetorius Facsimile)
Munday, John a Kent, 143, 520 (Malone Soc. Reprint)
Soliman and Perseda, 260 (Kyd Concordance)
3 times in Marlowe Concordance (Selimus, Edward III,
Dr. Faustus).
8 times in New English Dictionary (1556-1603)¹

In comparing the frequency of the occurrence of the thirty-four words in the works of Peele, Marlowe, Spenser, and the others Mr Sampley makes allowance for the quantity of verse written by the dramatist or in the play in which the words are found, if anonymous. For 'gratulates' Mr. Sampley notes that it occurs seven times in Peele, once in Marlowe, and three times in A Shrew (equivalent to twelve times in the same quantity/

quantity of verse as is in Peele's works). From his investigation Mr. Sampley concluded that only sixteen of the 133 words may be called really characteristic of Peele, and that though different ones of these sixteen occur in different ones of the anonymous plays they are not sufficient to establish Peele's authorship.

Such an investigation immediately reveals the weakness of the case put forward by Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson. It must be said, of course, that they do not depend on parallels of word and phrase alone, and that even with these they take into consideration the exact shade of meaning, usually coupled with parallels in thought or construction. Yet strong doubts have been cast upon ^{their use} ~~the validity~~ of vocabulary as evidence of authorship in early Elizabethan drama. It should also be said that there is no concordance or glossarial index to the works of Peele, that citation of words from Peele depends to a large extent on memory, that Mr. Sykes at least does not seem to have aimed at statistical completeness in citing the occurrences of special words.¹ But Mr. Sampley has clearly demonstrated that in literary investigation memory is not an objective criterion and that in the race for verbal parallels concordances far outstrip memory. This, I think, is sufficient to show that/

1. vide infra, pp 45-6 footnotes

that Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson and also Mr. Hart are not justified in using the evidence they possess to discuss questions of authorship.

It also shows that they should have made it a rule to consult the different concordances to check their discoveries in Peele, and I believe that for this task concordances can be given very intelligent use. Mr. Sampley relies on them merely as a negative test. He cites from them the numerous instances of the occurrence elsewhere of a word or phrase regarded as peculiar to Peele. It would have been easy for him to pick out from these numerous instances one or two in which the word or phrase is used in the exact shade of meaning as in Peele. Moreover, with the help of the concordances, it may have been possible for him to discover a line of sentence containing the word or phrase noticeably similar in meaning and thought and in rhythm or construction to the line in Peele containing the word or phrase, or to discover combinations of "characteristic" words or phrases which are similar to such combinations in Peele¹. If he had done this for a number of the words and phrases cited, in other words, if for every three or four pairs of parallel passages from Peele and the play in question cited by Mr. Sykes or Mr. Robertson

Mr. Sampley/

1. for something approaching an example of what I think may be done see footnote on p. 45, (5).

Mr. Sampley had, with the help of concordances, produced a passage from an unexpected quarter which aptly parallels one of the passages cited, then he would have defeated them on their own ground. As it is, Mr. Sampley's study has only demonstrated the futility of their method¹.

The/

1. Mr. Sampley's study also leaves something to be desired in the way of objectivity and exactness. I venture the following criticisms:-

(1) It will be more satisfactory if he limits the field of investigation to poetry and drama, or even to drama alone. The works of Nashe and Greene include a large body of prose. Instances of occurrence listed in the N.E.D. are often from prose works. Though the inclusion of prose works has made no appreciable difference to Mr. Sampley's final results it adds to the total number of occurrences cited and gives a false impression of completeness to the evidence. No one can pretend that a poet or dramatist invents all his own favourite words and expressions, and the fact that they occur sporadically in prose works of his day can hardly be considered significant.

(2) The results will be clearer if the field is confined to works up to the year of Peele's death (1596). It is most objectionable that Mr. Sampley makes free use of the Shakespeare Concordance without differentiating between early and later plays, especially since he seems to have confined himself in the main to literary works contemporary with or before Peele. Instances of the occurrence of words after Peele's death cannot be significant; it may even be argued that they are due to Peele's influence. Mr. Sampley cites instances from Munday's Downfall and Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon (both 1598) and Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois (1604). Some reserve should also have been felt in the use of Sylvester's Du Bartas, not published in its entirety until 1605 and Histrionastix (of uncertain date). Instances given in N.E.D. and cited by Mr. Sampley are often later than 1596.

(3) Mr. Sampley omits to cite instances from Titus Andronicus and the anonymous plays which Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson try to prove are by Peele. This is perhaps because Mr. Sampley wishes to avoid unnecessary controversy/

The study of grammatical and rhetorical forms in
writers/

(contd.)

controversy, or perhaps because they have been cited by Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson. At the same time it may appear as if he is suppressing evidence in their favour, since otherwise in citing occurrences of words he aims only at completeness and makes no discrimination (supra (1) (2)). As Mr. Sampley has good reason to believe that the plays are not by Peele he may well have listed instances from them as he does from other anonymous plays like Lochrine, Salimus or Arden of Feversham.

(4) Instances taken from N.E.D. if selected and listed separately under authors or works would add to the value of the study. For 'gratulate', for instance, N.E.D. gives 11 instances from 1556 to 1603. One of these is for the word used as adjective. Out of its ten occurrences as verb three are found in Peele and Greene. For Mr. Sampley's purpose then we should put down seven instances between 1556 and 1603, the examples from Greene and Peele having been listed. Mr. Sampley puts down 8 instances, apparently including the one used as adjective (supra, p.41). Out of these seven, one occurs in 1556 in Archbishop Parker's Psalms, three between 1590 and 1596, in Edward III (publ. 1596), in Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, 1596, in Lambarde's Archeion, 1591. In this last the word has a different usage and cannot be counted. It would have been much more informing if Mr. Sampley had listed the three relevant instances in Parker's Psalms, Edward III, and Harington instead of merely stating that eight instances are given in N.E.D.

(5) Considerations of method make me bring out this point last. But it is a serious offence in Mr. Sampley that in two instances at least he does not give the accurate count for the occurrence of words in Peele. I quote from Mr. Sampley

'110. suck blood (Sykes, Sidelights on Shakespeare, p.132; Sidelights on Eliz. Drama, p. 86): once in Peele.
Twice in Spenser.
5 times in Shakespeare.'

Actually Mr. Sykes gives three examples in which 'suck..... blood' occurs in Peele, namely David and Bethsabe III, 6-8, VIII. 4, XV.192 (Bullen's ed.) I should also point/

writers before Shakespeare is a more objective one and
is/

(contd.)

point out that 'suck ... blood' occurs not twice but four times in the Spenser Concordance. In fact Faerie Queene, III. vi. 5.9 has 'As other wemens babes, they sucked vitall blood.' which parallels the line 'To suck the vital blood out of my veins' cited by Mr. Sykes from Alphonsus Emperor of Germany. No parallel cited by Mr. Sykes from Peele is so exact as this parallel from Spenser. This I regard as an illustration of what may be done with concordances to overtake Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson even in bringing out close, relevant parallels.

The other instance is the expression 'to arms' noted by Mr. Sampley as occurring only once in Peele according to Mr. Sykes's evidence. Actually Mr. Sykes quotes Peele's line

To arms! to arms! to honourable arms!
(Farewell to Drake and Norris, 50.)

Accordingly the expression should at least be noted as occurring twice if not three times. But the expression is also found in the following lines in the same poem and in Peele's plays:

Adieu. To arms, to arms, to glorious arms! Farewell, 23
To arms, my fellow soldiers! Sea and land Farewell, 40
To armes, to armes, that Rabba feele reuenge,
David and Bethsabe, 849

To armes, true Britaines sprong of Troians seede
Edward I, 657

Of vs and of our braue posterity, to armes, to armes.
Edward I, 2262

This adds up to a total of at least ten times.
Perhaps Mr. Sykes's memory is more reliable than is usually thought to be.

is less likely, in comparison with the study of vocabulary, to lead to rash conclusions. In this respect Mr. Hart's work, especially for the first part of Henry VI, is of value. In his edition of Nashe's Works, Dr. R.B. McKerrow¹ gives a list of the unusual grammatical forms found in Nashe, consisting of irregular inflexions, the unusual order of words, abnormal spellings, unusual word divisions, the use of English prepositions with Latin words, and, in Christ's Tears, compound words, unusual prefixes and suffixes, and a particular way in which the word 'almost' is used. It is, I think, when scholars try in such a way to make careful study within narrow limits that evidence of the styles and mannerisms of the various pre-Shakespearean dramatists can accumulate to a point at which definite conclusions may be drawn. I think also, that, if they had dealt with one or two particular dramatists in their known works rather than with knotty problems of authorship, Mr. Sykes and Mr. Robertson, with their memory and their powers of perception could have made great contribution.

In the study of rhetorical and grammatical usage, R.W. Bond's analysis² of Lyly's Euphuism is very complete, is almost definitive. Bond discusses Euphuism under two heads: structural and ornamental devices, which he further/

1. R.B. McKerrow (ed.) Works of Nashe, vol. V, Appendix F.

2. R.W. Bond, Works of Lyly, I. 120-134. For many of his points Bond acknowledges his indebtedness to C.G. Child, John Lyly and Euphuism.

further divides into their different aspects. I give an outline of the aspects discussed.

1. structural devices (a) antithesis, rhetorical questions, repetition.
(b) alliteration, syllabic or word-likeness (including consonance, repetition of words, assonance, annomination, rime, puns)
(c) logical connection and syntax
(d) vocabulary
2. ornamental devices (a) historical allusions
(b) mythological allusions
(c) allusions to natural history (particularly in the form of similes).
(d) proverbs and pithy sayings.

The results of such an investigation are evident from the outline, except in regard to vocabulary and syntax. For these, besides general comments about Lyly's love for symmetry in sentence structure and conservatism in diction, Bond gives the unusual and obsolete forms in Lyly, such as omission of the pronoun as subject, loose use of the relative, obsolete words, and Latinsims.

In his discussion of ornamental devices Bond's divisions cut up Lyly's devices very neatly. But in a broader sense it is difficult to separate ornament from structure in a writer like Lyly, in whom logic cannot/

cannot be distinctly differentiated from rhetoric. The rhetorical element was in fact a very real element in Tudor literature, for critical theory and technical treatises were largely concerned with rhetoric, and particularly with ornament, and shaped the course of poetry accordingly. Also in the academic training which the University Wits were so proud of rhetoric was the chief discipline, so that when these Wits descended upon the popular stage to try their hand at the new drama not even the demands of compression, of dramatic propriety, of swiftness of narrative, and of immediate comprehension by a mixed audience could divert them all at once from their pre-occupation with it. In the early stage of their work the working out of the plot itself was determined to some extent by the rhetoric of the single speech: the hero, whatever else he may be, must at least be an orator, and there must be many situations in the play in which his oratory could show to advantage, as in winning over a hostile audience.¹ This emphasis on oratory began as early as Gorboduc, in the formal debates which made up the dialogue of the first English tragedy. The first time Peele used blank verse in drama was also in a scene of effective oratory². This passion for rhetoric must at least give/

1. For this point I am indebted to Dr. Howard Baker in his Induction to Tragedy. 53 ff.

2. Arraignment IV. i. Paris' oration.

give a partial explanation of the character of Tamburlaine, whose eloquence more than anything else is the clue to the force of his personality. Thus the study of rhetorical usage, and specifically rhetorical devices, in these dramatists would be ~~of~~ very useful for our purpose, though it is evident that Bond's divisions cannot be followed when we turn to the other dramatists.

In his English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare Professor Creizenach devotes a chapter to style and versification (Book VII). In that survey Professor Creizenach traces the occurrence of numerous dramatic and rhetorical devices in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, giving many specific examples. The study is extremely valuable, for though the ground it covers is now familiar to every student, one finds oneself at once in difficulties when venturing beyond it. For a more detailed inquiry the student is confronted on every side by vague terminology, which seems to be shared between rhetoric and prosody.

The most serious difficulty is whether to take the line or the sentence (or clause) as the unit. In other words one does not know where prosody ends and rhetoric (or even grammar) begins. The difficulty increases when more and more, as the mastery over blank verse grows, the grammatical structure is divorced from the metrical.

Fortunately/

Fortunately, at this stage the rhetorical devices become simpler and less numerous, as in the later plays of Marlowe and Greene, and it is easier to cope with them.

If one proceeds entirely from the rules of rhetoric in one's investigation one is forced to ignore many devices in the verse which while not touched upon by prosodic studies must have been used for **adornment** or for particular effects. It is clearly not the same thing if the last word of a clause is again used as the first word of the following clause or if the last word of a line is again used as the first word of the following line. Versification does not recognise such verbal repetitions, unless metrically irregular. In this particular case Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie provides a term for each of these: epizeuxis for the immediate repetition, and anadiplosis for repetition in the next line, though epizeuxis is defined as the 'sort of repetition when in one verse or clause of a verse ye iterate one word without any intermission'¹ and is not meant to have syntactic value. In fact such manuals for the writing of poetry as Puttenham's were written with the rimed stanzaic verse in view, verse in which the syntactic pauses coincide with the line/

1. Arber's Reprint, 210.



line. There was thus no need of taking syntax into account: the line could at once be taken as the unit. In blank verse, the greater freedom of construction brings further distinctions, though the line also exists and stands by itself in the early plays of Marlowe and the others.

Professor F.G. Hubbard makes an attempt to tabulate rhetorical devices in pre-Shakespearean plays by taking the line as the unit. In his study "Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama"¹ he takes the line as the unit and gives ten forms of repetition and parallel construction frequent in pre-Shakespearean plays, noting the frequency of their occurrence in Corboduc, in Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, and in the early Shakespearean and the anonymous Senecan plays. From this he draws conclusions regarding the characteristics of each one of the dramatists in their use of these devices and then proceeds to consider the question of authorship of the anonymous Senecan plays. In another study² Professor Hubbard traces the occurrence of a type of blank verse line of two symmetrical parts joined by a preposition or conjunction, each part consisting of an article or pronominal word followed by an adjective and then by a noun. Thus Professor Hubbard gives as an example of it:
The/

1. In PMLA, Vol. 20 (1905) 360-379.

2. F.G. Hubbard, "A type of Blank Verse found in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama" in PMLA, vol. 32(1917) 68-80.

The fainting army of that foolish King. 1 Tamburlaine II.iii.660
~~Tamburlaine II.iii.660~~. He notes the frequent use of
this symmetrical line in Gorboduc and Tamburlaine, and
its gradual disuse in later plays, and tabulates its
occurrences in those dramatists and plays which he has
examined for repetition and parallel construction. From
his results he considers the possibilities of dating
the plays by the frequency with which they use the
symmetrical line, maintaining, for instance, that
David and Bethsabe, in which this type of line occurs
much more frequently than in any other play by Peele,
should be nearer in date than Alcazar or Edward I to
Tamburlaine.

The evidence Professor Hubbard has gathered is
useful for reference. In particular the discovery of
the symmetrical line is important because it is an
attempt to analyse the construction of the line itself,
the fundamental unit in verse of an end-stopped character,
vide infra p. 81. As for the study in repetition and
parallel construction, which offers a more varied test,
it is not entirely satisfactory for the reason that
none of the forms given is significant enough to stand
by itself. They are all part of the efforts at adorn-
ment, yet taken together they provide no adequate
representation of the style of any one writer or play.
When tabulated, the occurrences of these forms are often
not/

not numerous enough to draw conclusions from, nor is it possible to draw conclusions from the results for all the forms, since the nature of each form differs from that of the rest and the exact relation between the forms cannot be defined. It would perhaps be desirable if more forms were given for tabulation. The results would not necessarily then be more enlightening, though the demand for completeness could be a little more satisfied.¹

I have given a summary of the methods that have been used in the study of style in Shakespeare and pre-Shakespearean dramatists, and have added some comments on their limitations. In the following study I shall not make a formal, systematic examination of Peele's versification or imagery because I believe I have shown this to be unprofitable, though I shall bring out points relating to these as they come up. As for Peele's diction and the range of his vocabulary, I think that a study of these aspects is likely to yield results of some consequence, though the absence of a concordance to Peele's works would make the study difficult. But in my own research I discovered the importance/

1. The demand for completeness in such a study may actually be very hard to satisfy. cf. Verè L. Rubel, Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance,¹⁹⁴⁴ in which almost all the rhetorical forms and devices given in Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie are used to differentiate the rhetorical tricks employed in Tudor poetry. In the drama no such wealth of forms as is found in the poetry of the age stands ready to be differentiated. Fine distinctions are necessary at times but the main criteria in dramatic verse must still be quality and quantity with regard to any single form. Multiplication of forms may only add to the confusion.

importance of Spenser in this direction too late to familiarize myself thoroughly with his diction. I am, therefore, not prepared to undertake the study of the vocabulary of Peele and the other dramatists, for I am convinced that even in systematic study of vocabulary it is memory and judgement together that make the discoveries, however useful concordances may be for a final check-up.

My main concern in this study is with the construction of speeches and of line and sentence, and with rhetorical devices as they occur in the speech, including devices which add to the effect of declamation. This is merely an extension of the study of rhetorical devices begun by Professor Creizenach and Professor Hubbard. However, the construction of the speech has not hitherto received attention. Although I have been unable to make any discoveries in the construction of speeches it must be recognised that the elaborate, bombastic speeches are an integral, perhaps the central, part of the drama before Shakespeare. This being so, it is desirable to consider rhetorical devices not only in relation to the line or sentence but also in relation to the speech itself. Also, it seems to me, the real cause of the great difficulty in discriminating between the styles of these early dramatists is that every one of them tried to write in the same bombastic manner, so that though different plays of the period may show diversity in their styles they all show the same grand style.

We should be much nearer the heart of the matter if we could discover individual characteristics even in the grand style of the bombastic ranting speeches.

In this task my greatest difficulty has been over terminology, for without an adequate terminology systematic study is hardly possible. But I have come to the conclusion that only what is distinctive of Peele's style need be considered specially and given a suitable name, and that the rest, being irrelevant, may be ignored. Even with such a start, I find the entire field to be slippery ground and have taken for my main stay the test: to what extent is any discovery I make in Peele true of Marlowe or Greene? In this way I have dismissed numerous 'findings', many notes gathered with labour. The results that have survived the test are few, perhaps insignificant, but are ready to be tried for what they are worth.

I have also sought to supplement these results with other characteristics I find in Peele which are stylistic in a broader sense, such as recurring themes and unusual situations, subjecting my discoveries to the same test. I have throughout kept in mind the purpose of such a study, which is to discover if Peele's style may be distinguished from the style found in the plays of known and unknown authorship at the time Marlowe, Greene, and Kyd were writing for the stage, and/

and whether the distinction may be defined. I believe I have been faithful to this purpose.

There is one other preliminary consideration which must be made before I proceed to the results of my study. It is the bibliographical foundation to the study of style in Elizabethan plays. The claims of textual bibliography in questions of revision in Shakespeare's plays are widely recognized. Likewise, when scholars are able to devote greater attention to plays of collaborate authorship they will assert the primary importance of bibliographical evidence in the study of such plays.¹ But bibliography has a similar importance in the study of style in plays of known authorship, though here its function is simpler. Its practical application is not in the examination and interpretation of peculiarities in the text but rather in the recognition and intelligent acceptance of peculiarities and corrupt passages in the text. The main point is to be on the guard against passages possibly corrupt. In this regard the student who takes up the study of unusual constructions and grammatical forms and of rhetorical usage and 'tics' of/

1. cf. M. St. C. Byrne op. cit.

of style must be particularly scrupulous in examining his evidence, since a corrupt passage, i.e. a passage which has been altered in transmission, probably unintentionally, may furnish him with much misleading evidence. How perverse and misleading a corrupt text can be I will try to show.

In the study of dramatists like Peele or Greene the standard for the purity of text can only be relative. One cannot go very far with Peele if one insists on working with good texts. A corrupt text is naturally not a satisfactory sample for the determination of style, but in such delicate processes help must be sought only with the utmost caution from the emendations and proposed readings of editors, for an edited text may yield results absolutely false. An editor's duty is to make sense, and in doing so he can easily remove all traces of what is left of the author's intention in a corrupt passage. It is necessary to note that emendation of a single word can affect versification, imagery, grammatical form, the meaning of the line and the meaning of other words in the line.¹ Therefore, in the investigation of characteristics of style it is imperative that all evidence be taken from an exact reprint of the earliest text of any play, unless when there are alternative good texts in print or manuscript.

Dr. Greg's/

1. cf. Review by Kathleen Tillotson already cited.

Dr. Greg's review of Mr. Sykes's Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama stresses these points. It is from the position outlined by him in that review that I commence my investigation.

In conclusion, I give a few examples of how unsuspecting use of a corrupt passage can yield results entirely false in the study of rhetorical devices. In a corrupt passage, when a speech is removed or severely abridged or turned into prose, the investigator is likely to pass over it unnoticed or at least to make no use of it, and no great harm would follow. For our purpose the most perverse of corrupt passages are those which approximate yet misrepresent the original. I give some of these from the Malone Society Reprint of the quarto text of Orlando Furioso and compare them with the same passages from the Alleyn Manuscript as given ⁱⁿ Dr. Greg's Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements:

Quarto text	Alleyn MS
ii. 702-705	ff. 75-77.
702 Our Shepheards in their songs of solace sing,	
703 Angelica doth none but Medor loue.	75 ----- & Medors loue
704 Orl: Angelica doth none but Medor loue?	76 Nought but Angelica, and Medors loue
705 Shall Medor then possesse Orlandos loue?	77 shall medor then possesse Orlandos loue

The alteration seems purposeful (cf. Greg's comment, p. 221). Presumably in both versions the last line of the/

the shepherd's speech is repeated by Orlando in the first line of his speech, forming an echo. The device thus remains the same in spite of the verbal change and the slight change in meaning. But the grammatical construction is entirely different. Quarto quotes a line (703) from the 'songs of solace'. The speech is reported in direct discourse, and is even printed by the editor of the Mermaid edition of Greene's works in quotation marks. If we reconstruct the original version of these lines from the Alleyn MS. and suppose Quarto 702 to stand as in the original we shall have

702 Our Shepheards in their songs of solace sing
703 Nought but Angelica, and Medors loue.
704 Orl: Nought but Angelica, and Medors loue?
705 Shall Medor then possesse Orlandos loue?

Metrically this releases l. 702 from being end-stopped and places a strong caesural pause after 'nought', the first syllable of the trochaic first foot in l. 703. This pause I think is stronger than the pause after Angelica in the same line, i.e. the usual pause after the third foot, though this is hardly important. Line 703 is joined to the preceding line. The syntax is, of course, obvious, but is not reported discourse, direct or indirect. The main point is: as the line rhythm in l. 703 is not so pronounced as in Quarto the echo in l. 704 is merely one of surprise and is not the lyrical repetition of a refrain. Such distinctions appear trivial/

trivial, but may be of some moment in ^a study of style.

Quarto text

Alleyn MS

11. 1019-1020

11. 171-2

And yet forsooth Medor, base
Medor durst

and yet forsooth Medor
durst enterprise

Attempt to reue Orlando of
his loue

to reave Orlando of
Angelica

The Quarto line 1019 may be the result of defective memory but the repetition it contains falls into a category classified as form no. 2 in Professor Hubbard's study on repetition and parallel construction. In tabulating the forms Professor Hubbard discreetly omits Orlando from Greene's plays without giving an explanation, though in tabulating the occurrences of the symmetrical line he includes Orlando. This form of repetition, repetition with an inserted adjective or adverb, is frequent in Peele's works, (*infra*, p. 112 ff.)

Quarto text

Alleyn MS

11.1168-1176

11. 220-224

1168 Or1: Orgalio, is not my
loue like those purple
69 coloured swans,

220 Sirha is she not (1)ike
those purple coulered swaens

70 That gallop by the Coach
of Cynthia.

221 yt gallopp by the coache
of Cinthya

71 Org: Yes marry is shee
my Lord

72 Or1: Is not her face
siluerd like that milke-
white shape,

222 her face siluered like
to the milkwhite shape

73 shape,

74 When Ioue came dauncing
downe to Semele.

223 yt Ioue came daũcing in
to Cemele

75 Org: It is my Lord.

224 tell me Argalio, what
sayes charlemayne etc.

76 [Or1:] Then goe thy waies
and clime vp to the clouds
etc.

A number of lines in the same speech beginning with Alleyn MS 224 have been omitted from Quarto. Alleyn MS ll. 220-224, part of a single speech, have been altered into dialogue in Quarto. If we look at Quarto we find two rhetorical questions both unmetrical in their first line, both beginning with 'is not' and similar in rhythm, and both followed by a short line of answer. Except for their being unmetrical there is strong temptation to cite such a passage as some deliberate rhetorical device. The original in Alleyn MS shows the lines to be two rhetorical questions but not so closely parallel, and only the beginning of a long speech, and thus hardly striking.

Quarto text	Alleyn MS
11. 1300-1305	11. 336-341
1300 What fearefull thoughts arise vpon this show?	336. What thoughts arise, vpon this fearfull showe
1301 What desert groue is this? How thus disguisde?	337 wher in what woodes, what uncouth grove is this
2 where is Orgalio?	338 how thus disguysd? whe ^r is Argalio. Argalio.
3 Orgal: Here my Lord.	339 -----mad humo ^r es
4 Or1: Sirah, how came I thus disguisde,	340 Say me si ^r boy, how cam I thus disguysd
5 Like made Orestes quaintly thus disguisde?	341 Like madd Orestes quaintly thus attyred

In Quarto the three lines 1301, 4, 5, have the same ending 'thus disguisde' and except for the intervening unmetrical/

unmetrical line of question and answer (1302,3) form a neat parallel listed by Professor Hubbard as form no. 5, and which Puttenham terms the 'antistrophe'. Alleyn MS shows that the first 'thus disguised' (338) is not at the end of the line and is probably a long way off from the repetition in 340, being separated from it by a speech or at least a full line, and that the last repetition is a mere perversion.

Had it not been for the extant part of Orlando, preserved among the manuscripts at Dulwich, the text of Orlando must always have remained a puzzle. It is only when one works through the text of that play with Alleyn's part; guided by Dr. Greg's ~~quarto~~ commentary, that one realizes the many pitfalls in seizing upon some apparent peculiarity in a play and deducing the dramatist's characteristics from it. I have no assurance that I shall not make many blunders with other plays, for which we do not possess manuscript texts and careful critical commentary.

I have therefore tried in citing Peele's characteristics not to rely too much on any single example or examples from any single play. At the same time I feel that the discipline I underwent in following Dr. Greg's searching and exhaustive study has made me at once more eager and circumspect in looking for bibliographical and stylistic clues, and in the following study I shall at least try not to deceive myself in gathering my evidence.

Chapter II: Peele's Style: Construction of Speeches,
Devices in Declamation, Forms of
Repetition.

