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"Thy pyramyds buylt up with newer might": Shakespeare and the Cultural Memory of Ancient Egypt

Edward Chaney

Introduction:

Given that we have lost 99 per cent of the documentation of the ancient world, one doesn't have to be a Jungian advocate of the collective unconscious (or perhaps preferable in this context, Halbwachs' *Mémoire collective* or even Warburgian *engrams*) to credit continuities for which there may be minimal material evidence. In an age at risk of reverting to ideologically-driven iconoclasm we should perhaps make a particular effort to fill the lacunae left by destruction, whether the result of "direct action" (*damnatio memoriae*) or mere decadence. Given that in 1843 Lepsius discovered an apparently unique copy, Shakespeare could not have read the Middle Kingdom's *Debate between a Man and his Soul*, yet surely it has too much in common with Hamlet's famous soliloquy for us to disregard resemblances.

I begin with Moses and his admirer, Machiavelli, merely mentioning Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* which first drew me back from Grand Touring to ancient Egypt. But I'd like to start by paying grateful tribute to my former PhD supervisor, Joe Trapp, Ernst Gombrich's successor as director of the Warburg Institute, who as well as introducing me to the wondrous Frances Yates, introduced me to the writings of Jan Assmann. Not the least of Prof Assmann's achievements has been to lend Freud's foray into Egyptology a respectability it has sometimes lacked. Whatever one thinks of his answers, whether in cultural history or psychoanalysis, Freud asked the important questions. Relatively uncontroversial but key to this essay, climaxing as it does in an obelisk-enriched Elizabethan tomb, is Freud's observation that: "No other people of antiquity did so much as the Egyptians to deny death or took such pains to make existence in the next world possible".[1] This complements, in a

[1] *Moses and Monotheism* (London: Hogarth Press, 1939), 19–20, cited in Edward Chaney, "'Mummy first: Statue after': Wyndham Lewis: Diffusionism, Mosaic Distinctions and the Egyptian Origins of Art", *Ancient Egypt in the Modern Imagination: Art, Literature and*

characteristically cautious way, what Herodotus said of the Egyptians some 2400 years earlier: "they are exceedingly religious, more so than any other people in the world".[2] My illustrated talk at our Warburg Institute conference in Jan's honour was an abridged version of three chapters from my forthcoming book on *Shakespeare and Egypt*. In this still relatively condensed version, I have had to part with too many suggestive images but can at least begin with my favorite, the magnificent Titchfield Tomb (Fig. 1). For various forms of timely assistance, I would like to thank Professor Assmann himself (not least for footnote 49), Professor George Bernard, the Reverend Dr Nicholas Cranfield, Sir Charles George, Keith Jacka, Dr Lynn Forest-Hill, Dr Philip Mansel, Professor Elizabeth McGrath, Charles Nicholl, John Peacock, Alexander Waugh, Professor Timothy Wilks and finally, Florian Ebeling, not least for his "monumental" patience.

Fig. 1. Garat Johnson, *The Wriothesley Monument* (1594); Southampton Chapel, St Peter's Church, Titchfield, Hampshire (photo: E. Chaney)

Culture, eds. Eleanor Dobson and Nichola Tonks (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 49.

[2] *The Histories*, translated by Robin Waterfield, ed. Carolyn Dewald (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 109 (Book II, 37).

In August 1541, Cardinal Reginald Pole, exiled in Italy, responded to Vittoria Colonna's condolences on hearing that Henry VIII had executed his mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. In his letter the Cardinal thanks the Marchesa for her prayers and, equating Henry's wrath with that of the Pharaoh ("Pharaonis furor"), compares himself with Moses, who having been brought up in supposedly tyrannical Egypt (wherein the Jews were supposedly slaves) eventually "overthrew Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the midst of the sea".

> The best way to escape [the dangers prepared by Pharaoh against my life] is by prayer […]. The wrath of Pharaoh having torn me from my real mother, who bore me, I took you in her place, not like Moses, who subsequently denied being her son, because she was Pharaoh's daughter, but as one who will now give me the protection without which I would be no less destitute than Moses in infancy […].[3]

By this date a narrative of the Colonna family's descent from ancient Egypt was being evolved and Pole would have known his correspondent likely to have been all the more receptive to her imagined role as the daughter of a Pharaoh. In Padua, Pole had been mentored by a mutual friend, Pietro Bembo, the proud owner of the *Mensa Isiaca*. The two men were made Cardinals by Paul III in 1536 and 1539 respectively. The influential admirer of the *Mensa* and author of the best-selling *Hieroglyphica*, Pierio Valeriano, knew Pole, Colonna and Michelangelo, as well as Bembo. Sir Thomas Browne was still referring to the *Mensa* in 1658 as "the Table of Bembus", by which time it had been acquired by the Duke of

[3] My translation of *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli* […] (Brescia: J.-M. Rizzardi, 1748), III, 77–80 ("Imo si quid spei reliquum sit ex tot infidiis, & periculis, quae vitae meae undique a Pharaone intendentur, aliquando effugiendi: hoc certe situm est in illis sacris cohortibus […] postquam Dei in eadem summa virtutum dona cognovi, tum postremo cum Pharaonis furor mihi matrem eripuisset, quae me genuit, in matris loco ipsam suscepi, non talem, qualem Moyses, cuius postea negavit se esse filium, cum illa esset filia Pharaonis, sed qualem, si nunc mei protectionem suscipiatis , semper quidem sum praedicaturus: qui non minus destitutus videor, quam tum Moyses, cum infans esset […]."). Colonna was clearly receptive to Egyptian analogies; see Abigail Brundi, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (London, 2008), 114, note 37 and Maria Musiol, *Vittoria Colonna: A Female Genius of Italian Renaissance* (Berlin, 2013), 82, 90 and 124. The most recent biography is Ramie Targoff, *Vittoria Colonna: Renaissance Woman: The Life of Vittoria Colonna* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux Inc, 2018). Pole's letter refers to Colonna's sonnet in which she had suggested herself as "la seconda tua madre" on being informed that his mother had been imprisoned (ibid., 242).

Savoy.[4] In the 1530s, however, it influenced the illuminator of Vittoria's beloved cousin, Pompeo Colonna's Egyptianizing missal. In 1576 Giovanni Antonio Vallone published his *La Vera Origine delle Case illustrissime Colonna, et Pignatelli* in *Le oscurissime satire di Perseo*. This eulogizes "la gloriosa casa Colonna […] vien da Osiri, il quali regn**o** in Egitto con Isi la sua moglie […].".[5] Meanwhile, Vittoria probably arranged Sebastiano del Piombo's portrait of Pole and certainly introduced the already Egyptologically-inclined Francisco de Holanda to Michelangelo, who carved the *Moses* that so obsessed Freud.[6]

Like Cleopatra, "the last Pharaoh" and last of the Ptolemies, the Countess of Salisbury, known as "the last Plantagenet", had almost completed her tomb when she died. Referring to Cleopatra's suicide in the "Argument" to his *Tragedy of Cleopatra*, Samuel Daniel wrote that "hereby came the race of the Ptolomies to be wholie extinct". In fact, as with the Countess of Salisbury, a few more judicial murders were required, including that of the 17-year-old, Caesarion,

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[4] Browne argues that he who sees "the mysterious crosses of Ægypt" on the Lateran obelisk or "the Hieroglyphics of the brasen Table of Bembus; will hardly decline all thought of Christian signality in them."
(https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Garden_of_Cyrus). The *Mensa* has remained in Turin since the 1630s, latterly in the Egyptian Museum.

[5] For this and the Colonna family's supposedly Egyptian origins see Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2007), 252–63. For even earlier claims to Egyptian origins by the Borgias, see below 339–40.

[6] Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2008), 29. For another correspondent comparing Colonna's recovery from an illness with Jacob learning that his son Joseph is still alive in Egypt, see p. 114, note 37. For Pole's frequent use of biblical analogies see Thomas Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), passim; cf. him being praised, in January 1557, by the Cambridge University orator as "vere noster Moyses", returning to his native land, in John Edwards, *Archbishop Pole* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 185. De Holanda's remarkable *De Aetatibus Mundi Imagines* seems to put into practice the Egyptian principles he admired (in the mouth of the Sienese ambassador, Lattanzio Tolomei), in his 1540 Roman dialogue with Michelangelo: "I think that the Egyptians also – all of them who had to write or express anything – were accustomed to know how to paint, and even their hieroglyphic signs were painted animals and birds, as is shown by some obelisks in this city which came from Egypt." (Charles Holroyd, *Michael Angelo Buonarotti* […] *and three dialogues from the Portuguese by Francisco d'Ollanda* [London: Duckworth, 1903], 298; cf. Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance*, 239).

Julius Caesar's son by Cleopatra.[7] But what Shakespeare calls Cleopatra's "monument" – up to which the dying Antony was hauled – may have functioned similarly to the Countess's Chantry Chapel at Christchurch Priory which she had been building since 1520, ultimately a descendant of the Egyptian mortuary temple at which prayers for the dead were said for "millions of years".[8] Unlike the Countess, however, Cleopatra had been able to lock herself in her tomb and smuggle in her asps.[9] On 12 November 1538, the Countess was arrested at her home in Warblington Castle. She was detained there by the recently ennobled 1st Earl of Southampton and subsequently at his house at Cowdray, prior to being sent to the Tower while Thomas Cromwell constructed evidence against her.[10]

[7] In *Antony and Cleopatra* (Act III, Scene 6) Octavian angrily reports that they "in chairs of gold / were publicly enthroned: at the feet sat / Caesarion, whom they call my father's son". The Donation of Alexandria (AD 34) confirmed Caesarion's status as the heir of Julius Caesar (and as Horus, the son of Isis), thus undermining Octavian who had him assassinated after the death of his mother; it was therefore theoretically Caesarion rather than Cleopatra who was the last pharaoh.

[8] Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 25; cf. James Stevens Curl, *Death and Architecture* (London: Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), 6–7, citing the upkeep of endowed chantry-type tomb-chapels from Egypt through to the middle ages. For a useful collection of essays, including more recent "prehistory" than proposed here, see the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164, 2011, issue 1: *The Medieval Chantry in England*; see also Howard Colvin, "The Origins of the Chantry," *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000): 163–73. The Reformation terminated this tradition. In 1545 Parliament passed an Act that defined chantries as representing misapplied funds and misappropriated lands and their properties would belong to the King during his lifetime. Most were sold to private citizens. As with the closure of monastic hospitals, there was a loss to education since chantry priests often practiced as teachers (though Edwardian Grammar Schools were often based on this system); see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). See below for the Southampton chapels of Midhurst and Titchfield and notes 190–1; cf. for the relevant context, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, revised ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

[9] Where Plutarch refers to a single asp, Propertius (*Elegies*, 3,2, 53–4) writes of two or more "sacred snakes" (cf. below). In *Much Ado about Nothing* (Act V, Scene 2), Benedick says: "If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps."

[10] William Fitzwilliam, 1st Earl of Southampton's mother married Sir Anthony Browne (d. 1506). He was close to Henry VIII and to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Browne (c. 1500–1548), father of the 1st Viscount Montagu (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography;* henceforth: *ODNB*). The latter seems to have made a conscious choice "to plump for the title

She was imprisoned for more than two years and then clumsily decapitated with a few hours' notice (by which time Cromwell himself had been executed, abandoned by Southampton). Whereas, according to Shakespeare, following Plutarch, Cleopatra was nobly "buried by her Anthony – / No grave upon the earth shall clip in it / A pair so famous", the Countess was interred at the Tower in St Peter in Vincula near Anne Boleyn, far from her beloved south coast and her building projects. Warblington was handed over with her other properties to Lord Southampton.[11]

Despite having received hospitality from the anti-Machiavellian Pole in the Veneto, the now ultra-Machiavellian government propagandist, Richard Morison, had by the late 1530s become a protégé of fellow-Machiavellian Thomas Cromwell, busily denouncing the "trayterouse cardynale" and his

of Montague [because] it remembered the partial extirpation by Henry [VIII] of the Pole family" (which title the eldest son of the Countess of Salisbury, Reginald's brother Henry, had inherited); see Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), 70.

[11] After her attainder Warblington was granted temporarily to William, Earl of Southampton, and then Sir Thomas Wriothesley (1505–1550), the king's secretary, whose uncle Thomas and then father William had expanded their surname from Writhe; see History of the County of Hampshire, 3 (1908), 134–9. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41943, date accessed: 4 October 2011. Her exquisite chantry chapel at Christchurch Priory was begun c. 1520 (Pevsner, *Hampshire: South,* 216); see Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473–1541* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), based on her Bangor University PhD. Wriothesley, grandfather of Shakespeare's patron, was granted Lady Salisbury's lands in October 1542. He rebuilt the confiscated Abbey of Titchfield partly on the proceeds, entertaining the King there in July 1545. He became Lord Chancellor in 1544 and features as such in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*. He was created 1st Earl of Southampton (of the second creation) after Henry's death in 1547. His predecessor was Sir Antony Browne's half-brother, Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1st Earl of Southampton (depicted c. 1540 by Holbein). The latter acquired Cowdray in 1528 and left it to Browne at his death in 1542. Browne's granddaughter, Mary, married Wriothesley's son, Henry, 2nd Earl of Southampton, in 1566. They entertained Elizabeth at Titchfield three years later. Their son, Henry, the future 3rd Earl and Shakespeare's first major patron, was born at Cowdray in 1573. Montagu entertained Elizabeth at Cowdray for six days in August 1591, after which she revisited Titchfield and Southampton. Such visits no doubt encouraged the two families to commission their obelisk-enriched tombs. Having demonstrated their *politique* loyalty to Elizabeth both families made little secret of their Catholicism.

family.[12] Morison reversed Pole's biblical analogy inasmuch as he compared Henry VIII's break from Rome and alleged *papal* tyranny with the Israelite exodus from Egypt.[13] In 1539 he published his sycophantic *Exhortation*, in which he eulogizes Henry as "our king, our ruler by the will and ordinance of God," he to whom we should be entirely obedient as if to Hezekiah, who confirmed the exclusive worship of Yahweh and occupied himself "in cleansing his realme of idolatry" (thus re-forming another kind of "counter religion", to cite Assmann's "Mosaic distinction" which repudiates all else as paganism).[14]

Morison's heroes were Moses and Machiavelli, whose admiration for Moses was itself based on his ruthlessness. For related reasons Machiavelli admired Egypt itself. In his poem "di Fortuna," in somewhat Hypnerotomachian mode, he imagines wall paintings in *Fortuna*'s palace, "da ogni parte aperto", showing "how once under Egypt the world stood subjugated, conquered and how long it was fed with peace."[15] One wonders whether as well as Hermes Trismegistus,

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[12] *An Exhortation to styrre all Englyshemenne to the defense of theyr countrye*, sig. Dii. Morison was the first Englishman to mention Machiavelli in print and encouraged Cromwell's enthusiasm; see Tracey A. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison* (Oxford: OUP, 2010). He was knighted in 1550; cf. Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli: The First Century* (Oxford, OUP, 2005), passim.

[13] Jonathan Woolfson in *ODNB*, part-based on L. Nicod, "The political thought of Richard Morison: a study in the use of ancient and medieval sources in Renaissance England" (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1998), and Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform*, 127. In 1539 Pole referred to Machiavelli's works as having been "written by the finger of Satan"; see Steven Marx, "Moses and Machiavellism", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 65 (1997): 555-71, http://cola.calpoly.edu/~smarx/Publications/moses.html. As a Marian exile, Morison would even read Machiavelli to his family (*ODNB*). Morison's fellow-traveller, Roger Ascham, wrote a political history inspired by Machiavelli, *A Report and Discourse of the Affaires and State of Germany* (1570?); see his *Whole Works*, ed. [J.A.] Giles, III, 58–9. Shakespeare, on the other hand, has the future Richard III invoke "the murderous Machiavel" anachronistically in *Henry VI, part III* (Act III, Scene 2).

[14] Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 3–5.

[15] "Tutto quel Regno suo dentro, e di fuora/ Istoriato si vede, e dipinto/ Di que' trionfi, de' qua' più s'onora./Nel primo loco colorato, e tinto/ Si vede, come già sotto l'Egitto/ Il mondo stette soggiogato, e vinto;/ E come lungamente il tenne vitto/ Con lunga pace […]". Cf. John M. Najemy, "Between East and West", in *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond. Essays in Honour of Anthony Molho*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto, Eric R. Dursteler, Julius Kirshner and Francesca Trivellato (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009), 134.

Machiavelli might have known of the Santuario di Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Palestrina), the largest temple of Fortune in Italy, already celebrated due to being referenced by Pliny. Albeit less well documented, one wonders also at the extent to which such buildings in Greece and Rome were influenced by far more ancient buildings such as the Mortuary Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, which provided a precedent for Greek Doric architecture. We now know that the Temple of Fortuna's Nilotic mosaics were seen at the turn of the fifteenth century.[16] Praeneste was owned by the Colonna family, the senior member of which was Vittoria Colonna's father, Fabrizio, chief protagonist of Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*. Meanwhile, the family Palazzo at the foot of the Quirinal Hill was built on the site of the largest Greco-Egyptian temple of Serapis in Rome, much of which was still standing in Vittoria's time. This and the adjacent Temple of Isis and that above which Santa Maria sopra Minerva was built was the site in which Egyptian artefacts were found.[17] Her cousin, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna commissioned the illuminated missal which included the extraordinary Egyptianizing page partly inspired by the *Mensa Isiaca*. The widowed Vittoria was both the dedicatee of Pompeo's *Defense of Women*, the *Apologiae mulierum libri* of the mid-1520s, and of Valeriano's treatise on the dove in Book 22 of his *Hieroglyphica*, a copy of which Pole owned (Valeriano dedicated Book 53 to Pole).[18] Her

[16] As described by Antonio Volsco no later than 1507; see Claudia la Malfa, "Reassessing the Renaissance of the Palestrina Nile Mosaic", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Instititutes* 66 (2003): 267–71. They may also be referenced in the *Hypnerotomachia*; for Praeneste's status as a temple of Fortuna as well as Isis/Fortuna/Tyche see now Daniele Miano, *Fortuna: Deity and Concept in Archaic and Republican Italy* (Oxford: OUP, 2018). For the remains of an obelisk at Praeneste see Elisa Valeria Bove, "Obelisco di Palestrina", *La Lupa e la Sfinge: Roma e l'Egitto*, ed. Eugenio Lo Sardo (Milan: Electa Editrice, 2008), 88–91.

[17] Including the obelisk that Bernini erected on the back of an elephant, inspired by the woodcut in *Hypnerotomachia Polifiphili*. See Anne Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 40, where the author discusses the Isis-Fortuna connection; and Rabun Taylor, "Hadrian's Serapeum in Rome", *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, 2 (2004): 223–66, cf. Clare Rowan, *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Several Period* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 69–72.

[18] Karl Giehlow, *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance*, ed. Robin Raybould (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 219 and 221). Pole's copy of Valeriano is Lambeth Palace Library SJ1131.V2. The subject of his chapter is appropriately "geroglifici biblici". Valeriano was a fellow priest more likely to have been ordained in 1538 than 1527 (as in Giehlow, 221) but who lived long enough to experience the

father's contemporary, the Dominican Francesco Colonna, is the most likely author of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* which may also (albeit in a glass darkly) refer to Praeneste.[19] Among other Egyptian references in the *Hypnerotomachia*'s fine wood engravings, even as re-engraved a little less skilfully for Robert Dallington's 1592 abridged and anglicized edition, *The Strife of Love in a Dream*, is the rotating figure of Isis/Tyche/Fortuna which tinkles atop a pointy obelisk which itself surmounts a stepped pyramid resembling the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[20]

> This image and stature [sic] was with every blast of wind turned, and mooved about with such a noyse and tinkling in the hollownes of the metaline devise: as if the mynte of the Queene of England had being going there. And when the foote of the phane or Image in turning about, did rub and grinde upon the copper base, fixed upon the pointe of the Obeliske, it gave such a sound, as if the tower bell of Saint Iohns Colledge in the famous Universitie of Cambridge had beene rung: or that in the pompeous Batches of the mightie *Hadrian*: or that in the fift Pyramides standing upon foure. This Obeliske in my iudgement was such, as neyther that in the *Vaticane* in *Alexandria* or Babilon, may bee equally compared unto it, but rather esteemed far inferiour.[21]

suppression of the *spirituali* who had been supported by Pole. In Rome at the time of the 1549 conclave, Thomas Hoby described him losing the election "by the Cardinall of Ferrara his meanes the voice of manie cardinalls of the French partie, persuading them that Cardinall Pole was both Imperiall and also a verie Lutherian" (E. Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2000), 64, 92 and 109.