[A Note on Quotations. The quotations and act, scene, and line references given in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis are taken from the following editions (unless otherwise stated):

Peele's plays (including <u>Alcazar</u>)	Malone Society Reprints
Peele's poems.	Works of George Peele, ed. A.H. Bullen, 2 vols.
Greene's plays	Malone Society Reprints
Marlowe's plays	Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke, 1 vol.
Lyly's plays	Works of John Lyly, ed. R.W. Bond, 3 vols.
<u>Spanish Tragedy</u>	Works of Thomas Kyd ed. F.S. Boas, 1 vol.
<u>Wounds of Civil War</u>	Malone Society Reprint.
<u>Loqrine</u>	Malone Society Reprint.
<u>John of Bordeaux</u>	Malone Society Reprint.
<u>Alphonsus Emperor of Germany</u>	Works of Chapman, ed. T.M. Parrott, 2 vols.
<u>Troublesome Reign of King John I & II</u>	Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. J.S. Farmer.
<u>Jack Straw</u>	Tudor Facsimile Text, ed. J.S. Farmer.
Shakespeare's plays	Folio Text as reprinted for Lionel Booth, 1864, line references in Shakespeare's plays are to the Oxford Shakespeare, ed. W.J. Craig.
<u>Gorboduc</u>	Early English Classical Tragedies, ed. J.W. Cunliffe
<u>Misfortunes of Arthur</u>	Early English Classical Tragedies, ed. J.W. Cunliffe.

The punctuation and spelling of these editions have been retained: 'f' is changed to 's'; 'VV' and 'W' are always given as 'W'. Italics have been normalized. Speech prefixes have been omitted when lines from a single speech only are given. The emendations of editors, when relevant, are given in brackets following the quotation.]

In/

In this chapter I shall attempt to examine Peele's plays with regard to the construction of speeches, the devices used to add to the effect of declamation, and certain forms of repetition of words and phrases. This is to limit the study to a single aspect of dramatic style, its rhetorical aspect, though, as I have said in the introductory chapter, I shall not approach it from set rules of rhetoric. I have rather noted down certain devices and mannerisms which occur in Peele's plays and compared them with similar devices and mannerisms in other plays, especially those by Marlowe and Greene. For my examples from these other plays I have drawn very heavily from Tamburlaine, because I think it represents a consciously original attempt at dramatic composition and because the text of the two parts of Tamburlaine is sound. Thus while I have sometimes tried to trace a trick of style back to earlier drama, particularly to Gorboduc, I am often satisfied if parallel examples of Peele's mannerisms can be found in Tamburlaine. I think it may be said that the forms which occur in Tamburlaine must have been known to Peele and Greene.

Indeed in the use of such devices one cannot expect to find a great deal of difference between the different dramatists/

dramatists. Since eloquent declamation is an effect aimed at by all and since within the framework of the speech the scope for variation is limited, every dramatist may be expected to master the necessary tricks in a short time. What proves to be effective would be imitated and adopted by every one of them, so that it would be difficult to tell. Many given passages from the work of one from the work of some other. To be sure, the secret of eloquence is ultimately to be sought not in any fixed mode of speech, but in the fusion of thought, and therefore also imagery, with diction and verse movement. It is the imaginative content joined to the decasyllabic rhythm that upholds Marlowe's 'mighty line'. But when the thought is bare and the diction hackneyed and stale as in most plays of the fifteen eighties it then becomes necessary to rely for eloquence largely on rhetorical devices. And though one cannot look for clear-cut distinctions between different dramatists in such usage, one would expect individual preferences, which may be detected through frequent use or perhaps through some variation of any particular device. I shall try to discover in the following pages, by comparing Peele's mannerisms with those of the others, how far such distinctions may be drawn.

In the enumeration of the different forms and devices/

devices used in the construction of speeches and in dramatic declamation it will be seen that there is a good deal of lyrical and epical construction surviving in the blank verse of the dramas. This merely means that dramatic blank verse has not yet completely come into its own. Aeneas' long account of his adventures in Dido, for instance, must be regarded as epical rather than dramatic. Likewise the speeches with refrains we find in the plays of Peele and the others are a survival of lyrical stanzas. In Marlowe dramatic declamation is frequently lyrical in sentiment and clothed in lyrical form. This also is true of Peele in his later plays, in which lyrical form and sentiment are often combined, though ^{not} usually happily, with a declamatory passage. In The Arraignment of Paris oratory and lyricism are both represented, but separately. The proper differentiation of lyrical and epical elements from ~~the dramatic~~ from the dramatic is extremely difficult and must form the subject for a separate study. I content myself with pointing out that the tricks of style in the plays which I shall bring up are often of lyrical and epical origin. With these preliminary remarks I pass on to the consideration of the plays.

By the construction of speeches I mean the construction of the formal, elaborate speeches which abound in the plays of Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, as, for/

for

example, speeches by the hero on some grand occasion. Such speeches do not merely express the matter in hand. They conform more or less to a certain mode and are often very similar. They usually begin with elaborate forms of address and greeting followed by protestations of gratitude or faith, or by an apology for what has to be said. Then comes the delivery of the message, which may be a long narrative, (or less frequently a long argument), or a short command, followed after many repetitions by a reiterating conclusion or merely by an abrupt close. This is quite obvious. But there are certain forms which recur in such a construction and it is these forms that I propose to examine for the discovery of mannerisms.

- They are: (1) the forms of address, particularly the vocative forms.
- (2) the qualifying phrases and clauses which follow the vocative or which qualify the substance of the speech.
- (3) the refrains and reiterating concluding lines which bind up a speech or a set of speeches.

Not all elaborate speeches in the plays conform to the mode given above. Very often the substance of the speech is much fuller and occupies every line of the speech. Again speeches that are shorter need not begin and end so formally, though there are other forms which recur in them. These I shall also discuss briefly. I shall not touch upon the repetition of words and phrases in relation to the speech, but shall give/

give the important forms of repetition in the last part of this chapter.

In addition to the formal components of the speech there are certain devices in it which add to the effect of declamation. By these I do not mean devices in acting or staging, but only rhetorical devices, as, for instance, to make a character consistently refer to himself by his name and titles, or to make a character begin his speech with the last words of the previous speech. These devices as they are found in Peele will form a separate discussion in the chapter.

In the construction of speeches Peele's later plays clearly show a retrogression from The Arraignment of Paris. In this early play he seems to have completely mastered the verse of oratory. The long argumentative passages conform more or less to the pattern of other elaborate speeches, but they are at the same time a vehicle for the expression of thought. In them the formal, artificial characteristics do not obtrude themselves. In Peele's later plays he falls into the mannerisms of Greene and the early Marlowe and shows no originality in the construction of speeches. It is always important to remember the speeches of Paris and Phoebus in The Arraignment of Paris as specimens of what Peele could do with dramatic oratory, but in this inquiry no regard will be shown to the quality or substance/

substance of the speech, but only to the mannerisms found in it.

In common with Marlowe and Greene, Peele usually begins his long speeches with an elaborate form of address, particularly a vocative of a line or more, or a short vocative followed by many qualifying clauses or phrases. When the vocative is as long as a line or more it may take one of these forms:

- a. an epithet or phrase serving as a substitute for the name of the person addressed, or a phrase including the name of the person addressed:

Yee countrie gods, that in this Ida wonne,
Arraignment, 183

Thou fairest flower of these westerne parts:
Old Wives Tale, 1067

You trustie soldiers of this warlike King
Alcazar, 1347

Vnkind, vnprincely, and vnmanly Ammon,
David, 324

This form of the vocative is not particularly common in Peele, but occurs very frequently in Tamburlaine:

Ye holy Priests of heauenly Mahomet,
1 Tamburlaine, IV. ii. 1446.

Egregious Viceroyes of these Eastern parts
2 Tamburlaine, I. i. 2326

Magnificent and mightie Prince Cosroe,
1 Tamburlaine, I. i. 144

- b. the name/

b. the name or equivalent title of the person addressed followed by one or more appositional phrases:

Paris, my hartes contentment, and my choice,
Arraignement, 262
 Phoebe, chiefe Mistresse of this silvan chace,
Arraignement, 1190
 Sadoc high priest, preseruer of the arke,
David, 1072
 Braue sons the worthy Champions of our God,
Edward I, 64
 Braue Abdelmelec, thou thrise noble Lord,
Alcazar, 1338

This form is quite common in other plays. I give a few examples:

Renowmed Emper^uor, mighty Callepine,
2 Tamburlaine, III.v.3503
 Great men of Europe, monar^{ks} of the West,
Friar Bacon, 446
 Peggie the louelie flower of all townes,
Friar Bacon, 1424

The form is frequently found in all of Greene's plays, except James IV.

c. one or two adjectives forming the whole or a separate part of the vocative:

Sacred and iust, thou great and dreadfull Ioue,
Arraignement, 943
 Gracibus and wise, fayre Queene of rare renowne,
Arraignement, 1321

This construction is rather unusual. The first example is paralleled by the following invocation, not properly a vocative:

Ah mercifull and iust thou dreadfull God,
Looking Glass, 956

But I have not found other similar examples either in Peele or in the others. Peele does not have examples /

examples of a vocative of a line consisting only of an adjective phrase, as in the following:

Beautious, more bright then beautie in mine eyes,
Looking Glass, 857
Louely and once beloued of my lord,
Friar Bacon, 1503

For the adjective used as a short vocative, Peele has two examples in Edward I, 2876, 2469. But the form also occurs in Dido (IV.ii.1148). Often the adjective is used rather as an apostrophe than as a vocative, the person addressed being absent or the speech being spoken as an aside, as, for instance, Dido, III.ii.920; Jew, III.1304. There are examples of the adjective used as a vocative in Lyley's plays, an elaborate example being Midas, IV.i.137, and also in Lodge's Wounds of Civil War (174,185).

d. two separate vocatives addressed to two or more different people joined by 'and':

Diuine Pallas, and you sacred dames,
Iuno and Venus, honoured by your names:
Arraignement, 210-1
Thryse reuerend gods, and thow immortall Ioue.
Arraignement, 1132
Souldiers of Israel, and ye sonnes of Iuda,
David, 1665
My L. lieutenant of Glocester, and L. Mortimer,
Edward I, 5
Lords of Albana, and my peeres in France,
Edward I, 1545
Princes of Scotland and my louing friends,
Edward I, 2254
Distressed ladies and yee dames of Fesse,
Alcazar, 123
Vicerioies, /

Viceröies, and most christian king of Portugall,
Alcazar, 643-4
 Ye warlike lords and men of chivalrie,
Alcazar, 625

In the last example the two vocatives do not exclude each other. Such ambiguity frequently results from Peele's habit of employing two synonymous expressions for the same object. The sense in the line

Distressed ladies and yee dames of Fesse
 is not really ambiguous, though Dr. Greg¹ shows from the 'plot' that in representation only the two princesses Rubin Arches and Abdil Rayes could have been present in the scene. This form of two vocatives is frequently found in Tamburlaine but is hardly ever found in Marlowe's other plays except Massacre at Paris. It is not often found in Greene. I give the examples from Tamburlaine and other plays. It will be seen that many of the examples are ambiguous in meaning, though I have withheld examples in which the two vocatives are addressed to the same person ²:

Great Kings of Barbary, and my portly Bassoos
1 Tamburlaine, III.i.919
 Bassoos and Ianisaries of my Guard,
1 Tamburlaine, III.iii.1159
 Ye Moores and valiant men of Barbary,
1 Tamburlaine, III.iii.1187
 Great /

1. Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgments, p.52.

2. As, for example, Renowned Emperor^u and mighty Generall,
1 Tamburlaine, III.i.934

Great Emperours of Egypt and Arabia,
1 Tamburlaine, IV.iii.1621
 Kings of Natolia and of Hungarie,
2 Tamburlaine, I.ii.2439
 Thrice worthy kings of Natolia, and the rest,
2 Tamburlaine, III.i.3118

In these examples the two vocatives are not always separate from each other. It should also be noted that they do not always, as in Peele, begin long declamatory speeches. In particular, one example above (1 Tamburlaine, 1187) is followed by only one line of verse. The same is true of the only example from Jew, which is found in a speech of only two lines. I give the speech in full:

Grave Abbasse, and you, happy Virgins guide,
 Pitty the state of a distressed Maid.
Jew, I. 554-5

The other examples I have found in Marlowe are:

My lord Mortimer, and you my lords each one,
Edward II, 1245
 Prince Condy and my good L(ord) Admiral,
Massacre, 27
 My noble sonne, and princely Duke of Guise,
Massacre, 207

In Greene's plays I have found only two examples of this form:

Princes of Turkie, and Embassadors
 Of Amuracke, to mightie Mahomet,
Alphonsus, 1309-10
 Lords of the South, & Princes of esteeme,
Orlando, 99

The last example contains terms probably ambiguous.

From this tabulation this particular form of address may be regarded as characteristic of Peele but cannot be taken as a form peculiar to him. In Tamburlaine/

Tamburlaine, where the form occurs frequently, it does not always begin a long declamation, nor are the two vocatives always separable, so that the form seems merely a variation of the more usual vocative given above under (a). In Peele this form of two vocatives occurs in Arraignement in the same manner as in the later plays. Peele does not therefore appear to be indebted to Marlowe for it. I have also found the form in Lodge's Wounds:

Graue Senators and Fathers of this State,
Wounds, 8
(ambiguous)

My councitrimen and fauorites of Rome,
Wounds, 1247

(ambiguous)
My frends and citizens of Preneste towne,
Wounds, 2151

Nothing definite may be concluded from this for the identification of authorship for anonymous plays. I give examples of this form which I have found in some of the plays which have been attributed to Peele:

Most loyall Lords and faithful followers
Lochrine, 36
Vncle and princes of braue Britany,
Lochrine, 415

I should perhaps note along with these examples from Lochrine that the form is not found in Selimus.

Barons of England, and my noble Lords;
Troublesome Reign of John,
Sig. A3

My gracious mother Queene, and Barons all;
Troublesome Reign, Sig. A3

My/

My gracious L^ord, & you thrice reuerend Dame,
Troublesome Reign, Sig. B1.
Sonne Iohn, and worthie Phillip K. of Fraunce,
Troublesome Reign, Sig. D2v
My L^ords of Penbroke and of Salsbury
Troublesome Reign, Pt. II, Sig. A3 v.
L^ord Maior and well beloued friends
Jack Straw, IV, Sig. E3

The form also occurs several times in Alphonsus,
Emperor of Germany (I. ii. 1; I.ii. 92; II.i.3) I
have also found it in 1 Henry VI:

Vnckes of Gloster, and of Winchester,
1 Henry VI. III. 1. 65
My gracious Prince, and honorable Peeres,
1 Henry VI. III. iv. 1

I have already mentioned the form of address of two vocatives which are synonymous and addressed to the same person(s). This is quite frequent in Tamburlaine and Greene's plays but not often found in Peele.

Apart from distinctions in the forms of the vocative there is little difference between Peele and Greene in the opening part of the speeches in their plays. Greene is in fact even more formal in this respect. Alphonsus, otherwise very stilted, does not contain many elaborate vocative forms, but the speeches in Looking Glass, Orlando, and Friar Bacon often begin with vocative forms occupying a line or more, particularly with the form in which the name or title of the addressed person is followed by an appositional phrase, given above as (b). Marlowe in Tamburlaine begins many speeches/

speeches with elaborate vocative forms but is comparatively free from the mannerism in his later plays.

More often speeches, even when elaborate, begin with a simple vocative of a word or two. But in this it is very difficult indeed to distinguish between the usage of the different dramatists. Marlowe seems to me to vary the position of the vocative more often, while Peele and Greene either begin the opening line with the vocative or put it in the first part of the line. Perhaps only elaborate numerical tabulation will confirm whether there is any real difference. I give at random the opening lines of successive speeches in Edward I, Sc III, (up to l.762) and 1 Tamburlaine, II. iii. (up to l.646) for comparison. In both scenes there is oratorical declamation during which a king reposes his trust in a Macchiavellian politician who afterwards betrays the trust:

Edward I, Sc. III

687 Long. Nobles of Scotland, we thanke you all,
708-9 Baliol. Victorious Edward, to whom the Scottish kings
Owe homage as their lorde and soueraigne,
722 Long Then nobles since you all agree in one,
731 (after a pause) Deliuer me the golden Diadem (no
vocative)
745 (after a pause) Thus lords though you require no
reason why,
750 Baliol. Thankes roiall England for thy honor doone,
759 Elinor. Now braue John Balioll Lord of Gallaway

1 Tamburlaine II. iii

599 Cosroe. Now worthy Tamburlaine, haue I reposed,
604 Tamb. And so mistake you not a whit my Lord,
623 Therid. You see my Lord, what working woordes he hath.
631 Tech. With dutie and with amitie we yeeld (no vocative)

633

-4 Cos. Which I esteeme as portion of my crown
Vsumcasane and Techelles both,
640 Tam. Then haste Cosroe to be king alone,

In the opening lines from Edward I, Sc. III, the vocative, when not elaborate, is invariably in the first part of the line. In those taken from 1 Tamburlaine II. iii, out of five examples of the vocative one is at the end of the line (604) and another is placed in the second rather than the opening line (633-4). There is less monotony. This I think is true of other passages in Tamburlaine. No importance must of course be attached to this example, chosen at random. Peele uses many of the simpler forms of the beginnings of speeches, but his practice cannot be distinguished from that of the others. I shall discuss this later.

Also in common with Marlowe and Greene,¹ Peele often inserts many qualifying phrases after the vocative, so that the addressed person is told many times over
of/

1. The use of many qualifying clauses and phrases after the vocative is also found in Gorboduc, as, for example, I.ii. 1-4.

of his own titles, virtues, power etc. This must originally have been meant for the information of the audience, but the information conveyed is often already known or has been repeated many times in similar hackneyed phrases, or it is often completely irrelevant. In this Peele nowhere reaches the extravagance in Tamburlaine and in Greene's plays, but the practice occurs even in Arraignement, as, for example,

Diuine Pallas, and you sacred dames,
Iuno and Venus, honoured by your names:
Iuno, the wife and sister of kinge Ioue,
Faire Venus, Ladie president of loue:

Arraignement, 210-3

Some examples from Peele's other plays are:

Princes of Scotland and my louing friends,
Whose neckes are ouer-wearied with the yoke,
And seruaile bondage of these Englishmen,
Edward I, 2254-6

Souldiers of Israel, and ye sonnes of Iuda,
That haue contended in these irkesome broiles,
And ript old Israels bowels with your swords:
David, 1666-8

But in Peele such beginnings do not grow out of proportion with the rest of the speech, except in Alcazar, and in that play one can never be certain whether a speech has been abridged. I give an example from Alcazar:

Braue man at armes whom Amurath hath sent
To sow the lawfull true succeeding seed
In Barbarie, that bowes and grones withall
Vnder a proud vsurping tyrants mase,
Right thou the wrongs this rightfull king hath
borne.
Alcazar, 118-22.

This is the entire speech. Four of its five lines are taken/

taken up with the vocative and its qualifying clauses. In Tamburlaine and in Greene's plays the practice is much worse, as, for example, in the following speech by Bajazeth:

Zabina, mother of three brauer boies,
Than Hercules, that in his infancie
Did pash the iawes of Serpents venomous:
Whose hands are made to gripe a warlike Lance,
Their shoulders broad, for complet armour fit,
Their lims more large and of a bigger size
Than all the brats ysprong from Typhons loins:
Who, when they come vnto their fathers age,
Will batter Turrets with their manly fists.
Sit here vpon this royal chaire of state,
And on thy head weare my Emperiall crowne,
Vntill I bring this sturdy Tamburlain,
And all his Captains bound in captiue chaines.
1 Tamburlaine, III. iii.
1201-13

The three brave boys do not appear in the first part of Tamburlaine at all. In V.ii. of the first part Zabina mentions only one child (' Goe to my child, away, away, away. Ah, saue that Infant, saue him, saue him,' 2093-5), who later figures in the second part of the play. The other two are not heard of. In any event the information regarding the children is here irrelevant. The vocative and its qualifying clauses occupy nine of the thirteen lines in the speech. This construction is very awkward, but is frequently found in Tamburlaine and in Greene's plays.

Likewise, in the body of the speech itself in the plays of Peele and the others, strings of qualifying clauses or phrases are used to give information which is sometimes necessary, but more often known/

known or irrelevant. In particular dilation on some trivial point is often excessive. In David, Sc. III, for instance, Thamar mournfully compares herself with Eve cast from Paradise, but enlarges upon the image for two lines:

(where all delights sat bating wingd with thoughts,
Ready to nestle in her naked breasts)

before continuing with her lamentation. Parenthetical comments like these, especially when irrelevant, obscure the emphasis in the main discourse. They occur frequently in David, but even more in Alcazar.

However, the usage cannot be regarded as peculiar to Peele as it is also found in the others. In 1 Tamburlaine, I. i, for instance, Mycetes about to swear revenge by his royal seat hastens to describe the seat as 'Embost with silke as best beseemes my state, '(107). But it is not with the irrelevance of such 'asides' that I am concerned, but rather with their construction.

I take the opening lines of Edward I where the information given may be regraded as necessary and relevant:

My L. lieutenant of Glocester, and L. Mortimer,
To do you honor in your Soueraignes eyes,
That as we heare is newly come a land,
From Palestine, with all his men of warre:
The poore remainder of the royall Fleete,
Preseru'd by miracle in Sicill Roade.
Go mount your Coursers Edward I, 5-11.

What is particularly noticeable about such strings of qualifying/

qualifying phrases is that every new shade of the thought would occupy a whole line of verse. The explanation is that the verse is end-stopped, since overflow in rhythm has to accompany and perhaps to precede overflow in sense. In other words, so long as the thought is limited by the line division, the line remains a more or less self-contained unit. This makes it often necessary to fill up the room with words not otherwise needed, as may be seen, for instance, from the tendency in early dramatic blank verse to qualify every substantive by an adjective. This is particularly true of Gorboduc, and accounts for the frequent occurrence in it of Professor Hubbard's 'symmetrical line', which is a rigid form of the more or less self-contained line which makes up the speeches in the early plays. The elaborate vocative forms examined above and the strings of qualifying clauses and phrases are other forms of self-contained lines. In Marlowe and in Peele and Greene the speeches are often a mere accumulation of such lines. In this again it is very difficult to detect the difference between their usage. Marlowe is more full of matter and relies less on the hackneyed phrases Peele and Greene usually resort to, though the actual structural distinction cannot be defined.

Peele makes use of two devices to shape his thought to the rhythm of the line: the use of words not really needed to pad out the line, especially perhaps the
last/

last line of a speech, and the use of two nearly synonymous words or phrases to denote one object. It will be seen, however, that these devices are found just as frequently in Marlowe and Greene. And indeed they are not only common to Elizabethan poets but are already found in much earlier verse.

For the padding out of lines such expressions as 'I say', 'I mean', 'the same' etc. are often used in Peele's plays. But they occur even more frequently in Greene. The expression 'the same', for instance, occurs more than thirty times in Alphonsus, more than half of the time at the end of the line. In many lines in this play the padding is quite childish, as in the following:

May claime a portion in the fierie Pole,
As well as any one what ere he be. Alphonsus, 27-8
Nere to vnfold the secrets of my heart
To any man or woman, who some ere
Dwels vnderneath the circle of the skie:

Alphonsus, 129-131
I do not doubt but ere the time be long,
Alphonsus, 167

The last line quoted is found in much the same shape three times in Act I of the play. The other two times are at lines 22 and 370. I give these examples from Greene to show that the device of using unnecessary words to fill up a line is not peculiar to Peele. In Peele in fact this fault is not quite as bad. A few examples are:

Commanding him to send Vrias home
With all the speed can possibly be vsed.
David, 161-2

phrases joined by a conjunction it may easily result in the 'symmetrical line'. I give some examples from Gorboduc and Tamburlaine, taking them from the first forty lines of the first scene in each play:

My gracious lady and my mother deare, <u>Gorboduc</u> ,	7	(I.i)
So great a wrong, and so vniust despite	10	
Such causelesse wrong and so vniust despite	12	
But thee, of thy birthright and heritage	26	
Against all lawe and right, he will bereaue:	28	
Madame, leaue care & carefull plaint for me	40	

For freezing meteors and coniealed colde:

	<u>Tamburlaine</u>	19
Now to be rulde and gouerned by a man,		20
Therefore tis good and meete for to be wise,		42

I have not tried to pick out the most elaborate examples¹ from these plays, but have merely taken those from the first forty lines of the first scene of each of each device is easily found in them. I do not think it important to compare the frequency of its occurrence in Tamburlaine with that in Peele's plays. The use of two synonymous expressions in place of one is a characteristic of Peele's verse but cannot be regarded as peculiar to him.

The study of qualifying clauses and phrases in the speech and their relation to the structure of the blank verse line has not brought out the distinctions I set out to look for. But there is still material for investigation/

1. eg. Gorboduc I. ii. 77-88; V. i. 126-135.

investigation in the forms of repetition of words and phrases found in the verse of Peele and the others. These I shall take up later. I will now look at the closing lines of speeches and the refrain used to bind together a single or several speeches.

In the plays of Peele and Greene the closing lines of speeches frequently reiterate the thought already set forth, repeating it in similar or identical words, so that the effect is frequently that of a refrain. Sometimes they are a summary of what has been said or merely a formal close to mark the end of the speech. As with the beginning of speeches there is often a formality about the conclusion which makes single speeches stand out alone rather than as part of the dialogue. This is also true of Tamburlaine and to a less extent of Marlowe's later plays. And, as may be expected, the speeches which contain long arguments in Gorboduc often end with a formal close, as may be seen from the following conclusions to long speeches:

Loe, this is all, now tell me your aduise
Gorboduc, I.ii.76.
Whereof as I haue plainly said my mynde,
So woulde I nere the rest of all my Lordes. I.iii.46-7
Read, read my lordes: this is the matter why
I called yenowe to haue your good aduyse. III.ii.27-8

In Peele also many speeches have such formal concluding lines, as, for example,

Thus Longshanks bids his Souldiers Bien veneu.
Edward I, 129
Thus willinglie, and of their owne accorde,
Doth Scotland make great England's king their iudge.
Edward I, 720-1

These fauors with vnfaigned loue and zeale,
 Voweth king Philip to king Sebastian. Alcazar, 850-1
 Thus haue I tolde your roiall maiestie,
 How he is plac'd to braue his fight. Alcazar, 1117-8

In this practice of inserting a line or two at the end of the speech merely to tell that the speech is at an end Peele seems to be more archaic than Marlowe and Greene. But there is another type of closing line which reiterates the thought in the speech. This kind of closing line is as prevalent in Greene as in Peele and also found in Marlowe. I give a few examples from Peele, quoting the concluding lines as well as the lines containing the thought they repeat:

(mid-speech)

For my sake spare the young man Absalon
 Ioab thy selfe didst once vse friendly words
 To reconcile my heart incenst to him,

 For my sake then spare louely Absalon.
David, 1459 etc.

Hold messenger, commend me to thy King,
 Weare thou my chaine and carrie this to him,
 Greete all his route of Rebels more or lesse,
 tel them such shamefull end will hit them all,

 Tel then disdainefullie Balioll from vs

 Saie what I bid thee Versses to his teeth.
 And earne this fauour and a better thing
Edward I, 2210-20

(mid-speech)

Tell me then Stukley, for thats thy name I trow,
 Wilt thou in honor of thy countries fame,
 Hazard thy person in this braue exploit,

 Frankly tell me, wilt thou go with me?
Alcazar, (cf. ll. 708-710, 716)

There are many examples of this in Alcazar, (cf. ll. 90-103; 394-401; also ll. 365-388). In Arraignement, 164-5, at/

at the end of a speech by Flora describing the three goddesses approaching Phoebe's bower, the names of the goddesses are again enumerated. (cf. also David, 625-34, 'The babe is sicke' etc.)