[19] Ibid. and Maurizio Calvesi, *Il Sogno di Polifilo Prenestino* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1980) though the acrostic identifying the author has him resident at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1512. For polite scepticism about Calvesi's claims for even earlier knowledge of Nile mosaic, see Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance*, 143–4.

[20] For more on the association between Isis and Fortuna see P. Allison, *The Insula of Menander at Pompeii*, vol. III, *The Finds; A Contextual* Study (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

[21] *The Strife of Love in a Dreame* (London: William Holme, 1592), fol. 7r–v (19 in the 1890 ed. Andrew Lang).

Fig. 2. Garat Johnson, *Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton* (1594); north side of the Wriothesley Monument, St Peter's Church, Titchfield, Hampshire. Contract signed in the same year that Shakespeare dedicated *Lucrece* to the Earl (photo: E. Chaney)

A Shakespearean connection with Dallington can be made via the Catholic Earl of Rutland who was Shakespeare's last known patron and had travelled through Europe with Dallington and Inigo Jones.[22] The reference to St John's College is also intriguing and may be an in-joke part-intended for Shakespeare's first documented patron and Rutland's friend and co-conspirator in the Essex Plot, the young Earl of Southampton, who like Dallington (and Thomas Nashe) attended St John's, Cambridge (which had no tower and therefore no "tower bell"). As well as a leading literary patron, Southampton became a major donor to the College library (Fig. 2).[23] Four fragments of a real obelisk were discovered in Praeneste in 1791. It is clear, not least from figures found on the site, that Fortuna was one of Isis's many descendants, Tyche functioning as a sort of Greek intermediary.[24] Dallington's abridged translation of the *Hypnerotomachia* is dedicated to the Antony-like Earl of Essex and includes multiple references to obelisks, pyramids and hieroglyphs as well as to "a cuppe full of pretious lyquor, better than that which the prowde *Cleopatra* gave unto the Romane Captaine".[25] Shakespeare perhaps echoes this as well as Plutarch in *Cymbeline* when Iachimo describes Imogen's bedchamber tapestry of silk and silver as depicting:

[22] Chaney, "Robert Dallington's *Survey of Tuscany* (1605): A British View of Medicean Tuscany," *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 143–60. This Rutland is Francis Manners, the future 6th Earl, younger brother of Roger, Southampton's particular friend (fellow Essex plotter and prisoner) who shared his birthday. When both at Cambridge they visited Southampton's widowed mother who was staying five miles outside the city; see Anna Vladimira Danushevskaya, *Ideal and practice: Aspects of noble life in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (University of Hull, unpublished PhD dissertation, 2001), 227.

[23] Mark Nichols, "The Seventeenth Century", in *St John's College, Cambridge: A History*, ed. Peter Linehan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 103. Southampton was the ward of St John's most influential alumnus, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. The clock tower of Burghley House physically represents the merging of the concepts of pyramid and obelisk.

[24] Paul G.P. Meyboom, *The Nile Mosaics of Palestrina Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995). For Tyche in relation to Isis and Fortuna, see now Daniele Miano, *Fortuna: Deity and Concept in Archaic and Republican Italy* (Oxford: OUP, 2018).

[25] *The Strife of Love*, fol. 59r.-v. (1890, Lang ed., 135). The dedication was to Essex and to "the everlyving vertues of that matchlesse Knight", his cousin, the late Sir Philip Sidney, whose widow, Frances Walsingham, he had married. Sidney's daughter, Elizabeth, meanwhile, married Southampton's friend, Roger, 5th Earl of Rutland.

Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman,
And Cydnus swell'd above the banks, or for
The press of boats or pride. A piece of work
So bravely done, so rich, that it did strive
In workmanship and value; which I wonder'd
Could be so rarely and exactly wrought,
Since the true life on't was—[26]

Fig. 3. Isis blessing Seti I. The Temple of Seti at Abydos

In the relief from the Temple of Seti I at the ancient pilgrimage site of Abydos, Isis tells the young Seti: "You are my son. You have come forth from [me]. I have nursed you to be the Ruler of the Two Lands", a conferment of divine

[26] *Cymbeline*, Act II, Scene 4.

authority that conflates Seti with Horus (Fig. 3). The inscription continues: "Your Majesty is King of Eternity, a Falcon, abiding for Eternity".[27] In his survey of *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt*, Toby Wilkinson argued that: "the iconography and ideology of divine kingship [were] the ancient Egyptians' greatest inventions."[28] Shakespeare's *Richard II* focusses upon the King's belief that, "Not all the water in the rough rude sea / Can wash the balm from an anointed King / The breath of worldly men cannot depose / The deputy elected by the Lord".[29] The *Wilton Diptych* depicts the same Richard being presented to an Isis-like Virgin Mary by John the Baptist and two canonized English kings, Edward the Confessor and Edmund the Martyr.[30] Richard I had coined the motto "Dieu et mon droit" and Henry V hieroglyphically incorporated this into the Royal Coat of Arms. In 1534 Henry VIII enhanced his particular brand of divine right by making himself Supreme Head of the Church. In 1598, when the future King of Great Britain was still mere James VI of Scotland he published *The True Law of Free Monarchies*. In this he articulated a revised version of divine right dating back to the (Egyptian-influenced?) *First Book of Samuel*. He would elaborate on this in his 1609 and 1610 Speeches to the Lords and Commons of Parliament:

> […] the state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth. For kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods.[31]

In early 1601, in the wake of Essex's rebellion, the wife of Shakespeare's patron and Essex's co-conspirator, the Earl of Southampton, had offered to prostrate herself at the feet of "His [God's] holy anointed […] her sacred majesty" Elizabeth I in pleading with "her divine self" for her husband's life.[32] At the trial

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[27] Stephanie Lynn Budin, *Woman and Child from the Bronze Age: Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World* (New York: CUP, 2011), 78; Seti seems to have been especially keen on being wet-nursed by goddesses; cf. revised edition of Rosalie David, *Temple Ritual at Abydos* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2018).
[28] Toby Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 509.
[29] *Richard II*, Act III, Scene 2. Shakespeare uses the term "anointed" five time in the play.
[30] *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, eds. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, Caroline Elam (London: Harvey Miller, 1997).
[31] *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England*, ed. David Wootton (London: Penguin, 1986), 107.
[32] Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron* (Cambridge: CUP, 1922), 196 and 218.

itself, the 26-year-old Earl hoped that "Her Majestie being God's Lieutenant upon earth […] will imitate Him in looking into the heart", words that remind one of Portia's speech on mercy being "above this sceptred sway […]. It is enthroned in the hearts of kings […] an attribute to God himself".[33] In the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, Shakespeare has Macduff describe Macbeth's regicide of Duncan as the "Most sacrilegious Murther [that] hath broke ope / The Lord's anointed Temple, and stole thence/ The life o' th' building!"[34] The Divine Right of Kings is a major theme in this, "The Scottish Play", clearly written with James and his *Basilikon Doron* (1599) in mind.[35] Relevant here also is the legend of Scota, according to twelfth-century sources the daughter of a pharaoh who was a contemporary of Moses and married Geytholos (Goídel Glas), the founder of the Scots and Gaels after being exiled from Egypt.[36] The Egyptian origins of Scotland were even used to justify wars of independence.[37]

In this context, a strikingly symbolic precedent for the unification of the crowns of Scotland and England (however indirect and unconscious a cultural memory)

[33] Stopes, *Southampton*, 212 and *Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Scene 1. In 1594 Shakespeare has Lucrece tell Tarquin that "kings like gods should govern everything" (601–2), so asks that "if in thy hope thou dar'st do such outrage, / What dar'st thou not when once thou art a king?" Thus when he dedicated this poem to Southampton, Shakespeare presumably knew his patron to be more ambivalent about the divine right of kings.

[34] *Macbeth*, Act II, Scene 3.

[35] For Henry Peacham's hieroglyphic emblems in a 1603 manuscript version of *Basilikon Doron* dedicated to the King (Bodleian Library: MS Rawlinson Poetry 146), see *The English Emblem Tradition: 5, Henry Peacham's Manuscript Emblem Books*, ed. Alan R. Young (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). The Rose and Thistle device (also symbolizing Anglo-Scottish unity) features throughout this manuscript. Among the *Emblemata Varia* (MS V.b.45) are Egyptian motifs such as that of the Sphinx and pyramids (p. 212).

[36] William Matthews, "The Egyptians in Scotland: The Political History of a Myth", *Viator* 1 (1970): 289–306; cf. *The Historia Brittonum*, 10 vols, ed. David N. Dumville, iii, The "Vatican" Recension (Cambridge: Brewer, 1985), 69–70 cf. Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[37] Michael Prestwich, "England and Scotland during the Wars of Independence", *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais,* eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), 182*;* cf. Dauvit Broun, "The Declaration of Arbroath: Pedigree of a Nation?" https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1394135.pdf.

was the unification of Lower and Upper Egypt. This was represented iconographically by the interlinked Red and White Crowns (the Deshret and the Hedjet) in the form of the double crown or Pschent. The unification itself was effected in around 3000 BC by the first Pharaoh Min or Menes (now identified with Narmer), the Pschent itself first being worn either by him or Djet. Though its meaning may eventually have been lost, the double crown continued to be worn by the Ptolemys and indeed by their Roman successors, starting with Augustus, thereby prolonging the life of this Bourdieusian *habitus*.[38] Though depictions of the Pschent survived on obelisks and stele, Bembo's later and less authentic *Mensa Isiaca* was more obviously influential in the Renaissance, as early as c. 1530, for example, on Pompeo Colonna's missal and via engravings beginning with that commissioned by Bembo's son from Enea Vico in 1559.[39] While the Byzantine source for the Venetian Doge's *Corno Ducale* may ultimately have been Egyptian, the extraordinarily layered crown Elizabeth I is wearing in her emblem-covered "Rainbow Portrait" (1600–1602) might more consciously have been influenced by this kind of engraving.[40]

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[38] "Two *stelai* from the Bucheum at Hermonthis [Armant] in Upper Egypt show Augustus, in traditional Pharaonic garb and wearing the double crown of Egypt, sacrificing to Buchis, the bull-god, exactly as his predecessors were depicted;" see Richard Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 197.

[39] Vico died in 1567, his large engraving republished posthumously in 1600. Pignoria's illustrated monograph was then published in 1605 and Herwart von Hohenburg's (which was owned and annotated by John Evelyn) in 1610; see E. Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt: Lord Arundel and the Obelisk of Domitian", in *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, eds. D. Marshall, K. Wolfe and S. Russell (London: British School at Rome, 2011), 165. The double crown appears three times on figures in the lower register of the *Mensa* (all the more clearly on its engravings). It is depicted twice along the top of the "Egyptian Page" of the Colonna missal and as worn by a Pharaonic Osiris figure in the bottom right corner; illustrated as Plate VII in James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), cf. 111 and Plate 1 and fig. 98 in Curran's *Egyptian Renaissance*, 249.

[40] The double-crown aspect of Elizabeth's headpiece may as well have been inspired by Cesare Vecellio's engraving of a *Thessalonian Bride* which seems to have influenced Inigo Jones pricked-through masque design; Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London: Sotheby, 1973), I, 96–7; cf. now Matthew Dimmock, *Elizabethan Globalism: England, China and the Rainbow Portrait* (New Haven and London:

In terms of equivalent symbols or signifiers, and comparing great things (Egyptian) with small (i.e. English; *pace* David Starkey's notion of Tudor England as the first nation state), prior to the Anglo-Scottish Union of Crowns, Henry Tudor united the Red and White Roses of Lancaster and York after defeating Richard III at Bosworth and fulfilling a vow made in Rennes Cathedral that he would marry Elizabeth of York. Though Shakespeare did not, as sometimes said, coin the phrase "The Wars of the Roses" (nor even use the term "Tudor"), he did have the future Henry VII promise in the concluding speech of *Richard III*:

> And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament
> We will unite the white rose and the red:
> Smile, heaven, upon this fair conjunction […].[41]

James Stuart's newly created "Great Britain", with its "Union Jack" uniting the Scots and English national crosses of Saints Andrew and George, eventually acquired the largest empire in history (the term "British Empire" having been coined by John Dee).[42] It lasted, however, for only a fraction of the time Pharaonic Egypt had done, its first phase indeed foundering before it had properly begun, due to iconoclastic opposition to Charles I's version of his father's pharaonic philosophy, epitomized by his 11 years "personal rule".[43] By

Yale University Press, 2019). The motto in the *Rainbow Portrait* promotes Elizabeth as *Sole*, the Sun, while in her headpiece is a jeweled crescent moon; see Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 384–6, which also illustrates William Rogers's *Eliza Triumphans engraving*, depicted the Queen between two obelisks, done in 1589, the year Sixtus V completed his campaign of re-erecting the four obelisks in Rome; fig. 58.

[41] *Richard III*, Act V, Scene 5. Henry called himself Richmond rather than Tudor as does Shakespeare.

[42] See discussion in Nicholas Canny ed., *The Origins of Empire, The Oxford History of the British Empire* I (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 114, where David Armitage cites James Henrisoun and Humphrey Llwyd as precedents but see now Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjurer of England: John Dee* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), chapter 9. Parry reminds the reader that Dee was a Catholic priest and that "there was nothing very Protestant about [his] British Empire" (94).

[43] As articulated in *Basilikon Doron*, which "Royal Gift" was rededicated to Charles after his elder brother Prince Henry died in 1612. It may have been unwise for James to have shared his biblical belief that a "wicked king is sent by God for a curse to his people and a plague for their sinnes." (*The True Law of Free Monarchies*, 206). David Starkey argues that the "Jack" in Union Jack is derived from Jacobus, after the Latin form of

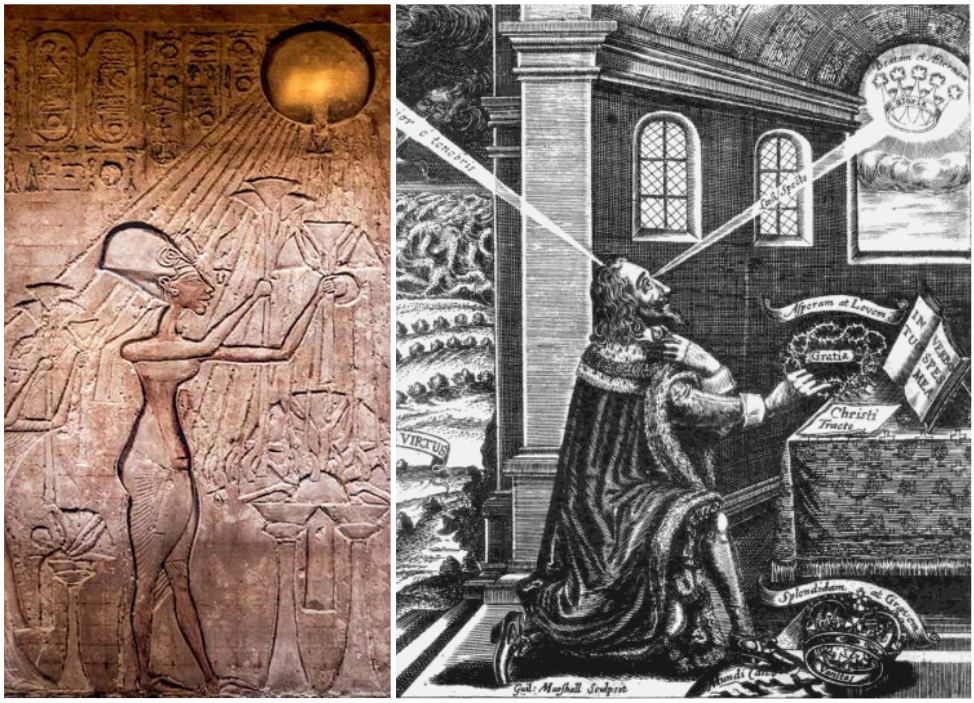
the mid-seventeenth century, James's "Double Crown" – after redoubling itself in the imagery of the title page of his 1616 *Workes* and on his 4-crowned *Bezant* – became no crown at all with the execution of an anointed king and the establishment of a republic.[44] In the engraved frontispiece of the posthumously-published *Eikon Basilike* (1649), the Christ-like Charles the Martyr looks longingly up to his sacred crown in the sun along a beam captioned "Coeli specto" ("I look to Heaven") in a mode reminiscent of the relief depicting the sun-worshipping Akhenaten discovered at Amarna, dating from more than 3000 years earlier).[45](Figs. 4 and 5). In *Eikonoclaste*s, Milton's hastily commissioned "Answer" to the late King's best-selling book, he singles out for particular scorn this "new device of the Kings Picture at his praiers", compares Charles with Pharaoh promoting idolatry and persecuting the Israelites and sneers at him for reading Shakespeare, "whom wee well know was the Closet Companion of these his solitudes," prior to his execution; this despite having published a youthful eulogy of Shakespeare in the same 1632 Second Folio that Charles read and annotated. Dating from the decade in which he continued to cultivate Catholics in Italy and elsewhere, Milton's concluding line had been: "That Kings for such a tomb would wish to die".[46]

James, though the *OED* rejects this etymology in favour of a small flag. The Rose and Thistle device (also symbolizing Anglo-Scottish unity) features throughout Henry Peacham's manuscript, cit. above, note 35.

[44] Prior to the adoption of the triple crown of the papal tiara, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) adopted a double crown to symbolize his combined spiritual and temporal powers.

[45] Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 48; cf. *Troilus and Cressida,* Act I, Scene 3: "the glorious planet Sol / In noble eminence enthroned […]." There is something of the *Rex Nemorensis* about Charles's Kingly sacrifice that reminds one of the presumably unhappy fate of superseded Akhenaten; cf. Diana's associated Trinity, below 281.

[46] Anselm Haverkamp, *Shakespearean Genealogies of Power* (London: Routledge, 2010), note 37, commenting on Kenneth Muir's use of the word "sneer"; it applies as well to Milton's comments on Charles's consolation in "the vain amatorious Poem of Sr Philip Sidneys Arcadia." Interestingly in our context Milton boasts "that I should dare to tell abroad the secrets of thir *Ægyptian Apis*". Charles would have seen the Southampton tomb on at least one of his several visits to Titchfield, perhaps even during his last, *en route* to captivity on the Isle of Wight. For Milton's variously disingenuous accounts of his travels in Italy where he fraternized with Cardinals and English Jesuits, see Chaney,



Figs. 4–5. The divinely-ordained Akhenaten and Charles I at their prayers (c. 1349 BC and 1649 AD). (https://archive.org/download/slab-from-the-Royal-Tomb-at-El-Amarna/slab-from-the-Royal-Tomb-at-El-Amarna.jpg; and *Eikon Basilike*, London: 1649; frontispiece engraved by William Marshall)

Although those who described Charles's rule as "Tyranny" may have been too influenced by partial Old Testament notions of Pharaonic rule, there was greater knowledge of ancient Egypt in Early Modern Europe than is usually recognized. By 1615, indeed, the great traveler and translator, George Sandys had published the best illustrated account in any language, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*. This was dedicated to the then 15-year-old Prince Charles, his virtues being "as the Sunne to the world". "The *Aegyptians*" he writes: "first invented Arithmeticke, Musicke, and Geometry […], found out the course of the Sunne and the Stars [and] from the *Aegyptians*, *Orpheus*, *Musaeus*, and *Homer*, have fetcht their hymnes and fables of the Gods". Philosophy, letters and music were

The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985) and idem, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, both passim.

likewise owed to Egypt.[47] After the destructive fundamentalism of the early years of Christianity (which left little for the Muslims to destroy), confirmation of this populist faith as the state religion of the Roman Empire gradually permitted those aspects of Egyptian religious culture which had offended the first monotheists to reemerge and conflate prevailing continuities. There is surely an argument for regarding the otherwise surprisingly unbiblical and unmonotheistic "Trinity" as a "cultural memorial" of the Egyptian Triads.[48] The latter continued to evolve through the Graeco-Roman period and into the fourth century when Athanasius of Alexandria campaigned so successfully for the establishment of a Christian equivalent as dogma that churches such as that in which Shakespeare is buried were named "Holy Trinity". Shakespeare's somewhat flippant attitude to the Trinity is suggested in Sonnet 105, which despite the opening line: "Let not my love be called idolatry", concludes with a couplet more reminiscent of the Platonic Triad than the Athanasian version:

> Fair, kind and true have often lived alone,
> Which three, till now, never kept seat in one.

Of the Egyptian Triads the visually most familiar was Osiris, Isis and Harpokrates (the Greek form for Horus as a child), with Nephthys, the sister of Isis sometimes standing in for Osiris. Versions of these survived via influential intermediaries such as the "Capitoline Triad" of Minerva, Jupiter and Juno or even coinage bearing the image of Diana of Nemi's "diva triformis".[49]

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[47] *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London: W. Barrett, 1615), 104; cf. below, 318-9 and Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys's Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), chapter 4.

[48] The lack of biblical justification for the Trinity troubled Isaac Newton and led to him abandoning the taking of holy orders which might have led to accusations of Arianism. He was "certain that ye old religion of the Egyptians was ye true [Noachian] religion tho corrupted before the age of Moses by the mixture of fals Gods with that of the true one"; see David Boyd Haycock, "Ancient Egypt in 17th and 18th Century England", *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions through the Ages*, eds. Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 2003), 138–9 and now, Rob Iliffe, *Priest of Nature: The Religious Worlds of Isaac Newton* (Oxford: OUP, 2017); for ongoing research see https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/newton-project.

[49] See for some of these "tri-unities" John Gwyn Griffiths, *Triads and Trinities* (Cardiff:

Chaucer is unlikely to have written about the "Temple of Ysidis" in *The House of Fame*, nor Edmund Spenser about the "Isis Church" in his *Faerie Queen* had the Romans not extended the Goddess's life by building temples in her honour throughout their empire, even as far as Britannia.[50] William Camden discovered a statue he thought depicted Isis in the early seventeenth century.[51] Thanks to such enhanced (colonial?) scope (along with other deeper, mother-goddess-related reasons), the most significant, yet surprisingly understudied phenomenon (as if not quite respectable?) is the evolution from Isis of the cult of the

University of Wales University Press, 1996); cf. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), Appendix 2, "Pagan Vestiges of the Trinity". On p. 253 Wind draws attention to the *Hypnerotomachia's* curious obelisk and the adjacent inscription: "[…] aegyptii hieraglyphi, gli quali insinuare volendo ti dicono. DIVINAE INFINITAEQUE TRINITATI UNIUS ESSENTIAE." At the Warburg Institute conference Professor Assmann provided comments on my image-based (and broader-brushed) observations which he has kindly written up for me to include here: "I would distinguish between 'triad' and 'trinity'. Triads are groups of three independent deities that are typically united in the form of a family, father, mother, son. This would correspond to a triad such as [God the Father], Mary, Jesus, which, however, does not exist. A Trinity, on the other hand, is a union of three deities that represent aspects of one, triune god. Egyptian examples are, e.g., the gods Amun of Thebes, Ra of Heliopolis and Ptah of Memphis, who in an Egyptian text figure as 'name' (Amun), 'visible cosmic manifestation' (Ra) and 'cult-image' (Ptah). Also the triad of Atum (father), Shu (son) and Tefnut (daughter) comes close, in some texts, to form a trinity of Atum (wholeness, sun), Shu (air, life) and Tefnut (fire, justice/truth), three gods that form a unity. Neoplatonism distinguishes 'to Hen' (the One, Unity, absolute transcendence), 'Nous' (intellect) and 'psyche tou kosmou' (World Soul). This is obviously the model of the Christian trinity which can be explained as God the father (God in his absolute transcendence), Christ (God as the world-creating logos) and the Holy Ghost as the third principle that unites the two."

[50] John Morris, *Londinium: London in the Roman Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 233 and 360–1. Chaucer's Temple of Isis was located in Athens rather than Ephesus as in his sources; cf. *The Riverside Chaucer*, eds. Larry D. Benson and F. N. Robinson (Oxford: OUP, 1987), 369. Chaucer often references Egypt and of course wrote an early *Troilus and Criseyde* and his own short *Legend of Lucrece*. The sanctuary of Isis at Philae remained a centre of pilgrimage long after Christianity had been established in the rest of Roman Egypt, the last known hieroglyphic text dateable there in AD 394. In the second half of the fifth century, Marinus of Neapolis, a pupil of Proclus in Athens could write of "Isis who is still honoured at Philae"; see Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A historical Approach to the late Pagan Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 64–5.

[51] Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt", 169.

Madonna. The most obvious specific derivation is surely the image of the Virgin Mary suckling the Christ Child, or *Galaktotrophousa*, from that of her precedent-protectress, *Isis Lactans*, complete with halo-like sun-disk, breastfeeding the boy-god Horus.[52] Isis, whom Apuleius described as "Mother of all things [and] Queen of Heaven," produced Horus after a version of virgin birth inasmuch as Osiris miraculously impregnated her after his murder and dismemberment by brother Seth.[53] As in Byzantium, which waxed iconoclastic from time to time, so eventually in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England there were "Reformed" returns to a fundamentalist focus on biblical texts and the Second

[52] Tertullian (c. 220) was already avoiding emphasis on the intercessory powers of Mary because of concerns that she might be worshipped in the manner of Isis or successors Cybele, Demeter or Diana. For relevant references to Tertullian, Demeter and much else see Marina Warner, *Alone of all her Sex: The Myth of the Virgin Mary* (London: Vintage, 2000) complemented by Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), though he perhaps (as a Christian?) over-emphasizes the "two distinct periods; that of ancient Egypt and the other of Hellenistic Egypt, when [Isis] became the cult that was known to Romans and Christians" (p. 44). Meanwhile, academic condescension about admitting the obvious connection – and no doubt Catholic discomfort – may be superseded by more specific objection to the (not very widespread) notion that the influence of Isis on the representation of Mary was deliberate; see Sabrina Higgins, "Divine Mothers: The Influence of Isis on the Virgin Mary in Egyptian Lactans-Iconography", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 3–4 (2012): 71–90; cf. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis lactans*, *Corpus des monuments gréco-romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

[53] See the wonderful relief in David O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), 36. The fact that Isis descends upon Osiris's phallus in the form of a kite tends to vindicate Freud's interpretation of Leonardo's dream inasmuch as his supposed error was based on the mistranslation of "nibbio" (kite) as "Geier" (vulture); cf. Peter Gay's introduction to Freud's *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of Childhood* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), xxiii. For Apuleius's description of Isis in the *Metamorphoses*, see William Adlington's 1566 translation, *The Golden Ass*, Book 11. In *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare refers to Isis as "dear", "good" and "the goddess" but has Octavian criticize Cleopatra for appearing "in th'habiliments of the goddess Isis" (Act 3, Scene 6). Plutarch had said she "wore the sacred garments of Isis and bore the title the New Isis during the ceremony known as the Donation of Alexandria"; Prudence Jones, *Cleopatra: A Sourcebook* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 115–6. Inasmuch as Mary might be descended from Isis, the hard-won, Athanasian conclusion of the Council of Ephesus (431) that she was *Theotokus*, but bearer of both God and Man suggests the Christ-child's status to be similar to that shared by the Pharaoh with Horus (cf. above where Isis blesses Seti I, p. 274).

Commandment in particular.[54] With the support of the eirenic Charles I, Archbishop Laud had encouraged the return to ritual and at Oxford sponsored a baroque porch for the University Church dedicated to Mary the Virgin. Enshrined above its Solomonic columns, a niche framed a statue of Mary holding the Horus-like Christ child. By the time her head was shot off by Cromwell's troops marching into the city, however, Laud himself had been decapitated, this "scandalous statue of the Virgin with Christ in her arms" having been cited in the charges against him.[55]

But probably the most profound legacy bequeathed to posterity by the ancient Egyptians (to Christianity more than to Judaism) was their obsession with the afterlife and their Judgement of the Dead, featuring the weighing of the deceased's heart against a feather of Ma'at, as the origin of the (less benign) Last Judgement.[56] Despite St Paul's insistence on the resurrection of the spiritual rather than natural body, continued emphasis on the latter meant that mummification persisted well into the seventh century AD with cremation not being revived as routine until relatively recent times.[57]

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[54] For the deep distinctions between text- and ritual-based religions see Jan Assmann, "Text and Ritual: The Meaning of the Media for the History of Religion", *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 122–38.

[55] Laud had to defend himself against such evidence as: "Here *Alderman Nixon* says, *That some Passengers put off their Hats, and, as he supposes, to that Picture*" (ie, the statue of the Virgin); *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of… William Laud* (London: Chiswell, 1695), 329.

[56] Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), Chapter 11. Distant echoes of the Egyptian judgement of the dead may be found in Shakespeare's "Go to, sir; you weigh equally; a feather will turn the scale" in *Measure for Measure* (IV, 2) or in the more cryptically emblematic portrait of the Wizard Earl of Northumberland, lying in a walled garden featuring scales balancing the globe against a feather labelled "TANTI"; see John Peacock, "The 'Wizard Earl' Portrayed by Hilliard and Van Dyck", *Art History* 8, No. 2 (June 1985), 134–57 and most recently, Roy Strong, *The Elizabethan Image* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 148–9. Strong quotes George Peele's 1593 poem celebrating Northumberland's election as a Knight of the Garter which praises him for "following the auncient reverend steps / Of Trismegistus and Pythagoras, / through uncouth waies and unaccessible, / Doost passe into the spacious pleasant fields / Of divine science and Phylosophie."

[57] *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs*, eds. Cäcilia Fluck, Gisela Helmecke and Elisabeth R. O'Connell (London: British Museum, 2015), 250–1.

Qualifying the critical account of ancient Egypt that emerges from the Bible was the life of the same Moses that gave rise to it, not least due to his having been adopted by Pharaoh's daughter and thus "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."[58] Commended by both Old and New Testaments this ancient wisdom was confirmed by "Hermes Trismegistus" and consolidated by Pythagoras, Herodotus, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Manetho, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Apuleius, as well as "Horapollo" and a host of Alexandrian as well as medieval and renaissance scholars.[59] Even St Augustine acknowledged:

> […] that there existed before Moses […] in Egypt […] a considerable amount of learning which might be called the wisdom of the men concerned. Otherwise it would not be said in the holy Scriptures that Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." [But] what degree of wisdom could exist in Egypt before the art of letters had been bestowed by Isis, whom the Egyptians, after her death, thought it right to worship as a great goddess?[60]

An educated Elizabethan would have been familiar with this passage from the *Asclepius* in *The City of God* and indeed Marsilio Ficino's late fifteenth-century

[58] *Acts of the Apostles*, 7: 22; cf. Mordechai Feingold in the previous issue of this journal: https://doi.org/10.11588/aegyp.2019.4.66096.

[59] The Greek geographer Strabo (63/64BC–c. 24AD), as distinct from the Roman governor of Egypt, Lucius Seius Strabo (46BC–16AD), whose son, Sejanus was the subject of the controversial play by Ben Jonson in which Shakespeare probably acted the part of Tiberius. Inigo Jones owned and annotated Italian editions of both Herodotus (1539) and Strabo (1562); see Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt", 159 and 169n. A rare Latin book in his library was G.F. Bordino's 1588 *De Rebus Praeclare Gestis a Sixto V Pon: Max.* which illustrates Sixus's obelisks. This carried a fulsome 1606 manuscript dedication to Jones from his Catholic friend Edmund Bolton, but never returned to Worcester College, Oxford, after the 1973 Jones exhibition in the Banqueting House; see Chaney, *Inigo Jones's Roman Sketchbook* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2006), II, 73.

[60] *City of God*, transl. Henry Bettenson (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1972), 812 (book XVIII, chapter 38). In chapter 22, Augustine recounts many instances of miracles effected by relics of St Stephen. The late John Healey's translation was obtained, along with other of his manuscripts, by Thomas Thorpe (as in the previous year he had obtained a manuscript of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*) and published in 1610 in a text revised by William Crashaw; see Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London: Routledge, 1988), 122 and 141.

Latin translation.[61] He might indeed have been reminded of it in early 1600 on hearing that Giordano Bruno had been burned at the stake in Rome. After a public debate at Oxford in June 1583, the future Vice Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbott, gleefully recorded that Bruno, "that little Italian, with a name longer than his body", was accused of plagiarizing Ficino.[62] In fact, in his enthusiastic promotion of Hermes Trismegistus, Bruno had gone far beyond the relatively cautious Florentine philosopher, advocating a heliocentric cosmology of infinite space which, in combination with his affirmative cultural memory of ancient Egypt, he hoped would have the effect of dissolving political and religious differences throughout the world.[63] The Venetian Inquisitors were particularly exercised by Bruno's enthusiasm for the excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, "inferior to no other monarch in the world," and his description of her as "divine," albeit in a work he published partly to apologize for rudeness to his English hosts:

> Where will you find one of the masculine gender who is the superior, or the equal, of divine Elizabeth ("diva Elizabetta") who reigns in England and whom Heaven has so endowed and favoured, so firmly maintained in her seat, that others strive in vain to displace her with their words and actions?[64]

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[61] Ben Jonson's copy of the 1611 edition of *Hermetis Trismegisti opuscula* […], now in the Bodleian Library, was given him along with other books by Sir John Radcliffe (related to both the Brownes and Wriothesleys); it includes the Asclepius and Patricius's essay (annotated by Jonson) on Plato, Aristotle and Egyptian mysteries; see A.W. Johnson, *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 209.

[62] The Calvinist Abbott in *The Reasons which Doctour Hill hath brought, for the Upholding of Papistry* of 1604, as quoted by Hilary Gatti, in *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 18.

[63] In England, Bruno made at least one convert to his cause, the Scots Catholic, Alexander Dicson, who published *De umbra rationis*, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester in 1583; he also features as "Dicsono" in some of Bruno's dialogues. Dicson strongly emphasizes the "Egyptian" character of the art of memory in this treatise; Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 99, idem, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), chapter 12, and Peter Beal in the *ODNB*. For Thomas Digges and George Rheticus already moved in this direction, see below 298–99; another English follower was Nicholas Hill.

[64] Yates, *Bruno*, 85 and 288, quoting from *De la Causa, principio ed uno* (1584) which presented a more positive view of his time in England than he had articulated in *La Cena de le Ceneri* earlier in the same year. Bruno's 1592 defence to the Venetian Inquisition

In *Lo Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*, published surreptitiously in London in 1584 with a dedication to Sir Philip Sidney, Bruno quoted the same passage in the *Asclepius* as Augustine had done but included its conclusion that although Egypt might indeed have been corrupted, a remarkably monotheistic-sounding God would eventually return:

> O Egypt, Egypt, of your religions only legends will remain […]. Only pernicious angels will remain, who, mingling with men, will force upon the wretched every audacious evil as if it were justice […]. And this will be the old age and the disorder and the irreligion of the world. But do not doubt, Asclepius, for, after these things, then the lord and father God, ruler of the world, the all-powerful provider […] will without doubt bring an end to all the bad things, recalling the world to its ancient aspect.[65]

Bruno's apologia for Egyptian magic in *Lo Spaccio* is delivered by Isis who may well have been in his mind, along with the "unique Diana", when he described Elizabeth as divine.[66] As it became clear that she would remain unmarried, even less acceptable to Puritans would be identification of Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary whose last surviving images were being destroyed at around the time of Shakespeare's birth, some indeed by Shakespeare's crypto-Catholic father in his

was that he used the term "diva", "not as a religious attribute but as a kind of epithet which the ancients used for the princes, for in English where I wrote that book, they are in the habit of using such an epithet." (Gatti, *Bruno*, 142). In 1594, Fynes Moryson, having been pleasantly surprised to find a portrait of Elizabeth in the Palazzo Vecchio, was told that the Grand Duke of Tuscany esteemed the Queen for her many virtues; Strong, *Portraits*, 23–4, citing *Itinerary* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), I, 322. Bruno might have added that Pietro Aretino was described as "il divino" on the title-pages of at least two of his books; Vittoria Colonna was likewise "la divina" in her 1538 *Rime* (which is not cited by Brian Curran in seeking the earliest possible (pre-death) date for Pompeo Colonna's being addressed as "Divo" in his Egyptianizing Mass book; see *Egyptian Renaissance*, 252 and above, 275-6.

[65] Ostensibly published in Paris; my translation from Yates, *Bruno*, 214, quoting *Spaccio*, dialogue 3 (*Dialoghi italiani*, 784–6): "senza dubbio donarà fine a cotal macchia, richiamando il mondo all'antico volto"; cf. *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English translation*, ed. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 81.

[66] Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 84.

capacity as a burgess of Stratford.[67] By 1600, however, the more or less openly Catholic William Byrd, leader of the Queen's Chapel Royal, felt free enough to give pride of place to Mary in his *Gradualia*.[68] As well as publishing the Ordinary of the (Catholic) Mass, in the wake of the Armada in 1589 and again in 1591, Byrd had published motets which protested the plight of English Catholics in terms of the Babylonian and Egyptian captivities, quoting Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, in the Book of Exodus: "Deliver us out of the hand of Pharaoh and out of the slavery of the Egyptians".[69] Given the date, Byrd might have been influenced by the Jesuit Father Henry Garnet who had bemoaned the fact that:

> All our hopes turned precipitately into sorrow. All things are with us as they were with the Jewish people as they were about to go forth from Egypt… Now with redoubled energy the chiefs and persecutors of Egypt have turned on us all the wrath they have conceived against Moses and Aaron.[70]

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[67] A summary of the whitewashing of the murals in Holy Trinity Church and the Guildhall Chapel and the destruction of stained glass despite his father's likely sympathy with Catholicism is in James Shapiro, *1599: A year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), 164–8; cf. his reference (32) to a mother-of-pearl organ at Whitehall featuring an inscription calling Elizabeth "another Mary", perhaps all the more provocative given Mary Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots.

[68] For a young French visitor being arrested and imprisoned in Newgate in 1605 for possession "certain books which Master William Byrd composed and dedicated to Lord Henry Howard [the Catholic 1st Earl of Northampton] […].", see Craig Monson, "Reading between the Lines: Catholic and Protestant Polemic in Elizabethan and Jacobean Sacred Music", *Noyses, Sounds, and sweet Aires*", ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 79. Byrd also dedicated work to fellow Catholic Lord Lumley. For the topic in general (from a problematizing perspective) see Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).

[69] Craig Monson, "Reading between the lines", 81.

[70] Ibid., 81–2; In 1586 Byrd met Garnet and fellow Jesuit Robert Southwell at a Berkshire country house; Joseph Kerman, *The Masses and Motets of William Byrd* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 49–50. Shakespeare may be referencing Garnet's "equivocation" in relation to his knowledge through confession of the Gunpowder Plot in *Macbeth*; in Act II, Scene 3 the Porter refers to imagined guests including an equivocator and a "farmer" who hanged himself (likely to be Garnet who was executed; "Farmer" was his pseudonym). Like his former patron, the Earl of Southampton, in James I's reign Shakespeare seems to have moved away from his youthful inclination towards Catholicism.

In his *Second Book of Songs or Ayres*, published in 1600, John Dowland concluded a verse with "Vivat Eliza! for an Ave Mari!".[71] To the rising class of anti-Catholics a tentative identification of Elizabeth with the original "Queen of Heaven", Isis, may have been more acceptable than such crypto-"Mariolatory". The second, 1590 edition of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queen* is dedicated to the "Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland and of Virginia". The chaste Britomart, who is more clearly identified with Elizabeth, visits "the Isis Church" in which she finds a silver statue of the goddess, wearing a moon-shaped crown, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. She falls asleep in the temple and dreams that this "Idoll" comes alive, that she is Isis, is impregnated by a crocodile and gives birth to a lion. Spenser's other sources include Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* (in his *Moralia*), Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* and Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (1567–1568 and 26 subsequent editions).[72] Treated as a queen who becomes a goddess, Boccaccio's brief biography of Isis in his *de Claris Mulieribus* had been translated into English by Henry Parker, Lord Morley in the mid-1540s.[73] Spenser's resident priest interprets Britomart's dream as an allegory of dynastic justice enabling her to reform the city of Radegone and become more like both Isis and Elizabeth. Behind all this lay the Asclepian account of Egypt, according to which the ancient land had been corrupted but would be purged and restored to its pristine state.[74] Spenser

[71] Yates, *Astraea*, 78.

[72] *Spenser Encyclopedia*, 493–4; cf. my entry on "Machiavelli", citing Spenser's recommendation of "violente […] medicine" for Irish rebels. In 1602 a medal was produced depicting Elizabeth as Minerva; cf. Dee's reference to the "Imperial Brytish Monarchy"; Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: OUP, 1963) and idem, *The Elizabethan Image*, 48. Shakespeare also seems to have used Plutarch's *Moralia* in *Antony and Cleopatra*, by this time available in Philemon Holland's 1603 translation. Vives had already recommended the reading of Apuleius for students and between 1566–1600 there were five English editions; cf. above, note 40 for the jeweled moon in Elizabeth's crown.

[73] *Forty-Six Lives*, translated from Boccaccio's *de Claris Mulieribus*, ed. Herbert G. Wright (London: Early English Text Society, OUP, 1943), 32–6. This account features the triad of Apis fathering Serapis with Isis.