I give some examples of similar concluding lines in Marlowe and Greene:

Mother dispatch me, or Ile kil my selfe,
For think ye I can liue, and see him dead?
Giue me your knife, (good mother) or strike home:
The Seythians shall not tyrannise on me.
Sweet mother strike, that I may meet my father.
2 Tamburlaine III. iv.,
3437-41 (entire speech)

What wilt thou giue me, Gouvernor, to procure
A dissolution of the slauish Bands
Wherein the Turke hath yoak'd your land and you?
What will you giue me if I render you
The life of Calymath, surprize his men,
.....
What will you giue him that procureth this?
Jew, V, 2177-81, 2184.

Nay virgin stay, and if thou wilt vouchsafe
To entertaine Alphonsus simple sute,
Thou shalt ere long be Monarch of the world:
.....
If you will graunt to be Alphonsus bride.
Alphonsus, 1755-7,
1766.

(cf. also Friar Bacon, 1455-1462, where Lambert makes his proposal to Bettris in a speech of similar construction).

(mid-speech)
Here braue Alphonsus, take thou at my hand,
Ipnigina, I giue her vnto thee:
.....
Take her I say, and liue King Nestors yeeres,
So would the Turke and all his Noble Peeres.
Alphonsus, 2074-5,
78-9

There is often a lyrical element in this reiteration. This lyrical element is more pronounced when identical lines/

lines occur like refrains, either in the same speech or at the close of successive speeches. Arraignement has many examples of such refrains and they are also found in others of Peele's plays. But Tamburlaine, Alphonsus, Looking Glass, and Orlando all contain examples of them. I give examples of the refrain at the close of successive speeches:

Yf then this prize be but bequeathed to beautye,
The only shee that wins this prize, am I.
Arraignement, 403-4 etc.

This occurs at the end of three successive speeches, as also do the following lines:

That where so ere this ball of purest golde,
That chast Diana here in hande doth holde,
Vnpartially her wisdome shall bestowe,
Without mislike or quarrell any moe,
Pallas shall rest content and satisfied,
And say the best desert doth there abide.
Arraignement, 1200-5 etc.

Other lines in the same speech are also repeated in similar form.

The child shall surely die, that erst was borne,
His mothers sin, his kingly fathers scorne.
David, 692-3, etc.

These lines concluding Nathan's speech are repeated, the last line identically, at the end of the succeeding speech.

For witnessewe would die for Dauid's woes.
David, 1056, 1061

This line occurs at the end of two successive speeches. The speech preceding and the speech following them both end with a line similar to this one.

In/

In Edward I and Old Wives Tale the refrain occurs as a repetition of prophetic riddles, and snatches of songs, as

When legs shall lose their length, etc,
Edward I, 562-5, 572-6

Be not afraid of every stranger,
Start not aside at every danger: etc
Old Wives Tale, 195-202,
205-210, 495-7,

Gently dip, but not too deepe,
For feare you make the golden birde to weepe,
Faire maiden white and red, etc.
Old Wives Tale,
786-90, 791-3,
970-82

cf. also Edward I, 1425-6, 1431-2; 1461-3, 1466-9; Old Wives Tale, 837-8, 845. In Arraignement also the goddesses each read the inscription 'Detur Pulcherrimae' and add the same interpretation (392-398).

Refrains at the close of successive speeches are also found in Tamburlaine, Orlando, and Looking Glass:

Since last we numbred to your Maiesty
2 Tamburlaine III. v.
3541, 47, 51.

The line occurs at the end of two successive speeches and in the middle of the speech following.

But if he die, your glories are disgrac'd,
Earth droopes and saies, that hell in heauen is
plac'd. 2 Tamburlaine, V. iii
4407-8, 4432-3.

The scene, in which these lines occur at the end of two successive speeches, is paralleled by a similar scene in David, Sc. X, in which refrains also occur (ll. 1056, 1051, quoted supra.) cf. also 2 Tamburlaine, I. vi. 2703, 2718 'Is Barbary vnpeopled for thy sake/

sake, '.

Rasni is God on earth and none but he
Looking Glass, 30 etc.

This occurs at the end of three successive speeches.

But leauing these such glories as they be,
I loue my Lord, let that suffize for me.
Orlando, 40 etc.

This occurs at the end of four successive speeches,
and with a little variation, at the end of the fifth.

Another form of the refrain is repetition of the
same line in a speech, dividing the speech in effect
into two or more little stanzas. This form of the
refrain does not occur in Arraignement, but is found
in Tamburlaine, Looking Glass, and Alcazar:

Feede then and faint not faire Calypolis,
Alcazar, 596, 609

This line occurs in the middle of a speech and again
at the end of the speech. The opening line of the
speech (1.584) is also similar to it. It is therefore
a good specimen of the speech with a formal conclusion.

Other examples of this refrain are:

- Alcazar 374, 388 'To heauen and earth, to Gods and
Amurath.'
- 1 Tamburlaine, V. ii., 2136 etc. 'Behold the Turke
and his great Emperesse.' (three times)
- 2 Tamburlaine, II, iii., 2985 etc. 'To entertaine deuine
Zenocrate.' (five times)
- 2 Tamburlaine, V.iii., 4543, 51 'And shall I die, and
this vnconquered?' (twice)
- Looking Glass 2029, 39 'Come Ladies come, let vs prepare
to pray.' (twice)
- Looking Glass 2219, 26 'Oh who can tell the wonders of
my God,' (twice)

In/

In the speeches of Jonas in Looking Glass he repeats as a refrain, both in different speeches and in the same speech, the lines,

Repent ye men of Niniuie, repent.
The Lord hath spoke, ~~and~~ and I do crie it out.
There are as yet but fortie daies remaining,
And then shall Niniuie be ouerthrowne.

Looking Glass, 1790-3 etc.
1970 ff etc.

This last form of the refrain can not be regarded as peculiar to anyone. But even in the conclusion of speeches in general, little may be claimed as peculiar to Peele. He may perhaps be regarded as more archaic than the others, since a formal conclusion to speeches seems to persist in his plays.

I have looked at the construction of the elaborate speeches. Other speeches in the plays must of course, depend more on the action. They therefore conform less to a pattern. However, the transition from one speech to another is still very often formal. Surprise is expressed by rhetorical questions, which take up the words the last speaker leaves off. Often there is a string of rhetorical questions at the beginning of a speech, or one or two rhetorical questions are followed by some oath or invocation or extravagant imperatives not meant to be fulfilled. Exclamation, commands, questions also begin speeches, but these are only to be expected. Likewise, at the end of a long declamation in which the speaker has wandered far off the subject,

a line of transition in the form of a question introduced by 'but' is often inserted to give a start to the next speech. All these forms, I am convinced, are common to Marlowe, Greene and Peele. I shall, therefore, not look into them.

There is one form of transition which is really a device to add to the effect of declamation, and that is when one character begins his speech with the same with line which the last speaker ends. This I find it convenient to call the 'echo' and is a more elaborate form than that in which a speech begins with the last word or words of the previous speech. I shall therefore trace its occurrences in the plays of Peele and the others to see if there is distinction between the dramatists in its use.

In Peele the 'echo' is usually used to express surprise, as, for example,

[Longshankes] And wil our Coronation be solemnized,
Vpon the 14. of December next.
Qu. Eli. Vpon the 14. of December next?
Alas my Lord, the time is all too short
etc.
Edward I, 218-221.

Another example is:

[Sebastian.] Are you content to leaue this enterprise,
Against your countrie and your countrie
men,
To aide Mahamet king of Barbarie?
Bish. To aide Mahamet king of Barbarie,
Tis gainst our voves great king of
Portugall.
Alcazar, 771-5

Or/

Or the 'echo' may merely repeat the thought, as in the following examples:

[Seruus.] When while the child was yet aliue, we spake,
And Dauids heart would not be comforted?
Da. Yea Dauids heart will not be comforted,
David, 715-7

[Sebastian.] Saie how your mightie master minded is,
To propagate the fame of Portugall.
Embas. To propagate the fame of Portugall,
And plant religious truth in Affrica,
Philip the great and puisant king of
Spaine, etc.
Alcazar, 828-32.

The two kinds of echoes are both found in Tamburlaine:

[Cosroe.] Which will reuolt from Persean gouernment,
Vnlesse they haue a wiser king than you.
Myc. Vnlesse they haue a wiser king than you?
1 Tamburlaine,
I.i. 99-101.

Here Mycetes echoes Cosroe's last line in surprise and indignation.

Mena. Your Maiestie shall shortly haue your wish,
And ride in triumph through Persepolis.
Exeunt.

Manent Tamb. Tech. Ther. Vsum.
Tamb. And ride in triumph through Persepolis?
Is it not braue to be a King, Techelles? etc.
1 Tamburlaine, II.v.
753-6

Here Tamburlaine repeats Menaphon's last line and broods over it. The line is again repeated at the end of Tamburlaine's speech (1.759). The 'echo' is here combined with the refrain, as also in Dido, V.i. 1517-32. The 'echo' occurs less frequently in Marlowe's later plays, and with more variation. But in Jew, Barabas, hearing the news of the meeting and how 'all the Iewes in Malta must be there', echoes the line and broods/

fact that the 'echo' is given in the stage direction as to the fact that the 'echo' is called for by the words 'say all after me'. Stage directions are much fuller in certain plays than in others, and in this play the directions are very full. Also stage directions are much likelier to be altered than lines in the text. But the fact that here the 'echo' reproduces the line identically is also significant.

In the same play when the Bishop presents Edward with the young prince after the christening his words are followed by an 'echo' from the other characters, and again when he presents the prince to the queen. I give the first example;

Bishop. Wee represent your highnes most humblie,
with your young sonne Edward of Carnaruan Prince
of Wales. Sound trumpets.

Omnes. God saue Edward of Carnaruan prince of Wales.
Edward I, 2143-6 (cf. 2154-7)

The other example is almost identical. Neither of these examples is particularly significant as the 'echo' is not entirely exact and is not called for. But even such echoes are not often found in other plays¹. In James IV, for instance, James installs his queen on the throne and says the following lines, followed by an 'echo' /

1. In Misfortunes of Arthur III iii. 91-2 Cadur asks the soldiers to confirm with 'Yeas' his promise to Arthur.

'echo' from all present:

Nobles and Ladies, stoupe vnto your Queene,
And Trumpets sound, that Heralds may proclaime,
Faire ~~De~~ Borithea peerlesse Queene of Scots.

All

Long liue and prosper our faire Q. of Scots.
James IV, 149-52

This 'echo' is far from identical. I should also say it differs from mere mechanical repetition. It is not the same kind of 'echo'.

I now give two more examples of the 'echo' from Peele. They both involve some conjecture. Whether my assertion that the device seems peculiar to Peele may be established or not depends on whether the conjecture is accepted. The first example is again v from Edward I. Edward, after hearing the defiance of Baliol delivered by Versses, cries aloud against Baliol, whereupon he is greeted by shouts from his train:

[Longshanks.] Why now is Englands haruest ripe,
Barons now maie you reape the rich renowne,
That vnder warlicke colours springs in field,
And growes where ensignes wan vpon the plains.
False Balioll Warwicke is no hold of prooffe,
To shrowd thee from the strength of Edwards
arme,
No Scot thy Treasons feare shal make the breach,
For Englands pure renowne to enter one.
Omnes. Amaine amaine vpon these treacherous Scottes.
Amaine saie all, vpon these treacherous Scots,
Edward I, 2227-37

As the text stands there is neither 'echo' nor a call for it. But the general cry following Edward's speech is rather abrupt. The words 'saie all' in the last line also do not seem appropriate. I venture to suggest that/

that the last line has been transposed and that it should form the last line of Edward's speech, followed by a line of a general cry echoing it. I give the last six lines as I think they should stand to show what I mean:

[Longshanks] False Balioll Warwicke is no hold of proffe,
To shrowd thee from the strength of Edwards arme,
No Scot thy Treasons feare shal make the breach,
For Englands pure renowne to enter one.
Amaine saie all, vppon these treacherous Scots,
Omnes. Amaine amaine vppon these treacherous Scottes.

This reading no longer makes the cry abrupt and unexpected.

I should note also that even the punctuation agrees with this reading, the line containing 'saie all' ending with a comma, the line in which 'amaine' occurs twice ending with a full-stop. Evidence from punctuation rests again on conjecture though I find the punctuation in Edward I to be quite reasonable. I do not wish to press ^{the point} ~~the point~~ But this reading, if accepted, gives an 'echo' or general cry which follows upon a call for it, 'saie all'.

The other example I want to give is again imperfect though less conjectural. In the opening scene of David, before Cusay enters with Bethsabe, David prepares to welcome her and commands that the doors should be opened:

[David.] Open the dores, and entertaine my loue,
O^{pen} I say, and as you open sing,
Welcome faire Bethsabe King Davids darling.
Enter Cusay with Bethsabe.

David Welcome faire Bethsabe King Davids darling,
David, 131-5

Here/

Here David echoes himself, but it is not what I want to show. It is not known how many or what kind of attendants are supposed to be present in this scene, as the stage directions give none. The text requires, however, that there should be some present; otherwise David's command quoted above would be addressed to no one. In stage representation, therefore, one would expect those present to greet Bethsabe with the words 'Welcome faire Bethsabe King Dauid s darling' sung or spoken as a chorus, even though there is nothing to indicate it in the stage direction. This I think is another example of the 'echo' which is called for.

These are isolated instances and two of them are affected by considerations of text. The case I admit is very weak. But except for two passages from Looking Glass which I shall quote there is nothing which at all approximates this device in the plays of Marlowe and Greene. I have given an example of the 'echo' in James IV. I now give an example from Tamburlaine, in which Tamburlaine, putting on the crown of Cosroe, says he will wear it even if Mars and all the earthly potentates conspire to dispossess him of it, provided he has the support of his followers:

[Tamburlaine.] Yet will I weare it in despite of them,
As great commander of this Easterne world,
If you but say that Tamburlaine shall raigne.
Al. Long liue Tamburlaine, and raigne in Asia.
1 Tamburlaine, II. vi. 912-5

The/

The echo follows the call but is quite different. Even such examples are rare in Marlowe and Greene. The only examples which approximate the device as found in Peele are found in Looking Glass:

Rasni But after our repent, we must lament:
Least that a worser mischiefe doth befall.
Oh pray, perhaps the Lord will pitie vs.
Oh God of truth both mercifull and iust,
Behold repentant men with pitious eyes,
We waile the life that we haue led before.
O pardon Lord, O pitie Niniuie.
Omnes O pardon Lord, O pitie Niniuie. etc.
Looking Glass, 2128-5

The 'echo' is repeated a few lines onwards. (2140-1). But in this example the echo is not really called for. Rasni merely exhorts all present to lament and pray. There is another passage from the same scene in Looking Glass which I should give, because in the edited texts it is an example of the 'echo' following the call, though in the early editions it is not so. I give, as usual, the reading from the Malone Society Reprint:

2099 Alui. Mourne, mourne, let moane be all your melodie,
2100 And pray with me, and I will pray for all.
2101 Lord. O Lord of heauen forgiue vs our misdeeds.
2102 Ladies. O Lord of heauen forgiue vs our misdeeds.
2103 Vsurer. O Lord of light forgiue me my misdeeds.
Looking Glass, 2099-
2103

Dyce omits the prefix 'Lord' in l.2101. The prefix 'Lords' for the same line in the Fourth Quarto has been deleted among the many manuscript alterations in the unique copy of that edition.¹ If the altered reading is/

1. I have used the 'List of Irregular, Dubtful, and Variant Readings' and 'List of Manuscript Alterations and Additions in the Unique Copy of the Fourth Quarto' given in the Malone Society Reprint of the play for this information.

is followed, then l. 2101 is also spoken by Alvida and echoed by her ladies (2102) upon her call 'And pray with me', though here because of the echo of the following line (2103) there is more the effect of a chorus than of a general cry.

I have found no other example of this device in Marlowe and Greene. But as it does not occur very frequently even in Peele I can only leave the evidence as it is. I wish to point out, however, that this device occurs several times in Jack Straw, which has been attributed to Peele. I make a digression to give the examples from that play:

Jacke Straw.

We come to reuenge your Officers ill demeanor,
And though we haue kild him for his knauerie,
Now we be gotten together, we will haue wealth and
libertie

Cry all.

Wealth and libertie.

Jack Straw, Sig. D2

In this example the echo is not called for. It is exact, but not a complete line. The cry is repeated about twenty lines later, but not as an echo.

Maioer.

Souldiers take hart to you and follow me,
.....
London wil giue you power and armes,
And God will strengthen you and daunt your foes:
Fill Smithfield full of noise and ioyfull cries,
And say aloud God saue our Noble Prince.

Jack Straw, Sig. E2r and v.

These/

the pomp of the speech.¹ Also when this device is combined with the 'echo' or the refrain there is frequently a lyrical and melodious effect, as, for example:

Abs. What causeth Thamar to exclaime so much?
Tham. The cause that Thamar shameth to disclose.
David, 357-8

or as in the example of the 'echo' already quoted:

[Seruus.] When while the child was yet aliuē, we
And Davids heart would not be comforted?
Da. Yea Davids heart will not be comforted,
David, 715-7

Neither echo is identical, but in either instance if the personal pronoun 'I' were used in the last line the lyrical effect would in part be lost. Indeed proper names remain the same in the mouth of all characters and their use often makes possible identical repetition.

But the device is not peculiar to Peele. Use of proper names in place of pronouns for the effect of pomp or lyrical repetition is found as often in Marlowe and Greene. However, there is a subtler form of this usage which I think is worth looking into. It is the device of making a character report a speech, either heard or imaginary, in which the character is addressed by name. This indeed is merely a device in narrative, as, for instance, in Dido 502-3, 576-7, but the force of/

1. cf. R. Simpson, The School of Shakespeare, II. 394.

of such a device as used in drama can be seen from several soliloquies in Faustus, as also from Aeneas' soliloquy in Dido, IV. iii, 1201-2, in which he imagines Dido calling him to stay. I give an example from Faustus:

Fau: My hearts so hardned I cannot repent,
Scarse can I name saluation, faith, or heauen,
But feareful ecchoes thunders in mine eares,
Faustus, thou art damn'd.....Faustus, 629-32

These lines follow the buzzing of the good and evil angels in his ears, the one admonishing him to repent, the other saying that God cannot pity him. Other examples of this in Faustus are ll. 496-501 when Faustus' blood congeals and he reads over what he has written, and ll. 1285-9 when he seems to hear the voice of Hell calling for him. In all these examples the device is used to express a certain intensity of emotion in the character. In Greene's plays this device is not used, nor the intensity of emotion reached. The only example which approximates the device is found in Looking Glass, in the scene of the repentant usurer, which closely parallels scenes in Faustus and in which the usurer mourns to himself:

.....each murmuring that I heare,
Mee-thinks the sentence of damnation soundes,
Die reprobate, and hie thee hence to hell.
Looking Glass, 2061-3

Here, whether reprobate is a noun or an adjective, the sentence of damnation is reported, but the usurer is not called by name. With the exception of this example/

example the device is not found in Greene's plays. In Peele it is found in the lamentation of Bethsabe in David:

Vrias, woe is me to thinke hereon,
For who is it among the sonnes of men,
That sayth not to my soule, the King hath sind,
Dauid hath done amisse, and Bersabe
Laid snares of death vnto Vrias life.
David, 612-6

Later in the play David going barefoot up the Mount of Olives imagines God rejecting him for his sins:(cf. the source of the passage, infra, p.186)

But if he say my wonted loue is worne,
And I haue no delight in Dauid now,
Here lie I armed with an humble heart,
T'imbrace the paines that anger shall impose,
David, 1112-5

In Edward I Versses in reporting to Baliol how he was received by Edward makes use of the device for vividness in description: 'Versses quoth he take thou King Edwards chain' etc. (2282 ff). But as may be seen from the examples above Marlowe has shown greater mastery in its use. I should note that the device occurs twice in Lochrine, in the rather ludicrous hunger scene ('My bowels crie, Humber giue vs some meate, 'etc, 1590) and in Humber's last and deeply tragic speech ('For still me thought at euery boisterous blast' etc, 1729-30) and that it also occurs in Troublesome Reign of King John, (Part I), in the opening scene in which Philip the Bastard hears voices and broods in a soliloquy (Sig. B2 V.; the device occurs three times/

times in the soliloquy) and again in the second scene ('Now doth Alecto whisper' etc., Sig. C3).

Another device in declamation which Peele shares with the others is the repeated address of the same person by different epithets. It is different from the string of vocatives and qualifying clauses examined above, the vocatives being separated from one another by commands or protestations. I give two examples. In the first Ammon at the sheep feast expresses his welcome to all his brethren, and turning to Absalon, says:

But specially Lord Absolon to thee,
The honour of thy house and progenie.
Sit downe and dine withome King Dauids sonne,
Thou faire young man, whose haire shine in
mine eye
Like golden wyers of Dauids yuorie Lute
David, 776-80

I should note that 'King Dauids sonne' in the third line does not seem to be a vocative, but refers to Ammon himself.¹ In the second example Sir David bids his brother Lluellen to flee before the English troops:

Flie Lord of Cambria, flie Prince of Wales,
Sweete brother flie the field is wonne and lost,
.....
Farewell Lluellen while wee meete in Heauen.
Edward I, 2359-60, 2368

This variation in address is put to skilful use by Marlowe in making Barabas coax Ithamore after he hears of Abigail's conversion:

But/

1. Fifteen lines later when Absalon kills Ammon Absalon says to him: Vnworthy thou to be King Dauids sonne.
(793)

But who comes here? Oh Ithimore come neere;
Come neere, my loue, come neere thy masters life,
My trusty seruant, nay, my second self;

Jew, III, 1315-7

But indeed the device is common to Marlowe, Greene, and Peele.

I shall now look at certain forms of repetition of words and phrases which are found in the verse in Peele's plays. It may be said in general that Peele is fond of repeating the same word or phrase in a line or in two or three successive lines. Such repetitions carry no particular emphasis and seldom bring out new shades of meaning. They do not seem to conform to formal patterns, or fall into definite tropes, and can hardly be considered to add to the adornment of the verse. I give some examples of such repetitions:

Yet Ioab pittie me, pittie my father, Ioab,
Pittie his soules distresse that mournes my life,
And will be dead I know to heare my death.

David, 1604-6

Then thou art gone, ah thou art gone my sonne
To heauen I hope my Absalon is gone,

David, 1994-5

Such repetitions may be conscious or merely habitual. They are extremely difficult to classify. Though they are also found in Marlowe and Greene it is hardly possible to classify and tabulate the forms as they occur in the three dramatists for purposes of comparison. I give an example of such repetition from Tamburlaine:

But let me die my Loue, yet let me die,
With loue and patience let your true loue die:
your griefe and furie hurtes my second life,
Yet/

Yet let me kisse my Lord before I die,
And let me die with kissing of my Lord.

2 Tamburlaine, II.iii
3034-8

This example alone will be sufficient to show that this kind of repetition, which one associates particularly with David and Bethsabe, is not confined to Peele. It is evident that contemporary emphasis on rhetoric and the conscious artistry of Euphuism and of Spenser's poetry must have had a very great effect on the rhetoric of dramatic verse, the extent of which can perhaps not be determined. But in regard to repetition of words and phrases the mannerism may be traced directly to Gorboduc. I give some examples from that play:

Neither, my sonne: such is the froward will,
The person such, such my missehappe and thine,
Gorboduc, I.i. 14-5

O my beloued sonne: O my swete childe,
My deare Ferrex, my ioye, my lyues delyght.
Is my beloued sonne, is my sweete childe,
My deare Ferrex, my ioye, my lyues delight
Murdered with cruell death?

Gorboduc, IV. i. 23-7

A few forms of repetition, however, are found in Peele which do not seem to be common in the others. These can hardly be regarded as conscious devices, as their use is probably unconscious. One form is the repetition of a phrase or sometimes of a line in a reversed word order. This may be merely a favourite rhythm, as in the repetition little consideration is shown to the meaning. The reversed word order sometimes gives a twist to the sense, or more often it is only a duplication of what is already said. I give the examples
I/

I have found in Peele:

That Spaine reaping renowne by Elinor,
And Elinor adding renowne to Spaine,
Edward I, 258-9

Go to, it shall be so, so shall it be,
Edward I, 872

Mun thou with me and I with thee will goe,
Edward I, 2599

Ione thou art daughter to a leacherous Frier,
A Frier was thy father haplesse Ione,
Edward I, 2862-3

And this did he, and they with him conspire,
David, 908

Ah Absalon my sonne, ah my sonne Absolon,
David, 987

Hold Absalon, Ioabs pittie is in this,
In this prowde Absalon is Ioabs loue.
David, 1611-2

Calcepius Bassa, Bassa Calcepius
Alcazar, 82

And now drawe neere, and heauen and earth giue eare
Giue eare and record heauen and earth with me,
Alcazar, 376-7

(pun)
This flesh I forced from a lyonnesse,
Meate of a princesse, for a princesse meate,
Alcazar, 585-6

That both in one, and one in both may ioyne
Alcazar, 950

And thriue it so with thee as thou doest meane,
And meane thou so as thou doest wish to thriue,
Alcazar, 992-3

Seest thou not Stukley, O Stukley seest thou not
Alcazar, 1370-1

I have not found this rhythm in Old Wives Tale, nor is
it pronounced in Arraignement, though I have found two
examples/

examples of it there and another one from his poems.

And Iuno, I with them, and they with me,
Arraignement, 1058

Our fayre Eliza our Zabeta fayre
Arraignement, 1339

That you may add to London's dignity,
And London's dignity may add to yours,
Device of the Pageant,
48-9

This repetition is merely a tedious trick, but it is perhaps useful as a mark of identification. It certainly helps to convince me that Alcazar is by Peele.

This form of repetition is not common in Marlowe or Greene. I give the examples I have found in them:

If not, turne from me, and Ile turne from thee:
Dido, V.i. 1589

Abig. Well father, say I be entertain'd,
What then shall follow?

Bar. This shall follow then;
Jew. I. 533-5

In this example the repetition comes in the following speech and is therefore different.

Me. Nay I know not, we shalbe curst with bell, booke,
and candle.

Fau. How? bell, booke, and candle, candle, booke, and
bell,
Forward and backward, to curse Faustus to hell.
Faustus, 885-8

Woods, trees, leaues; leaues, trees, woods:
tria sequuntur tria etc.