[74] Douglas Brooks-Davies, "Egypt", *Spenser Encyclopedia*, 233–4. A negative account of Egypt is suggested in Spenser's 1569 illustrated translation of Flemish exile, Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Wordlings* (sonet 3), in the account of an obelisk treated as an emblem of the vanity of human wishes (ibid. 233 and 685).

also referred to the annual flooding of the Nile as well as to Antony and "High minded Cleopatra, that with stroke / Of Aspes sting her selfe did stoutly kill".[75]

Familiarity with ancient myth and history, including earlier plays on the same subject by Mary Sidney and Samuel Daniel, meant that when Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* was first performed – not later than December 1606 – its educated Jacobean audiences would have been well-acquainted with the story and its principal protagonists. They would have known roughly what to expect in the character of Octavius (or Octavian as the more usual abbreviation of Octavianus) and would to some extent have shared the Roman perspective on ancient Egypt.[76] Those who recalled Antony in terms of the impetuous and ill-fated Earl of Essex (a reason Fulke Greville destroyed his earlier play on the subject), might therefore have thought of the last Pharaoh in connection with

[75] *Faerie Queen*, stanzas 49–50.

[76] Shakespeare calls him Octavius throughout *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* but since I discuss the historical character as well, to avoid confusion I call him Octavian *passim*. Boccaccio's negative account in *de claris mulieribus* is not included in Morley's translation, but cf. Chaucer's s ironic version in the *Legend of Good Women*. Samuel Daniel's *Tragedy of Cleopatra* had been published in 1594; his fourth edition of 1607 seems to reflect the influence of Shakespeare's play; see *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. David Bevington (Cambridge: CUP, 1990; rev. 2005), 1. Cf. also Daniel's "A letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius", *Poeticall Essayes* (London: P. Short for Simon Waterson, 1599) and now Yasmin Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra: Performing Gender and Power in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, the Arden Shakespeare, 2019), passim. For discussion of the dating, see Bevington, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1–3. Though Edward Blount entered his intention to publish in the *Stationers' Register* in May 1608, Shakespeare's play seems never to have been printed in his lifetime, first appearing in the 1623 Folio, which was published by Blount in collaboration with William and Isaac Jaggard. Mary Sidney's closet drama, on the other hand, was republished in 1595 and Daniel's went through seven editions between 1594 and 1607; Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*, 71. Where "the mysteries of Egypt" are concerned, Arshad cites Plutarch's *Moralia* and Spenser's "Aegyptian Wisards old" (p. 202) but mistakenly says that "the name Isis is never mentioned" in *Antony and Cleopatra*; cf. above note 53. Regarding Chaucer's reference to a Temple of Isis (above 282) and his account of Antony and Cleopatra, Jane Cheney, Countess of Southampton (the top-most figure on the Titchfield tomb), owned a copy of the 1532 edition of his complete works, in which she inscribed her name four times (now in the Huntington Library). She brought up her son, Henry, 2nd Earl of Southampton, a devout Catholic and prevented him going to court though he married Mary Browne without her consent.

the last Tudor, his Queen, Elizabeth I.[77] Cleopatra's both divine ("the New Isis") and imperial status may indeed have encouraged her successor, Octavian (and via his example, James I), to consolidate his status as similarly god-like Emperor, to rule over both Egypt and Rome, or in James's case, Scotland and England. That a Jacobean audience was encouraged to think of James in terms of Augustus was confirmed at his coronation by the banners proclaiming "Augustus Novus" and by the fact that he called himself Emperor from the start of his reign.[78] He had himself portrayed as Augustus on his coins and medals (a practice not followed by his son Charles). As "Rex Pacificus" James also emulated the Augustan "Pax Romana" thereby anticipating the "Pax Britannica" which culminated in the British Conquest of Egypt of 1882.[79] James's so-called Great Medal of 1604 is inscribed:

> IAC[obus] : I[primus] : BRIT[anniae] : CAE : AVG : HAE CEASARVM CAE.
> D. D.
> James I, Caesar Augustus of Britain, Caesar the heir of the Caesars, presents this medal.

On the reverse is a crowned lion rampant, looking left, holding a beacon and a wheatsheaf with the legend:

> ECCE, PHAOS: POPULIQ'. SALUS.
>
> Behold the beacon and safety of the people.[80]

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[77] For an essay claiming this, see Helen Morris, "Queen Elizabeth I 'Shadowed' in Cleopatra", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32, 3 (May 1969): 271–8; cf. below, notes 90–1.
[78] Alvin B. Kernan, *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theater in the Stuart Court, 1603–1613* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 121; cf. passim for creative suggestions regarding the parallels between Jacobean London and first century BC Alexandria; cf. Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*, 116 and 207 though the 70-foot-tall "pyramids" would have been obelisks, even Ben Jonson conflating the two terms here, presumably when "pyramid" sounded more appropriately classical.
[79] James also adopted the biblical motto "Beati Pacifici" on the canopy above his throne in both painted portraits and sculpture such as that on the Bodleian Library's Tower of the Five Orders. In *Reading the Roman Republic in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 47–8 and 199, Cox Jensen reminds us that in adopting the name of "Caesar" James also referenced Julius whose *Commentaries* James recommended to Prince Henry.
[80] The Greek word "Phaos" meaning beacon or light may have prompted the educated Jacobean to think of the archetypal Alexandrian lighthouse or Pharos (close to the word

Given that Shakespeare's former patron, Lord Southampton, was imprisoned for his participation in the Essex Plot but released by James at his accession, it is interesting that he follows Plutarch by addressing Antony as Emperor (Imperator) throughout *Antony and Cleopatra* and by nine different characters (the only play that uses the term more frequently being *Titus Andronicus*). Meanwhile, Octavian is addressed once as Emperor and after Antony's death Dolabella informs Cleopatra that "it is the Emperor, madam" and she kneels before him.[81]

Thus, as the Caesars superseded the variously divine Ptolemies and Egypt became part of the Roman Empire, so the Stuarts superseded the divinely-ordained Tudors (inasmuch as they called themselves mere Tudors) and Scotland became part of the British equivalent. In both ancient Egypt and modern Britain, moreover, a male monarch of the new dynasty superseded a female, albeit in the case of Elizabeth, one that had executed the mother of her successor, fellow-anointed sovereign, Mary Queen of Scots.

When they saw the face of a prepubescent boy darkened in order to play Cleopatra, as well as a Queen, both Shakespeare's wealthy patrons and the less educated groundlings are likely to have thought of Egyptians as defined in "the Egyptians Act", first passed by Henry VIII in 1530 but regularly renewed in both Scotland and England until well into the eighteenth century.[82] This legislation

Pharaoh, meaning "great house"). Though it became synonymous with lighthouses in general, it was fact the name of the island upon which the giant lighthouse which became one of the seven wonders of the world was built. (The island itself had already been mentioned by Homer when he becalms Odysseus by the natural harbour there). In his *John Dee, The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge, 1972, 102), Peter French quotes Copernicus quoting Hermes Trismegistus on Egyptian sun-worship in connection with heliocentricity: "not unhappily do some call it lantern; others the mind, and still others the pilot of the world. Trismegistus calls it a 'visible god'." French cites Dee's "similar concern" to Bruno's "revival of the true magical Egyptian religion [as] a means of reuniting Christendom" (p. 119).

[81] In *Titus Andronicus* the term Empress is used 38 times; Emperor: 54. In *Antony and Cleopatra*: 3 and 10 respectively. Shakespeare's persistent use of such terminology argues for a strong political consciousness from at least early as *Lucrece* and his friendship with the young Earl of Southampton (and consequent association with Essex). A longer-lasting association with the Manners brothers (Earls of Rutland) may be adduced from his devising an *impresa* for the 6th Earl in 1612; see below.

[82] The final scene of the play has Cleopatra imagining herself displayed in a Roman

was intended to rid the country of "gypsies", these "outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians".[83]

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triumph: "And I shall see / some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness I'th' posture of a whore" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act V, Scene 2). This suggests that Shakespeare assumed the Roman theatre also (exclusively?) employed boys to play female parts. The opening scene has Philo commenting on the attention Antony's devotes "upon [Cleopatra's] tawny front" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I, Scene 1). In the *Hypnerotomachia*, Poliphilo says at one point that in comparison with the white nymphs: "I looked as black as an Egyptian." (see Joscelyn Godwin's edition: London: Thames and Hudson, 2003, 84). Both *Edmund Ironside* and Emilia Lanier refer to Cleopatra as "a black Egyptian"; Eric Sams, *Shakespeare's "Edmund Ironside": the lost play*, 2nd ed. (London: Wildwood House Ltd., 1986), 71, and Yasmin Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*, 215. Lanier compares Antony's wife, Octavia, favorably to Cleopatra, who is "a blacke Egyptian do'st appear" in a way that echoes the *Hypnerotomachia*, which has Polifilo describe himself "among such beauties […] as it were a Negro or tawnye Moore" (*Strife of Love*, 98). Elsewhere in *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), Lanier writes of Antony, Helen and "chaste Lucrece" regarding the fatal effects of beauty in ways that encourages support for A.L. Rowse's argument that she was the "dark lady" of the *Sonnets*. She was also (until 1592 when married off to Alfonso Lanier) the mistress of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (the son of Henry VIII's mistress, Mary Boleyn), who in 1594 took charge of Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Hunsdon's £1000 tomb, the tallest in Westminster Abbey, featured a forest of by now familiar obelisks, including one at each corner of the monument itself, covered in heraldic shields in place of hieroglyphs. When his daughter Margaret Hoby designed her monument (as I believe she did), unable to outdo her quasi-regal father 'neare of the blood', as the inscription says, she outdid him in originality. Thus her tomb at Bisham, adjacent to that of the remarkable Hoby brothers, consists of a single obelisk, flanked by four swans, the emblem of the Carey family. Margaret's sister, Catherine Carey, Countess of Nottingham, seems to have done the equivalent by commissioning a dress covered in variously-angled embroidered obelisks. Her c. 1597 portrait wearing it, attributed to Robert Peake, acquired by Mark Weiss at the 2011 Cowdray sale, is now in a private collection; see Mark Weiss, *Tudor and Stuart Portraits* (London: Weiss Gallery, 2013), 32–7.
(https://issuu.com/artsolution/docs/weiss_tudor_and_stuart_portraits).

[83] For the rest of the 1530 Act, see:
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/citizen_subject/transcripts/egyptians_act.htm. On 6 April 1543, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the future 1st Earl of Southampton, met with his fellow Privy Councillors (including relatives Gage and Browne) and authorised the stamping of a passport for "24 Egyptians, with their families, to depart the realm"; Dasent's APC, 106; https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol18/no1/pp217-231. When acting as Regent during Henry's absence in France in 1544 Katherine Parr pardoned imprisoned gypsies (*ODNB*). Philip and Mary's *Egyptians Act* of 1554 complained that "Egyptians" were

Although Shakespeare's Cleopatra may indeed have been something of a gypsy in the modern sense of the word, he refers to her as one in *Antony and Cleopatra* (and more ambiguously in Romeo and Juliet) primarily because she was an Egyptian (even if she was really Greek, or rather Macedonian).[84] By the time Antony concludes that: "All is lost", however, and that: "this foul Egyptian hath betrayed me", both words were clearly intended pejoratively. Antony elaborates on:

> […] this false soul of Egypt! this grave charm,
> Whose eye beck'd forth my wars, and call'd them home;
> Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end,
> Like a right gipsy, hath at fast and loose
> Beguil'd me to the very heart of loss […].[85]

"Fast and Loose" was a cheating game of the kind depicted by Caravaggisti featuring scenes in which gypsies read the palms of gullible young tourists. Shakespeare had already used the term c. 1596 in *King John* (Act III, Scene 1).[86] Interestingly, it is also cited immediately after a reference to "Queen Cleopatra, The gypsies' grand matra", by Ben Jonson in his *Metamorphosed Gipsies*. Written for the Duke of Buckingham's controversial wedding to the daughter of Francis, the Catholic 6th Earl of Rutland in 1621, this masque features fortune tellers and pickpockets who turn from "Ethiop darkness" to English whiteness under the beneficent influence of James I. As well as Buckingham, his wife, mother and mother-in-law having their fortunes told, it featured: "the five Princes of *Aegipt*, mounted all upon one horse, like the fower sons of *Aymon*…". "Gaze upon them", writes Jonson, "as on the offspring of Ptolemy, begotten upon

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plying their "devilish and naughty practices and devices." For "An Act to repeal an Act, made in the Fifth Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled, An Act for further Punishment of Vagabonds calling themselves Egyptians" see https://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol36/pp692-700. If there were any doubt regarding the Scots members of the audience being less familiar with the notion, an equivalent act was passed in Edinburgh in on 3 July 1591: "Ordaines ane article to be given in to the King and Counsell to take ordour with the colourit and vagabound Egyptians, quhilk defyles the countrey with all maner of abominatioun." "Acts and Proceedings: 1591, July", *Acts & Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, 1560–1618* (Edinburgh: 1839), 779–85.

[84] In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, 3, Mercutio refers to Cleopatra as a gypsy.

[85] *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV, Scene 13.

[86] Act III, Scene 1.

several Cleopatras, in their several Counties".[87] Shakespeare had died five years before this popular masque but in March 1613 the same Lord Rutland had paid him 44 shillings "in gold" to design an *impresa* for his appearance in the tenth anniversary Accession Day Tilt. Richard Burbage was paid the same amount "for painting and making it", thereby completing the hieroglyph that Renaissance *imprese* emulated.[88] Burbage was commissioned to create another for Rutland in 1616, the year Shakespeare died, bequeathing Burbage a mourning ring.[89] Likewise in the realm of oriental magic, when Othello refers to the "Egyptian", or quasi-thought-reading "charmer", who gave his mother the fateful handkerchief "dyed in mummy, which the skilful / Conserved of maidens' hearts" that had the power to "subdue [his] father / Entirely to her love," his audience would

[87] Nichols, *Progresses*, IV, 678; cf. *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), 270. Jonson and Inigo Jones's *Masque of Blackness* (for Anne of Denmark) had been performed a year or two before *Antony and Cleopatra*. It prompted Dudley Carleton's well-known comment: "Instead of Vizzards, their Faces, and Arms up to the Elbows, were painted black, which was Disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known, *but it became nothing so well as their red and white, and you cannot imagine a more ugly sight than a Troop of lean-cheek'd Moors."* (Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, 89).

[88] Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, rev. ed. (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1987), 272–3. In the same masque, six pairs of nymphs each represented a "mute *Hieroglyphick*" (several of which were taken from Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*), "Which manner of *Symbole*", writes Jonson, "I rather chose, then *Imprese*, as well for strangenesse, as relishing of antiquitie, and more applying to that original doctrine of sculpture, which the *AEgyptians* are said, first, to have brought from the Aethopians'; D.J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975), p. 138. Ludwig Volkmann, *Hieroglyph, Emblem, and Renaissance Pictography*, ed. Robin Raybould (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 249, provides "the only positive relationship with emblematics that can be noted" in a play attributed to Shakespeare, *Pericles*. In Act II, Scene 2, six knights with six shields display six emblems which the King's daughter explains to her father. Three of these are taken from Claude Paradin but the festive procession in which the knights appear occur in a part of the play not now thought to have been written by Shakespeare. Perhaps, however, the performance and its publication in his name in 1609 encouraged the Rutland commission. The reprinting of the corrupt quarto is perhaps further evidence of the extent to which the profit motive lay behind Thorpe's acquisition and publication of the *Sonnets*.

[89] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: An Ungentle Life*, rev. ed. (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), 286. It is likely that Burbage named his son William in honour of Shakespeare.

have envisaged a gypsy of the kind featured in contemporary prints and genre paintings.[90] No doubt Theseus and his audience in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* would also have visualized a dark-skinned gypsy when he described the lover, "all as frantic" as the fantasizing madman, who "Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt."[91] In his *Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde*, the future Archbishop Abbott, combined several relevant observations in his account of Egypt:

> Although this Country of *Egypt* doth stand in the selfe same Climat that *Mauritania* doth, yet the inhabitants there are not black, but rather dunne, or tawny. Of which colour *Cleopatra* was observed to be; who by inticement, so won the love of *Julius Caesar*, and *Antonie*. And of that colour do those runnagates (by devices make themselves to be) who go up and down the world under the name of *Egyptians*, being indeed but counterfets and the refuse of rascality of many Nations.[92]

Confirmatory of these and other relevant connections is the clownish courtier Gullio's speech in the anonymous *Returne from Pernassus:*

> Pardon mee, moy mittressa, ast am a gentleman, the moone in comparison of thy bright hue a meere slutt, Anthonie's Cleopatra, a blacke browde milkmaide, Hellen a dowdie.[93]

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[90] Cf. the references to "Egyptian" in *Twelfth Night* (V,1) and *Pericles* (III, 2). In the latter, Cerimon brings back to life the hero's beloved, Thaisa, thanks to an ancient Egyptian spell, *Pericles* also being a play that features an *impresa* of the kind commissioned of Shakespeare in March 1613. That Othello is trying to trick Desdemona with his account of the Egyptian charmer's warning about losing it is indicated by his subsequent simplification to the effect that "It was a handkerchief, an antique token / My father gave my mother." (*Othello*, Act V, Scene 2).

[91] *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V, Scene 1. Egypt would no doubt have been on Shakespeare's mind whilst writing this play due to the relevance of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, which had been translated by William Adlington in 1566 (dedicated to Southampton's uncle Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex). Shakespeare's pioneering acknowledger, another St John's College, Cambridge, alumnus Robert Greene, whose *Pandosto* influenced *The Winter's Tale*, writes of "Anthonie, enamoured of the black Egyptian, Cleopatra.' (*Ciceronis Amor; Tully's Love*, 1589; cit. in Bevington, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 89, n. 10). *Ciceronis Amor* was one of the first books of many dedicated to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, subsequently 5th Earl of Derby; see below, note 129. Greene refers elsewhere in *Ciceronis Amor* to "the pearls of Cleopatra" being as trash compared with "divine and metaphysical" love.

[92] (London: John Browne, 1599), 162–3.

[93] *Returne from Pernassus: or the Scourge of Simony publicly acted by the Students in St Johns College*

In the next line, Ingenioso, who has predicted: "we shall have nothing but pure Shakespeare, and shreds of poetry that [Gullio] hath gathered at the theatres," exclaims:

> Mark – Romeo and Juliet: o monstrous theft! I think he will run through a whole book of Samuel Daniel's.

Ingenioso has spotted Gullio's source in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scenes 3/4, where Mercutio mocks Romeo for thinking his love more beautiful than Petrarch's, Aeneas's or Mark Antony's:

> Laura to his lady was but kitchen-wench […]. Dido a dowdy; Cleopatra a gipsy; Helen and Hero hildings and harlots […].[94]

Finally, supportive of Eric Sams's argument that *Edmund Ironside* is an early play by Shakespeare is the similarity between these references and Edricus's rejection of his peasant mother (in Southampton) as:

> Thee, old hag, witch, quean, slut, drab, whore and thief
> how should I know thee, black Egyptian.[95]

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in Cambridge (London: G. Eld for John Wright, 1606), Act III, Scene 1. This third part of the Parnassus trilogy was published twice in 1606, no doubt another encouragement for Eld to print the *Sonnets* three years later. The first two parts remained in manuscript in the Bodleian until discovered by the Librarian and published in 1886; cf. *The Three Parnassus Plays* (1598–1601), ed James Blair Leishman (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1949). Gullio's reference to Cleopatra *qua* milkmaid reminds one of Elizabeth's fantasy of exchanging places with one and a subsequent (1586) speech to Parliament in which she wished she could resolve matters with Mary Queen of Scots as "two milkmaids with pails upon our arms"; cf. the discussion of the extent to which Shakespeare may have "had the English queen on his mind as he conceived his Egyptian queen" in Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*, 209–10; cf. Francis Gouldman, *Copious Dictionary* (London: John Field, 1664): "Stibium: […] Antimony: a kind of coloring stuff which women covet to make them black browed."

[94] The mocking of *Romeo and Juliet* here tends to support Charles Nicholl's suggestion that Nashe may have had something to do with the unauthorized quarto of this play as published by John Danter in early 1597; Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) and idem, *ODNB*. It is now thought Henry Chettle may also have contributed.

[95] Sams, *Shakespeare's "Edmund Ironside"*, 71 (Act II, Scene II, lines 501–2); cf. similarity to references in *Hypnerotomachia* and Emilia Lanier in note 82 above. Sams makes surprisingly little of the Southampton setting and even more surprising, of the

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Thwarted by Cleopatra's suicide from shipping back the last pharaoh and shaming her in a Roman triumph, some 20 years later, Octavian, now Caesar Augustus Pontifex Maximus, initiated the Imperial custom of taking down Egyptian obelisks, floating them on vast rafts across the Mediterranean and part of the way up the Tiber, and then re-erecting them in key locations throughout Rome (eventually, as far as Constantinople). Centuries after their collapse following the Christianization of Rome they were eventually re-*re*-erected by post-Renaissance Popes, from Sixtus V to Pius VI who imitated the priestly Emperors also in calling themselves *Pontifices Maximi*.