Orlando, 843-4
(Alley MS., 121-2)

Oh thought, my heauẽ/oh heauen y^t knowes my thought
Orlando, Alley MS., 12
(= 606-7)

Two of these examples only approximate the form (Jew, 533-5;

Orlando/

Orlando, MS., 12). The other example from Orlando and the one from Faustus seem to be deliberate attempts to give the effects of incantation and halucination. The rhythm is not really caught by Marlowe or Greene. I have also found an example of it in Gorboduc and another in Spanish Tragedy:

Ye all my lordes, I see, consent in one
And I as one consent with ye in all.
Gorboduc, V.i. 30-1

Now, Lordings, fall too; Spaine is Portugall
And Portugall is Spaine; we both are freends;
Spanish Tragedy, I.v.17-8

I should note too that Shakespeare seems to be fond of this rhythm, as for instance ⁱⁿ these examples from Richard II:

Would you haue beene so briefe with him, he would
Haue beene so briefe with you, to shorten you,
Richard II, III. iii. 12-3

I, no; no, I: for I must nothing bee:
Richard II, IV.i.201

I have not tried to look for the form in Shakespeare's plays and give these at random. The form also occurs in Hamlet, III.iv.173-4. If it is prevalent in Shakespeare's earlier plays then the form cannot be used as a mark of identification in discussing the authorship of Shakespearean plays. I have found, however, the following occurrences of the form in Lyly's Midas and Gallathea:

v As much as to say, drinke before you goe, and goe before
you drinke.
Midas, I. ii 139-40

O teeth! o torments! - o torments! o teeth!
Midas, III.ii. 67

...Pan/

.....Pan is all, and all is
Pan; thou art Pan and all, all Pan and tinkerly.
Midas, IV.i.60-1

..Vnhappy Mydas, whose wits melt with his gold, and
whose gold is consumed with his wits.
Midas, V.iii 65-6
..... die Hoebe,

Hoebe die! wofull Hoebe! and onely accursed Hoebe!
Gallathea, V.ii.24-5

.....shee hath taken my sonne Cupid, Cupid my louely.
sonne,
Gallathea, V.iii.32-3

It must be remembered of course that these examples occur in prose, not blank verse. In Lyly's verse play Woman in the Moon Pandora reads two lines of Latin forward and then backward, and does the same for another two line_s. She is echoed both times by Stesias (III.i.101ff.).

Another of the forms of repetition which occur frequently in Peele is immediate repetition of a word or phrase with an added qualifying word. This form, however, is also found in other plays,¹ especially the plays of Lyly, in which they occur very often. I give first the examples from Peele:

Reuerence, reuerence, most humble reuerence.
Arraignement, 193

Then had not I poore I bin vnhappie.
Arraignement, 714

Bac. And rid the man that he may knowe his payne.
Apol. His payne, his payne, his neuer dying payne,
Arraignement, 1071-2

[Concub.] For doing this disgrace to Dauids throne.
2. To Dauids throne, to Dauids holy throne,
David, 1183-4

1. Prof. Hubbard does not note its occurrence except in Peele's plays, in Lochrine, in Misfortunes of Arthur and in 1 Henry VI, PMLA, Vol. 20, pp. 363 and 369. (1905)

And in the morning sound the voice of warre,
The voice of bloudie and vnkindly warre.

David, 1441-2

O Ioab, Ioab, cruell ruthlesse Ioab,

David, 1597

Might pierce this thicket to behold thy sonne,
Thy deerest sonne gor'de with a mortall dart:

David, 1602-3

What boots it Absalon, vnhappy Absalon,

David, 1660 (in misplaced
fragment)

Villaine damnde villaines not to guard her safe,

Edward I, 646

(Dyce emends 'villaine' to
'villains'.)

Alas I am vndone, it is the Queene,
The proudest Queene that euer England knew.

Edward I, 828-9

.....This sworde, this thirssie sworde,
Aimes at thy head,

Edward I, 925-6

(The edition of 1599 corrects
'thirssie' to 'thirstie'.)

Edward, king Edward, as thou list be termd,

Edward I, 994

What Nell, sweete Nell, doe I behold thy face?

Edward I, 1015

Balioll I come proud Balioll and ingrate,

Edward I, 2250

Vppon condicion, thou a message doe,
To Balioll false, periurde Balioll.

Edward I, 2284-5

These lines are from the speech of Versses to Baliol,
Versses quoting what Edward said to him. Edward did
not use the words 'Balioll false, periurde Balioll.'
(cf2210 ff.)

Ah Queene sweete Queene, seeke not my bloud to spill:

Edward I, 2332-3

Ah Gloster/

Ah Gloster thou poore Gloster hast the wrong.
Edward I, 2890

Tell me Time, tell me iust Time,
Old Wives Tale, 522

Who Iack sir, who our Iack sir? etc
Old Wives Tale, 581

That you may vnderstand what armes we beare,
What lawfull armes against our brothers sonne,
Alcazar, 134-5

But follow to the gates of death and hell,
Pale death and hell to entertaine his soule.
Alcazar, 198-9

Who take them to their weapons threatning reuenge.
Bloudie reuenge, bloudie reuengefull warre.
Alcazar, 259-60

Welcome, thrice welcome to Sebastians towne,
Alcazar, 429

And to this warre prepare ye more and lesse,
This right warre, that Christians God will blesse.
full Alcazar, 1055-6

And lastly for reuenge, for deepe reuenge,
Alcazar, 1251

.....my soule, my feeble soule
Shall be releaste from prison on this earth:
Alcazar, 1332-3

As death, pale death with fatall shaft hath giuen.
Alcazar, 1341

Conduct thy learned company to court,
Eliza's court, Astraea's earthly heaven;
Anglorum Ferieae, 7-8

Whose heart is purely fixed on the law,
The holy law; etc. Descensus Astraeae, 63-4

To arms! to arms! to honourable arms!
Farewell to Drake and Norris,
50

The King of Troy, the mighty King of Troy,
Tale of Troy, 452

I now give the examples of this form of repetition
which/

which I have found in Marlowe and Greene:

Iuno, false Iuno in her Chariots pompe,
Dido, I.i.54
 Anna, good sister Anna goe for him,
Dido, III.i.709
 Venus, sweete Venus, how may I deserue
Dido, III.ii.874
 Iarbus stay, louing Iarbus stay,
Dido, IV.ii.1146
 But I cride out, AENEAS, false AENEAS stay.
Dido, V.i.1636
 Dido, faire Dido wils AENEAS stay:
Dido, V.i.1641
 O Mahomet, Oh sleepe Mahomet.

1 Tamburlaine, III.
iii.1367

For there sits Death, there sits imperious Death,
1 Tamburlaine, V.
ii.1892

Valdes, sweete Valdes, and Cornelius,
Faustus, 128
 And saile from hence to Greece, to louely Greece,
Jew, IV. 1807
 From Gaeston, from wicked Gaeston,

Edward II, 1125

Spencer, sweet Spencer, I adopt thee heere,
Edward II, 1453
 Spencer, a sweet Spencer, thus then must we part.
Edward II, 1940

To please himselfe with mannage of the warres,
 The greatest warres within our Christian bounds,
Massacre, 464-5

No king, faire king, my meaning is to yoke thee.
Looking Glass, 1531

Behold amidst the addittes of our Gods,
 Our mightie Gods the patrons of our warre.
Looking Glass, 1622-3

What doth this hast, this tender heart beseeme?
Jaes IV, 1615

(Dyce gives 'hart' for 'hast'.) Orlando has 'Medor, base
 Medor'. (1019) due to corruption, vide supra. p.61. I

have not found other examples in Greene. I have also
 found three examples of this repetition in Lodge's

Wounds:

O Rome, poore Rome, vnmeet for these misdeedes, 893
 Conueigh them hence Metellus, gentle Metellus, 2052
 Prenestians, loe a wound, a fatall wound, 2203

All/

All that may be concluded from this tabulation is that this form of repetition rarely occurs in Greene. It occurs many times in Marlowe and so cannot be considered peculiar to Peele. The form is found many times in Lochrine but only once in Selimus. I give the examples I have found in them:

But Acomat, iniurious Acomat,	
These armes my Lords, these neuer daunted armes,	<u>Selimus</u> , 1284
This heart my Lords, this neare appalled heart,	<u>Lochrine</u> , 47
Accursed starres, damd and accursed starres,	55
But this foule day, this foule accursed day,	270
For at this time, yea at this present time,	450
Cast such a heate, yea such a scorching heate,	674
Vnsheath your swords, vnsheath your conquering sword,	859
	1048

(Editors read 'swords' for 'sword' at end of line.)

For this reuenge, for this sweete word reuenge	
To armes my Lord, to honourable armes,	1065
The gods, hard harted gods, yeeld me no meat.	1132
I Lochrine, traiterous Lochrine we are come,	1594
When wil that houre, that blessed houre draw nie.	2032
	2226

I have also found the following examples in Troublesome
Reign of John:

A Will indeede, a crabbed Womans will,	Sig. C2 v
This is the day, the long desired day,	Sig. D4
As I, poore I, a triumph for despight,	
	Part II, Sig. D3 v
Ah he is dead, Father sweete Father speake.	
	Part II, Sig. E3 v

I need not mention that the form is later often found in Shakespeare as, for instance, in King John, I.i.3-5; II. i, 193-4.

The/

The form occurs all through the plays of Lyly including Woman in the Moon. I count in Gallathea alone twelve examples of it:

Come Phillida, faire Phillida, and I feare me too faire being my Phillida etc.

Gallathea, I.iii.1-2

How now Gallathea? miserable Gallathea, etc.

II.iv.1

.....It may be Gallathea, - foolish Gallathea, what may be?

II.iv.11-2

these
are my passions Eurota, my vnbridled passions, my intollerable passions, etc.

Gallathea, III.i.51-3

My selfe (with blushing I speak it)
am thrall to that boy, that faire boy, that beautifull boy.

III.i.87-8

.....vntemperate in loue, in foolish loue, ~~in base loue~~, in base loue? etc.

III.iv.32-3

You see this tree,
this fatall Tree, etc.

IV.i.7-8

Bring forth the virgine, the fatall virgin, the fairest virgine, etc.

V.ii.1-2

.... and satis-fie the custome, the bloodie custom, ordained for the safetie of thy Country? I Hoebe, poor Hoebe, etc.

(2 examples)

V.ii.12-13

.....die Hoebe,
Hoebe die! wofull Hoebe! and onely accursed Hoebe!

V.ii.24-5

Fare-well life, vaine life, wretched life, etc.

V.ii.44

Some other examples from Lyly's plays are: Endimion, I. iv.35,36; II.i.22; Midas, I.i.114; IV.i.11, 17-8; Woman in the Moon, IV. i.254. Most of the examples are found in the prose plays.

Another form of repetition in Peele's plays is the repetition of a short command with an added vocative, forming/

forming a group of three words usually at the beginning of a speech, as:

Come sheepeherde, come, sweete sheepeherde looke on me,
These bene to hoat alarams these for thee: etc.
Arraignment, 515-6

This form of repetition is very frequent in Peele's plays but also in Looking Glass, Dido, and Woman in the Moon.

I therefore give the examples I have found in Peele and in these plays:

(mid-speech) Come shepherd comme, sweete Venus is thy frend,
Arraignment, 571
See Cusay see, the flower of Israel, David, 78
Go madame goe, away, you must be gone, David, 333
No Cusay no, thy presence vnto me
Will be a burthen since I tender thee, David, 1145-6
Hence murtherer, hence, he threw at him. David, 1367

(The whole of this is printed as a stage direction. Editors read 'Hence murtherer, hence' as the last line of the speech preceding the direction.)

Helpe, Ioab, helpe, O helpe thy Absalon, David, 1570
(prose)
Farewell father, farewell; etc. Old Wives Tale, 408
Spred table spred; meat, drinke & bred
Euer may I haue, what I euer craue Old Wives Tale, 449
Hence villaine hence Old Wives Tale, 684

(mid-speech)
Worke villaines worke, it is for gold you digg.
Old Wives Tale, 728
Peace brother peace, this vild inchanter etc.
Old Wives Tale, 729

(mid-speech)
Digg brother digg, for she is hard as steele.
Old Wives Tale, 733

(mid-speech)
Come Potter come and welcome to, Edward I, 1411
Thankes worthie gouernor, come bishop come
Will you shew fruits of quarrell and of wrath,
Alcazar, 489-90

(mid-speech)
Ride Nemisis, ride in thy firie cart, Alcazar, 1237
Stand traitor, stand ambitious English-man,
Alcazar, 1430

Write, Olio, write; write, and record her story,
Anglorum Feriae, 334

I give the examples from Dido etc:

- Come seruants, come bring forth the Sacrifize
Dido, IV. ii, 1095
- (mid-speech)
Her siluer armes will coll me round about,
And teares of pearl, crye stay, Aeneas, stay:
Dido, IV. iii, 1202
- (mid-speech)
Stay not to answeere me, runne Anna runne.
Dido, IV. iv. 1210
- (mid-speech)
Looke sister, looke, lowely Aeneas ships,
Dido, V.i.1659
- (mid-speech)
Flie wantons flie, this pride and vaine attire,
Looking Glass, 592
- (mid-speech)
Flie Iudges flie, corruption in your Court,
765
- Haste Alcon haste, make haste vnto our sonne,
1085
- Looke London, look, with inward eies behold,
1804
- Staic Prophet, staie.
2007
- (mid-speech)
Come Ladies come, let vs prepare to pray. (twice)
2029, 39
- Giue truce to praiers, when times require no truce?
No Princes, no. etc 2147-8

Three of the examples from Looking Glass are from the speeches of Hosea.

- No Stesias no, Learchus is the man:
Woman in the Moon, I.i.189
- This is Pandoraes blood; hast, Melos, hast! IV.i.171
- When will the sun go downe? flye Phœbus flye! IV.i.248
- Fret, Stesias, fret; while we daunce on the playne
V.i.240
- Stay shepherd, stay! V.i.251

The examples in Dido are somewhat different from those in Peele. Two of the forms are found at the end of the line. But those from Looking Glass and Woman in the Moon/

Moon are like those in Peele. I have only found two other examples of the form in Marlowe:

(mid-speech)

Stoop villaine, stoope, stoope for so he bids,
1 Tamburlaine IV.ii.1466

(mid-speech)

Come Helen come giue mee my soule againe.
Faustus, 1332

There may be a few other examples in Marlowe and in Greene. But I have also found two examples in Lodge's Wounds:

(mid-speech)

Yes Pompey, yes: and hereof are we sure
Wounds, 73

(mid-speech)

Yelld Marius, yeeld, Prenestians be aduisde,
Wounds, 2141

Because of the many examples from Looking Glass and Woman in the Moon the form cannot without reservation be regarded as characteristic of Peele. The form also occurs a number of times in Troublesome Reign of King John and in Lochrine:

Come Madame come, you neede not be so loth,
Troublesome Reign, Sig. B4v

Peace Arthur peace, thy mother makes thee wings
Sig. C2v

Hence traytor hence thy counsell is heerein.
PART II, Sig. A4

Well Meloun will, lets smooth with them awhile
PART II. Sig. C3v

(mid-speech)

Back warmen, back, imbowell not the clyme,
PART II: Sig. D2

Peace vnle peace, and cease to talke hereof,
Lochrine, 1881

See madame see, the desire of reuenge " 1964
Search souldiers search, find Lochrine and his loue,
" 2165

Yess damsell yes, Sabren shall surely die,
Lochrine, 2231

[mid-speech]

No traitor no, the gods will venge these wrongs,
Lochrine, 2240

The/

The form is found once in Selimus:

March Sinam, march in order after him:
Selimus, 564

I have given three forms of repetition which occur rather more frequently in Peele's plays than in the verse plays of his contemporaries. There are many other forms of repetition which he shares with his fellow dramatists but which are not characteristic of him. For these I shall not give many examples, and I shall only survey them briefly. Peele seems, for instance, to be fond of beginning or ending two lines with the same word or phrase, either in reiteration, or to give a weak twist to the sense, but he seldom makes use of elaborate forms of the anaphora and the epiphora (in Puttenham 'antistrophe'). In this his style differs entirely from the style of Kyd. Peele's forms of repetition are seldom regular and do not usually conform to classical tropes. This is not to say that he does not attempt to embellish his verse with rhetorical devices but that, as I have shown, the devices he uses most frequently are rather trivial and difficult to define. In this he may also be contrasted with Greene. Though Greene carefully prunes his later work of artificial rhetoric his plays retain to the end elaborate forms of anaphora and epiphora. (cf James I V, 154-7, 1140-3, 1876 ff. 2237-41, 2505-7; Friar Bacon, 1675-9. The only elaborate example of the epiphora in Peele/

Peele is in Stukeley's speech in Alcazar, 494 ff.)

In Peele there are often found groups of three or four lines which are quite parallel in construction but which may or may not begin with the same word. I give an example and list the others. This cannot be called a form characteristic of him. It is the anaphora or a variation of the anaphora, and I am unable to say wherein Peele's use of it differs from Greene's or Kyd's, except in being briefer and less rigid:

Fairer then Isacs loue at the well,
Brighter then inside harke of new hewen Caedar,
Sweeter then flames of fine perfumed myrrhe.
And comelier then the siluer clouds that dance etc.
David, 81-4

Other examples are Arraignement, 503-6, 'To bee renowned' etc.; 1150-3, 'Yf Ioue comptroll not' etc. Edward I, 21-4, 'What warlike nation' etc.; 1310-2 'thy Nel would follow thee' etc.; David, 843-5, 'And turne them to the tile-kill' etc.; 1764-6, 'But Absalon the beautie' etc.; 1729-33, 'Take but your Lute' etc.; Alcazar, 99-101, 'To see thee in thy kingly chaire' etc.; 334-6, 'Alecto with her brand' etc.; 1247-9 'Rackt let him be' etc. I do not think it necessary to give examples from other plays.

The 'chain' construction occurs three times in Peele's plays, David, 94-7, Alcazar, 1029-32, and Old Wives Tale, 169-71. I quote the example from Old Wives Tale:

O fortune cruell, cruell[&] vnkind,
Vnkind in that we cannot find our sister;
Our sister haples in hir cruell chance:

I give this example because it is the least elaborate of the three. It is not the sweeping rhythm of the 'chain' as found in The Spanish Tragedy which is characteristic of Peele. It is rather the construction of the continually halting lines forming the links in the chain which seems to be congenial to him. The repetition of the last word or words of a line (or even a word in the latter half of the line) at the beginning of the following line is a rhythm very frequent in Peele. Here of course it is this very repetition which produces the 'chain'. But this rhythm is also very frequent in other plays.

Likewise the kind of line which builds up the 'chain' is also frequent in Peele, the line of two parts in both of which the same word occurs (often in a different grammatical form), carrying the sense forward, as, for example,

It was no partiall fault, but fault of his
Belike, whose eyesight not so perfect was,
The babe is sicke, sicke to the death I feare,
We come to fight, and fighting vow to die,

Arraignement, 965-6
David, 608
Alcazar, 1160.

But such lines are easily found in other plays.

I note also in Peele another form of repetition or rhythm which is prevalent in other plays. It is the division of a line into four or five parallel phrases, each of which begins with the same word, giving the effect of a rapid staccato, as, for example:

Her plumes, her helme, her launce, her Gorgons head,
Arraignement, 122

What tunes, what words, what looks, what wonders pierce etc.
David, 53 ff.
They feare, they flie, they faint, they fight in vaine,
Edward I., 896

There are many examples of such lines in Peele, but indeed they are frequently found in other plays. They occur very frequently in Misfortunes of Arthur (I.iii.22; II.ii.10; III.iii.110; III.iv. 14, 50; IV, ii. 111, 182; V. epil. 9). Marlowe and Greene have only scattered examples of it in their plays as in 2 Tamburlaine IV. ii. 3830; Jew, II. 695; Looking Glass, 559; Orlando, 654. In Greene's Farewell to Folly is found the line (I quote from Dyce):

Such sweet content, such minds, such sleep, such bliss.
But the rhythm of such a line is apt to be contagious.

The results of this survey of the construction of speeches and the rhetorical devices in the plays of Peele and in other early Elizabethan plays do not warrant any definite assertions regarding the style of Peele. The data I have collected only indicate those tricks of style which occur somewhat more frequently in him than in the others, but do not show his style to be one quite distinct from the style of other dramatists. These data cannot of course be complete, as I may have ignored many characteristics of style sought by other students. Even within what the examples cover there must be omissions, perhaps important omissions. But the examples which are given or referred to will at least be available to other students without the drudge of reading through the plays. I have devoted equal attention to Greene's and Marlowe's other/

other plays, and even more attention to Tamburlaine and to Peele's plays. I have done no more with the anonymous plays than read through them once or twice. In giving examples from these anonymous plays I have no wish to prove that they are by Peele. I have quoted for instance examples from Lochrine which show similar rhetorical devices to those in Peele, but I have not found room for the many rhetorical devices in that play, including elaborate forms of anaphora and epiphora, which are not found in Peele. My purpose in quoting examples from the anonymous plays is twofold. First, I wish to show by these examples that it is important to accept with caution the conclusion that a device is peculiar to Peele. Secondly, I think that such similarities ought to be considered in discussing the authorship of the anonymous plays. The purposes contradict each other, but in the present state of knowledge of dramatic style of the fifteen eighties this is unavoidable.

One positive conclusion the survey does lead to: Peele's authorship of Alcazar. Alcazar usually contributes a fair share to the examples I have given of characteristics distinctive of Peele, nor does the play exhibit characteristics markedly different from Peele's other plays. There is an elaborate example of the epiphora in Alcazar, and also examples of refrains in the same speech, not otherwise found in Peele. Also in this play no general cry/

cry echoes the call of some one character. But no single play can be expected to show all the characteristics of a dramatist. In the forms of the vocative and of the repetition of words and phrases the style of Alcazar is the style of Peele.

Chapter III: Themes and Situations in Peele's Plays.

In this chapter I shall try to survey the themes and situations which recur in Peele's plays and which seem to be characteristic of him. The survey should reveal something of Peele's mind and will concern his style only in so far as style is affected by the matter to be expressed. But indeed from glimpses of Peele's mind caught in this manner may perhaps be inferred a more fundamental dramatic principle underlying his plays. In a larger sense then the study is also stylistic. I choose to look at Peele's plays with regard to themes and situations rather than characterization and plot structure, as in this early drama there is little conscious effort toward individualized character delineation. As for plot structure any analysis must be conditioned by the state of the texts of the plays, and from this point of view, with the exception of Arraignment, none of Peele's plays are in a satisfactory state. It must also be remembered that Arraignment and Old Wives Tale are not really regular plays and need not conform to rules of structure governing other plays.

But it is useful to look at the structure of Peele's plays as a preliminary part of the survey. Whether because of excision or carelessness the plots in the plays are seldom rounded out in the end. In Old Wives Tale/

Tale, for instance, Huanabango and Corebus do not appear at the final general rejoicing and it is not known whether with their respective restored hearing and sight, which ought to follow the blowing^{out} of the sorcerer's light, the one would be content with his scolding and the other with ^{his} foul-visaged bride. In Edward I the last scene is so confused that one is left in doubt as to where the play is meant to end. In David the '5. Chorus' promises

a third discourse of Davids life,
Adding thereto his most renowned death,
And all their deaths, that at his death
he iudg^d, David, 1654-6

but is followed by a misplaced fragment and by the continuation of the original story with only a digression on Soloman and the succession. In David there is also inconsistency regarding the host of the sheep-feast. For attempted explanations of these and numerous other points in the plays I refer to textual studies of them.¹

But when due allowance has been made for the state of the texts Peele's plays still show glaring defects in construction/

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1. For Old Wives Tale: H. Jenkins, MLR, Vol. 34, (1939) 177-85
David: A.M. Sampley, PMLA, Vol. 46(1931) 659-71;
J.M. Manly, Notes to the play in Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama, Vol. 2;
of also E.K. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage,
c. III. 48, 461.
Alcazar: W.W. Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements.

construction. In the unfurling of the action in his plays Peele seems to have no regard for unity, or concentration or suspense. The plot tends to become a mere succession of events, the play a mere juxtaposition of scenes related to each other only by the characters who appear all through them. David, for instance, is often only a sustained verse paraphrase of the scriptural account of the story. Mr. A. M. Sampley² makes a very thorough analysis of the structure of Peele's plays as they now stand and comes to the conclusions that Peele's plots are not well integrated and lack unity and that they conform to a discursive, haphazard, chronicle type of structure. Also Peele's development of individual plots is incoherent, and he often burdens the action with useless incidents. Even in dealing with individual scenes, Mr. Sampley finds, Peele shows no proper proportion, often giving too much space to insignificant details. It is perhaps possible on textual grounds to defend Peele in the incoherence and the omissions which Mr. Sampley finds in his plays. It is not possible to defend Peele in his rambling discursiveness.

Mr. Sampley also brings out two positive traits in the structure of Peele's plays: his love of pageantry, and his fondness for balancing one plot against another, as/

2. 'Plot structure in Peele's Plays as a Test of Authorship' in PMLA, vol. 51, (1936) 689-701.

as, for example, the Paris-Oenone plot against the Thestylis-Colin plot in Arraignement, David's adultery against Ammon's incest in David, and Mortimer's disguise against Sir David's pretended allegiance in Edward I. With regard to Peele's love of pageantry Mr. Sampley points out the frequent use of songs in Peele's plays and the little pageants in the different plays as revealed in the stage directions. Indeed the descriptive stage directions in Peele's plays are worth careful study from the point of view of staging. Edward I in particular is full of spectacular scenes. The scene of Balio's coronation (Sc.III), for instance, with its nine lords of Scotland and their nine pages, as well as Edward Gloucester, Sussex, ('in his sute of Glasse'), [^]Elinor, and the Queen Mother, would ~~require~~ require in representation at least twelve men and eleven boy actors. The actual conferring of the crown has also the effect of a pageant and is reminiscent of Paris' awarding of the golden ball in Arraignement, another scene of pageantry.

Pageantry of course is only compensation for meagreness of plot. But the device of balancing one plot against another would seem to show that the structure of Peele's plays is not always haphazard and that he aims at achieving unity through the presentation of a parallel situation. In Old Wives Tale also the use of the induction, which sets the mood for the action and imparts/

imparts a unity to the entire play with its mixed elements of folklore and its numerous by-plots, seems to be a conscious attempt at a new form of structure. These observations only confirm the conclusion that Peele lacks the gift for narrative as expressed through dramatized action. This is evident, even without any formal analysis, from the way Queen Elinor and Stukeley tell of their own eventful past in a dying speech: events which would have been material for an entire play are not touched upon in the action, but are suddenly crowded into a final speech, while in the action of the play itself the events narrated are bare and devoid of interest.

In fact, as in the episode of Elinor's confession, Peele relies in the development of his plots invariably on the element of surprise. The device is crude and violates all principles of dramatic unity, as Peele uses it, not to extricate himself from an involved plot, but only to add to the interest of the moment, and thus adds to the incoherence of the plot. In Arraignement the denouement is a surprise. In Edward I the confession of Elinor is not the only shock held in reserve for the audience. It is preceded by the sinking of Elinor, which follows her careless oath 'Gape earth and swallow me' etc. (Edward I, 2448-50). Such extravagance is unusual even in this early drama. It is paralleled by the /

the swallowing of Radagon upon Samia's invocation in Looking Glass, 1230, but of course Looking Glass treats almost entirely of miracles. In Old Wives Tale the sudden appearance of the characters in the story when the old woman has at last begun her tale is also a surprise. This element of surprise is noticeably lacking in Alcazar. In Edward I, Old Wives Tale, and Ar^raignment where it gives an unexpected turn to the plot its effect may be repelling or attractive. Yet the unexpected turn is always immediately effective.