In the only English book of its kind available to Shakespeare, *The Historie of Italie* of 1549 (reprinted twice in the 1560s), William Thomas published separately headed sections: "Of Obeliskes" and "Of Pyramides" in his account of Rome:

> Obeliscus is a stone, that beyng broade and square at the foote, ascendeth proporcionally to a sharpe pointe. Of which sorte of stones, there be but viii. now to be seene in Rome: notwithstandyng that Fulvius affyrmeth, there have ben .vi. great & .42. small. These Obeliskes were first invented by the Aegiptians, and dedicated to the son [sic], not onely because it has the likenesse of the sonne beame, but also because they used by the shadow thereof to trie divers conclusions of Astronomie, and specially the houres of the day: as by divers caractes [sic] and figures that are yet seene in some of theim, it dooeth evidently appeare […].
> Octavian August brought two verie great ones from Heliopoli in Aegypt […].[96]

Having explained that obelisks are dedicated to Sol and are symbolic representations of the sun's rays, Pliny had written that when Cambyses invaded Egypt in 525BC he sacked Heliopolis but "when the conflagration had reached the base of the obelisk [of Rameses], he ordered the fires to be put out, thus show-

playwright's invention of an early 11th-century Earl of Southampton and his castle. The Earl is a principal character whose daughter marries Canutus, before the latter and Edmund Ironside divide the country between them (after gory hand- and nose-amputating episodes that seem to anticipate *Titus Andronicus*).

[96] *Historie of Italie* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1549), fol. 33v. Thomas's account is indebted to Pliny's *Natural History* as well as to Renaissance manuals such as Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates Urbis* of 1527.

ing his respect for the mighty block when he felt none for the city itself."[97] Today indeed only one obelisk remains in what is now an unappealing north-eastern suburb of Cairo: El Mataria.[98] An early Elizabethan play by Thomas Preston, the *Lamentable Tragedy* […] *conteyning the life of Cambyses* (1569), heavily indebted to Herodotus, is facetiously referenced by Shakespeare when in *Henry IV, part 1* he has Falstaff propose to speak "in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein."[99]

In 1576, John Dee's "most worthy mathematical heir" Thomas Digges[100] published an edition of his father Leonard's *Prognostication* to which he appended *A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes according to the most aunciente doctrine of the Pythagoreans, latelye revived by Copernicus* […].[101] This went further than Copernicus in rejecting the notion of fixed stars and suggested that they existed in empty and therefore potentially infinite space. Even earlier, in 1571, the 25-year-old Digges had revised and published his father's *Pantometria*, with its distinctive illustration of an obelisk.[102] His son, named Leonard after his grandfather,

[97] *Natural History*, XXXVI, chapter 14, ed. D.E. Eichholz (London and Cambridge Mass: William Heinemann and Harvard University Press, 1962), 51–2.

[98] This is probably the oldest obelisk still standing in the world, that of Senusert I, dating from 1940 BC. Others survived Cambyses, however, to be transported to Alexandria and Rome. Also in El-Mataria, is a sycamore tree that attracts thousands of pilgrims at Christmas called the "Virgin's Tree". It supposedly provided shelter to the Holy Family during their stay here.

[99] Meaning bombastically; *Henry IV, Part 1*, Act II, Scene 4. Cambyses features as a cruel drunk in Chaucer's *Summoner's Tale* (III, l. 2034). Henry Wriothesley's mother owned "ten pieces of hangings of the story of Cyrus", the son of Cambyses, which she bequeathed him; National Archives PROB 11/110/388. She also left him "all the pictures which are in the little gallery at Copt Hall".

[100] *ODNB* and P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London: History of Parliament, 1981), II, 37. As MP for Southampton in the 1580s, Digges opined that "Gipsies were not hanged for stealing by the statute of gipsies, but for rogues". Dee borrowed £10 from Digges in February 1593 (Dee, *Diary*, 43).

[101] See Stephen Johnston, "Making mathematical practice: gentlemen, practitioners and artisans in Elizabethan England" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Cambridge, 1994), 50–106.

[102] Dee had already published a preface to John Field's almanac: *Ephemeris anni 1557 currentis juxta Copernici et Reinholdi canones* […] *suppatata* (London, 1556). Dee rebukes the makers of almanacs for not taking on board the theories of Copernicus and "the more than Herculean labours he had undergone in restoring astronomical science and in

became a near neighbour and admirer of Shakespeare, going on to contribute prefatory poems to both the First Folio and the 1640 *Poems*.[103] (His stepfather, Thomas Russell, was one of the executors of Shakespeare's will).[104]

The remarkable man to whom Thomas Digges (and indeed Copernicus) owed most was surely Georg Johannes Rheticus the first in Renaissance Europe to actually build a large-scale obelisk, both interpreting it in quasi-Egyptian mystical mode and using it as at least one of those that had been transported to Rome by Augustus had been used, as a gnomon.[105] Writing from Krakow in July 1554, Rheticus writes to his former student, Johannes Crato, that:

> I have erected a fifty-foot obelisk in a perfectly level field that the marvellous Mr. Johannes Boner has made available to me for this purpose. By this means, God willing, I shall describe anew the whole sphere of the fixed stars.[106]

There is a considerable literature regarding Shakespeare's supposed subscription to heliocentricity or indeed Hermeticism but given the relative rarity of my obliquely obeliskian approach I restrict myself to promoting the possible relevance here of the Copernican Rheticus, who, long before Giordano Bruno

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confirming it by the strongest proofs […]."; see Angus Armitage, *Copernicus: The Founder of Modern Astronomy* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1957), 165.

[103] The latter must have been written before his death in 1635 and may perhaps have been intended for the Second Folio of 1632; John Freehafer, "Leonard Digges, Ben Jonson, and the Beginning of Shakespeare Idolatry", *Shakespeare Quarterly* XXI, 1 (Winter, 1970): 63–75.

[104] Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare*, 313. For Russell and Shakespeare see interesting material in Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespeare do appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937).

[105] Georg Joachim Rheticus, *Narratio prima or First Account of the Books on the Revolutions by Nicolaus Copernicus*, ed Jarosław Włodarczyk (Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2015). Rheticus's principal inspiration was Obelisk of Psammeticus, which became the Solarium Augusti and is now, in damaged condition in the Piazza Montecitorio.

[106] Dennis Danielson, *The First Copernican: Georg Joachim Rheticus and the Rise of the Copernican Revolution* (New York: Walker and Company, 2006), 162. Rheticus had fled from Leipzig having been accused by Hans Meusel of sodomizing his son. In Krakow he persuaded wealthy Jan Boner the Younger, son of the even wealthier father of the same name, to finance the building of his obelisk or gnomon next to his castle in Balice near Krakow in the mid-1550s; see Danielson, *Rheticus*, 145–7 and Ilia M. Rodov, *The Torah Ark in Renaissance Poland: A Jewish Revival of Classical Antiquity* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013), 177–8. It presumably looked a little like Lord Lumley's obelisk adjacent to Nonsuch Palace, visible in early engravings of the palace (cf. below, note 110).

(and both Marlowe's Faustus and Shakespeare's Hamlet), went to Wittenberg, becoming Dean of the Faculty of Arts there in 1541.[107]

Rheticus linked his prioritizing of the sun to obelisks in an impressively Egyptianizing (and proto-Brunian) mode:

> According to Pliny, the first obelisks were established in Egypt […]. He also testifies that obelisks are consecrated to the sun-god, which is the meaning of that word in Egyptian. Thus the sun is king and ruler of the heavenly realm, all the other stars being governed by his motions and rhythms. And he is the very eye of the world, by whose light all things are illumined.
> Thus by the obelisk alone, all the laws of this heavenly kingdom may be exactly discovered and described. Only the obelisk opens the eyes of artists. By its light we may observe and chart the heavenly motions, seeking by its help fitting proofs and continuously acquiring more useful observations of the motions […].
> Therefore the obelisk is no human invention. It was ordained by God the creator not to satisfy human curiosity but to teach God's geometry in heaven and on earth.

Rheticus continues in fascinatingly Egyptophile, proto-diffusionist mode: "The origins of geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy are from the Egyptians, not the Greeks or the Romans."

> If we are to believe Josephus, since the time of Abraham and the Patriarchs it is from Egypt that mathematics was transplanted into Greece by Plato and into Italy by Pythagoras. Pliny says Pythagoras was also at that time in Egypt, where that obelisk of one hundred twenty-five and a quarter feet was erected which Caesar Augustus later set up in Rome.

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[107] For the relevant quotations from *Hamlet*, including "disasters in the sun", see the entertaining: https://learnearnandreturn.wordpress.com/2011/07/30/hamlets-university/. Charles Nicholl's suggestion that Robert Greene's 1588 critique of Marlowe's "blaspheming with the mad priest of the sun" refers to Bruno may be supported by the observation that he and the fictional Faustus were both in Lutheran Wittenberg at the same time; Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 203 (2nd ed., London: Vintage, 2002, 246); cf. Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 1989), ch. 4, and David Farley-Hills "Tamburlaine and the Mad Priest of the Sun", *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies* 2 (1992), 36–49; cf. on Egypt, David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2005), 177.

> The Egyptians call obelisks nature's interpreters, or, better still, nature's interpretations.[108]

According to the description by Robert Laneham or Langham of the gardens at Kenilworth, Lord Leicester decided to plant less scientifically-purposed obelisks there in the early 1570s.[109] Lord Lumley subsequently built a giant one at Nonsuch, the former royal palace he inherited from his father-in-law Henry Fitzalan,12th Earl of Arundel.[110]

In the 1630s, Lumley's great nephew and fellow-Catholic, Thomas Howard, the 14th Earl of Arundel, attempted to acquire the obelisk that had probably first been erected in the *Iseum Campense* by the Emperor Domitian. This had then been transferred to the spina of the Circus of Maxentius (near his son, Romulus's mortuary chapel), where it lay broken in four pieces for centuries before being admired by Arundel and Inigo Jones in 1614.[111] Though Arundel paid a large deposit for it, Pope Urban VIII refused an export licence and his successor Innocent X eventually had it "buylt up with newer might" by Bernini in the Piazza Navona, where it now soars above his *Fountain of the Four Rivers*

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108 *Rheticus's letter to King Ferdinand* (Krakow, 1557, in Danielson, *Rheticus*, 222), from Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Georg Joachim Rhetikus, 1514–1574: Eine Bio-Bibliographie*, 3 vols (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1967–1968), 3, 221–4.

109 Elisabeth Woodhouse, "Kenilworth, the Earl of Leicester's Pleasure Grounds following Robert Laneham's Letter," *Garden History: Tudor Gardens* (Summer, 1999), 27, no. 1, 127–44; cf. R.J.P. Kuin ed., *Robert Langham: A Letter* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983).

110 *The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. Mark Evans (London: Roxburghe Club, 2010), fol. 29r; cf. Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt", 150 and 164, n. 25, which notes it as still being referred to as a "piramide or spired pinnacle" in 1650. In January 1666, John Evelyn recorded "two handsome stone Pyramids" in the palace gardens; see *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), III, 427; cf. John Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch* (London: Hutchinson, 1970), especially p. 290, quoting the 1650 inventory on the "piramide or spired pinnacle of marble set upon a basis of marble grounde upon a rise of free stone" and "two other marble pinnacles or piramides called the Fawlcon perches betwixte which is placed a fountayne of whyte marble with a lead Cesterne which fountayne is sett round with six trees called Lelack …".

111 Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt," 150 and 164, note 25.

(one of which, the Nile, has its head shrouded to symbolize its then still unknown source).[112]

As with other cultural phenomena, for a while in mid-Tudor England, the new, pan-European Protestants, still emerging from their relatively cosmopolitan humanist background often showed superior sophistication to the more conservative Catholics where matters of taste were concerned. In the years prior to Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, the Dudleys, Hobys, Sidneys, Chekes, Aschams and Cecils still fashioned themselves along continental lines. As the century drew to a close, however, extended isolation from the continent resulted in the recusants and Church Papists representing cosmopolitan culture more naturally than those Shakespeare himself satirizes as "Puritans." One can to some extent apply Jan Assmann's summary of Tacitus to the relationship of Protestantism to Catholicism: "the characterization of Jewish monotheism as a counter-religion which is the inversion of Egyptian tradition and therefore totally derivative of, and dependent on, Egypt reaches its climax".[113]

Thus, after their initial espousal by Protestants such as William Thomas, Rheticus and Leicester, for a brief period in the early 1590s obelisks came to be correspondingly associated with Roman Catholicism. Though by the end of the century they had become fashionable features on funeral monuments, great forests of them flourishing in the pre-Fire St Paul's Cathedral as well as in Westminster Abbey, these were initially commissioned by small number of aristocratic Catholics, Lord Lumley's monumental monolith at Nonsuch being perhaps the first. The disposition of a group of four obelisks, one on each corner of a family tomb, harks back to a Serlio temple design of 1537 which

[112] Ibid., and "Migrating Monoliths", my review of Bob Brier, *Cleopatra's Needles: The Lost Obelisks of Egypt*, in *Literary Review*, 446 (September 2016), 34–5. A mid-seventeenth-century, mysteriously obelisk-shaped water tower was placed nearby meanwhile.

[113] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 37. It has recently been shown that a manuscript translation of the first book of Tacitus's *Annales* in Lambeth Palace Library is likely to be by Elizabeth I; see John-Mark Philo, "Elizabeth I's Translation of Tacitus: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 683," *Review of English Studies*, 71, Issue 298 (February 2020), 44–73, https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgz112. This should remind one of the political implications of Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, particularly of its prefatory "Argument", which begins: "*Lucius Tarquinius* (for his excessive pride surnamed *Superbus*)" and ends: "the *Tarquins* were all exiled, and the state government changed from kings to consuls."

inspired an elaborate triumphal arch for Philip of Spain's entry into Antwerp in 1549. In his report on the latter, Calvete de Estrella wrote that: "The Egyptian kings with their vast wealth invented the obelisks. They dedicated them to their gods, especially the sun. The needle-shape made one think of its rays".[114] In 1561 du Cerceau featured a version of this four-obelisk design in his *Second Livre d'Architecture*. The most relevant surviving ancient precedents seems to be the first century AD Obelisk Tomb at Petra, which indeed features four obelisks in an un-Egyptian funerary context but displayed in a row with a now worn central figure in a niche, the principal representative of the five burials within the tomb.[115] Although Gustav Vasa of Sweden who died in 1560 was buried beneath a monument featuring an obelisk on each corner, its Flemish designer, Willem Boy, did not complete this until at least twenty years after the King's death.[116]

But in Elizabethan England the first such design was used in two more or less simultaneously built funeral monuments by two closely related Catholic families, the Brownes and Wriothesleys between 1593–1595.[117] A third to be discussed was of an uncertain but slightly later date. Thus, in the same plague-ridden period as Shakespeare was writing his *Sonnets* and publishing his two major poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), two remarkable tombs each featuring four obelisks referenced the internationally-celebrated

[114] "Inventaron estos obeliscos los Reyes de Egypto con la demasiada riqueza, que posseyan, y dedicaron los a sus dioses, y principalmente al Sol, cuyos rayos ymitauan enla forma d'ellos' (Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie d'el muy alto y muy poderoso Principe Don Phelippe hijo d'el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo desde España a sus tierras de la baxa Alemaña* (Antwerp: 1552, vol. IV, fol. 226v) as cited in Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, rhetoric and power: the triumphal entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 160–1. For the Serlio temple design, see his *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva*, Book IV (Paris: 1545), 179v.

[115] Lucy Wadeson. "The Obelisk Tomb at Petra and the Bāb al-Sīq inscription: a study of text, image and architecture", in From Ugarit to Nabataea: Studies in Honor of John F. Healey, eds. George Kiraz and Zeyad al-Salameen (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012), 207–34. Also relevant might be the descriptions in Varro and Pliny of the tomb of Lars Porsena at Chiusi, which feature four obelisks and a fifth rising above them in the centre. The arched entrance to the Mausoleum of Augustus was flanked by two obelisks.

[116] Nils Sundquist, *Willem Boys; I Uppsala* (Uppsala: 1971), passim. The obelisk-crowned monument of William of Orange in Delft's Nieuwe Kerk in Delft dates from the early 1620s.

[117] Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 207; cf. below, 332–4.

campaign of Pope Sixtus V to erect four Egyptian obelisks in as many years (1586–1589) and as many key locations throughout Rome. Sixtus succeeded Augustus, the conqueror of Antony and Cleopatra's Egypt, not merely in maintaining the title of *Pontifex Maximus* but in consciously emulating his architectural patronage and town-planning. He asserted the triumph of Christianity over paganism, however, by surmounting his re-erected obelisks, not with their reinstated or recreated Roman globes and spikes (as referenced on the Lumley and Titchfield tomb obelisks), but with massive crucifixes above his Peretti family emblem of three hillocks topped by a star. As well as the dramatically illustrated volumes Domenico Fontana published, documenting the extraordinary engineering feats he effected in order to erect the Pope's obelisks, and popular guidebooks such as *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'alma Citta di Roma* of 1588 (Fig. 6), Sixtus V issued medals in 1589 displaying all four obelisks.[118]

LE COSE
MARAVIGLIOSE
DELL'ALMA CITTA'
DI ROMA,
DOVE SI VEGGONO IL MOVIMENTO
delle Guglie, & gli Acquedutti per condurre
l'Acqua Felice,

Le ample, & commode strade, fatte à beneficio publico, dal Santissimo SISTO *V. P. O. M.*
Et si tratta delle Chiese, rappresentate in disegno da Gieronimo Francino, con le Stationi, & Reliquie de' Corpi Santi che vi sono.

Et vn Trattato del modo d'acquistare l'Indulgenze.

La Guida Romana, che insegna facilmente à i Forastieri à ritrouare le più notabili cose di Roma.
Li nomi de i SOMMI PONTEFICI, IMPERATORI, & altri Principi Christiani.
Il numero delle Parrocchie, & Compagnie che sono in Roma.
L'ANTICHITA' di ROMA, breuemente raccolta; & vn discorso sopra li fuochi de gli antichi.
Nuouamente corretti, & purgati da molti errori, & ampliate dal Reuerendo Padre Fra Santi de Sant'Agostino.

Con Priuilegio del SOMMO PONTEFICE.

IN VENETIA, Per Girolamo Francino, Libraro in Roma, al segno della Fonte. M D LXXXVIII.

Fig. 6. Title page of *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'alma Citta di Roma* (Venice: 1588)

[118] British Museum, Coins and Medals department, inventory number G3, PMAE6.140. There were several similar medals including one issued with the head of Domenico Fontana. Partly due to the regicide of Mary Queen of Scots, Sixtus was also known for supporting the Armada and confirming the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1588.

When the Anglo-Irish Catholic Henry Piers visited Rome in 1595 and saw the four obelisks, he praised them in his journal as: "fayre pyramedes".[119] Shortly before this, in *Dr Faustus*, Christopher Marlowe had Mephistophilis praise Rome's "high pyramides,/ Which Julius Caesar brought from Africa".[120] From 1589, when Sixtus placed the last of his quartet in the Piazza del Popolo, travellers arriving from northern Europe encountered this, the obelisk of Rameses II, as the first and one of the city's most extraordinary sights as they entered the Flaminian Gate.[121] The anonymous author of the *True Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy*, was suitably impressed at the beginning of the next century. He goes on to describe the Vatican obelisk (made by Augustus's prefect in Egypt and, as Pliny describes, brought to Rome on a great ship by Caligula) as: "a marvelous great and high pyramid […] which Pope Sixtus V. caused to be transported thither, at the charge of six-thousand crowns […]".[122]

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[119] Thomas Frank, *An edition of "A discourse of HP his travelles" (MS Rawlinson MS D83)*, (unpublished B.Litt. dissertation, St Catherine's Society: Oxford, 1954), 64; cf. now the edition by Brian MacCuarta, *Henry Piers's Continental Travels*, 1595–1598 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 85 (the apparent plural is intended as singular; Piers uses it again of the Vatican obelisk but also the term "guilio"; ibid., 88). Sixtus may have been in part inspired by Ciriaco Mattei's acquisition in 1582 of the composite obelisk that now stands in the gardens of the Villa Celimontana, formerly Mattei, on the Caelian Hill.

[120] For Julius Caesar read Caesar Augustus. "Pyramides" was supposedly pronounced with four syllables; cf. the "Pyramides / That with their beauties graced the Memphian fields" in *Tamburlaine* in Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus and other Plays*, eds. D. Bevington and E. Rasmussen (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 3.1, 42 (164) and 4.2, 103 (47).

[121] It was originally placed in the Temple of the Sun in Heliopolis in the thirteenth century BC. It was brought to Rome by Augustus in 10 BC (as was the Obelisk of Montecitorio) and placed on the spina of the Circus Maximus. For still the best comparative summary see Erik Iverson, *Obelisks in Exile: I, The Obelisks of Rome* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1968).

[122] "[…] and besides, did give three thousand crowns to the master that bought it thither, and erected it and dubbed him a knight of the Golden Fleece, from which honour he receives a yearly stipend"; *The Harleian Miscellany*, 12 vols (1808–1811), XII, 95. The early 17th-century author goes on to perpetuate the medieval tradition (which had been referenced more sceptically by William Thomas) that the ashes of the emperor were preserved in a "great golden globe, and set that on the top of the same, or such like pyramid; but the foresaid pope did take down the globe that stood thereon, and instead thereof, caused his own arms to be set upon the same, for an everlasting remembrance."

When, in *Henry VI, part 1*, however, Shakespeare has Charles VII of France vow to raise "a statelier pyramis […] than Rhodope's or Memphis ever was" to the newly victorious, "Divinest creature, Astraea's daughter," Joan of Arc, he was clearly referring to a pyramid in our sense of the word.[123] Rhodopis was the original Cinderella whose sandal was dropped into Pharaoh's lap by an eagle and, according to Strabo, became Queen of Egypt. Herodotus had told another version of the story but probably most relevant here is Pliny who in describing "the wonders of the pyramids" writes that "the smallest but most greatly admired of these […] was built by Rhodopis, a mere prostitute. She was once the fellow-slave and concubine of Aesop". [124]

In January 1610, in *Prince Henry's Barriers*, Ben Jonson writes of "Those obelisks and columns broke and down / That struck the stars, and raised the British crown / To be a constellation […]".[125] Shakespeare never used the word obelisk and therefore could not distinguish it from "pyramid". For all Jonson's "He was not of an age but for all time!", his irresistible reference to Shakespeare's "small

Though moved to the front of the new Basilica, the Vatican obelisk had been the only one still standing (to the side of Old St Peter's on the site of Circus of Nero) largely due to the belief that it had been the silent witness of St Peter's upside-down crucifixion there.

[123] *Henry VI, Part 1*, Act I, Scene 6. In his *Relation of a Journey* of 1615, 102, George Sandys publishes other versions of Herodotus's story, expressing his doubts that "she should get by whoring such a mass of treasure".

[124] *Natural History*, XXXVI, Chapter 17, 65. Leon Battista Alberti cites this passage in Ciceronian style to censure Rhodopis by comparison with Artemisia, Queen of Caria, who built a tomb in memory of her husband rather than herself; see Peter Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 107.

[125] Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, 160. In their 1605 *Masque of Blackness* Jonson and Jones included "the moon […] triumphant in a silver throne made in figure of a *pyramis*" (ibid., 91). In February 1609, in the *Masque of Queens*, Lady Anne Clifford performed as, "Berenice Q[ueen] of the Aegiptians". Jonson explained that she was "the fair-haired daughter of Ptolomaeus Philadelphus, by the elder Arsinoe, who (married her brother Ptolomaeus surnamed Euergetes) was after Queen of Egypt" (Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, 136. Jones probably depicted the medal of this Ptolemy (III Euergeter I) captioning his drawing of Zeus Amon as "tolomais medaile"; see Chaney, *Inigo Jones Roman Sketchbook*, II, 114. As well as waxing learned about Diodorus and Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, Jonson quotes Propertius, which is relevant to the discussion as to whether Shakespeare could have read him. Jones's drawing of "la Clifford" as the quasi-bare-breasted Berenice "Queen of the Aegyptians" is Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, 146.

Latine, and lesse *Greeke*" reminds one of a more general terminological regression probably related to the decline in foreign travel between William Thomas's mid-sixteenth-century residence in Italy and the still unusually correct use of the terms in 1592 by the Cambridge-educated translator of the *Hypnerotomachia* (though privileged individuals such as Sir Philip Sidney made it to Northern Italy in the meantime). Shakespeare's confusion – or at least conflation – is confirmed when he has Macbeth insist on the witches revealing their secrets:

> Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
> Though palaces and pyramids do slope
> Their heads to their foundations;[126]

There can be no doubt that Shakespeare was likewise referring to obelisks when Cleopatra exclaims that she would rather hang in chains from an Egyptian "pyramid" than feature in a Roman triumph like her half-sister, Arsinoe. (The latter escaped strangulation as part of the ceremony only to be more discretely executed in Ephesus on the orders of Antony and Cleopatra herself).

> Shall they hoist me up
> And show me to the shouting varletry
> Of censuring Rome? Rather a ditch in Egypt
> Be gentle grave unto me! rather on Nilus' mud
> Lay me stark naked, and let the water-flies
> Blow me into abhorring! rather make
> My country's high pyramides my gibbet,
> And hang me up in chains![127]

While Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* offered a garbled account of Egyptian religion (translated by Philemon Holland in 1603), his more historically useful *Parallel Lives* had been translated into French by Jacques Amyot in 1559. As Dr Johnson

[126] *Macbeth*, Act IV, Scene 1. After Thomas's correct use of the word pyramid in his account of the Pyramid of Cestius and others (decayed) along the Appian way (which shape is distinguished from obelisks), one of the next uses of "pyramis" is in Billingsley's 1570 illustrated translation of Euclid, for which John Dee wrote the introduction. Billingsley's edition indeed included pop-up versions of pyramids with different gradients.

[127] There is a 1534 account of a seductive murderess (and escapee from the Tower) named Alice Wolfe being hanged "upon Thames at low water mark in chains" in the *Lisle Letters*, ed. Muriel St Clare Byrne (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 274.

first pointed out, Shakespeare's principal source for *Antony and Cleopatra* was Sir Thomas North's 1579 translation of Amyot's version.[128] But Plutarch was writing more than a century after the events he describes and some mellowing had taken place in the orientalist account of Cleopatra. Even Virgil had dwelt "on the weird and barbarous monstrosities of Egyptian religion".[129] Shakespeare on the other hand portrays Antony and Cleopatra as both ennobled and made ridiculous by their more or less religion-less love. His treatment of suicide, if not as expressive of a depressive as in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Lear*, is in *Antony and Cleopatra* sugges-

[128] North's translation was reprinted (it first appeared in 1579) by Shakespeare's Stratford friend Richard Field in 1595, the year after the same publisher printed *Lucrece*, with its fulsome dedication to Southampton. This was also the year that Southampton jousted as Bevis of Southampton according to George Peele who had probably been the co-author of *Titus Andronicus*; see *The Works of George Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce (London: William Pickering, 1839), 3, 183. Holland also produced the standard English edition of Pliny's *Natural Historie* (London: Adam Islip, 1601).

[129] Michael Grant, *Cleopatra* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972), 201. Lumley owned a painting "Of Cleopatra in water colours", included in the *Lumley Inventory*, ed. Evans, 70, 73, 74 etc. Thomas Nashe dedicated *The Unfortunate Traveller* to the young Earl of Southampton ("A dere lover and cherisher you are, as well of the lovers of Poets, as of Poets themselves") in the same year (1594) as Shakespeare dedicated *Lucrece* to him. In it he has the Earl of Surrey catch up with Jack Wilton in Florence to find him "in my pontificalibus with my cortizan at supper, lyke *Antonie and Cleopatra* when they quafte standing bowls of wine spiced with pearls together […]". In his dedication of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, Nashe praises Southampton suggestively as: "A dere lover and cherisher you are, as well of the lovers of Poets, as of Poets themselves". Shakespeare's dedication of *Lucrece* opens: "The love I dedicate to your lordship is without end". What follows might well refer to the ongoing *Sonnets*: "What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours; being part in all I have, devoted yours". (Meanwhile, the theme of Venus's attempted seduction of the reluctant Adonis was similarly relevant). For Nashe's observations of the plague which beset both men in the early 1590s; see Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 240–1; it may have arrived in London, via Malta, from Alexandria. For a special warrant in Southampton's book of enrolled instruments, known as *Knaplocke's Book*, granted by the Privy Council to Lord Strange's players during the 1593 plague giving them leave to perform in cities that were not suffering from infection, see Cheryl Butler ed., *The Book of Fines: The Annual Accounts of the Mayors of Southampton,* III, 1572–94 (Southampton Records Series XLIV, 2010), xxxvi. Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, became the 5th Earl of Derby on 25 September 1593 and died in April the following year, probably poisoned as a consequence of reporting a Catholic plot to place him on the throne; cf. Leo Daugherty, *The Assassination of Shakespeare's Patron: Investigating the Death of the 5th Earl of Derby* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011).

tive of such and perhaps more clearly influenced by Montaigne, who in John Florio's somewhat awkward 1603 translation wrote:

> Might not one also make it [i.e. suicide] seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with *Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*?[130]

Though Plutarch claimed that via his grandfather, Lamprias, he had a connection with Antony, chronologically far closer to the sensational events that almost humiliated Rome were Horace, Virgil, Ovid and Sextus Propertius, all of whom were writing within a decade or two of the Battle of Actium. Propertius seems to have taken the dimmest, as well as the most complex view, of Rome's female enemy, his relatively indulgent sympathy for Antony,[131] perhaps the result of over-identifying with his own sufferings at the hands of a similarly volatile seductresss, his Cynthia:

> What about the woman who lately brought disgrace to our warriors, a woman banged even by her own servants [or slaves].[132] The price she asked for that filthy union was the walls of Rome with our senators in bondage and subjection. Wicked Alexandria, land most suited for dirty tricks, and you, Memphis, so often reddened with blood to our cost, where the sand stripped Pompey of his three

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[130] *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne* (London, 1603), III, 9, 189. By way of commentary, in the top right corner of an anonymous portrait of a Jacobean lady posing as Cleopatra, is a page with Cleopatra's speech to the asp from the 1607 revision of Samuel Daniel's *Tragedie of Cleopatra*. For a fascinating account of this painting, rejecting the traditional identification of the sitter as Elizabeth Throckmorton, the wife of Sir Walter Ralegh, see Yasmin Arshad, "The Enigma of a Portrait: Lady Anne Clifford and Daniel's Cleopatra", *British Art Journal* XI, 3 (Spring, 2011): 30–6 and now her *Imagining Cleopatra* (cit.). Southampton was the patron of both Florio and Shakespeare in 1590s and both may, in their own ways, have been assisting Lord Burghley in keeping an eye on him. Pedantic schoolteacher Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* is thought to be based on Florio and even quotes Florio's 1591 *Gardine of Recreations;* Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), *83*. Gonzalo's speech in *The Tempest* uses Florio's translation of Montaigne's essay on Cannibals; see Ian Wilson, *Shakespeare*, 355–6 (see also Gatti, *Bruno*, passim, for his friendship with Florio). Montaigne, perhaps following Erasmus, cites pyramids as examples of change; Michael A. Screech, *Montaigne and Melancholy: The Wisdom of the Essays* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 82.

[131] Jasper Griffin, "Propertius and Antony", *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 17–26. Plutarch confirms that Lamprias was his grandfather in his *Symposiacs* Books XI and III.

[132] Quoting from J.P. Sullivan's 1970s translation of "qui nostris opprobria nexerit armis et famulos inter femina trita suos".

> triumphs! Never will the stigma on Rome be removed. Pompey's death would have been better on the Phlegrean Fields, even if he were free to bow his neck to his son-in-law [*vere* his father-in-law, "socer", Julius Caesar, whose daughter, Julia, Pompey had married].[133] So, the whorish queen of incestuous Canopus… dared to confront our Roman Jupiter with barking Anubis, force the Tiber to endure the threats of the Nile; rout the Roman trumpet with clacking rattle [a reference to the sacred sistrum]; pursue Liburnian prows with barge oars; hang dirty mosquito nets on the Tarpeian rock […].

The scholarly consensus seems to be that Shakespeare could not have known the work of Propertius; according to Jonathan Bate, indeed: "Propertius was barely read in the 1590s".[134] Yet there was already a Venetian edition printed in the late fifteenth century; Scaliger produced his in 1577 and there was another in 1592.[135] I daresay we also underestimate the number of manuscript editions that were produced, including now lost translations into English that Shakespeare might have used, as well as ever the likelihood that such translations

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133 *Elegy*, 3,11, 38; see J. Sullivan, *Propertius: a critical introduction* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), 22–3. For some reason Sullivan mistranslates "socer" here in "vel tua si socero colla daturus eras". For a correct translation and more detailed interpretation of the significance here of Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia and subsequent decapitation by the Egyptians, see Robert Alan Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 198. Pompey's last wife and widow, thirty years his junior, was the Cornelia about whom "W. Ha" writes in his 1594 *Epicedium* (see below).

134 Referring to the purported influence of Propertius, 3.2, on *Sonnet* 55, Jonathan Bate (*Shakespeare and Ovid*, 94) quotes John Kerrigan (*The Sonnets and a Lover's Complaint*) as "rightly dismissive of this possibility"; cf. J.B. Leishman, *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Hutchinson, 1961), 42; cf. 107.

135 Paul Botley, *Richard 'Dutch' Thomson, c. 1569–1613: The Life and Letters of a Renaissance Scholar* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 21. Having travelled in England in the previous decade Scaliger was well acquainted with the likes of Richard Thomson though in general formed a poor opinion of the English. The Bruno-admiring Thomas Watson, whose "heir" Shakespeare is described as being in 1595, had already shown familiarity with Propertius in his *Hekatompathia* of 1582 (dedicated to the Earl of Oxford); so too had Samuel Daniel in his *Tragedy of Cleopatra*, where a line from Propertius is used as the epigraph. Editions of the period were combined with Catullus (e.g. that published in Antwerp by Plantin in 1560; illustrated in my talk). The previous year Watson had dedicated the first English translation of Sophocles's *Antigone* to Philip Howard, 13th Earl of Arundel (*ODNB*). See also, for his relationship with Marlowe, Nicholl, *The Reckoning*. A decade or so later, where Cleopatra's suicide is concerned, Shakespeare seems to prefer Propertius's two snakes to Plutarch's one; see above note 9.

might have been recited in his company. Most significantly supportive of what follows, in the satirical *Returne from Pernassus*, performed at Lord Southampton's college, St John's, Cambridge, c. 1601, the foppish worshipper of "sweet Mr. Shakespeare", whose picture he'll have in his study at court and whose *Venus and Adonis* he quotes and will lay under his pillow, quotes Propertius in the original.[136]

The argument that Shakespeare knew Propertius is relevant though not crucial to what follows *vis a vis* his references to obelisks (as "pyramyds") in the *Sonnets* and in Sonnet 123 in particular:

> No! Time, thou shalt not bost that I doe change.
> Thy pyramyds buylt up with newer might
> To me are nothing novell, nothing strange;
> They are but dressings of a former sight.

Propertius uses the image of pyramids (by which he means real ones) in relation to the idea of immortality but so too does Horace, whom Shakespeare is known to have read. Horace's imagery seems to me further from Shakespeare's than Propertius's, however. First the Horace, from the *Odes* (3.30. 1–14):

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
> possit diruere aut innumerabilis
> annorum series et fuga temporum.
> non omnis moriar […]

> (I have built a monument more lasting than bronze and higher than the regal grave of the pyramids. This no devouring rain, no uncontrolled north wind can destroy nor the uncountable procession of the years and the flight of time. I shall not perish entirely […]).[137]

In commenting on what he convincingly hypothesizes is Propertius's response to these lines, a response part-prompted by rivalry, J.P. Sullivan argues that the

[136] Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare II* (http://ericsams.org/index.php/on-shakespeare/books-on-shakespeare/828-the-real-shakespeare-ii); 93; cf. above note 119. That the 16-year-old Southampton took his MA from Cambridge in 1589, when he was admitted to Gray's Inn, and was tutored by John Florio reminds one of the intellectual pressure the relative auto-didact Shakespeare must have been under.
[137] Sullivan, *Propertius*, 18–9.

latter refers to the same themes as Horace: "but the way in which he challenges Horace's claims to immortality in favour of his erotic subject and himself, while stressing, as Horace did not, the mortality of pyramids, is typical of Propertius' method".[138]

> carmina erunt formae tot monumenta tuae.
> nam necque Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti,
> nec Jovis Elei caelum imitata domus,
> nec Mausolei dives fortuna sepulcri
> mortis ab extrema condicione vacant.
> aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores,
> annorum aut tacito pondere victa ruent.
> at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aevo
> excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus.
>
> (My poems will be that many memorials [monuments] of your beauty. For neither expensive pyramids reared to the stars nor the temple of Jupiter at Olympia that rivals the heavens not the rich wealth of the tomb of Mausolus are free from the ultimate condition of death. Either fire or rain will pull down their glories or they will topple, beaten down by the silent weight of the years. But a name gained by genius will not be forgotten through time: the glory genius gains is deathless).[139]

The two epitaphs on the tomb of Sir Thomas Stanley (died 1576), his co-heirs, widow Margaret, née Vernon, and son Sir Edward, in the church of St Bartholomew's in Tong, Shropshire, were first attributed to Shakespeare in the

[138] Sullivan, *Propertius*, 20. In *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 2006), 79–80, Assmann cites Horace on the "monument" of his *Odes* as "longer lasting than bronze and higher than Pharaoh's pyramids" in concluding his discussion of "iconoclastic narrowing" and "the desire for permanence" facilitated by the state and thus of all the more relevance to the current debate on statues and/or their histories. In his 1617 *Tractatus Apologeticus* (5–6), after discussing Moses, Robert Fludd wrote that "The wisdom of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians should be commemorated in eternal monuments, for it was thence it seems, that Plato derived the Idea of his divine knowledge" ("Aegyptiorem etiam ac Aethiopum sapientia aeternis memoriae monumentis mandanda est, a cuius fontibus et scaturigine Platonem divinae sua cognitionis Ideam hausisse fertur"); see Joscelyn Godwin, *The Greater and Lesser Worlds of Robert Fludd* (Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions, 2019), 245.
[139] Sullivan, *Propertius*, 20, quoting *Elegies* 3.2, 17–26.

mid-seventeenth century.[140] The second son of the 3rd Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas was a more rebellious Catholic than his father and although he helped put down the 1569 Northern Rebellion he was found to have been in communication with Mary Queen of Scots and was arrested in 1571 for conspiring with Thomas Gerard to help her escape to the Isle of Man. Stanley was still in prison a year later.[141] It has been argued that an apparent relationship between the verses on the Tong tomb and the poem which the young John Milton contributed to the Second Folio tends to confirm Shakespeare's authorship of the Tong inscription.[142] The relationship of the obelisks to those of an earlier tomb, especially as originally disposed, provides further confirmation (Figs. 1 and 7). Here is the verse as inscribed on the east end:

> Ask who lyes here, but do not weep,
> He is not dead; he dooth but sleep
> This stony register is for his bones
> His fame is more perpetual then these stones

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140 http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/stanley-sir-thomas-153233-76. For discussions of the Tong verses, see E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare the "Lost Years"*, 2nd edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 72–86, Katherine Duncan-Jones and Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems: Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece and the Shorter Poems* (London: Arden, 2008), 438–45 and Gordon Campbell, "Obelisks and Pyramids in Shakespeare, Milton and Alcala", *Sederi* 9 (1998): 219 and idem, "Shakespeare and the Youth of Milton", *Milton Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1999), 95–105 and Helen Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong, Shropshire* (Much Wenlock: R.J.L. Smith & Associates, 2013); cf. Simon Watney, "'Sky aspiring pyramids:' Shakespeare and Shakespearean Epitaphs in Early Stuart England," *Church Monuments* XX (2005): 103–17. He questions the attribution on the basis of Sir William Gostwick's (d.1615) tomb in Willington, Bedfordshire.

141 Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: CUP, 1975), 253–4; cf. Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs,* 308. Thomas's son, Edward, then married Lucy, daughter of the Thomas Percy, 7th Earl of Northumberland, who was executed on 22 August 1572. The emblem in Claude Paradin's *Devices Heroiques* (1557; English version 1591) for Mary Queen of Scots' uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was a "Memphien […] grande Pyramide", accompanied by the motto "*Te stante virebo*" ("While thou standest, I shall flourish").

142 Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong*, 26; cf. Robert Jeffery, *Discovering Tong: Its History, Myths and Curiosities* (Shifnal: Tong Vicarage, 2007), 150–1, citing Gordon Campbell, "Shakespeare and the Youth of Milton": "Milton's poem would seem to be modelled on this text".