But for a more fundamental dramatic principle underlying the plays of Peele the clue should perhaps be sought in those themes and situations which recur in them and which, though they do not shape the structure of the plot, determine almost with certainty the outcome of it. I find such a related series of themes in Peele's plays in this sequence: beauty, pride, licentiousness, sin, retribution or repentance. These themes do not occur in every one of the plays. They are not found in Alcazar, at least not in the way they occur in Peele's other plays. In Ar^raignment only dark hints are thrown out regarding the disaster which would ensue Paris' choice of beauty as his reward and his desertion of Oenone. In Old Wives Tale the themes of beauty and pride are dealt with briefly in the person of the fair daughter of Lampriscus, 'the curstest queane in the world'. But the whole of the Elinor plot in Edward I, as of the Absolon plot/

plot in David, is built on these themes. In David the love story of David and Bethsabe is also told along the themes of beauty, sin, and repentance.

I will trace the occurrence of these themes, particularly the theme of beauty, in Edward I and David more closely. In these plays beauty in a character becomes the primary motive or end of his life. The charm of beauty elevates its possessor to joys almost ecstatic, and is irresistible also to all who look upon it. This may be compared with the theme of ambition in Tamburlaine, in which the lust for power and conquest is irresistible to the conqueror and also charms the conquered. I give an example to illustrate this difference between Tamburlaine and Peele's plays. In Peele the theme of ambition also recurs, in the person of Absolon and particularly in the characters in Alcazar, but the hero, even if he emerges victorious from his wars (as happens only a very few times in Peele), is not glorified for his conquest. The praise, if any, is only for his beauty. In David, for instance, after the victorious siege of Rabbah, Job describes David, the conqueror, in an image borrowed from Spenser (cf. Bullen, II. 42):

Beauteous and bright is he among the Tribes,
As when the sunne attir'd in glist'ring robe,
Comes dauncing from his orientall gate,
And bridegroome-like hurles through the gloomy aire
His radiant beames, such doth King David shew,
Crownd with the honour of his enemies towne,
Shining in riches like the firmament,
The starrie vault that ouerhangs the earth,
So looketh David King of Israel.

David, 863-71

The image of the bride-groom and the radiant sun clearly expresses Peele's conception of the king in full splendour, as it comes up again in Edward I, 288, (quoted infra p.136). It may be questioned whether the speech describes the beauty of David rather than his glory as a conqueror. But if it describes his glory, the description is in terms of beauty. It is not the same glory which Marlowe describes in Tamburlaine, as in this speech of Techelles:

As princely Lions when they rouse themselves,
Stretching their pawes, and threatning heardes of
Beasts.

So in his Armour looketh Tamburlaine:
Me thinks I see kings kneeling at his feet
And he with frowning browes and fiery lookes,
Spurning their crownes from off their captiue heads.

1 Tamburlaine, I.ii
248-53

Here also the praise is of a conqueror; it is of his glory in conquering and of his capacity for conquest.

But it is not a transcendant beauty as Marlowe attempts to describe in Tamburlaine (1941 ff.) which charms or inspires Peele's characters. It is physical beauty, beauty in the features, in the face, in the hair, even the beauty of adornment, of dresses, which fills them with joy. In the mind of Absolon this beauty of the body is regarded as the fulfilment of some ultimate good. I give some examples of Absolon's speeches:

Then shall the stars light earth with rich aspects,
And heuen shall burne in loue with Absalon,
Whose beautie will suffice to chast all mists,
And/

And cloth the suns speare with a triple fire,
Sooner then his cleare eyes should suffer staine,
Or be offended with a lowring day.

David, 1172-7

..... Absolon, that in his face
Carries the finall purpose of his God,

.....
His thunder is intangled in my haire,
And with my beautie is his lightning quencht,

David, 1218 etc.

Fight lords and captaines, that your soueraignes face
May shine in honour brighter then the sunne,
And with the vertue of my beautious raies,
Make this faire land as fruitfull as the fields,
That with sweet milke and hony ouerflow'd

David, 1516-20

O let my beautie fill these sencelesse plants,
With sence and power to lose me from this plague,

David, 1549-50

But this obsession may be regarded as objective character portrayal. It is in the way in which Absolon's beauty impresses upon other characters in the play that Peele's more intimate feelings are revealed. When David consents to recall Absolon from his banishment Joab can give no other cause for rejoicing or for commending David's pardon of Absolon except Absolon's beauty.¹

Now God be blessed for King Dauids life,
Thy seruant Ioab hath found grace with thee,
In that thou sparest Absolon thy child,
A beautifull and faire young man is he,
In all his bodie is no blemish seene,
His haire is like the wyer of Dauids Harpe,
That twines about his bright and yuorie necke:
In Israel is not such a goodly man, etc.

David, 976-83

Likewise later in the play, when David himself entreats Joab and the others to spare Absolon, he only breaks into raptures/

1. cf. the source of the passage, infra p.185

raptures over Absolon's golden hair:

Friend him with deeds, and touch no haire of him,
Not that fair haire with which the wanton winds
Delight to play, and loues to make it curle,
Wherein the Nightingales would build their nests,
And make sweet bowers in euery golden tresse,
To sing their loue euery night asleepe.

David, 1464-9

In Queen Elinor's obsession with her own beauty reaches
the same extravagance, as for instance in the following
passages:

I tell thee Ione, what time our highnes sits,
Vnder our royall Canopie of state,
Glistring with pendants of the purest gold,
Like as our seate were spangled all with stars,
The world shall wonder at our maiestie,
As if the daughter of eternall Ops,
Turnd to the likenes of Vermilion fumes,
Where from her cloudie wombe the Centaures lepte,
Were in her royall seate inthronized.

Edward I, 261-9

The naivete of this passage with its 'our highness' and
'our maiestie' is quite in the vein of Cambyses!

My King like Phoebus bridegroom like shall marche
With louely Xheeis to her glassie bed,
And all the lookers on shall stand amazde,
To see King Edward and his louely Queene,
Sit louely in Englands stately throne.

Edward I, 288-92

(Collier and Dyce emend 'Xheeis' to 'Thetis'.)

I tel thee the ground is all to base
For Elinor to honour with her steps:
.....
This climat orelowring with blacke congealed clouds,
.....
Is farre vnworthy to be once embalmd:
With redolence of this refreshing breath:
That sweetens where it lights as doe the flames,
And holy fires of Vestaes sacrifice.

Edward I, 1122etc.

The theme of beauty pervades the entire play but is centred
around Elinor. In the scene in which Baliol is crowned
(Sc. III) Elinor/

Elinor builds extravagant conceits upon Edward's beauty in a speech headed 'Queene Elinors speeche'. This follows her words of congratulation to Baliol in which she asks him to shine with his 'golden head'. It may be that the speech is misplaced, as it is a love speech and hardly appropriate to the occasion. I give only the opening lines:

The welken spangled through with goulden spots,
Reflects no finer in a frostie night,
Then louely Longshankes in his Elinors eye:
Edward I, 764-6

Later in the play she is indignant that the young prince is to be clad in a mantle of frieze. She would have him dressed in a mantle that shall 'make him shine like the sonne, and perfume the streetes where he comes' (1766-8):

her boie should glister like the
Sommers Sunne in robes as rich as Ioue when he triumphes,
etc. Edward I, 1775-7

I need only mention Elinor's promise to provide Edward with a suit 'of her one [ed. 1599, owne] cost and workmanship perhaps' which I presume to be the 'sute of Glasse' he later appears in. Edward also alludes repeatedly to Elinor's beauty. I shall give a few examples of this, though such adjectives as sweet, lovely, beauteous are used freely in this early drama, especially in address, and their occurrence need not be significant:

And louelie England to thy louelie Queene,
Louelie Queene Elinor, vnto her turne thy eye,
Edward I, 725-6

Ione aske thy beautious Mistres how she dooth.
Edward I, 1214

(Dyce emends 'Mistres' to 'mother'.)

We/

We will goe see my beatuous louely Queene,
That hath inricht me with a goodly boie.

Edward I, 1593-4

(The edition of 1599 has 'beautuous' for 'beatuous'.)

Sleepe Nell, the fairest Swan mine eies haue seene,
Edward I, 1674

But even the queen-mother, in eager expectation of Edward's return in the opening scene of the play, pictures to herself her son, 'louely Edward', coming back like 'bloudy crested Mars', but also

Martching along as bright as Phoebus eyes,
Edward I, 43

Indeed it may be said that in Peele's plays beauty is regarded as one of the supreme gifts in life and that the charms of beauty are universally felt. At the end of David, for instance, Joab reproaches David for his unceasing lamentation of Absolon's death and tells him to deck his body 'with blisful robes' in order to cheer up his soldiers after their victory. No other king, says Joab, would sit frowning in the dark

When his faire lookes, with Oyle and Wine refresht,
Should dart into their bosomes gladsome beames,
David, 1973-4

If it is necessary to justify this obsession with the charms of beauty its justification is to be found in Paris' apology in Arraignement:

And tempted, more then euer creature was,
With wealth, with beautie and with chivalrie:
And so preferred beautie before them all,
The thing that hath enchanted heauen it selfe.
Arraignement, 1020-4

This apology must, I think, be also regarded as Peele's apology. Peele is otherwise well balanced in the outlook on life he shows in his plays. The sense of transgression and/

and retribution is strong in him, and in this respect he differs markedly from Marlowe, who threatens to reverse the scale of all morals, and from Greene, who in his plays seems to deny the existence of any real evil and pardons all transgressions with alarming magnanimity. But Peele in his plays often allows the spectacle of beauty to dazzle and distract him, as I think one must feel in reading David if not Edward I, so that one almost has the impression that he falls with every temptation a character is faced with. Likewise the character succumbs to the temptation. And yet Peele's subsequent judgement is clear and severe, for he is fully aware of the consequences of pride and lust. These are the chief transgressions in his plays and they are closely linked with the charms of beauty.

It is hardly necessary to follow the Elinor story and the different stories in David to bring out Peele's moral. Every quotation already given from Elinor's or Absolon's speeches is evidence of the pride, wilfulness, and sensuousness rooted in consciousness of their own beauty Peele means to portray. Bethsabe's song at the beginning of David at once sets the mood of the play and hints at subsequent events:

Let not my beauties fire,
Enflame vnstaied desire,
Nor pierce any bright eye,
That wandreth lightly.

David, 34-7

Edward at the death-bed of his queen gives voice to the same bitter lesson:

Blushing/

Blushing I shut these thine inticing lampes,
The wanton baites that make me sucke my bane,
Edward I, 2788-9

Beauty's fire will inflame the impure, but the innocent must suffer along with the guilty. In David not one transgressor is spared, except only the evil counsellor Jonadab. I go over the list: Ammon and Absolon who are killed, Achitophel, who dies by his own hand, and David and Bethsabe, punished in the death of their child and in the unnatural conduct of Ammon and Absolon. This of course is so in the original story, but it is Peele who chooses to follow that story.

Looking Glass by Lodge and Greene also deals with the themes of beauty, pride, sin, and repentance. But in this play the treatment of these themes is merely spectacular. The characters sin monstrously, half in ignorance, and the enormity of the sins is only matched by the suddenness of the repentance. The portrayal of both borders on burlesque. We are left to lament the untimely execution of divine punishment on Remilia and Radagon who would no doubt have saved their own souls through repentance had they survived. But the theme of beauty is treated in this play with an extravagance of phrase which outdoes Peele. I quote, for instance, some lines from Remilia:

Shut close these Curtaines straight and shadow me,
For feare Apollo spie me in his walkes,
And scorne all eyes, to see Remilias eyes.
Nymphes, Knancks, sing, for Mauors draweth nigh,
Hide me in Closure, let him long to looke, etc.

Looking Glass, 503-7
(Dyce emends 'Knancks' to 'eunuchs'.)

But/

But Remilia's boasts about her beauty are often marred by a faint suggestion of beauty as a commercial commodity.

The speech from which the above lines are taken is followed by Alvida's remark:

c Beleeue me, tho she say that she is fairest
I thinke my peny siluer by her leaue.
Looking Glass, 512-3

Similarly the praise of her own beauty in an earlier passage is spoiled by such lines as:

The costly paintings fetcht fro curious Tyre
Haue mended in my face what nature mist.
Looking Glass, 450-1

Pride and lust take pleasure in beauty; beauty in this play is hardly the mainspring of these. It is dealt with only as an attractive vice, among the many other vices depicted.

Peele's other plays are also characterized by moral severity. In Old Wives Tale of course there is little more than poetic justice. But in Arraignement Thestylis is punished and held up to Paris as an example. In Alcazar the ambitions of Sebastian, Stukeley, Muly Molocco, and his son, and the treachery of Molocco and the king of Spain lead to a general massacre. The presenter's speech in Act V of this play gives a comment to the action

Ill be to him that so much ill bethinkes
Alcazar, 1258

though, to be sure, the action illustrates far more than the one comment. But the idea appears to be fixed in Peele's mind. In the poem Honour of the Garter, he dwells/

dwells more than once on the posy of the garter:

Ill be to him it saith that evil thinks.

Honour of Garter, 312

In David also are found such comments on the action:

Shame be his share that could such ill contrive,

David, 760

(Here it is Absolon commenting on Ammon's behaviour,
but it need not be taken as Absolon's sentiment alone.)

If holy David so shoke hands with sinne,

What shall our baser spirits glorie in,

David, 587-8

This is paralleled by the sentiment expressed by Stukeley's
companion in Alcazar, III.i.:

If kings doo dally so with holy oaths,

The heuens will right the wronges that they sustaine,

Alcazar, 888-9

As moral sentiments these are mere commonplaces. As
working principles from which to evolve the action of
plays they are notable. Peele I think does try to base
his plots on such principles.

In contrast with these themes Peele seems to be
fond of drawing characters in whom are shown constancy
and humility. Edward I is the foremost example of the
stoical constancy found to some extent also in Stukeley,
in Abdelmelec, in Eumenides, and in Urias. Edward I
is in fact a chronicle of the trials of that king, who
rises on every occasion to his duties but is hardly ever
given a moment of respite. But the trials include at
least one unusual situation which seems to be favoured by
Peele. It is that of the lover counselling the husband
not to take the wife's virtue too strictly to task. The
husband of course will not heed the advice and will persist
in/

in uncovering his own shame. At the end of Edward I Lancaster counsels Edward not to listen to the queen's confession in disguise:

A goodly creature is your Elinor,
Brought vp in nicenesse and in delicacie,
Then listen not to her confession Lord,
To wound thy heart with some vnkinde conceite,
Edward I, 2607-10

A similar situation is found in David when David persuades Urias to spend his leave at home with his wife:

Vrias hath a beauteous sober wife,
Yet yong, and framd of tempting flesh and bloud,
.....
Sinne might be laid vpon Vrias soule,
If Bethsabe by frailtie hurt her fame:
David, 478 etc

Both lovers, I should point out, try to convince the husbands that beauty is an excuse for possible misconduct in the wife. I have not noted the situation in other plays of this period.

The theme of patriotism is often related in Peele's plays with the theme of constancy. The characters are endowed with a sense of duty towards their country. In Edward I, for instance, Luellen's brother David, treacherous towards England but loyal to Wales, his fatherland, is portrayed with sympathy. In Alcazar the Bishop asserts that the only justification for not doing honour to one's country is 'matter of conscience and religion', a sentiment which so pleased the editor of England's Parnassus that he reproduced the Bishop's lines (467-72) in his collection under the heading 'Country'. At the same time Peele takes every/

every opportunity to express his own love for England and to praise England's sovereign in her beauty, wisdom, might etc. These are common themes, but the expressions of love for England seem to be accompanied by real feeling. In Arraignement the praise of Zabeta and Elyzium is merely formal, but the opening scene of Edward I rings with patriotism, beginning with the exultant cry of the queen-mother:

Illustrious England, auncient seat of kings,
Whose chivalrie hath roiallized thy fame: etc.
Edward I, 16-17

and ending with Joan's advice to her mother the queen to check her pride:

The people of this land are men of warre,
The women courteous, milde, and debonaire,
Laying their liues at princes feete,
That gouernes with familiar maiestie,
Edward I, 272-5

Here also the duties of the king, as often in Peele's plays and poems (cf supra p. 141) are stressed. In the entire play the theme of patriotism occurs again and again as the story turns around Lluellen and his Welsh followers, Baliol and the Scottish nobles, and the Spanish queen of Edward. In Alcazar Sebastian has a long speech which glorifies Elizabeth and England:

The wallowing Ocean hems her round about,
Whose raging flouds do swallow vp her foes,
And on the rockes their ships in peeces split. etc.
Alcazar, 743-5

But the heartiest expression of patriotism in Peele is to be found in the poem Farewell to Drake and Norris.

The/

The feeling of patriotism is, as only to be expected, linked in Peele with a strong anti-Spanish feeling, as in Edward I, Alcazar, Farewell etc. It is also mixed with an antagonism toward the Catholic Church and toward priests and friars. I note, for instance, Elinor's request for holy friars to be fetched from France for 'secret conference' with her, the appearance of Superstition and Ignorance in the shapes of a friar and a priest and their vain plotting in Descensus Astraeae, and the 'Friar indefinit and a knaue infinit' who is 'the veriest knaue in all Spaine' in Old Wives Tale (469). The friar in Edward I should perhaps not be taken seriously. Farewell also expresses strong sentiments against Rome in phrases like 'to deface the ^apride of Antichrist'. But it is easy to make too much of such sentiments in Peele. Feelings were high at the time against Spain and the Roman church. Marlowe, who nowhere alludes to England with pride, will yet hit at Spain in Jew, as, for instance, in this line:

Now where's the hope you had of haughty Spaine?
Jew, 2103

And in Faustus, when the devil first appears, Faustus finds him too ugly:

Goe and returne an old Franciscan Frier,
That holy shape becomes a diuell best.
Faustus, 260-1

Later in the play Faustus gives the Pope a box on the ear (after 883). For purposes of comparison it is not particularly important whether Marlowe is responsible for the/

the episode.

In Peele's works constancy and humility are also depicted in pictures of old people. A character which recurs is the old soldier who becomes a beadsman. In the opening scene of Edward I the stage directions describe 'the Ancient' elaborately as 'borne in a Chaire, his Garland and his plumes on his headpeece, his Ensigne in his hand.' (48-50) He is made the beadsman of the queen mother at her request:

And whilst this auncient Standard bearer liues,
He shall haue fortie pound of yeerely fee,
And be my Beadsman father if you please.

Edward I, 148-50

In Polyhymnia the old knight Sir Henry Lee resigns his place of honour at tilt before Queen Elizabeth,

Protesting to her princely majesty,
In sight of heaven and all her lovely lords,
He would betake him to his orisons,
And spend the remnant of his waning age,
Unfit for wars and martial exploits,
In prayers for her endless happiness.

Polyhymnia, 294-9

The 'Sonet' appended to the poem closes with the same theme:

Goddess, allow this aged man his right,
To be your beadsman now that was your knight.

I should also mention the friar's reference to himself in Edward I, Scene XVIII: 'like one of Mars his frozen knights I must hang vp my weapon' etc (2390-1). Bullen explains 'frozen' as 'numbed with age' and thinks that there may be 'an allusion to the gladiators' custom of hanging/

hanging up their weapons, when they retired from their profession, as a votive offering to the patron deity.' (Bullen, I. 190) The subject seems to have an attraction for Peele.

An idyllic picture of the aged and humble is that of Clunch the smith and his wife Madge, the 'Gammer', in the Induction to Old Wives Tale. There is a restraint in the delineation which keeps its objects quaint and picturesque against the background of the heath on a dark night. This picture may be compared with the picture of the family of Alcon, the 'poore man' in Looking Glass, which is also drawn with sympathy. But the story of Alcon etc. is low comedy. The theme of a smith and his wife on the heath on a dark night recurs in Peele. In Edward I in the scene of the rising of Elinor at Pottershire the potter and his wife talk of the thunder and lightning and prepare the stage for Elinor's rising.

Peele seems to show in general a sympathy for the lowly and humble, as, for instance, in the depiction of Lampirisus with his domestic problems and of Jack's companions in Old Wives Tale. In the opening scene of Edward I there is a long digression from the story regarding provision for the maimed soldiers. I should also note the apology of the hermit in Speeches to Queen Elizabeth at Theobald's, and the opening line of the prologue to Honour of the Garter:

Plain is my coat, and humble is my gait:

This/

This last of course is autobiographical, as also are the lines in the poem itself:

I laid me down, laden with many cares,
(My bed-fellows almost these twenty years),
Honour of the Garter, 7-8

But Peele, I have tried to show, does reveal some of his convictions and feelings in his plays, and the comment to his works is often to be found in the works themselves. I quote, for example, Edward's comment on Elinor's pride:

Milde is the mind where honor builds his bowre,
And yet is earthlie honor but a flowre.
Edward I, 1794-5

The lines are full of irony. At the end of the play Edward, full of sorrow and anger at Elinor's dying confession, finds in Gloucester a sympathetic listener:

Gloster thy King is partner of thy heauines,
Although nor tongue nor aies bewraie his meane,
For I haue lost a flowre as faire as thine,
A loue more deare, for Elinor is dead,
Edward I, 2908-11

I do not wish to read too much into the psychology of the portrait, or to dwell on the echo of the very common image of the flower in its beauty and transience. The irony of the earlier comment holds true of Edward's later situation even without the later lines.

Likewise in the poem (The Praise of Chastity, which I am convinced is a sincere expression of his attitude, Peele supplies a comment to his plays and perhaps to his own life:

Believe me, to contend 'gainst armies royal,
To tame wild panthers but by strength of hand,
To praise the triumph, not so special,
As ticing pleasure's charms for to withstand;

Praise of Chastity, 41-4

Chapter IV: Some Possible Sources of Peele's Vocabulary.

In this chapter I have collected together two groups of material which I think ought to be examined as sources or possible sources of his vocabulary in an estimate of Peele's poetic diction and style: first, passages from Marlowe, Greene, and other dramatists which parallel passages in Peele in construction, diction, image, or sentiment, and secondly, extracts from the account of the story of David and Bethsabe contained in the Great Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and the Genevan Bible, each of which seemed to have supplied Peele with words and phrases used in the play. Within the limits of these two groups I have tried to keep the material relevant but complete, yet even for David and Bethsabe this chapter is not a complete study of sources; it is only a study of two possible sources of Peele's vocabulary. David and Bethsabe, for instance, contains borrowings from Du Bartas, not through Sylvester's translation, as Mr. Sykes¹ has shown. The imagery in the play is usually deliberately tinged with Biblical allusions, but where the images are not found in the actual account of the story in II Samuel, XI - XIX, I have not tried to trace them to their sources, a few of which are given in the notes to the play in Bullen's edition of Peele's works. As for the parallel passages from Marlowe and the others it is possible, in a very few instances, to call them passages /

1. Notes and Queries, Vol. 147, 349 -51, 368 - 9
(Nov. 15 and 22, 1924.)

passages borrowed or imitated by Peele, but the bulk must be left alone as mere parallels, - indicative of possible relation, suggestive not conclusive.

The parallels will also reveal something of Peele's debt to Marlowe, in David and Bethsabe and in Alcazar, though not necessarily in the sense of conscious borrowing or imitation. In the construction of speeches also Marlowe seems to have influenced Peele in many points, as seen in chapter II. Peele, I have tried to show in Chapter III, does not come under the spell of conquerors and conquests, and in this respect is original. But many of Peele's themes are also the themes of Marlowe and of other plays of the period. The slaughter of a brother (Absolon and Ammon), for instance, is dealt with in Gorboduc, as also the theme of fixing the line of succession (Nathan, Bethsabe, Solomon in David, Abdelmelec and Muly Mahamet Seth in Alcazar). The armed rebellion of the son against the father (Absolon and David) is found in Misfortunes of Arthur and Selimas. These themes deal with ethical relations. In personal behaviour the characters in Peele make extravagant vows and promises, calls earth to witness and the heavens to record their truth or their misery (as in Arraignement, 576, David, 1577, etc.), utter curses and imprecations or breathe forth their woes in solitary haunts (Thamar, Achitophel, David, in David, the Moor in Alcazar) in much the same manner characters /

characters in Tamburlaine and other plays are made to behave. In particular Peele is fond of putting owls and night-ravens and blasted trees or woods scorched by lightning in their speeches, as in David, 341, 347 1639, 1894 - 5, Alcazar 298 - 9, 519, 520. Blasted trees are quite a common image in the plays of this period, as in 1 Tamburlaine, III.i.973, IV.ii.1468-9, V.ii.2025, Spanish Tragedy, IV.ii.18. Night-ravens and owls come directly from Spenser, Faerie Queene II.vii.23.3; II.xii.364-5. The hunger scene in Alcazar is paralleled by similar scenes in Lochrine (Humber in the forest), in Dido (I.i.), and even in Looking Glass (the forty days' fast). Situations in David and Bethsabe find parallels in other plays. David takes Bethsabe as his wife again after his reconciliation with God:

Bring ye to me the mother of the babe,
That I may wipe the teares from off her face,
And give her comfort with this hand of mine,
And decke faire Bersabe with ornaments,
That she may beare to me another sonne,
That may be loved of the Lord of hosts:
David, 732 - 7

Likewise in Looking Glass Rasni and Alvida receive the pardon of God, after which Rasni promises to make Alvida his 'wedlocke mate':

Faire Alvida looke not so woe begone:
If for thy sinne thy sorrow do exceed,
Blessed be thou, come with a holy band,
Lets knit a knot to salve our former shame.
Looking Glass, 2334-7.

I should mention the character of the prophet (Nathan, Jonas) /

Jonas) in both plays. In David also Jonadab's counsel to Ammon is a situation often found in Greene, but particularly closely paralleled by a similar situation in John of Bordeaux. Both passages begin with the melancholy of the young prince.

Jonad: What meanes my lord, the Kings beloued son,
That weares vpon his right triumphant arme,
The power of Israel for a royall fauor,
That holds vpon the Tables of his hands,
Banquets of honor, and all thoughts content
To suffer pale and grisely abstinenc e
To sit and feed vpon his fainting chekes,
And sucke away the bloud that cheeres his lookes.
David, 257-64.

In John of Bordeaux the counsel of the nobleman to Ferdenand starts from the same observation:

what Cher my lord what over clad in dumpes the prince that
swellith in his his one ~~one~~ content and hathe the empier tied
to his will
and sitt as one that sorowed fo^r want ...
John of Bordeaux, 73-5.

The Arraignment of Paris with its gods and goddesses shows affinities with Dido and with Lyly's plays.

I note, in particular, the contention between Juno and Venus and the scene of the storm in the woodland setting in Dido, which are also found in Arraignment. But indeed both plays, as the plays of Lyly, were written for performance by the children of the chapel before a select audience.