And his owne goodness, with himself being gon
Shall lyve when earthlie monament is none.[143]

Fig. 7. The Stanley Tomb in St Bartholomew's Church, Tong, Shropshire. Drawing of the original state by Francis Sandford in Sir William Dugdale's *Diary*. Illustrated in Helen Moorwood, *Shakespeare's Stanley Epitaphs in Tong, Shropshire* (Much Wenlock: R.J.L. Smith & Associates, 2013), Plate Vc. (copyright College of Arms)

[143] Peter Hyland and others have noticed the relationship of the bones/stones rhyme to Shakespeare's epitaph on his wall-monument in Stratford; see *An Introduction to Shakespeare's Poems* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), 205. This is not a unique similarity but combined with others such as those between the Tong tomb's "stony register" and "Thy registers and thee" (referring to Time) in Sonnet 123 which complement the resemblance between the tombs discussed here it renders the argument more persuasive. Also relevant is that the Stratford monument was made by Gerard Johnson the Younger, his father, Garat, having made those for the inter-related Catholic-families, the Dormers, Montagus, Gages, Rutlands and Earls of Southampton.

But it is the inscription on the west end of the Tong tomb, with its reference to pyramids that seems to relate back to a common source in Propertius's poem, with its "Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti", as well as forward to the verse epitaph included by the Milton to the 1632 Second Folio. Here is the relevant part of the Tong tomb inscription:

> Not monumental stone preserves our fame
> Nor sky aspyring piramids our name.
> The memory of him for whom this stands
> Shall outlyve marble and defacers' hands
> When all to tyme's consumption shall be geaven
> Standly for whom this stands shall stand in Heaven.

And here is the more celebrated poem by Milton, published in Second Folio but which he retrospectively insisted on dating two years earlier as part of his title: *On Shakespeare. 1630*

> What needs my *Shakespeare* for his honour'd bones,
> The labour of an Age, in piled stones
> Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
> Under a starre-ypointing Pyramid?
> Dear Sonne of Memory, great Heire of *Fame*,
> What needst thou such weake witnesse of they Name?
> Thou in our wonder and astonishment
> Hast built thy selfe a live-long Monument […].[144]

Regarding Shakespeare's possible authorship of the Tong inscriptions, I can above all offer support by "ypointing" up significant similarities between this tomb and another which has the strongest Shakespearean connection. Family connections between the commissioners and incumbents of these monuments can also be documented to support arguments for Shakespeare's involvement in the linguistic parallels between the Tong lines and his writings of the same

[144] This is the version as printed in the First Folio, Milton's first publication. It went through three states, the first of which printed "starre-ypointed" instead of the version above, among other smaller differences. It was reprinted in the 1640 *Poems* and again in the 1645 reissue, which is the source for the version used by https://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/on_shakespeare/intro.shtml. This has some useful notes on these variations; cf. Milton's citation of "thrice great Hermes" in *il Pensoroso*.

period. Given a c. 1600 date for the tomb, it is noteworthy that the Tong inscription includes similarly pioneering use of words and phrases such as "monumental" and "sky-aspiring" (a happier phrase I think than young Milton's "star-ypointing" or in fact: "ypointed", as it appeared in the first state of his eulogy in the Second Folio). The *OED* cites Shakespeare's 1597 use of the term: "sky-aspiring" in the tournament scene in Richard II.[145] Three other plays, including most appropriately (in 1604), Othello's anticipatory reference to Desdemona's skin, as "smooth as monumental alabaster," are cited as the first instances of "monumental" in English, the other two occurring in *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Troilus and Cressida*. By 1623 Ben Jonson had contributed his eulogy to the First Folio: "To the memory of my beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us". He included the Horatian lines: "Thou art a Moniment without a tombe, / And art alive still, while thy Booke doth live,/ And we have wits to read, and praise to give."

The indebtedness to Propertius of the Tong tomb lines has been noted, albeit obliquely, in Colin Burrow's Oxford edition of Shakespeare's *Complete Sonnets and Poems*. This quotes John Weever's 1631 rendering of the relevant part of *Elegy 3.2* in *Ancient Funeral Monuments* with reference to Sonnet 123 but not to the Tong

[145] *Richard II*, Act I, Scene 3, 130; the earliest use cited by the *OED* for the use of sky with the present participle; see Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 442, citing Weever's account from E.A.J. Honigmann, *John Weever* […] *with a photographic facsimile of Weever's "Epigrammes"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1987), 69 of Sir Edward Stanley "yet living" (he died in 1632) having "already made his owne monument whereon is the portraitures of himselfe, his wyffe, & his Children", as if this did in fact describe the Tong tomb (though it is his parents on top). Edward's widow Lucy, mother of the celebrated Venetia Stanley, has a curious, quasi-bare-breasted monument in St Mary's Walthamstow. Venetia herself, who married Sir Kenelm Digby, was the subject of an elegiac poem by Ben Jonson. In their notes on the Tong tomb inscriptions Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen discuss Spenser's "seeke with Pyramides, to heaven aspired" in his 1591 *Ruines of Time* in the context of Propertius. Meanwhile their highlighting of the pun between "aspire" and "a spire" (in my simplified version) reinforces my belief that the medieval church spire is ultimately indebted to the Egyptian obelisk; cf. Spenser's "sharped spire" and *OED* which cites Philemon Holland using pyramid interchangeably with steeple, and Leland's *Itinerary* and Camden's *Britannia* on pyramids as spires; the latter with reference to Lichfield Cathedral's "three pyramids or spires of stone". Meanwhile Sir Thomas Wriothesley, despite, like Henry VIII (and *pace* Rowse) remaining some sort of Catholic, seems to have only briefly hesitated to demolish the church spire when turning Titchfield Abbey into Place House.

tomb itself.[146] Sonnet 123 does not refer to "sky aspiring" pyramids, an adjectival expression Shakespeare only seems to use in *Richard II*'s "sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts".[147] But prior even to Weever's notebook references yet apparently unnoticed in these discussions is George Sandys's parallel text presentation of Propertius's *Elegy* 3,2 placed beneath a fine engraving of the Giza pyramids and the Sphinx in his *Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610*, published in 1615.[148] (Fig. 8). Alongside the Latin already quoted, the son of the Archbishop of York and future translator of Ovid writes:

> Not sumptuous Pyramids to skies up-reard
> Nor Elean Joves proud Fame, which heaven compeerd
> Nor the right fortune of Mausoleus tombe,
> Are priviledg'd from deaths extreamest doome:
> Or fire, or stormes, their glories do abate,
> Or by age shaken, fall with their own weight.[149]

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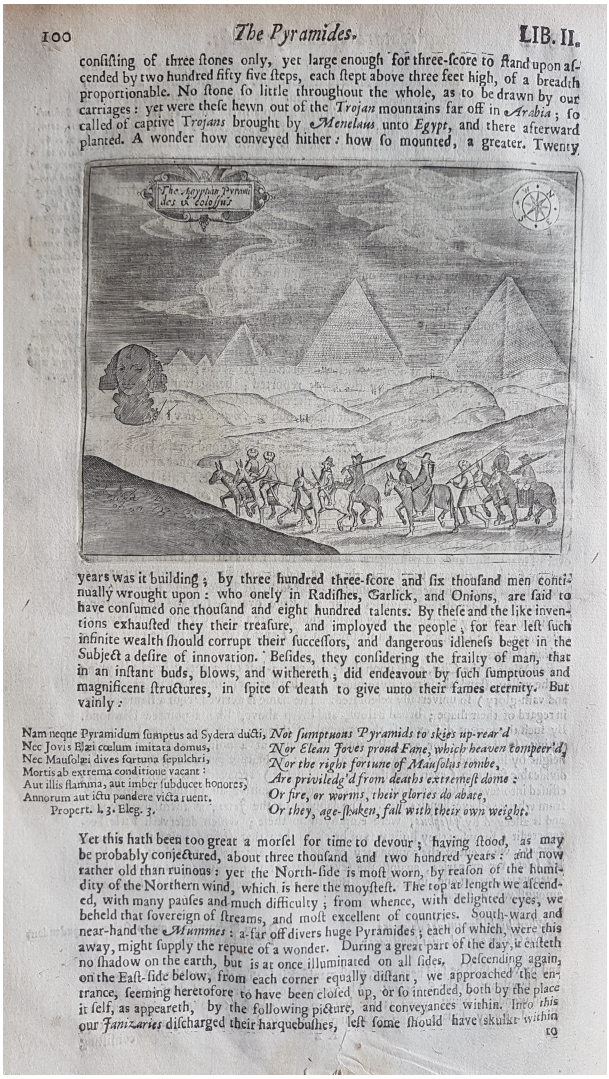
[146] (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 626–7 and 723–4. In Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), the only reference to Propertius is to his being a source for the Latin distich in honour of Milton by "Selvaggi" (i.e., David Codner OSB according to me and now accepted by Campbell and Corns, *Milton*, 410). I believe that Milton's links with the Savage family, which I have discussed elsewhere, might provide the clue as to the Stanley connection here; see *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 313. The bumptious Codner is documented as having offended Southampton's Catholic cousin**,** the 2nd Viscount Montagu, with his opposition to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chalcedon, Richard Smith; Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 449 etc. Smith was chaplain to Montagu's stepmother, Magdalen, Lady Montagu, at Battle Abbey where she maintained a Catholic chapel known as "Little Rome".

[147] Act I, Scene 3.

[148] Op. cit., 129 in the first, 1615 edition; later editions, including my own of 1670, have different pagination and typesetting, including in the above, "worms" for "stormes". For Wenceslaus Hollar borrowing the pyramid setting of the engraving in Sandys's *Relation* for an allegory of the Civil War "Civilis Seditio", featuring a two-headed snake or *Amphisbaena*; see my "*Roma Britannica*", 154–5 and cf. Assmann on the "Ouroboros": http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/4535/. George Sandys was the brother of Sir Edwin, who encouraged Southampton's abandonment of "Popery"; see below, note 195.

[149] For the suggestion that Shelley's not very happy image: "Those Pyramids shall fall" in *Queen Mab* (1813) may have been inspired by Sandys's rendering of Propertius here, as also that Shelley's wishfully-thought notion that *Ozymandias*'s hubris would have been



100 *The Pyramides.* LIB. II.

consisting of three stones only, yet large enough for three-score to stand upon ascended by two hundred fifty five steps, each stept above three feet high, of a breadth proportionable. No stone so little throughout the whole, as to be drawn by our carriages: yet were these hewn out of the *Trojan* mountains far off in *Arabia*; so called of captive *Trojans* brought by *Menelaus* unto *Egypt*, and there afterward planted. A wonder how conveyed hither: how so mounted, a greater. Twenty

The Egyptian Pyramides & Colossus

years was it building; by three hundred three-score and six thousand men continually wrought upon: who onely in Radishes, Garlick, and Onions, are said to have consumed one thousand and eight hundred talents. By these and the like inventions exhausted they their treasure, and imployed the people; for fear lest such infinite wealth should corrupt their successors, and dangerous idleness beget in the Subject a desire of innovation. Besides, they considering the frailty of man, that in an instant buds, blows, and withereth; did endeavour by such sumptuous and magnificent structures, in spite of death to give unto their fames eternity. But vainly:

Nam neque Pyramidum sumptus ad Sydera ducti,
Nec Jovis Elæi cœlum imitata domus,
Nec Mausolæi dives fortuna sepulchri,
Mortis ab extrema conditione vacant:
Aut illis flamma, aut imber subducet honores,
Annorum aut ictu pondere victa ruent.
Propert. l. 3. Eleg. 3.

Not sumptuous Pyramids to skies up-rear'd
Nor Elean Joves proud Fane, which heaven compeer'd,
Nor the right fortune of Mausolas tombe,
Are priviledg'd from deaths extremest dome:
Or fire, or worms, their glories do abate,
Or they, age-shaken, fall with their own weight.

Yet this hath been too great a morsel for time to devour; having stood, as may be probably conjectured, about three thousand and two hundred years: and now rather old than ruinous: yet the North-side is most worn, by reason of the humidity of the Northern wind, which is here the moystest. The top at length we ascended, with many pauses and much difficulty; from whence, with delighted eyes, we beheld that sovereign of streams, and most excellent of countries. South-ward and near-hand the *Mummes*: a-far off divers huge Pyramides; each of which, were this away, might supply the repute of a wonder. During a great part of the day, it casteth no shadow on the earth, but is at once illuminated on all sides. Descending again, on the East-side below, from each corner equally distant, we approached the entrance, seeming heretofore to have been closed up, or so intended, both by the place it self, as appeareth, by the following picture, and conveyances within. Into this our *Janizaries* discharged their harquebushes, lest some should have skulke within

to

Fig. 8. Propertius and the Pyramids in George Sandys, *Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610* (London: 1615; 1670 edition with "improved" text); (Photo: E. Chaney)

wasted could hardly have been less true (once Champollion identified his bust as that of Rameses II), see Chaney, "Egypt in England and America: The Cultural Memorials of Religion, Royalty and Revolution", in *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines*, eds. Maurizio Ascari and Adriana Corrado (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 57–8. Ironically Shelley's memorial in the *Cimitero Acattolico*, Rome, is near the Pyramid of Cestius. It is inscribed with the lines Ariel addresses to Ferdinand in *The Tempest* (Act I, Scene 2) when the latter believes his father has drowned.

To repeat the relevant lines of Shakespeare and continue with the rest of his Sonnet:

> No Time, thou shalt not bost that I doe change.
> Thy pyramyds buylt up with newer might
> To me are nothing novell, nothing strange,
> They are but dressings of a former sight:
> Our dates are breefe, and therefor we admire,
> What thou dost foyst upon us that is ould,
> And rather make them borne to our desire
> Then thinke that we before have heard them tould:

The next line indeed reminds us of the "stoney register" of the Tong tomb:

> Thy registers and thee I both defie […]

But whether the inscriptions on the Tong tomb were by Shakespeare or not, the prominent use of obelisks in its design is clearly indebted to the Southampton and Montagu tombs, the former being much the best preserved of the three and most relevant to what follows.

Shakespeare's ostensible reference to Time's "pyramyds" (i.e. obelisks) as "nothing novel, nothing strange" echoes *Ecclesiastes*' "There is nothing new under the sun" and perhaps Chapter 4 of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*: "The Religion Proclaimed by Him [Christ] to All Nations Was Neither New Nor Strange", which attempts to refute pagan accusations of Christian "novelty". Eusebius part bases his argument on Philo of Alexandria's account of the proto-Christian Therapeutae but he contextualized Christianity itself in terms of "the subjugation of Egypt". Shakespeare may be suggesting the superior antiquity of Roman Catholicism in a *politique* critique of the Reformation.[150] But given that

[150] Eusebius Caesariensis – *Historia ecclesiastica*: https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Historia_ecclesiastica_%5bSchaff%5d,_EN.pdf, 107–8 and 110: "It was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus and the twenty-eighth after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, with whom the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to an end, that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea"; see the discussion in the notes to this translation and D. M. Murdock, *Christ in Egypt: The Horus-Jesus Connection* ([Seattle, WA]: Stellar House Publishing, 2009), 449–57. Dr Murdock's first epigraph is Matthew 2:15:

many of the *Sonnets* were likely addressed to the young Earl of Southampton whose "Time" to propagate (and perpetuate his mother's beauty) is due, there is a sense in which the "Thy" in "Thy pyramyds" indicates Southampton, his family and *their* obelisks as much as Time's. That Shakespeare feels able to refer to the family's newly-erected, marble obelisks as "but dressings of a former sight" may be because the tomb design was the responsibility of the trustees of Southampton's father rather than himself.

In 1944 Leslie Hotson argued the likelihood that Shakespeare would have known of the Pope's great campaign to re-erect the Egyptian obelisks in Rome.[151] While Hotson's argument has been taken (unnecessarily) to suppose that the sonnets must date from c. 1590, others, most recently Katherine Duncan-Jones, in her Arden edition of the *Sonnets*, have used the pyramids-*qua*-obelisks observation in order to date them (or at least the collection's completion) to more than a decade later. She suggests they refer to "the elaborate obelisks and triumphal arches erected for James's procession through the City of London on 15 March 1603/4." She illustrates one of these arches full page, regretting that no visual record survives of "the huge one in the Strand […] in which a vast rainbow was supported by 'two magnificent Pyramid's [sic], of 70 foot in height, on which were drawne his Maiesties several pedigrees *Eng.* and *Scot*'".[152] This she reads as

"Out of Egypt have I called my son". Shakespeare only uses the word "novel" just this once in all his writings. Giordano Bruno used the motto: "Nothing new under the Sun".

[151] Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949), 1–36. He elaborated on the argument in relation to Sonnet 123, though not mentioning the Titchfield Tomb, in his *Mr. W.H.* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1964), 84–93.

[152] Duncan-Jones, *Sonnets*, 24 (her inverted commas). On p. 21 Duncan-Jones states that "Hotson's theory has commanded little support. It would require us to believe not only in a Shakespeare who took an active interest in cultural events in Rome, but also in one who had mastered the art of writing densely allusive and complex sonnets at the very beginning of his literary career." She seems not to appreciate the extent to which the moving and re-erecting of the obelisks was an internationally celebrated (and widely published) phenomenon; see Brian Curran, Anthony Grafton, Pamela O. Long and Benjamin Weiss, *Obelisk: A History* (Cambridge: Mass: MIT Press, 2009); cf. my review in *History Today* (January 2010), 56–7. Ironically, in his substantial book on *Mr. W.H.*, "perhaps the most famous dedication in all literature", Hotson dismisses as "absurd […] Massey's notion – that a Jacobean publisher could conceivably address a Right Worshipful knight (e.g., Sir William Hervey) as 'Master'." (145).

compatible with sonnets 124 and 125 also, commenting on "the 'wonderful year' 1603–4, during which many poets wrote tributes to James I, but Shakespeare did not".[153] She even suggests that Sonnet 124's "fools of time […] who have lived for crime" alludes to the Gunpowder Plotters and their execution in January 1606.[154] "The case for Southampton" as the dedicatee of the *Sonnets*, she writes, as if this were the only alternative to her candidate and that the dedicat*or* was Shakespeare, "effectively collapses if this dating is accepted. Not only are Henry Wriothesley's initials the wrong way around; he was over 35 in 1609, and recollections of the time when he was a 'lovely boy' were rather distant".[155]

In his *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear*, James Shapiro concurs in this late dating, at least so far as some of the sonnets are concerned: Sonnet 107 for example:

> The language is elliptical but the meaning clear enough: all those anxious predictions that preceded the eclipse of Elizabeth – that 'mortal moon' – were misplaced; the crowning of the new king who promoted himself as a peacemaker had put an end to these "incertainties."[156]

Finally, basing her concluding argument on her own late dating, Duncan-Jones plumps for William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke as the "Mr. W.H." of the *Sonnets*, supplying a full-page illustration of the 1618 engraving of him whilst providing none of the 3rd Earl of Southampton, despite his status as the dedicatee of Shakespeare's two best-documented and most popular publications, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Since she believes that between 1608–1609 Shakespeare "may have finished work on [his] *Sonnets* […] before selling the

[153] Ibid., 356.
[154] Duncan-Jones, *Sonnets*, 24–6.
[155] Duncan-Jones, *Sonnet*s, 52. Meanwhile, Burrow (p. 626, n.2) discounts the relevance of Sixtus V's re-erection of the Rome obelisks as "impossible given the early date". If the fact that obelisk-erecting finished in 1590 really renders them insufficiently "novel" to be referenced as such in Shakespeare's sonnet then Titchfield's 1594 obelisks are all the more suitable. In his notes on "beauty's rose" in Sonnet 1, Burrow (p. 382, n. 2) acknowledges that "Southamptonites" claim that Wriothesley "could be pronounced 'Rosely'," but doesn't point out that in the 1609 publication the word "rose" is the only one on the first page to be printed in italics and it begins with a capital "*R*", all the more significant if based on a fair copy presented by Shakespeare to mother and/or son.
[156] (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), 22.

manuscript to Thorpe" and, presumably, because no one has ever mentioned the Titchfield monument in relation to Sonnet 123, nor claimed that the two are exactly contemporary, she nowhere refers to the superior candidate for "Mr. W.H.", Sir William Hervey of Kidbroke, whose wife lies buried beneath it.[157] Hervey wrote personal letters to the Queen signed "W.H."[158] He was appointed one of her gentlemen pensioners at around this time.[159] Given Shakespeare's

[157] Duncan-Jones, *Sonnets*, 12. Despite the major problems with her marriage, the Countess asked "to be laid as near as may be unto the body of my honourable and beloved dearly- lord and husband, Henry, late Earl of Southampton". Her will is: http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Probate/PROB_11-110-388.pdf. The idea that Shakespeare's collaborated with the Countess in persuading her son to marry is consistent with her husband dying young and the conclusion of Sonnet 13: "Dear my love, you know, / You had a father: let your son say so."