The themes of contemporary drama and the vocabulary, the manner of declamation, and the construction of speeches/

speeches found in that drama went into the composition of Peele's plays. Peele on his part also contributed to these elements, and his work must also have had effects on the writing of other dramatists. But contemporary poetry and rhetoric are also an important factor behind the work of these dramatists. A concrete instance of this is the pervasive influence of Euphuism. In Peele the influence of Euphuism is seen at least in David and Bethsabe in those speeches between David and Solomon borrowed from Du Bartas, which are characterised by antithesis and parallel construction (1783 ff.1807 ff. etc.) Another important influence on the dramatists both in diction and in style, but also, in part, in choice of theme, is the poetry of Spenser. The pastoral tradition survives in the drama, and not only in postoral plays. Marlowe's thundering conqueror is the transformation of a Scythian shepherd. Mr. Crawford¹ points out the line

Ioue sometime masked in a Shepheards weed, 1 Tamburlaine,
I.ii.394
as ~~xxxxxxxx~~ copied from the opening lines of Faerie Queene:

(I quote from the text of Dr. J.C.Smith)

Lo I the man, whose Muse whilome did maske,
As time her taught, in lowly Shepheards weeds,

Peele's first hero-orator is a shepherd, or a prince disguised as a shepherd. The pastoral element comes up in /

1. Collectanea, I.72.

in Peele again in David and Bethsabe with its sheepfeast and shearers. Such images in the play as

What would the shepheards dogs of Israel
Snatch from the mighty issue of King Ammon etc.
David, 196-7

The mastiues of our land,, shall werry ye,
David, 216

are not in the original account of the story. The pastoral setting of David and Bethsabe and Tamburlaine is at least one clue to the link between poetry and drama of the time.

A. Parallel Passages from Marlowe, Greene, and the others

The parallel passages given are confined to plays of known authorship, most of them before 1590. My purpose in collecting them together is to discover possible borrowings or echoes on Peele's part from other plays of the period. I have therefore listed them under the play by Peele which contains a passage parallel to one of them, giving, in each instance, first the passage from Peele, and then the corresponding passage from Marlowe etc.

David and Bethsabe

1. Hence from my bed, whose sight offends my soule
As doth the parbreake of disgorged beares
David, 322-3

O life more loathsome to my vexed thoughts,
Than noisome parbreak of the Stygian Snakes,
1 Tamburlaine, V.ii.2036-7

The source for 'parbreak' in both dramatists is possibly Spenser's line

Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has.
Faerie Queene, I.i.20.9

2. To/

2. To desart woods, and hills with lightening scorcht,
With death, with shame, with hell, with horroure sit,
David, 341-3

And then shall we in this detested guyse,
With shame with hungar, and with horror aie
1 Tamburlaine, V.ii.2016-8

The repetition of 'with' and use of the same words 'shame' and 'horror' in both are perhaps noteworthy. It is interesting that the last word of neither of the two last lines makes sense to editors, who have tried to emend the words.

3. Rend haire and garments as thy heart is rent,
David, 352

And rent their hearts with tearing of my haire,
Jew, I. 468

I give this parallel because of the association of hair and heart with the act of rending in both lines.

4. Earth cannot weepe ynough for Davids woes,
Then weepe you heuens, and all you clouds dissolue,
That pittious stars may see our miseries,
And drop their golden teares vpon the ground,
David, 1062-5

Weepe heuens, and vanish into liquid teares,
Fal starres that gouerne his natiuity,
And sommon al the shining lamps of heauen
To cast their bootlesse fires to the earth
And shed their feble influence in the aire.
2 Tamburlaine, V.iii. 4393-7

Both speeches end with a refrain. The lamentations in the scenes from which they are taken, David, Sc. X (in Bullen's edition Sc. VIII) and 2 Tamburlaine, V.iii., are similar. Peele clearly echoes Marlowe here.

5. O thou that holdst his raging bloody bound,
Within the circle of the siluer moone,
David, 1130-1

O thou/

O thou that swaiest the region vnder earth,
And art a king as absolute as Ioue,

2 Tamburlaine, IV.iii.4011-2

Professor G.C. Moore Smith proposes to emend David, 1130
to: raging flood y-bound (Notes and Queries, 10S.IX.181-2,
March 7, 1908). Professor J.M. Manly also suggests this
as a possible reading in the notes to his edition of
the play. I give the parallel because of the similar
construction of the first lines.

6. But now my lords and captaines heare his voice
That neuer yet pierst pittious heauen in vaine,
David, 1456-7

And with my prayers pierce impartiaall heauens,
Jew, III. 1215

I then would tempt the heauens with my laments,
And pierce the throane of mercy by my sighes.
Looking Glass, 2125-6

But these are very common parallels.

7. What angræe angel sitting in these shades,
Hath laid his cruell hands vpon my haire,
And holds my body thus twixt heauen and earth?
David, 1537-9

What daring God torments my body thus,
And seeks to conquer mighty Tamburlaine,
2 Tamburlaine, 4434-5

It is more or less a formula in plays of this period for
characters to rage against some hidden power or god for
any afflictions they suffer, cf, 1 Tamburlaine, V.ii. 2185:

'What cursed power guides the murthering hands' etc;

Looking Glass, 1233: 'What exorcising charme, or hatefull
hag' etc.; Wounds of Civil War, 1016: 'What furie haunts
this wretch on sodaine thus?' Nevertheless the parallel
between the two passages given above is rather striking.

They/

They are each followed by another question (rhetorical) of three and two lines respectively. The construction of the two passages is very similar and suggests that Peele may be echoing Marlowe. In Old Wives Tale Peele also has another example of this:

What hand invades the head of Sacrapāt?
What hatefull fury doth enuy my happy state?
Old Wives Tale, 1014-5

8. Oh dreadfull president of his iust doome,
David, 1647

O iust and dreadfull punisher of sinne,
2 Tamburlaine, II.ii.2925

The combination of 'just' and 'dreadful' in both ^{lines} suggests some relation between them. I have not found it in the Concordances. But 'just' and 'dreadful' also occur in the following lines:

Sacred and iust, thou great and dreadfull Ioue,
Arraignement, 943

Ah mercifull and iust thou dreadfull God,
Looking Glass, 956

9. Well done tall souldiers take the Traitor downe,
David, 1634

Hold ye tal souldiers, take ye Queens apeece
2 Tamburlaine, IV.iii.4049

'Tall' in the sense of 'brave' is a common word at the time, but I have not found the expression 'tall soldiers' in other plays. Peele need not of course have taken it from Marlowe.

10. Against his life, for whom your liues are blest,
.....
In whose iust deaths your deaths are threatened,
David, 1678,80

For by your life we entertaine our liues.
2 Tamburlaine, V.iii.4560

Here/

Here louely boies, what death forbids my life,
That let your liues commaund in spight of death.

2 Tamburlaine, V.iii.4552-3

cf. also 1 Tamburlaine, V.ii.2119-20. Peele's lines seem
an echo of these lines in the idea of many lives being
dependent on one life, and in the contrast of life with
death.

11. David and Bethsabe, Sc.XVII (Sc. XV in Bullen's edition)

11.1877-1929;

2 Tamburlaine, II.iii.2969-3110

No verbal parallels are found between these two passages.
In the one David mourns to hear the death of Absolon, in
the other Tamburlaine raves upon the death of Zenocrate.
Their ranting is in the same vein:

[Cusay.] His haire was tangled in a shadie oake,
And hanging there. (by Ioab and his men)
Sustained the stroke of well deserved death.

David. Hath Absalon sustained the stroke of death?
Die David for the death of Absalon
And make these cursed newes the bloody darts
That through his bowels rip thy wretched breast.
David, 1886-91

The musicke sounds, and she dies.

Tam. What, is she dead? Techelles, draw thy sword,
And wound the earth, that it may cleave in twaine,
And we discend into th' infernall vaults etc

2 Tamburlaine, II.iii.
3064-7

Tamburlaine's next speech begins the wailing with an echo
of the last words of the previous speaker, as in the passage
from David:

[Theridamas.] Nothing preuailes, for she is dead my Lord.

Tam. For she is dead? thy words doo pierce my
soule.
Ah sweet Theridamas, say so no more,

2 Tamburlaine, II.iii.
3092-4

The/

The lamentations of Bethsabe and Zenocrate (before she dies) are also similar in sentiment. Each expresses her willingness to die to relieve her lord of suffering. The form of repetition in Zenocrate's speech seems to anticipate Peele's numerous repetitions in David, cf. supra, p.107.

Edward I

1. Whose footepace when shee progreſt in the ſtreete,
Of Aecon and the faire Ieruſalem,
Was nought but costly Arras points:
Faire Iland tapeſtrie and Azured ſilke,
My milke white ſteed treading on cloth of ray,
And trampling proudly vnderneath the feete,
Choise of our English wollen drapery.

Edward I, 1124-30

And as thou rid'st in triumph through the ſtreets,
The pauement vnderneath thy chariot wheels
With Turkey Carpets ſhall be couered:
And cloath of Arras hung about the walles,
Fit obiects for thy princely eie to pierce.

2 Tamburlaine, I.iii.2532-6

That I may view theſe milk-white ſteeds of mine,
All loden with the heads of killed men.

1 Tamburlaine, I.i.85-6

The parallel is not particularly apt, nor need Peele borrow 'milk-white steed' from Marlowe. The expression 'milk-white steed', however, is not found in the Kyd and Spenser Concordances, though only a step removed from 'milk-white palfrey' 'mild-white ass' etc. which are common.

2. Frier a dittie come late from the cittie,
To aske ſome pittie of this laſſe ſo pretty:
Some pittie ſweete miſtres I praie you.

Edward I, 1461-3

.....Her
eies like two potcht egges, great and goodly her legs,
but
marke/

marke my dolefull dittie, alas for woe and pittie: a
souldier
of yours

Wounds of Civil War, 2434-7

I note the riming of 'dittie' with 'pitty' in both passages. In general also Poppey's doggerels in Wounds, V, are reminiscent of the verse in the comic scenes in Edward I, cf. also Wounds, 2407-9 'could a man in nature' etc. and Edward I, 354-7 'Heere sweare I by my shauen crowne' etc.

3. Gape earth and swallow me , and let my soule
sincke downe to Hell etc.

Edward I, 2448-9

Gape earth, and let the Feends infernall view,
A hell, as hopelesse and as full of feare etc.

1 Tamburlaine, V.ii.2023-4

cf. also the following:

Earth gape. O no, it wil not harbour me:

Faustus, 1442

Ope earth, and take thy miserable sonne
Into the bowels of thy cursed wombe,

David, 1497-8

Such parallels need not be significant. I note the same construction 'Gape earth ... and let' in the first pair of parallels. In the examples from Faustus and David the parallel goes beyond the invocation, as may be seen from Faustus' subsequent lines:

Now draw vp Faustus like a foggy mist,
Into the intrailles of yon labring cloude,
That when you vomite foorth into the ayre,
My limbes may issue from your smoaky mouthes,

Faustus, 1445-8

Here the invocation is to the stars, but the 'body' images of 'intrailles' and 'bowels...of womb' (David, 1498) parallel each other. In the passage from David the next two lines spoken by Achitophel are: (still invoking the earth)

Once/

Once in a surfet thou diddest spue him forth,
Now for fell hunger sucke him in againe,
David, 1499-1500

The 'spue' here parallels 'vomite' in Faustus, 1457.

Peele seems to me to be copying Marlowe, though all the conceits and images are rather common. 'Earth gape' etc. is found in Richard III, I.ii.65, IV.iv.75, and 3 Henry VI, I.i.161.

4. The carelesse sleepe rule on the mountaines toppes,
That see the Sea-man floating on the swerge,
The threatning windes comes springing with the flouds
To ouerwhelme and drowne his craised keele,
.....
Wringing his hands that ought to plaie the pompe,
Maie blame his feare that laboreth not for life.
Edward I, 2690 ff.

The passage is badly corrupt, but the general sense is clear. It contains the image of a person safe on land watching a ship battered by storm on the open seas. I find such an image in Tamburlaine:

Than in the hauen when the Pilot stands
And viewes a strangers ship rent in the winds,
And shiuered against a craggie rocke,
1 Tamburlaine, IV. iii. 1602-4

Mr. Crawford¹ thinks that the passage from Tamburlaine, which is followed by a vow in the same speech, is borrowed from three stanzas of Faerie Queene, III.iv.8-10, and quotes a parallel from Selimus (ll.1764-83). But the passages from Faerie Queene and Selimus, which parallel each/

1. Collectanea, I. 76-8

each other closely, do not contain the idea of an on-looker from the shore.

There are a number of parallels between Edward I and Marlowe's Edward II, parallels so close that they must be considered borrowings, whether intentional or through corruption. These parallels are listed in the Introduction to Edward II, ed. H.B. Charlton and R.D. Waller. I incline to the view that they were originally in Edward I. But if they were originally in Edward II and had crept through corruption into Edward I (since the text of Edward I is badly corrupt) they would not be examples of Peele's borrowing. So I have left them alone.

Old Wives Tale

1. Sacrapant in this play seems to be a faint echo of Marlowe's character Faustus. There is a slight resemblance between the last speeches of the sorcerer and the magician:

Then Sacrapant these are thy latest dayes,
 And now my timelesse date is come to end:
 He in whose life his actions hath beene so foule,
 Now in his death to hell desends his soule.
Old Wives Tale, 1016 ff.

Ah Faustus,
 Now hast thou but one bare hower to liue,
 And then thou must be damnd perpetually:
 Their soules [i.e. the souls of beasts] are soone
 dissolud in elements,
 But mine must liue still to be plagde in hel:
Faustus, 1419-21, 1465-6

2. For thy sweet sake I haue crost the frosen Rhine,
 Leauing faire Po, I saild vp Danuby,
 As farre as Saba whose inhansing streames,
 Cuts twixt the Tartars and the Russians,
Old Wives Tale, 1072-5

These/

These lines are found in more or less the same shape in Orlando, 73-6. Dr. Greg¹ has shown that Peele borrowed them from Greene.

Battle of Alcazar

1. Of death, of bloud, of wreake, and deepe reuenge,
Shall Rubin Archis frame her tragicke songs,
In bloud, in death, in murther and misdeede,
This heauens mallice did begin and end.
Alcazar, 183-7

I must apply my selfe to fit those tearmes,
In war, in blood, in death, in crueltie,
2 Tamburlaine, IV.i.3829-30

The similarity in the rhythm of Alcazar, 183,5, and Tamburlaine, 3830 is noteworthy. 'Death' and 'blood' occur in all three lines.

2. Madame, gold is the glue, sinewes, and strength of war,
Alcazar, 221

I would
wish that euerie thing I touched might turne to golde:
this is the
sinewes of warre, and the sweetnesse of peace
Midas, I.i.38-40

The parallel is so close that it must be a borrowing. An important theme of Midas is gold; the speech in Midas, I.i from which the passage is taken is an essay on gold. Peele is here the borrower. For 'sinews and strength' I have also found:

.....Yet policy,
The sinews and true strength of chivalry,
Tale of Troy, 362-3
(edition of 1604)

And/

-
1. Review of Works of Greene ed. J. Churton Collins, already cited.

That sounds not of affection to a crowne,
No thought haue being in my lordly brest,
That workes not euerie waie to win a crowne,
Deeds, wordes and thoughts shall all be as a kings etc.
Alcazar, 494-500.

For when I come and set me downe to rest,
My chaire presents a throne of Maiestie:
And when I set my bonnet on my head,
Me thinkes I fit my forehead for a Crowne:
And when I take my trunchion in my fist,
A Scepter then comes tumbling in my thoughts.
My dreames are Princely, all of Diademes, etc.
Orlando, 258-64

The original of all such passages, whether written in imitation or burlesque, is of course Tamburlaine, but the rhythm of the two passages is strikingly similar, though Stukeley's speech contains an elaborate example of the epiphora.

6. Good madame cheere your selfe, my Fathers wife,
He can submit himselfe and liue below
Make shew of friendship, promise, vow and sweare,
Till by the vertue of his faire pretence,
Sebastian trusting his integritie,
He makes himselfe possessor of such fruits,
As grow vpon such great aduantages.
Alcazar, 568-75

Madam, the king your fathers wise inough,
He knowes the Countie (like to Cassius)
Sits sadly dumping, ayning Caesars death,
Yet crying Ave to his Maiestie.
But Madame marke a while, and you shall see,
Your Father shake him off from secrecie.
Orlando, 456-61

In the first line of the passage from Alcazar editors correct 'wife' to 'wise'. The first lines of the passages may be regarded as verbal parallels, but indeed the construction of the two speeches and their subject matter are alike, and together with the parallel passages above (5), suggest that one play echoes the other,

7. And/

7. And they my lord, as thicke as winters haile,
Will fall vpon our heads at vnawares,
Alcazar, 1184-5

And fall as thick as haile vpon our heads,
2 Tamburlaine, II.ii.2872

This image is so common that the parallel is of no value. I give the lines because of the identical words 'fall' 'thick' 'hail' and 'vpon our heads' found in both.

A parallel between Alcazar and Edward II is cited in the Introduction to the edition of Edward II by H.B. Charlton and R.D. Waller:

The bells of Pluto ring reuenge amaine,
Alcazar, 190

Let Plutos bells ring out my fatall knell,
Edward II, 1956

I think that it is clear from this that David and Bethsabe and Alcazar show definite traces of the influence of Tamburlaine. Whether Edward I echoes Tamburlaine or not cannot be decided. Two elaborate parallels between Orlando and Alcazar seem to indicate that the author of one was indebted to that of the other. As four lines in Old Wives Tale were borrowed from Orlando, it is logical to surmise that the passages in Alcazar echo those in Orlando, but indeed conjecture is hardly safe with these two plays. The parallels have shed little real light on Peele's diction or style, but I hope may be useful for reference. They provide an answer to the question regarding Peele's style: these are not examples typical of Peele.

B. Extracts/

B. Extracts from II Samuel XI-XVIII in Old Versions of the Bible.

I give in the following pages extracts from three versions of the Bible for comparison with passages in Peele's David and Bethsabe. The versions are:

The Great Bible, F^o Printed by Richard Grafton
& Edward Whitchurch, 1539 [National Library of
Scotland, L.2.b]

The Bishops' Bible, F^o, [1568]
[Edinburgh University
Library, Df.1.4]

The Genevan Bible, F^o Printed in Edinburgh by
Alexander Arbuthnet, 1579 [National Library of
Scotland, H.9.a.]

For convenience of reference I also give those passages in David and Bethsabe which closely follow or paraphrase the passages from the Bibles, adding brief comments on words and phrases and images found in the play which are already in the sources and on the alterations which Peele has made from the original readings with regard to the construction of speeches and tricks of style. Only passages which have supplied Peele with speeches of several lines containing words and phrases in the original have been given. Where the paraphrase is loose and where no particular verbal correspondence is found between the verse in the play and the readings of the Bibles, I have not thought it necessary to give the parallel passages. My reason for this is that for general considerations regarding treatment of source, especially from the point of view of plot and characterization/

characterization, the Authorised Version may well be used. Peele adheres in fact so closely to the original account that it is hardly necessary to indicate those passages in II Samuel, XI - XIX, which contain the story and the substance of a large number of speeches in David and Bethsabe.

I should give a word of explanation about the use of extracts from the three different versions of the Bible. I have done so because the reading in the play often follows in one passage the reading of one version and in some other passage that of another version of the Bible. While it has not been my aim in assembling the extracts to determine which version or versions of the Bible Peele used in writing the play and what, if more than one version was used, Peele's principle of selection was, I have, for any given passage, usually given the version which gives the reading corresponding most closely to that of David and Bethsabe. To pass on from this to the conclusion that Peele must have used all three versions of the Bible is perhaps arbitrary, but close correspondence in word and phrase between the play and now one, then another, version makes it difficult to resist this conclusion.

In assembling the extracts I have not been guided by the variant spellings of proper names,¹ chiefly because the/

1. I should point out Mr. Richmond Noble's conclusion regarding differences in the spelling of Biblical names in Shakespeare, that too much weight should not be attached to them as evidence of the particular version of the Bible from which any allusion is taken. R. Noble: Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, Pp. 64 and 69.

the Genevan Bible, which supplies many expressions in the play not found in the Great or Bishops' Bible, contains forms of names which do not agree at all with those in the text of the play. I note, for instance, in the Genevan Bible the names Bath-sheba, Vriah, Cush and Hushai, and Shimei. The forms for these in David and Bethsabe are: Bethsabe and Bersabe, Vrias, Cusay, Semei, which agree much more closely with the forms in the Bishops' Bible: Bethsabe, Vrias, Husai, Semei. Yet the Genevan Bible gives the following readings not in the other two versions, but found in David and Bethsabe:

1. II Samuel, XV. 26: But if he thus say, I haue no delite in thee, behold, here am I, etc.

David, 1112-3: But if he say my wanted loue is worne,
And I haue no delight in Dauid now, etc.

The Great Bible and The Bishops' Bible both have 'I haue no lust vnto thee'.

2. II Samuel, XV. 30: And Dauid wē t vp the moũ t of oliues and wept as he went vp ...

David, 1057: Then should this mount of Oliues seeme
a plaine,

The Bishops' Bible has 'mount Oliuet', the Great Bible: 'mount olyuet'

3. II Samuel, XV. 34: ... then y^u maiest bring me the counsel of Ahitophel to noght.

David, 1151-2. So thou wilt be to him, and call
him King,
Achitophels counsell may be brought
to naught.

The Bishops' Bible has 'thou mayest for my sake destroy the counsel of Ahithophel', as also the Great Bible.

4. II. Samuel, XVI. 7 ... Come forth, come forth thou
murderer, and wicked man ...

David, 1356. Come forth thou murderer and wicked man

The Bishops' Bible has 'thou bloodsheder, and thou man
of Belial', as also the Great Bible.

Other expressions in the play which are found in
the Genevan Bible will be found in the comments to the
extracts. The Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible¹
also supply unique readings which have been noted.

In/

1. The Song of Solomon 1, 4-5 in the Bishops' Bible
seems also to have suggested to Peele Bethsabe's song:
I am blacke (O ye daughters of Hierusalem) but yet
fayre and well fauoured, like as the tentes of the
Cedarenes, and as the hanginges of Solomon. Marueyle
not at me that I am so blacke, for why? the sunne
hath shined vpon me: ...

The Great Bible has 'but yet am I fayre & welfauoured
with all' not before 'like^{as} the tentes' but after 'the
hanginges of Solomon'.

The Genevan Bible has: I am blacke o daughters of
Jerusalem, but comelie, as the frutes of Kedar, [&] as
the curtines of Salomon. Regarde ye me not because I
am blacke: for the sunne hathe looked vpon me ...

Hot sunne, coole fire, temperd with sweet aire,
Black shade, fair nurse, shadow my white haire
Shine sun, burn fire, breath aire, and ease mee,
Black shade, fair nurse, shroud me and please me etc.

David, 28 - 31.

The contrast between 'black' and 'fair' and the idea
of the sun shining on her and how she should have
shrouded herself in the song may all be found in the two
verses from the Bishops' Bible (also the Great Bible).
Another definite parallel between the play and the Song
of Soloman is found at II. 9-10, though here no particular
version need have been followed:

Bishops' Bible: Me thinke I heare the voyce of my
beloued: lo, there commeth he hopping vpon the
mountaines, and leaping ower the lit^{le} hilles.

My beloued is lyke a roe or a young hart,
Genevan Bible: ... he cometh leaping by the
mountaines, and skipping by the hilles.

Now comes my louer tripping like the Roe, David, 121.

In other instances the readings of two versions agree substantially with each other and with the play. For such passages I have given the reading of the version which has been chosen for some passage preceding or following the one in question. In this way I have (unintentionally) divided up the extracts into three neat divisions:

Bishops' Bible: II Samuel, XI, XII, XIII
Great Bible : II Samuel, XIV
Genevan Bible : II Samuel, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII

But the passages have been arranged in the order in which they occur in the play. I have noted variants between the different versions when they touch upon the reading in the play. The second book of Samuel is given as II Kings in the running titles of Bishops' Bible, but not consistently. To avoid confusion I have headed all extracts 'II Samuel'. The verse numbers have been supplied to extracts from the Great Bible in square brackets, being the corresponding verse numbers in the Bishops' Bible.

11.237-246

Ioab. Here take him with thee
then, and goe in peace,
And tell my lord the King
that I haue fought
Against the citie Rabath
with successe,
And skaled where the royall
pallace is, 240
The conduit heads and all
their sweetest springs,
Then let him come in person
to these wals,
With all the souldiers he
can bring besides,
And take the city as his owne
exploit,
Least I surprise it, and the
people giue
The glory of the conquest to
my name.

Bishops' Bible* II Samuel, XII 26-28
26. Then Ioab fought against Rabba
of the
children of Ammon, and toke the
citie of the
kingdome. 27. And Ioab sent
messengers to
Dauid, saying: I haue fought
against
Rabba, and haue taken the citie
of waters.
28. Now therefore gather the rest
of the people
together, and besiege the citie,
that thou mayst
take it: lest I take it, & it be
called after
my name

11.448/

* The lineation of all extracts from the Bibles is arbitrary and does not follow that in the originals. An attempt was originally made to place a portion of each verse from the Bibles against every line from the play for convenience in making parallel references. This was carried out in the handwritten manuscript, in which however the arrangement was determined largely by considerations of space. When it was found that in this typed copy each line from the play would have to be split into two for the parallel text, I did not find it practicable to make use of the increased space to set up a more reasonable arrangement. I have thus adhered to my original (arbitrary) arrangement.

11.448-459

Vrias. Thy seruant Ioab
 fights the chosen wars
 With truth, with honour,
 and with high successe,
 And gainst the wicked King
 of Ammons sonnes, 450
 Hath by the finger of our
 souereines God,
 Besieg'd the citie Rabath,
 and atchieu'd
 The court of waters, where
 the conduits run,
 And all the Ammonites
 delightsome springs:
 Therefore he wisheth Dauids
 mightinesse
 Should number out the host
 of Israel,
 And come in person to the
 citie Rabath,
 That so her conquest may be
 made the kings,
 Aud Ioab fight as his
 inferior.

The Genevan Bible has for the
 last part of verse 28,
 'lest the victorie be attributed
 to me'; The
 Great Bible gives: 'lest I take
 it, and call
 it after my name'.

11.746 - 753

Dauid. Now armes, and
 warlike engins for assault,
 Prepare at once ye men of
 Israel,
 Ye men of Iuda and Ierusalem,
 That Rabba may be taken
 by the King,
 Least it be called after
 Ioabs name, 750
 Nor Dauids glory shine in
 Syon streets,
 To Rabba marcheth Dauid with
 his men
 To chastise Ammon and the
 wicked ones. Exeunt Omnes.

Though the passage is not closely paraphrased it is used
 three times in the play. The phrases used in the first
 two speeches are similar.

I. 241 /

1.241 the conduit heads and the springs are added by Peele, who uses them again in ll. 453-4

1.243 'besides' is used to fill up the line, making it strongly end-stopped.

11.245-6 These lines seem to follow the reading of the Bishops' Bible, verse 28, cf. ll. 749-50.

11. 749-50 These lines follow the reading of the Bishops' Bible, verse 28.

11. 278-282

Bishops' Bible. II Samuel, XIII.5

Iona. Thus it shall be, lie downe
vpon thy bed,
Faining thee feuer sicke, and ill
at ease,
And when the king shall come to
visit thee,
Desire thy sister Thamar may be
sent
To dresse some deinties for thy
maladie:

Ionadab saide vnto him,
Lay thee downe
on thy bed, and make thy
selfe sicke: And
when thy father is come
280 to see thee, saye vnto
him: I pray thee let my
sister Thamar come,
and geue me meate, and
dresse it in my
syght, that I may see it
and eate if of her
hand.

The Genevan Bible gives a reading closer to the play: 'And Ionadab said vnto him, Lye downe on thy bed, and make thy selfe sicke: and when thy father shal come to se thee, say vnto him, I pray thee, let my sister Tamar come, and giue me meat, and let her dresse meat in my sight, that I may se it, and eat it of her hand.'

This is an example of the way Peele adheres to the original in his paraphrase. Longer passages which are closely paraphrased are II Samuel, XII. 1-6, 7-12 (Bishops' Bible).

1. 278 The reading would seem to follow the Genevan version, as also 1.280, but the evidence is not conclusive.

1.279/

1. 279 'ill at ease' repeats 'feuer sicke' and fills up the line.

11. 414-434

Bishops' Bible II Samuel, XIII 24-27

Abs. I am content, then graunt my lord the king
Himselſe with all his other lords would come
Vp to my ſheepe feaſt on the plaine of Hazor.

Da. Nay my faire ſonne, my ſelſe with all my lords
Will bring thee too much charge, yet ſome ſhall goe.

Abs. But let my lord the king himſelſe take paines,
The time of yeare is pleaſant for your grace, 420
And gladoſome Summer in her ſhadie robes,

Crowned with Roſes and with planted flowers,
With all her nimphs ſhall enterteine my lord,

That from the thicket of my verdant groues,
Will ſprinkle hony dewes about his breaſt,

And caſt ſweet balme vpon his kingly head,
Then grant thy ſeruants boone, and goe my lord.

Da. Let it content my ſweet ſonne Abſolon,
That I may ſtay and take my other lords.

Abs. But ſhall thy beſt beloued Ammon goe? 430

Da. What needeth it that Ammon goe with thee.

Abs. Yet doe thy ſonne and ſeruant ſo much grace.

Da. Ammon ſhall goe, and all my other lords,
Becauſe I will giue grace to Abſolon.

24. And came to the king, and ſaide; Beholde, thy ſeruaunt hath ſheepe ſhearers, I pray thee that the king with his ſeruauntes come to thy ſeruaunt. 25. The king answered Abſalom: Nay my ſonne, I pray thee let vs not goe all, leſt we be chargeable vnto thee. And Abſalom laye ſore vpon him: howbeit he would not go, but bleſſed him.

26. Then ſaide Abſalom: but I pray thee ſhall not my brother Ammon go with vs? And the king answered him: what needeth it that he go with thee? 27. But Abſalom made ſuch inſtaunce, that he let Ammon & all the kinges children go with him.

Genevan Bible: 26.. And the King answered him, Why ſhulde he go with thee?

Great Bible: [26] Then ſayd Abſalom: Yf thou wilt not come, then let my brother Ammon go w^t vs.

1. 414 'content': Peele seems to be fond of the word. It occurs again in 1. 428. At the end of the play, after Absolon's rebellion, David still thinks of 'sweet Absolon' as 'the image of content' (1. 1765) cf. also 1.973.

11.419-26: enlargement on 'And Absalom laye sore vpon him'. The images are fresh, as sometimes in Peele's plays, more often in his poems. 1.419 'But let my lord the king' and 1.427 'grant thy seruants boone': these impersonal references are found in the original, verse 24.

11.430-1: 1.431 follows Bishops' Bible verse 26 (also Great Bible) 1.430 follows the construction of Bishops' Bible; 'thy best beloued Ammon', a very skilful touching up of 'my brother Amnon' in the original.

11.486-495 Bishops' Bible II Samuel, XI. 11

<p><u>Vrias</u>. The King is mush too tender of my ease, The arke, and Israel, and Iuda dwell In pallaces, and rich pauillions, But Ioab and his brother in the fields, Suffering the wrath of Winter and the Sun: And shall Vrias (of more shame then they) Banquet and loiter, in the worke of heauen? As sure as thy soule doth liue my lord, Mine eares shall neuer leane to such delight, When holy labour cals me forth to fight.</p>	<p>490</p>	<p>Vrias aunswered Dauid: The arke, & Israel, and Iuda dwell in pauillions, and my lorde Ioab and the seruantes of my horde abyde in the open fieldes, and shall I then go into myne house, to eate, and drinke, & lye with my wyfe? By thy lyfe, and by the lyfe of thy soule, I will not do this thing.</p>
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Great Bible: my lorde Ioab and the seruauntes of my lorde lye vpon the flatt erthe. The Genevan Bible has 'tents' for 'pauillions'.

11.487-9: The/

11.487-9: The Bishops' Bible reading is followed, 488: 'In pallaces, and rich pauillions': use of two nearly synonymous expressions for one. Here Peele does not seem to have caught the sense of the original in enlarging upon the splendour of the pavillions, when what is meant seems to be that it is a time of crisis.

1.491: Vrias: reference to himself by name, not in the original.

11. 637-657

Bishops' Bible, II Samuel,
XIII 1-6

Nathan. Thus Nathan saith vnto his Lord the King:

There were two men both dwellers in one towne,

The one was mighty and exceeding rich

In Oxen, sheepe and cattell of the field, 640

The other poore hauing nor Oxe, nor Calfe,

Nor other cattell, saue one little Lambe,

Which he had bought and nourisht by the hand,

And it grew vp, and fed with him and his,

And eat and dranke as he and his were wont,

And in his bosome slept, and was to liue

As was his daughter or his deerest child.

There came a stranger to this wealthy man,

And he refus'd and spar'd to take his owne,

Or of his store to dressé or make him meat, 650

But tooke the poore mans sheepe, partly poore mans store,

And drest it for this strangar in his house:

What (tell me) shall be done to him for this?

Dau. Now as the lord doth liue, this wicked man

There were two men in one citie, the one rich,

& the other poore. 2. The rich man had

exceeding many sheepe and oxen: 3. But

the poore had nothing saue one litle

sheepe, which he had bought and nourished

vp: And it grew vp with him and with his

children also, and did eate of his owne

meate, and drancke of his owne cuppe, &

slept in his bosome, and was vnto him

as his daughter. 4. And there came a

stranger vnto the rich man, and he spared

to take of his owne sheepe and of his owne

oxen to dresse for y^e stranger that was come

vnto him: But toke the poore mans sheepe,

and dressed it for the man that was come to

him. 5. And Dauid was exceeding wroth

with the man, and saide to Nathan: As the

Is/

Is iudgd, and shall become the child of death, Foure fold to the poore man shall he restore, That without mercy tooke his lambe away. (646 line, editors read 'him'.)	Lorde Iyueth, the man that hath done this thing is the childe of death. 6. He shal restore the lambe foure folde, because he did this thyng and had no pitie.
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Genevan Bible: 4. ... vnto the rich mā, who refused to
take of his owne shepe... 5 ... the mā that hathe done this
thing, shal surely dye,

Great Bible: [4] ... cam a straunger vnto the ryche mā. And
he coulede not fynde in hys heart to take of hys awne shepe ...

The passage is followed very closely by Peele, but the
paraphrase is characterized by end-stopping, filling up of the
line with unnecessary words, and the use of two words in
place of one, as in: 1.640, 'Oxen, sheepe and cattell',
11.641-2 'nor Oxe, nor Calfe, nor other cattell', 11.644-5
'and fed with him and his, And eat and dranke as he and his
were wont', 1. 647 'his daughter or his deerest child',
1.649 'refus'd and spar'd to take his owne', 1.650 'to
dresse or make him meat'. In each instance a word or
expression is added to the one already in the original.

1. 649 'refus'd' is found in the Genevan, 'spar'd' in the
Bishops' Bible, (verse 4)

11.654-5 'this wicked man Is iudgd': Peele's addition,
cleverly echoed by Nathan's reply in the next
speech (1.658)

1.655 'child of death' follows the Bishops' Bible, verse 5,
(also Great Bible)

11. 658-679/

11. 658-679

Bishops' Bible II Samuel,
XII 7-12

Nath. Thou art the man, and thou
hast iudg'd thy selfe,
Dauid, thus sayth the Lord thy
God by me:

I thee annoynted King in Israel, 660

And sau'd thee from the
tyranny of Saul,
Thy maisters house I gaue thee
to possesse,
His Wiues into thy bosome did
I giue,
And I^uda and Ierusalem withall,

And might (thou know'st) if this
had ben too small,
Haue giuen thee more.

Wherefore then hast thou gone
so far astray,
And hast done euill, and sinned
in my sight?

Vrias thou hast killed with the
sword,

Yea with the sword of the
vncircumcised

Thou hast him slaine, wherefore
from this day forth,

The sword shall neuer goe from
thee and thine:

For thou hast tane this
Hethites wife to thee,

Wherefore behold, I wil (saith
Iacobs God)

In thine owne house stir euill
vp to thee,

Yea I before thy face will take
thy Wiues,

And giue them to thy neighbour
to possesse:

This shall be done to Dauid in
the day,

That Israel openly may see thy
shame.

7. And Nathan saide to
Dauid, Thou art
the man: Thus saith the
Lord God of Israel,
I annoynted thee king ouer
Israël, and
ryd thee out of the hand
of Saul. 8. I
gaue thee thy maisters
house, and thy maisters
wyues into thy bosome, and
gaue thee
the house of Israel and of
Iuda, and
might (if that had ben to
litle) haue
geuen thee so muche more.

9. Wherefore
then hast thou despised
the commaundement
of the Lorde to do euill
in his sight? Thou
hast kild Vrias the Hethite
with the sword,
& hast taken his wyfe to
thy wyfe, and
hast slaine him with the
sword of the children
of Ammon. 10. Now therefore,
the sword
shall neuer depart from
thyne house, because
thou hast despised me, and
taken the wyfe
of Vrias the Hethite to be
thy wyfe. 11.

Wherefore thus saith the
Lorde: Beholde, I
will stirre vp euil
against thee, euen
out of thyne owne house,
and wyl take
thy wyues before thyne
eyes, and geue
them vnto thy neyghbour,
and he shall lye
with thy wyues in the sight
of this sunne.

12. For thou diddest it
secretly: but I wil do
this thing before al Israel,
and in the open sunne
lyght.

670

The Great Bible has the same reading for the above passage with the exception of verse 9, where it has 'to do wyckednesse' for 'to do euill'. The latter reading (Bishops') agrees with the play. The Geneva Bible differs in many places from the above and from the play. It has for XII. 8: 'And gaue thee thy lords house, and thy lords wiues into thy bosome, and gaue thee the house of Israel, and of Iudah, & wolde moreouer (if that had bene to litle) haue giuen thee suche and suche things.' It omits the connectives which Peele seems to be fond of: 9. 'then' is omitted after 'Wherefore'; 11. the opening word 'Wherefore' is omitted. (The play has both connectives.) It also has 'raise' for 'stirre' in verse 11.

The passage is closely followed by Peele.

- l. 658 'thou hast iudgd thy selfe': Peele's addition, echoes ll. 654-5
- ll. 659-66 follow original (verse 8) very closely, but words are inserted to fill out the line, as in ll. 662, 3, 4, 5.
- l. 666 has only two feet but is probably correct since there is nothing more in the original before 'Wherefore then...' of the next line.
- l. 668 the two 'ands' join three phrases more or less synonymous, cf verse 9 in original.
- ll. 670-1 repetition of l. 669, but is already in the original, verse 9.
- ll. 680-693/

11. 680-693

Dauid. Nathan, I haue against
 the Lord, I haue 680
 Sinned, O sinned greuously,
 and loe
 From heauens throne doth
 Dauid throw himselfe,
 And grone and grouell to the
 gates of hell. He fals
downe.

Nath. Dauid stand vp, Thus
 saith the Lord by me,
 Dauid the King shall liue, for
 he hath seene
 The true repentant sorrow of
 thy heart,
 But for thou hast in this
 misdeed of thine
 Stird vp the enemies of Israel
 To triumph and blaspheme the
 God of hosts,
 And say, He set a wicked man
 to reigne, 690
 ouer his loued people and his
 Tribes:
 The child shall surely die,
 that erst was borne,
 His mothers sin, his kingly
 fathers scorne.

Bishops' Bible II Samuel,
XII. 13-14

13. And Dauid saide vnto
 Nathan: I haue
 sinned against the Lord.
 And Nathan saide
 vnto Dauid: The Lord also
 hath put away
 thy sinne, thou shalt not
 dye. 14. Howbeit,
 because in doing this deede
 thou hast geuen
 y^e enemies of the Lord a
 cause to blaspheme,
 the childe that is borne
 vnto thee shall
 surely dye.

The Great Bible has 'a cause
 to rayle' for 'a cause to
 blaspheme'. The Genevan
 Bible has 'Howbeit because
 by this dede thou hast
 caused the enemies of the
 Lord to blaspheme...'

11. 680-1 The kind of repetition often found in Peele, not
in the original.

11. 683-4 An example of alliteration in Peele, not in the
original.

11. 691 'his loued people and his Tribes': use of two expressions
for one, not in the original.

11. 706-726

Eater Cusay to Dauid and his
traine.

Seruus. What tidings bringeth
Cusay to the King?

Cusay. To thee the seruant of
King Dauids court,

This/

Bishops' Bible II Samuel,
XII. 18-20

18. And the seuenth day the
 childe dyed,
 and the seruauntes of Dauid
 feared to
 tell him that the childe was
 dead: For

This bringeth Cusay, as the
 Prophet spake,
 The Lord hath surely striken
 to the death, 710
 The child new borne by that
 Vrias wife,
 That by the sonnes of Ammon
 erst was slaine.

Seruus. Cusay be still, the
 King is vexed sore,
 How shal he speed that brings
 this tidings first,
 When while the child was yet
 aliue, we spake,
 And Dauids heart would not be
 comforted?

Da. Yea Dauids heart will not
 be comforted,
 What murmure ye the seruants
 of the King,
 What tidings telleth Cusay to
 the King?
 Say Cusay, liues the child, or
 is he dead? 720

Cusay. The child is dead,
 that of Vrias wife,
 Dauid begat.

Da. Vrias wife saiest thou?

The child is dead, then
 ceaseth Dauids shame,
 Fetch me to eat, and giue me
 Wine to drinke
 Water to wash, and Oyle to
 cleere my lookes,
 Bring downe your Shalmes,
 your Cymbals, and your
 Pipes etc.

they said, beholde, while
 the childe was yet
 alyue we spake vnto hym,
 and he would
 not hearkē vnto our voyce:
 how will he
 then vexe him selfe, if we
 tell him that
 the childe is dead? 19. But
 Dauid

seing his seruautes
 whispering, perceaued
 that the childe was dead: &
 Dauid said
 vnto his seruautes, Is the
 childe dead?
 They saide: he is dead.

20. And Dauid
 arose from the earth, and
 washed and
 annoynted himselfe, and
 chaunged his
 apparell, and came into
 the house of the
 Lord, and worshipped: and
 afterward

came to his owne house, &
 bad that they
 should set bread before
 him, and he
 dyd eate.

The Genevan Bible has
 essentially the same
 readings. Great Bible: [19]
 ... Dauid sayd vnto hys
 seruautes: is the childe
 dead? They sayde: yee.

1.709 'This bringeth Cusay': a formal reply, echoing the
 question. Cusay refers to himself by name.

1.717 the 'echo' effectively brings out David's sulky state
 of mind as conveyed in the original. David is referred to
 by name or title rather than with a pronoun, 11.717,8,9,
 721,3.

11. 838-850

Ioab. Hannon, the God of Israel
hath said,
Dauid the King shall weare that
crowne of thine,
That weighs a Talent of the
finest gold,
And triumph in the spoile of
Hannons towne,
When Israel shall hale thy people
hence,
And turne them to the tile-kill,
man and child,
And put them vnder harrowes
made of yron,
And hew their bones with axes,
and their lims
With yron swords deuide and
teare in twaine.
Hannon, this shall be done to
thee and thine,
Because thou hast defied Israell.
To armes, to armes, that Rabba
feeles reuenge,
And Hannons towne become king
Dauids spoile.

840

850

Bishops' Bible II. Samuel
XII 30-31

30. And he toke their
kinges crowne from of
his
head (which wayed a talent
of golde, & in it were
precious stones) and it was
set on Dauids
head, and he brought away the
spoyle of the
citie, in exceeding great
abundaunce.
31. And he caryed away the
people that was
therein, & put them vnder
sawes, and vnder
iron harrowes, and vnder axes
of iron, &
thrust them into the tyle-
kyll: thus dyd he
with all the cities of the
children of Ammon...

The Great Bible has: 'and
put the vpon sawes and
vpon yron harrowes, and
vpon axes of yron' etc.
The Genevan Bible has

'and cast them into the tyle kylne.'

The narrative account in the original is changed into a threat of what would soon be done to the Ammonites in the play.

11. 921-948

Widdow. God saue King Dauid,
King of Israel,
And blesse the gates of Syon for
his sake.
Dau. Woman, why mournest thou,
rise from the earth,
Tell me what sorrow hath befallne
thy soule.
Widdow. Thy seruants soule O
King is troubled sore,
And greenous is the anguish of
her heart,
And from Thecoa doth thy
handmaid/

Great Bible II Samuel, XIIII
[4-8, 10-11]

[4] And when the woman of
Thecoa had fallen on
her face to the ground, and
done obeysaunce,
she sayde vnto the kyng:
helpe me O kyng.
[5] The kyng sayde vnto
her: what ayleth the?
She answered: I am a wedow,
and myne
husbande is deed. [6] And
thy handmayde had
two sonnes, and they two
fought/

handmaid come
Dau. Tell me, and say, thou
woman of Thecoa,
What aileth thee, or what
is come to passe.

Widdow. Thy servant is a
widdow in Thecoa, 930
Two sonnes thy handmaid had,
and they (my lord)
Fought in the field, where
no man went betwixt,
And so the one did smite
and slay the other.
And loe behold the
kindred doth arise,
And crie on him that smote
his brother,
That he therefore may be
the child of death,
For we will follow and
destroy the heire.
So will they quench that
sparkle that is left,
And leave nor name, nor
issue on the earth,
To me, or to thy handmaids
husband dead. 940

David. Woman returne, goe
home vnto thy house.
I will take order that thy
sonne be safe,
If any man say otherwise
then well,
Bring him to me, and I
shall chastise him:
For as the Lord doth live,
shall not a haire
Shed from thy sonne, or
fall vpon the earth
Woman to God alone belongs
revenge,
Shall then the kindred slay
him for his sinne?

fought together in
the felde, (where was no man to
go between them)
but the one smote the other
and slew hym.

[7] And beholde, the whole kynred
is rysen
agaynst thy handmayde, and
they sayd: delyuer
vs him that smote hys brother:
that we maye
kyll hym for y^e soule of his
brother whome
he slue. We will destroye the
heyre also.
And so they shall quenche my
sparkle which is
left, that he shall stere vp
(to my husbãde)
nether name ner issue vpō. y^e
erth. [8] And
the kynge sayd vnto the woman:
go home to
thyne house, I wyll geue a
charge for the ...

[10] And the kyng sayd: yf any
man saye
ought vnto the, bring hym to
me, and he
shall hurte the no moare... [11]....
as sure as
the Lord lyueth there shall
not one heere
of thy sonne fall to the
erthe.

Bishops' Bible: 7... my sparkle
which is left,
and shall not leaue to my
husband neither
name nor issue vpon the earth.
Genevan Bible: 6... and they
stroue together in
the field: (& there was none
to parte them)...
7. And beholde the whole
familie is risen ...
& shal not leave to mine
husband nether
name nor posteritie... 8... Go
to thine house ...

The speeches in the play follow the readings of the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible closely. But in the passage immediately following(Xl1111, 13 ff), the Great Bible is followed.

11.921 - 30 an elaboration of verses 4 and 5; 11.925 - 9 are actually superfluous. 11.928 - 9 expand the question 'what ayleth the?' in the original; 'Tell me, and say,' is characteristic of Peele.

1.938 'quench that sparkle' is in the original, [7]

1.939 follows the reading of the Bishops' Bible, verse 7.

1.947 'to God alone belongs reuenge': Peele's only addition in this speech. It is characteristically in a moralizing strain and gives a definite point to the speech, which is not found in the original. The woman of Thekoa seizes on the point in the next speech (1.953). This is a definite improvement on the original.

11.949 - 967

Widdow. Well hath King Dauid
to his handmaid spoke,
But wherefore then hast
thou determined 950
So hard a part against
the righteous Tribes
To follow and pursue the
banished,
When as to God alone,
belongs reuenge.
Assuredly thou saist
against thy selfe,
Therefore call home againe
the banished,
Call /

Great Bible II Samuel, Xl1111 [13-14, 18-20]
[13] The woman sayd: wherefore
thē
hast y^u determined such a
thing agaynst y^e people of
God? For y^e kyng doth speake
this thyng as one
which is fautye, that he shulde
not fett home agayne
his banessed. [14] For we must
nedes dye & perysh
as water spylt on the grounde,
which canot be
geathered vp agayne: Neither
doth God spare any
soule /

Call home the banished,
 that he may live,
 And raise to thee some
 fruit in Israel.
Da. Thou woman of Thecoa
 answere me,
 Answere me one thing I
 shall aske of thee,
 Is not the hand of Ioab
 in this worke? 960
 Tell me is not his finger
 in this fact?
Wid. It is my lord, his
 hand is in this worke,
 Assure thee, Ioab captaine
 of thy host,
 Hath put these words into
 thy handmaids mouth,
 And thou art as an angel .
 from on high,
 To vnderstand the meaning
 of my heart,
 Lo where he commeth to
 his lord the King.

soule. Let the kyng therefore
 fynde y^e meanes, y^t
 his banysshed be not vtterly
 expelled frō hym ...
 [18] Then the kyng answered,
 & sayde vnto y^e womā :
 hide not frō me (I praye y^e)
 y^e thyng y^t I shall
 aske the. And the woman sayde:
 let my Lord y^e
 kyng now saye on. [19] And
 the kyng sayd: Is not
 y^e hāde of Ioab w^t the in all
 this matter? The
 woman answered, & sayd: as
 sure as thyy soule lyueth
 my Lord kyng, there is els
 no mā on y^e right
 hande nor on y^e leaft but as
 my Lorde y^e king hath
 spoken, thy seruāit Ioab: he
 bad me, and he put all
 these wordes in the mouthe
 of thyne handmayd. [20] For to
 y^e intēt y^t I shulde alter
 my cōmunicaciō, hath
 thy seruāit Ioab done this
 thinge. And my Lord is
 wise, eue as an Angell of God,
 to vnderstand all thynges
 that are in y^e erthe.

Bishops' Bible: 13...Wherefore
 then hast thou thought
 suche a thing against the
 people of God?... 14. For
 we must nedes dye, and are as
 wather spilt on
 the ground, which cannot be
 gathered vp againe:
 Neither doth God spare any
 person, yet doth he
 appoynt meanes that his
 banished be not
 vtterly expelled from him.
 20...And my lorde is
 wyse, according to the wisdome
 of an angel of God,
 to vnderstande ...

Genevan Bible : 13...Wherefore then hast thou thought...

14... nether doeth God spare anie persone, yet doeth he appoint meanes, not to cast out frō him him that is expelled. 20... is wise according to the wisdome of an Angel of God to vnderstand ...

1.950 'determined' comes from the Great Bible, [13].

1.952 'follow and pursue': the use of two nearly synonymous expressions, not expanded from the original.

1.953 echo of 1.947 in the previous speech, a skilful use of the device.

11.955-7 follow the Great Bible, [14]. The Bishops' and Genevan versions give a different sense to the verse.

The repetition of 11.955-6 is frequent in Peele, of 11.958-9

11.958-9 'answere me' is repeated in a manner frequent in Peele. In this speech of four lines are found twice 'answere me' and once 'tell me' for filling out the lines. The two questions (11.960-1) say also the same thing.

11.969 - 984

Great Bible II Samuel, Xl1111[21,22,25]

<p>Dauid. Say Ioab, didst thou send this woman in To put this parable for Absalon. 970 Ioab. Ioab my lord did bid this woman speake, And she hath said, and thou hast vnderstood. Dauid. I haue and am content to do the thing, Goe fetch my sonne, that he may liue with me. Ioab / <u>Ioab kneeles</u></p>	<p>[21] And y^e kyng sayd vnto Ioab: beholde, I am cōtent to do this thyng. Go, and fett home the childe Absalom agayne. [21] And Ioab fell to the ground on his face, ād bowed him self, & blessed the kyng. And Ioab sayd: now thy seruaunt knoweth, y^t I haue foude grace in thy syght (my Lorde /</p>
--	--

Ioab. Now God be blessed
 for King Dauids life,
 Thy seruant Ioab hath
 found grace with thee,
 In that thou sparest
 Absolon thy child,
 A beautifull and faire
 young man is he,
 In all his bodie is no
 blemish seene, 980
 His haire is like the
 wyer of Dauids Harpe,
 That twines about his
 bright and yuorie necke:
 In Israel is not such a
 goodly man,
 And here I bring him to
 entreate for grace.

Lorde O Kynge) in y^t the king
 hath
 fulfilled y^e request of his
 seruau^t

[25] But ï all Israel there
 was not so
 goodlye a mā as Absalō, for he
 was very
 butifull: in so moch, y^t frō
 y^e soole of his
 fote to y^e toppe of his heed,
 there was no
 blemeshe in him.

Bishops' Bible: 21...Behold, I
 haue done
 this thing: Go & bring the
 young man
 Absalom againe. 22. And Ioab
 fell to the ground on his face,
 and bowed
 him selfe, and thanked the
 king:... 25 But
 in al Israel there was none
 to be so muche
 praysed as Absalom for beautie:
 from y^e sole ...

Genevan Bible: 21...Beholde now,
 I haue
 done this thing: go then, &
 bring the
 yong man Absalom againe. 22...and
 thanked the King. 25.[essentially
 as Bishops' Bible].

11.973-4 follow the Great Bible [21], 'I am cōtent to do this
 thyng'. cf note to l. 414, supra p. 173.

1.977: 'Thy seruant Ioab': this impersonal reference is in
 the original.

11.979 ff. The cause of this outburst is to be found in ^{verse} 25
 of the original, cf, supra, p.¹³⁵ 'beautifull' in 1.979
 follows the Great Bible, and also 1.983 'In Israel is
 not such a goodly man '.

11.1090 /

11.1090-1120

Genevan Bible II Samuel, XV.19-22,
25-28

Dauid. But wherefore goest
 thou to the wars with vs, 1090
 Thou art a stranger here
 in Israel,
 And sonne to Achis mightie
 king of Gath,
 Therefore returne, and
 with thy father stay,
 Thou camst but yesterday,
 and should I now
 Let thee partake these
 troubles here with vs?
 Keepe both thy selfe, and
 all thy souldiors safe,
 Let me abide the hazards
 of these armes,
 And God requite the
~~my~~ friendship thou hast
 shewd.

Ith. As sure as Israels
 God giues Dauid life,
 What place or perill shall
 containe the King, 1100
 The same will Ithay share
 in life and death.

Da. Then gentle Ithay be
 thou still with vs,
 A ioy to Dauid, and a grace
 to Israel.
 Goe Sadoc now, and beare the
 arke of God
 Into the great Ierusalem
 againe,
 If I find fauour in his
 gracious eyes,
 Then will he lay his hand
 vpon my heart
 Yet once againe before I
 visit death,
 Giuing it strength and
 vertue to mine eies,
 To tast the comforts, and
 behold the forme 1110
 Of his faire arke, and
 holy tabernacle,

But if he say my wanted
 loue is worne,
 And I have no delight in
 Dauid/

19. Then said the King to Ittai
 the Gittite,
 Wherefore comdest thou also with
 vs? Returne
 and abide with the King, for
 thou art a
 stranger: departe thou therefore
 to thy place.

20. Thou camest yesterday, and
 shulde I
 cause thee to wander to day
 and go with vs?
 I wil go whither I can:
 therefore returne
 thou, and cary againe thy
 brethren: mercie
 and trueth [be] with thee. 21.

And Ittai
 answered the King, and said,
 As y^e Lord liueth,
 & as my lord the King liueth,
 in what place my
 Lord the King shalbe, whether
 in death or life, eu^e
 there surely wil thy seruant
 be. 22. Then Dauid
 said to Ittai, Come, and go
 forwarde.....

25. Then the King said vnto
 Zadok, Carie the Arke
 of God againe into the citie:
 if I shal finde
 fauour in the eyes of the Lord,
 he wil bring me
 againe, and shewe me [bothe]
 it and the Tabernacle
 thereof. 26. But if he thus
 say, I have no
 delite in thee, beholde, here
 am I, let him
 do to me as semeth good in
 his eyes.

(Great Bible: 20. Thou camest but
 yesterdaye, and shulde I vnquyet
 the to day to go w^t vs?

26. But and yf the Lorde thus
 saye: I haue no lust vnto the,
 Bishops' Bible. 20... should
 I/

Dauid now,
 Here lie I armed with an
 humble heart,
 T'imbrace the paines that
 anger shall impose,
 And kisse the sword my lord
 shall kill me with,
 Then Sadoc take Ahimaas
 thy sonne,
 With Ionathan sonne to
 Abiathar,
 And in these fields will
 I repose my selfe,
 Till they returne from you
 some certaine newes, 1120

I vnquiet thee to day
 to go with us? 26. But if
 he thus say, I
 haue no lust vnto thee:)
 [u] [v]

27. The King said againe vnto
 Zadok the
 Priest, Art not thou a Seer?
 returne into the
 citie in peace, & yourtwo
 sonnes with you:
 [to wit,] Ahimaaz thy sonne, &
 Ionathan the
 sonne of Abiathar. 28. Beholde,
 I wil tarie
 in the fieldes of the wildernes,
 vntil there come some worde
 from you to be tolde me.

The words and phrases in this passage are mostly
 carried over into the play, but the arrangement of clauses
 and sentences is altered with advantage. The speeches are
 well-constructed and coherent. Peele has carefully expanded
 and compressed the dialogue in the original in writing them.
 It is not a close paraphrase and thus the verse is not
 completely end-stopped.

11.1091-3 'Thou art a stranger', 'Therefore returne' etc,
 rearrangement of verse 19 in original with expansion.

11.1094-8 rearrangement of verse 20. The repetition of
 'returne thou' in the original is omitted.

11.1099 -1101 Skilful paraphrase and compression of verse 21.

1.1109 'strength and vertue', use of two expressions for one,
 not in original.

1. 1113 follows the Genevan Bible, verse 26.

11. 1145-1157/

Da. No Cusay no, thy presence
vnto me,
Will be a burthen since I
tender thee,
And cannot breake thy sighs for
Dauids sake:
But if thou turne to faire
Ierusalem,
And say to Absalon, as thou
hast been
A trusty friend vnto his
fathers seat, 1150
So thou wilt be to him, and
call him King,
Ahitophels counsell may be
brought to naught.
Then hauing Sadoc and Abiathar,

All three may learne the
secrets of my sonne.
Sending the message by
Ahimaas,
And friendly Ionathan, who
both are there,
Then rise, referring the
successe to heauen.

33. Vnto whome Dauid^{said}, If thou
go w^t me,
thou shalt be a burthen vnto
me.

34. But if thou returne to
the citie, and say vnto
Absalom, I will be thyⁿ seruã t,
o King,
(as I haue bene in time
past thy fathers
seruant, so wil I now be
thy seruant) then y^u
maiest bring me the counsel
of Ahitophel to
noght. 35. And hast thou
not there with thee
Zadok and Abiathar the Priests?
therefore
Whatsoeuer thou shalt heare
out of the Kings
house, thou shalt shewe to
Zadok and Abiathar
the Priests. 36. Beholde,
there are with them
their two sonnes, Ahimaaz
Zadoks [sonne] and
Ionathan Abiathars [sonne:]
by the also shal
ye send me euerie thing
that ye can heare.

Bishops' Bible 34. ... as I haue
~~xxx~~ thus long ben
thy fathers seruaunt, so am I
nowe thy seruaunt,
thou mayest for my sake
destroy the counsel of
Ahitophel. (also Great Bible)

As with the preceding passage (II Samuel, XV. 19-22, 25-28)

the paraphrase here is rather freer and more skilful than in
many previous passages.

1.1145 'No Cusay no': this trick is Peele's own.

1.1152 follows the Genevan Bible, verse 34.

11. 1248-1260

Achi. Let me chuse out twelue
 thousand valiant men,
 And (while the night hides with
 her sable mists
 The close endeours cunning
 souldiers vse) 1250
 I will assault thy diseon-
 tented fire,
 And while with weaknesse of
 their wearie armes,
 Surcharg'd with toile to shun
 thy suddaine power,
 The people flie in huge
 disordred troupes
 To saue their liues, and leaue
 the King alone,
 Then will I smite him with his
 latest wound,
 And bring the people to thy
 feet in peace.

Abs. Well hath Achitophel
 giuen his aduise,
 Yet let vs heare what Cusay
 counsels vs,
 whose great experience is
 well worth the eare. 1260
 (1251 fire: editors read
 'sire')
 (cf. 11. 1313-1325, 1420-1432)

Genevan Bible II Samuel, XVII,
1-5

1. Moreouer Ahithophel said to
 Absalom,
 Let me chuse out now twelue
 thousand men,
 and I wil vp and follow
 after Dauid this
 night, 2. And I wil come vp
 to him: for he
 is weary and weake handed: so
 I wil
 feare him, and all thee
 people y^t are with
 him, shall flee, and I wil
 smite the
 King onely, 3. And I wil
 bring againe
 all the people vnto thee,
 [&] when all shall
 returne, (the man whome thou
 sekest [being
 slaine]) all the people shall be
 in peace.
 4. And the saying pleased
 Absalom wel,
 and all the Elders of
 Israel. 5. Then said
 Absalom, Call now Hushai the
 Archite also, &
 let vs heare likewise what he
 sayeth.

Bishops Bible. 2. And I wil
 come vp to him whyle
 he is weery and weake handed...

Great Bible: [1] folow
 after Dauid
 by nyght [2] ... whyle he is
 weery and
 weake handed, and wyll feare
 hym:..[3.] and
 will bryng agayne all the
 people vnto the,
 euen as easely as yf I wolde
 bring
 anye other thing. And whan I
 haue slayne
 the man whom thou sekest, all
 ye people
 shall haue rest.

11.1249-50 Peele's elaboration

1. 1251 'discontented', note use of 'content', cf. note to 1.414, supra, p.173.

11 1261-1292

Cus. Though wise Achitophel be
much more meet
To purchase hearing with my
lord the King,
For all his former counsels,
then my selfe,
Yet not offending Absolon or
him,
This time it is not good, nor
worth pursute:
For well thou knowest thy
fathers men are strong,
Chafing as shee beares
robbed of their whelpes.
Besides the King himselve a
valiant man,
Traind vp in feats and
stratagemes of warre,
And will not for preuention
of the worst 1270
Lodge with the common souldiers
in the field:
But now I know his wonted
policies
Haue taught him lurke within
some secret caue,
Guarded with all his stoutest
souldiers,
Which if the forefront of his
battell faint,
Will yet giue out that Absalon
doth flie,
And so thy souldiers be
discouraged.
Dauid himselve withall, whose
angry heart
Is as a Lyons, letted of his
wake,
Will fight himselve, and all
his men to one, 1280
Before a few shall vanquish
him by feare.
My counsell therefore, is with
Trumpets sound

Genevan Bible II Samuel, XVII.

7-13

7. Hushai then answered vnto
Absalom, The
counsel that Ahithophel hathe
giue, is not good
at this time. 8. For, said
Hushai, thou knowest
thy father, & his men, that
they be strong
men, & are chafed in minde
as a beare
robbed of her whelpes in
the field: also thy
father is a valiant warrior,
and wil not
lodge with the people. 9.
Beholde, he is
hid now in some caue, or in
some place: and
thogh some of them be ouer-
thrown at the first,
yet the [people] shal heare,
and say, The
people that followe Absalom,
be ouerthrown.
10. Then he also that is valiant
whose heart is
as the heart of a lion, shal
shrinke and faint:
for all Israel knoweth, that
thy father is
valiant, & they which be with
him, stowte men.
11. Therefore my counsel is,
that all Israel
be gathered vnto thee, from
Dan euen to
Beer-sheba as the sand of
the sea in nomber,
and that thou go to battel
in thine
owne persone. 12. So shal we
come vpon him
in some place, where we shal
finde him, and we

To/

To gather men from Dan to Bersabe,
 That they may march in number
 like sea sands,
 That nestle close in anothers
 necke:
 So shall we come vpon him in our
 strength,
 Like to the dew that fals in
 showers from heauen,
 And leaue him not a man to
 march withall.
 Besides if any citie succour
 him,

1290

The nnumbers of our men shall
 fetch vs ropes,
 And we will pull it downe the
 riuers streame,
 That not a stone be left to
 keepe vs out.
 (1290 nnumbers, editors read
 'numbers')

(cf. 11.1313-1325, 1420-1432)

wil vpon him as the dewe
 falleth on the
 ground: and of all the
 men that are with
 him, we wil not leaue him
 one. 13. Moreouer
 if he be gotten into a
 citie, then shal all the
 men of Israel bring ropes
 to that citie, and
 we wil drawe it into the
 riuier, vntil there be
 not one smale stone found
 there.

Great Bible: [8].. Thy father
 is a mā also practised
 in warre, & maketh no tarieng
 w^t y^e people.

[9]Beholde he lurketh now in
 some caue, or in some
 other place...[12].. euen as
 thicke as the dew falleth on
 the grounde...[13] .. yf he
 be go^{ttē} into a towne...

Bishops' Bible: 8.. Thy
 father is a man also
 practised in warre, and wil
 not lodge with the people.
 13... if he be gotten into
 a towne

11.1261-5 an elaboration of verse 7 in the oratorical manner
 found in the speeches in Arraignement. This manner is
 certainly Peele's own.

1.1267 the image comes from the original, verse 8

11.1268,71 seem to follow the Genevan Bible, verse 8.

1.1269 elaboration of original (verse 8) with a qualifying
 phrase. The line is filled up with two nearly synonymous
 expressions.

1.1273 'lurke', the Great Bible has 'lurketh', [9]

11. 1278-9 a lion's heart: in the original the image describes
 the imaginary valiant soldier, not David, verse 10.

1.1282/

l.1282 'My counsell therefore, is': this orator's phrase is already in the original, verse 11.

ll.1284-5 the image in the original (verse 11) is enlarged upon. The qualifying clause (l.1285) completes a line, making it end-stopped.

l.1287 the image is in the original, verse 12. Peela's addition 'in showers from heauen' is surely too much for for the falling of the dew.

ll.1356-1376

Semei. Come forth thou murtherer
 and wicked man,
 The Lord hath brought vpon thy
 cursed head
 The guiltlesse bloud of Saule and
 all his sonnes,
 Whose royall throne thy basenesse
 hath vsurpt,
 And to reuenge it deepely on thy
 soule, 1360
 The Lord hath giuen the kingdome
 to thy sonne,
 And he shall wreake the traitrous
 wrongs of Saule,
 Euen as thy sinne hath still
 importund heauen,
 So shall thy murthers and
 adulterie
 Be punisht in the sight of
 Israel,
 As thou deserust with bloud, with
 death, and hell.
Hence murtherer, hence, he
threw at him.

Abis. Why doth his dead dog
 curse my lord the King,
 Let me alone to take away his
 head.

Da. Why medleth thus the son
 of Zeruaia 1370
 To interrupt the action of our
 God?

Semei/

Genevan Bible II Samuel,
XVI.7-12

7. And thus said Shimei when
 he cursed, Come
 forthe, come forthe thou
 murtherer, and wicked
 man. 8. The Lord hath
 broght vpon thee all
 the blood of the house of
 Saul, in whose stead
 thou hast reigned: and the
 Lord hath deliuered
 the kingdome into the hand
 of Absalom thy
 sonne: and beholde, thou
 art taken in thy
 wickednes, because thou
 art a murtherer.

(Bishops' Bible: 7... thou
 bloodsheder, and thou
 man of
 Belial. 8.. beholde, thou
 art come to thy mischief,
 because
 thou art a bloodsheder.) (also
 Great Bible.)

9. Then said Abishai the
 sonne of Zeruah vnto the
 King, Why doeth this dead
 dogge curse my lord the
 King? let me go, I pray thee,
 and take away his
 head. 10. But the King said,
 what haue I to

Semei vseth me with this
 reproch,
 Because the Lord hath
 sent him to reprove
 The sinnes of Dauid,
 printed in his browes,
 With bloud that blusheth
 for his conscience guilt,
 Who dares then aske him
 why he curseth me?
 11.1399 - 1407

do with you, ye sonnes of
 Zeruah: for he curseth,
 even because the Lord hathe
 bidden him curse Dauid:
 who darre then say, wherefore
 hast thou done so?

Dauid. Why should the sons
 of Zerua seeke to checke
 His spirit which the Lord
 hath thus inspir'd: 1400
 Behold my sonne which
 issued from my flesh,
 With equall furie seekes
 to take my life.
 How much more then the
 sonne of Iemini,
 Cheefely since he doth
 nought but Gods command,
 It may be he will looke
 on me this day
 With gracious eyes, and
 for his cursing blesse,
 The heart of Dauid in his
 bitternesse.

(Bishops' Bible: 9... let me
 go nowe, and take of the
 head of him) (also Great
 Bible)

11. And Dauid said to Abishai,
 and to all his
 seruants, Beholde, my sonne
 which came out of
 mine owne bowels, seketh my
 life: then how
 muche more now may this sone
 of Iemini? Suffer
 him to curse: for y^e Lord
 hathe bidden him.
 12. It may be that the Lord
 will loke on mine
 affliction, and do me good
 for his cursing this
 day.

(Great Bible: [11]... which came
 of myne awne bodye..
 [12] haplye the Lorde wyll
 loke on my wretchednesse...)

- 1.1356 'murtherer and wicked man', the phrase is in
 the original (Genevan Bible, verse 7)
- 1.1357 - 9 'thy cursed head' 'The guiltlesse bloud'
 'Whose royall throne' (also 1.1362 'the traitrous
 wrongs') the adjectives are used to fill out the line.
- 1.1369 'take away his head', follows the Genevan Bible,
 verse 9.
- 11.1554 /

11.1554-1569

Genevan Bible II Samuel, XVlll, 10-14

Sould. My lord I saw the
 young prince Absalon
 Hang by the haire vpon a
 shadie oke,
 And could by no meanes
 get himselfe vnlosde,
 Ioab. Why slewst thou not
 the wicked Absalon,
 That rebell to his father
 and to heauen,
 That so I might haue
 giuen thee for thy paines
 Tenne siluer sickles, and
 a golden wast, 1560
 Sould. Not for a thousand
 sickles would I slay
 The sonne of Dauid, whom
 his father chargd,
 Nor thou Abisay, nor the
 sonne of Gath,
 Should touch with stroke
 of deadly violence.
 The charge was giuen in
 hearing of vs all,
 And had I done it, then
 I knew thy selfe,
 Before thou wouldst abide
 the Kings rebuke,
 Wouldst haue accus'd me as
 a man of death.
 Ioab. I must not now stand
 trifling here with thee.

10. And one that sawe it, tolde
 Ioab, saying,
 Beholde, I sawe Absalom hanged
 in an oke.
 11. Then Ioab said vnto the man
 that tolde him,
 And hast thou in dede sene?
 why the didest
 not thou there smite him to
 the grounde, & I
 wolde haue giuen thee ten
 [shekels] of siluer,
 and a girdle? 12. Then the
 man said vnto
 Ioab, Though I shulde receiue
 athousand [shekels]
 of siluer in mine hand, yet
 wolde I not lay
 mine hand vpon the Kings sonne:
 for in our
 hearing the King charged thee,
 and Abishai,
 and Ittai, saying, Beware,
 lest anie [touche]
 the yong man Absalom. 13. If
 I had done it,
 [it had bene] the danger of
 my life: for nothing
 can be hid from the King: yea,
 thou thy selfe
 woldest haue bene against me.
 14. Then
 said Ioab, I wil not thus tary
 with thee ...

Bishops' Bible: 10...I sawe
 Absalom hange in an oke.
 11...ten sicles of siluer
 and a gyrdle ...

Great Bible: [10]...hange...
 [11]... ten sicles of
 siluer ... [12]...For we
 hearde with oure eares
 whē the kyng charged the,...
 [14] ... I may not
 stand thus taryeng wyth the.

Any version may have been used for this paraphrase.
 I note the filling out of lines with words not in the
 original: 1554, young prince, 55, shadie, 57, wicked
 (followed by a qualifying phrase, 58) 59, for thy paines.
 But /

But this cannot be avoided in a close paraphrase.

11.1863 - 1884

Genevan Bible, II Samuel, XVIII, 25 - 33

Mess. My lord, thy seruants
of the watch haue seene
One running hitherward
from forth the warres.
Dauid. If hee bee come
alone, he bringeth newes.

Mess. Another hath thy
seruant seene my lord,
Whose running much resembles
Sadocs sonne.
Da. He is a good man, and
good tidings brings.

Enter Ahimaas.

Ahim. Peace and content
be with my lord the
King 1870
Whom Israels God hath
blest with victory.

Da. Tell me Ahimaas, liues
my Absalon?

Ahim. I saw a troupe of
souldiours gathered,
But know not what the
tumult might import.

Dauid. Stand by, vntill some
other may informe
The heart of Dauid with a
happie truth.

Enter Cusay.

Cusay. Happinesse and
honour liue with Dauids
soule,

Whom God hath blest with
conquest of his foes.

Dauid. But Cusay liues the
young man Absalon? 1880

Cus. The stubborne enemies
to Dauids peace,
And /

25. And the watcheman cryed, &
tolde
the King. And the King said,
If he be alone,
he bringeth tidings ...

26. and the watcheman called
vnto the porter,
& said, Beholde, [another]
man runneth
alone. And the King said, He
also bringeth tidings.

27. And the watcheman said,
Me thinketh the
running of the formest [is]
like the running of

Ahimaaz the sonne of Zadok.
Then the King said, He
is a good man, & commeth
with good tidings.

28. And Ahimaaz called, and
said vnto the King, Peace
[be w^t thee:] & ^{he}fel downe to
the earth vpoⁿ

his face before the King, and
said, Blessed be the
Lord thy God, who hathe shut
vp the men that lift
vp their hands against my
lord the King.

29. And the King said, Is
the young man

Absalom safe? And Ahimaaz
answered, When Ioab
sent the Kings seruant, and [me]
thy seruant, I sawe a great
tumulte, but

I knewe not what. 30. And the
King daid vnto him
Turne /

And all that cast their
darts against his crowne,
Fare ever like the young man
Absalon,
For as he rid the woods
of Ephraim

11.1925 - 8

Dau. O Absalon, Absalon,
O my sonne, my sonne,
Would God that I had died
for Absalon:
But he is dead, ah dead,
Absalon is dead,
And David lives to die
for Absalon.

Turne aside, [&] stand here ...
31. And beholde,
Cushi came, & Cushi said,
Tidings, my lord
the King: for the Lord hathe
deliuered thee this
day out of the hand of all
that rose against thee,
32. Then the King said unto
Cushi, Is the yong
man Absalom safe? And Cushi
answered ; The
enemies of my lord y^e King,
& all that rise
against thee to do thee hurt,
be as that yong man
is. 33. And the King was moued,
& went up to
the chamber ouer the gate, and
wept: and as he
went, thus he said, O my sonne
Absalom, my
sonne, my sonne Absalom: wolde
God I had
dyed for thee, O Absalom, my
sonne, my sonne.

Bishops' Bible: 25. If he
be alone, there is
tydings
in his mouth. 29...I sawe
a great tumult,
but I wote not what it
was.

Great Bible:[25]...yf he be alone,
there is good tydynges in
his mouth. [28].And Ahimaz
called, & sayd unto the
kyng: good tydinges, ãd he fell...
[29]...I sawe much adoo,
But I wotte not what it was.

1.1865 seems to follow the Genevan Bible, verse 25.

1.1868 the repetition of 'good' and the balanced construction
are in the original, verse 27.

1.1874 follows the Genevan Bible, verse 29.

11.1925 - 8 the repetition in 1.1925 is already in the
original, (verse 33), 1.1926 is also in the original.
Peele's addition, the last two lines, is notable for
its repetition.

These /

These extracts can only be regarded as useful in a study of Peele's vocabulary or imagery. But these aspects of Peele I am not prepared to take up. However, one conclusion may be reached from the comparison of Peele's lines with their original: Peele hardly ever goes out of the way to discover unusual or original expressions when there is one ready to hand in the source. In his paraphrase of the Biblical account he does not put in unusual words of his own. The same may be said of his imagery. With the exception of 11.421 - 6 no fresh or striking images of his own are introduced into his paraphrase of the original.

In a few instances speeches have been skilfully expanded or compressed, of particularly 1090-1120. The insertions that have been made to make the speeches more intelligible and dramatic are often clever, as in 654 - 5, 658, 947, 953. Where the paraphrase is close many words have been inserted to fill out the lines. It is evidence of Peele's skill in versification that he usually adheres rigidly to the phrasing and the syntax of the original. In this respect, however, the author of the speeches of Jonas in Looking Glass does not lag far behind. A few speeches in that play adhere closely to the account in the Bible, as 11.1408 - 24 (Jonah, I.6-9, 12) 11.1477 - 89 (Jonah, II 2 - 9) 11.2202 - 12 (Jonah, IV.10 - 11). Particularly noticeable is the fact that Peele's many favourite tricks of style are not found in his paraphrase of the Bible. From that point of view these extracts are not very useful.

CHAPTER V: Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters I have made a survey of the style of Peele in some of its aspects. Chapter II examines the different rhetorical devices found in the speeches and in the verse in his plays. Chapter III is a study of his favourite themes and situations and of the principles according to which he constructs his plays. Chapter IV lists some of his borrowings and possible borrowings and shows him, as it were, at work in paraphrasing passages from the Bible. The results arrived at along these lines have been set forth in the different chapters. I shall not repeat them here. I have tried to bring out ~~what~~ is distinctive of him in each of these aspects, but the results are meagre, as they must often be meagre for the work of a minor writer. But that Peele is original in many points I have tried to bring out and these results can prove. The results also show certain fine or even minute distinctions between the work of Peele and the work of Marlowe or Greene, but do not justify the claim of an individualized style for Peele.

For the ultimate purpose of such a study even these minute distinctions found between Marlowe or Greene and Peele should be useful. The ultimate purpose of discovering and defining the characteristics of Peele's style is to furnish a test for the identification of plays attributed wholly or in part to Peele, to see how closely they correspond to the characteristics in Peele's known work. But in this study my concern has only been to supply some carefully/

carefully assembled data which may be used as objective evidence for such identification. I have noted here and there the occurrence in anonymous plays of characteristics found in Peele, sometimes for the sake of comparison and illustration, sometimes to show their similarity to Peele's work. I have not tried to identify the anonymous plays.

The task of identification is indeed a very difficult one. At every turn in my study I have pointed out the dangers of regarding some characteristic found in Peele as peculiar to him alone. I have also shown that along broader lines dramatic style is not very clearly differentiated between the different pre-Shakespearean dramatists and that the greatest care is necessary in any attempt at style discrimination in their work. This will lead some students at once to the conclusion that attempts to discriminate between the styles of Peele and some other in a possibly collaborate play or to reclaim an unidentified play for Peele are futile. But for other students who may find this study objective and sensitive enough for its results to be used as evidence in such tasks I should give the following explanation. For any characteristic found in Peele I have also given many examples from other dramatists. These examples are evidence against exclusive claims for Peele, but they are not all of the same value. Those from Tamburlaine rank first in importance, for they suggest imitation by Peele. Those from Greene are also very important, because they show that Greene could as well have written a similar passage in some unidentified play. Those from Lyly's plays and Lodge's/

Lodge's Wounds of Civil War are less important, being rather illustrations of the usage of playwrights of the time, since external evidence does not favour Lyly or even Lodge as the author or part-author of a large body of anonymous plays. Examples from older plays, Gorboduc etc., have a similar value, as they are a common source from which all plays of the time may draw. Though the evidence collected is against any assertion of an individualized characteristic style for Peele, this evidence may still be sifted and applied with advantage to arguments in favour of Peele's authorship of some anonymous play.

However, great caution must be exercised in the application of the evidence. The results have been reached from plays admittedly by Peele, with the exception of Alcazar, upon which play I have not depended for significant examples. If they are used as a test of authorship, unknown plays entirely written by Peele should correspond fairly closely to them, more perhaps in a few distinctive points than in a large number of characteristics. Certainly no pronounced departure from Peele's practice should be found. The problem here is comparatively simple, though already it will be difficult enough to prove any case conclusively. On the other hand if a play shows many characteristics distinctive of Peele and other characteristics entirely foreign to him the validity of the method of approach will be called into question. The only possible explanation is collaboration in which Peele had a share, but/

but from the evidence gathered in this study the disentangling of the exact shares of each cannot go beyond passages showing pronounced individual characteristics. In the case of Shakespearean plays in which Peele may have had a share in collaboration, or in the drafting or revision, the discovery of his share is an even more complicated matter. Tics of style belonging to him, for instance, will hardly remain after a drastic revision by Shakespeare or some other. A great deal of individual judgement must enter into the discussion.

Also the evidence gathered from Peele's work is itself of different degrees of importance. Evidence from the treatment of themes should be more decisive than that from rhetorical usage, since he shares the grand manner in the construction of speeches with the others but deals with the themes of his plays in his own way. In examining Peele's themes and the way he deals with them I have tried to confine myself only to what I find in his works. But it is clearly something subject to more than one interpretation. In the dramatist it can also be something flexible, inviting analysis but eluding consistent interpretation. In a collaborate or revised play the difficulty of identifying Peele's hand by the manner in which themes are dealt with is increased. All this would again lead to scepticism regarding the discrimination of the styles of Marlowe, Greene, and Peele in unidentified plays. But it is perhaps a step nearer the solution to know exactly where we stand in relation to the question.

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