[158] E.g., on 20 December 1585; see Stopes, *Southampton*, 32, though she doesn't remark on the significance of the initials. The qualified suggestion by Gerald Massey was made at the end of a letter in *The Athenaeum* dated 27 April 1867 but he clarified his choice of William Herbert as his candidate in *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets Unfolded* (London: 1872 and 1888). Having presumably not registered that Massey ultimately preferred of Herbert, Stopes merely cites Massey as claiming that Southampton went to Cadiz in 1596 (99); see *ODNB*; cf. brief obituary notice in 2 November 1907 edition of *The Athenaeum*). Massey published very widely, including his own poetry and two fascinating volumes on *Ancient Egypt: The Light of the World,* written from a cultural-anthropological point of view. These appeared in the year of his death, having been consigned to the printers, as he says in the preface to volume one: "on this my nine-and-seventieth birthday" (29 May 1903).

[159] John Appelby's entry: "Hervey, William, Baron Hervey of Kidbrooke and Baron Hervey of Ross" in the *ODNB*, *Complete Peerage*, IV, 516, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/hervey-sir-william-i-1565-1642 and W.J. Tighe, "The Herveys: Three Generations of Tudor Courtiers" (available as pdf file online; cf. http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Probate/PROB_11-75-245.pdf). In 1604 whilst raising money to pay his debts, the 3rd Earl "made a life grant to Sir William Hervey of Soberton Manor, presumably in return for a large fine […].."; Lawrence Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: OUP, 1973), 221. Despite the knighthoods of both her second and third husbands, the Countess of Southampton referred in her correspondence to "Mr. [i.e., Master] Henneage" and "Master Harvey"; Stopes, *Southampton*, 89, 344, who also (p. 343) notes that Hervey married Cordell Annesley but fails to mention her *Lear*-like back story (see below). In *Will in the World: How Shakespeare became Shakespeare* (London: Bodley Head, 2005), 231–2, Stephen Greenblatt gives credence to the unlikely theories that "Mr. W.H." stands for Henry Wriothesley (backwards) or William Herbert (Earl of Pembroke), without

likely role in supporting the Countess of Southampton's campaign to persuade her son to marry, it is ironic that in late 1597 we find the young Earl using his friend the Earl of Essex to dissuade his mother from marrying Hervey.[160] In 1594 a "W. Ha" published *Epicedium* which, in praising the chastity of the late Lady Helen Branch, includes what is surely a reference to Shakespeare's contemporary *Lucrece*, as also one to Cornelia, no less likely a reference to Robert Garnier's tragedy of that name (published in the same year) but who had also published *Marc Antoine* which Mary Sidney translated as *Antonius* in 1590:

> You that have writ of chaste Lucretia
> Whose death was witnesse of her spotless life
> Or pen'd the praise of sad Cornelia,
> Whose blamelesse name hath made her fame so rise:
> As noble Pompey's most renoumed wife.[161]

Apart from anything else, it is seems odd to date a collection of poems, some of which were already referred to by others in 1594 (*Edward III*), 1598 (Francis Meres's "sugared sonnets") and 1599 (*Passionate Pilgrim*), as significantly later, or indeed to argue that the by now wealthy and successful Shakespeare would have wished to publish such personal and by now unfashionable items in 1609. It is

mentioning William Hervey (despite dealing briefly with the Annesleys). Though so often condescended to by fellow academics, A.L. Rowse is surely correct in following Stopes regarding W.H.'s identity though in his analysis of Sonnet 123 he fails to suggest that "pyramyds" might be obelisks, saying that by "newer might" Shakespeare would have had in mind: "such skyscrapers as Wollaton, Holdenby" etc.; see his edition of *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1964), xi–xii and 253. Elsewhere (no doubt following Stopes) Rowse provides support for the Hervey hypothesis (he spells him Harvey), confirming that the Countess referred to her second husband as "Mr." Heneage; *Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974), 189. Unlike Adonis in Shakespeare's poem, Southampton finally succumbed to Venus and married the pregnant Elizabeth Vernon on 30 August 1598. Hervey had by then married Southampton's mother (in May 1597) and been appointed Keeper of St Andrew's Castle on Southampton Water, *en route* to Titchfield.

[160] Stopes, *Southampton*, 134–5.

[161] See doi.org/10.37078/193. Pursued by Julius Caesar, Pompey and Cornelia fled to Egypt where he was assassinated. On his arrival, Caesar punished the assassins and gave Cornelia his ashes and signet ring. For Mary Sidney's translation see Arshad, *Imagining Cleopatra*, chapter 1, passim. According to E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930) II, 190, Hervey was a juror at the 1588 inquest on Helen Branch's husband, Sir John.

far more likely, as originally (somewhat facetiously) suggested in 1867 by the extraordinary Egyptophile, Gerald Massey, in *The Athenaeum*,[162] as supported by Frederick Fleay in 1886 and then Charlotte Stopes in her biography of Southampton that the *Sonnets* were published from a copy which William Hervey inherited two years earlier from his wife, Southampton's mother. [163] These were surely then passed on by Hervey, probably sold, to the slightly unscrupulous publisher, Thomas Thorpe. A letter republished by another accomplished early-twentieth century blue stocking, Mary Hervey, in her 1921 biography of the Earl of Arundel, is helpful here.[164] Arundel writes to his father-in-law, the Earl of Shrewsbury, on 17 November 1607:

> Old Southampton [by whom he means the Countess], I am sure you hear, is dead, and hath left the best part of her stuff to her son, and the greatest part to her husband, the most of which I think will be sold, and dispersed into the hands of many men […].[165]

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[162] 27 April, 552. Massey is in fact supporting the candidature of William Herbert against William Hathaway but conceding that: "If I had gone no deeper than the inscription, the mere surface of the subject, I might have suggested as 'getter' of the *Sonnets* for Thorpe, a more likely candidate […] i.e. Sir 'William Hervey', third husband of Southampton's mother".

[163] See Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Chronicle HIistory of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886). 62 and 161. There is a useful, if not entirely accurate and ultimately sceptical summary of this in Hyder Edward Rollins ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Sonnets*, 25, part II (Philadelphia and London: J. B Lippincott Company, 1944), 219–22. For Thorpe's tendency to exploit the reputation of Shakespeare, see relevant comments (though he does not mention Hervey), by Brian Vickers in "Thomas Thorpe and the *Oxford DNB*", *TLS* (21 January 2005), 15; cf. idem, *Shakespeare, A Lover's Complaint, and John Davies of Hereford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). *The Merry Wives of Windsor* refers to a printer who "cares not what he puts into the press" ((Act II, Scene 1).

[164] It is noteworthy that both these thoroughly-researched biographies were published by Cambridge University Press (in 1921 and 1922). Charlotte Carmichael married the younger paleontologist, Henry Stopes, in 1879 and travelled with him to Egypt. Their daughter was Marie Stopes, the advocate of birth control and eugenics. Schoenbaum (*Shakespeare*, 114 and 175) is sniffy about "Mrs Stopes" but he quotes her earlier publications rather than the 1922 biography).

[165] Hervey, *Arundel*, 40; for the will see above, note 155. This is also republished by G. P. V. Akrigg in *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), 151, yet he discounts the possibility that Thorpe might have obtained the *Sonnets* from

The Countess's will was proved on 14 November, just three days before Arundel wrote his letter.[166] The ambitious young Catholic-cultivating Thorpe, was surely one of the "many men" to whom Hervey "dispersed" her "stuff", in this case Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, copies of which it is most likely the author would have presented to the both the young Earl and his mother in whose "glass, and she in thee /Calls back the lovely April of her prime."[167]

Hervey. This is all the more surprising in that he draws the parallel between Shakespeare and Helena *vis a vis* the spoilt Bertram, Earl/Count of Roussillon (who is so reluctant to accept an arranged marriage). Akrigg writes, however, that "The widowed Countess of Roussillon with her cool aristocratic poise, shares nothing but her widowhood with Southampton's volatile and excitable mother." (256). It is likely that Arundel would known Shakespeare and his work as his friends Southampton and Rutland both patronized him. In 1607 when Arundel wrote this letter Shakespeare was lodging in Silver Street; Charles Nicoll, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007). This was very near the former priory which, as Norfolk and then Howard House, in the 1570s and '80s (until he was sent to the Tower where he died) had been the home of Arundel's father (Saint) Philip Howard as well as the Earls of Rutland. In February 1590 when the Queen's agent made a detailed report on required repairs, the young Arundel and his widowed mother were still living there. After he had returned to Catholicism, Philip wrote from the Tower to his devout wife Anne: "to let my son know when he comes to any years of discretion, that I was fully resolved to make *Howard-house* and *Norwich house* religious houses, and to restore all religious lands (if I had lived to see a Catholick time)." For this and the "somewhat mysterious building" called "Egipt", see Philip Temple, *The Charterhouse: Survey of London Monograph*, 18 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 30 and 51. Between 1535–1537 Henry VIII executed or starved to death sixteen of the Carthusians monks whose home it had been (ibid., 22).

[166] National Archives PROB 11/110/388 (dated 22 April 1607; proved 14 November).

[167] Sonnet 3, which tells the "lovely boy": "Thou art thy mother's glass…". Thorpe's printer was George Eld (for whom see below, 337), who in 1619 printed the sensational *Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillippa Flower, Daughters of Joan Flowere, neere Bever Castle*. This pamphlet hastened the fatal prosecution of three females charged with bewitching two sons of Lord Rutland, who "died in their infancy by wicked practise and sorcerye"; see Tracy Borman, *Witches: James I and the English Witch-hunts* (London: Vintage Books, 2014), 207–8. Dr Borman claims that the Earl of Rutland "had gained a good grounding" in "Continental demonological sources" during his Grand Tour of Europe. Given his pro-Spanish Catholicism, however, this is more likely to have encouraged skepticism, the Spanish Inquisition having banned the death penalty for witchcraft in 1614, before this pamphlet was published, whereas in Protestant Scotland and America so-called witches were still being executed in the eighteenth century; Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, 318–9. For Eld printing a 1624 sermon dedicated to Southampton, see below, 336–7.

After participation in the failed Essex rebellion and the shock of being imprisoned in the Tower along with fellow Catholics, Rutland and his brothers and almost being executed, partly in gratitude for his release by James I Southampton abandoned the old religion and like Prince Hal, several of his old friends including perhaps Shakespeare.[168] No longer would he and Rutland pass "[a]way the Tyme in London merely in going to Plaies every Day."[169] On 8 July 1599 Southampton's wife, Elizabeth Vernon, had written to him in Ireland reporting that "Sir John Falstaf is by his Mistress Dame Pintpot made father of a goodly milers thumb", in a way that suggests both parties were familiar with *Henry IV part I*.[170] In early 1601 Southampton and his friends had sent 40 shillings to Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, to have them perform "the deposyng and kyllyng of Kyng Rychard the Second." at the Globe on the afternoon of Saturday 7 February, the day before the attempted coup when Essex's "sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts" came crashing down.[171]

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168 Rutland and Southampton shared the same birthday of 6 October, the latter being three years older.

169 Stopes, *Southampton*, 173.

170 Ibid., 160 (for the affectionate original see: https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/file/cp-10116). There have since been numerous discussions of this reference (Stopes seems not to have recognized that mention of "Pintpot" indicates familiarity with Falstaff's name for Mistress Quickly), but here it is relevant both to underline the family acquaintance with Shakespeare as also the Essex faction, given that this reference to Falstaff is probably meant for Essex's enemy Lord Cobham to whose supposed affair the Countess's cousin Lord Essex had referred the previous year; for more detail, see now Peter Lake, *How Shakespeare put politics on the Stage: Power and Succession in the History Plays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017). It is also possible that Sir William Hervey was renamed as Bardolph so as not to give offence.

171 Chamberlain, *Letters*, I, 440, Wotton, *Letters*, II, 17 and doi.org/10.37078/341. A representative of the company shareholders (of which Shakespeare was a fellow 12.5 percenter), Southwark resident Augustine Phillips was questioned during the subsequent trial of Essex and his co-conspirators; cf. Tarnya Cooper, *Searching for Shakespeare* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 161. The players explained that they had not wanted to revive the play as it was out of date but being paid, they did so. This was accepted as sufficient explanation and they were not charged, indeed they performed before the Queen on 24 February 1601, the night before Essex was executed. Richard Thomson's probably gay acquaintance in Italy, Henry Cuffe, Essex's secretary and Regius Professor at Oxford, was less fortunate and was executed

Finally, consolidating the relevance of these relationships, less than three months after Southampton's mother died, on 5 February 1608 his stepfather, William Hervey, married as his second wife Cordell (or Cordelia) Annesley, having already assisted her in her struggle with her two older sisters who had tried to overturn their allegedly "lunatic" father's will. Hervey ended up as overseer of the will which was eventually proved in Cordell's favour on 7 July 1604.[172] Thanks to this marriage Hervey eventually acquired the title of 1st Baron Hervey of Kidbrooke, derived from the estate she inherited in the face of her sisters' opposition. This uncanny parallel with the medieval plot and the play, *King Leir, and his three daughters*, published in 1605, that Shakespeare recreated in a performance for James I the following year helps confirm the connection between Hervey, Shakespeare and the Southamptons, both mother and son.[173] Sceptics

with his master: Paul Botley, *Richard "Dutch" Thomson*, 60f. Two years earlier, on being ordered back from Florence to meet Southampton in Paris, Cuffe "redd Aristotle's Polyticks to hym with sutch exposytions as I doubt did hym but lyttle good; afterwards he redd to my lord of Rutlande" (MS Ashmole 1729, fol. 190r cited in *ODNB*).

[172] The National Archives Prob 11/104/286; Hervey is described as "the testator's overseer".

[173] Sir Brian Annesley was a wealthy Kentish former servant of Elizabeth I with three daughters: Grace (married to Sir John Wildgoose; cf. "wild-geese" in *Lear*, Act II, Scene 4), Christian (the wife of William Sandys, 3rd Baron Sandys of the Vyne, imprisoned for participation in the Essex Plot), and the youngest, the unmarried Cordell; see *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, vol. VII (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 268–420. In 1603, Grace tried to have her father declared incompetent to manage his estate. Cordell wrote to Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury to protest her older sister's action and otherwise supported her father against his eldest daughter. Brian Annesley died in July 1604; his will, leaving most to Cordell and debts already incurred to the sisters, is National Archives 11/104/286. With Hervey's help Cordell successfully defended this will, which left her (and therefore him) most of the family property. "King Liere" is referred to in a prefatory poem in John Gennings's account of his brother Edmund and Swithun Wells's martyrdoms; see Frank W. Brownlow, "A Jesuit Allusion to King Lear", *Recusant History*, XXVIII, no. 3 (May 2007), 416–23 and Alison Shell, "The Seventeenth Century 'Lives' of Edmund Gennings (1566–91)", *Recusant History*, XXX, no. 2 (October 2010), 213–27. For a discussion of the Annesleys and reference to Hervey, albeit not to Mr. W.H., see Richard Wilson, *Will Power: Essays on Shakespearean Authority* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1993), 215–27. I have devoted a chapter of my forthcoming book to these connections, including those between Southampton and the family's Catholic tutor, Swithun Wells, cousin of George Cotton of Warblington, who was hanged outside his house in 1591 and now a Saint.

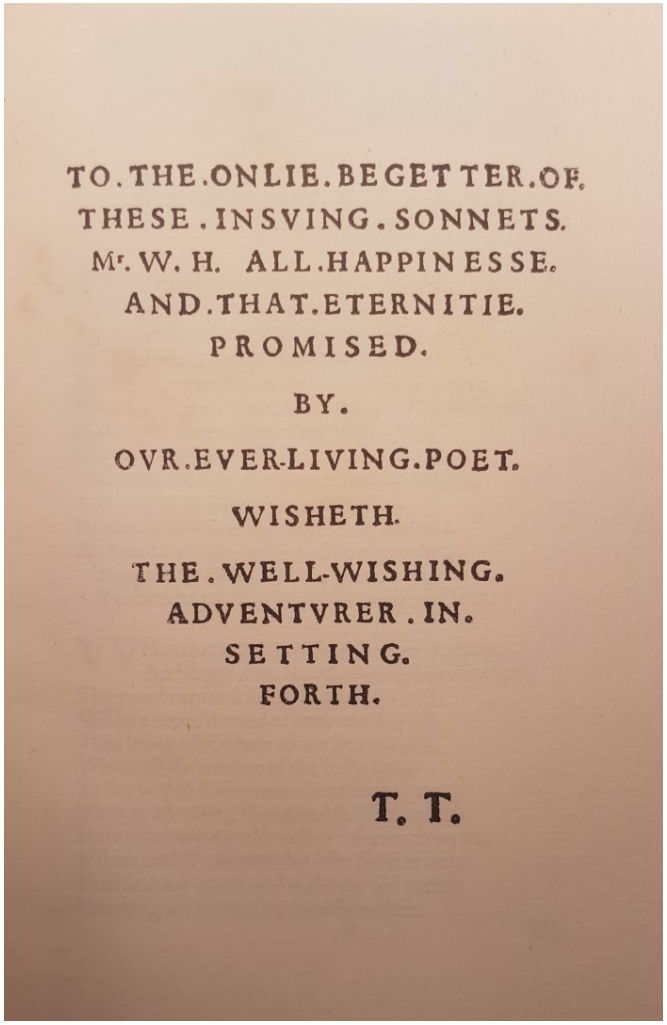
who have discussed the Annesley connection have tended to object that the key player (as it were) was spelled "Cordell" rather than "Cordelia" but on 5 May 1636 she was buried (in St Martin in the Fields, not as has been said elsewhere with her father in Lee Churchyard) as "Domina Cordelia Harvey".[174] In fact it seems that sometime after marrying Hervey but long before her death she updated her name from the *Leir* version of "Cordell" to the *Lear* one of "Cordelia". She is certainly named Cordelia by 1632, more than four years before she died. This we know due to the transcript of a memorial for the death of her daughter recorded in John Strype's revised edition of Stow's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*: "A fair Tomb Stone in the Chancel, with this Inscription":

> Here lieth buried the Body of Mistresse Dorothy Harvey; that honourable matchlesse Virgin, the Daughter of William Lord Harvey, Baron of Kidbrooke, and of the religious Lady his Wife, the Lady Cordelia Harvey, Daughter and Heire to Master Brian Ansley, Esquire, of Lee in Kent, who departed this transitory Life the 19. of February, Anno 1632.[175]

It is worth pointing out that Sir Brian Annesley is called "Master" here, thereby further confirming the irrelevance of the objection to the argument that Sir William, as he still was in 1609, could not have been described as mere "Mr. W.H." There follows the complete transcript of a fine commemorative inscription in honour of "Lord Hervie's Daughter, and fair Vertues Prize […] whose great Losse, her Parents Joyes are gone." The poem ends with the memento mori "Nascendo Morimur" which doesn't quite fulfil Thorpe's well-wishing to Mr. W.H. of "all happinesse and that eternitie promised by our ever-living poet" in his *Sonnets*.[176] Otherwise one wonders whether in wishing the procuring "onlie begetter" of *The Sonnets* "all happinesse" as well as echoing the concluding phrase of Shakespeare's dedication to Southampton of *Lucrece* (1594): "long life, still lengthned with all happinesse", Thorpe may have been thinking of the

[174] https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124786202.
[175] *Survey* (London: 1755), vol. II, 684.
[176] Eric Sams is surely right to argue that Thorpe is referring here to "one's progeny as promised in Sonnets 1 to 17, not (*pace* Kerrigan 1986, 169) 'the immortality assured the youth in sonnets like in 81 and 107' "; *The Real Shakespeare: Retrieving the Early Years, 1564–1594* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 112.

contrast between the positive prospects of Hervey and his wealthy young wife and the tragic ends of Shakespeare's stubborn heroine and her foolish father. No doubt named for the original Cordell and therefore knowing the story she and her father were well-warned not to repeat it. If they saw Shakespeare's far darker version (or indeed read it in the First Folio), they would have been all the more grateful for the warning, though even in the Geoffrey of Monmouth version Cordelia ends up committing suicide in prison.


TO.THE.ONLIE.BEGETTER.OF.
THESE.INSVING.SONNETS.
Mr. W. H. ALL.HAPPINESSE.
AND.THAT.ETERNITIE.
PROMISED.

BY.

OVR.EVER-LIVING.POET.

WISHETH.

THE.WELL-WISHING.
ADVENTVRER.IN.
SETTING.
FORTH.

T. T.

Fig. 9. The classicizing dedication-page of *SHAKE-SPEARES SONNETS. Never before Imprinted* (London: G. Eld for T.T., 1609)

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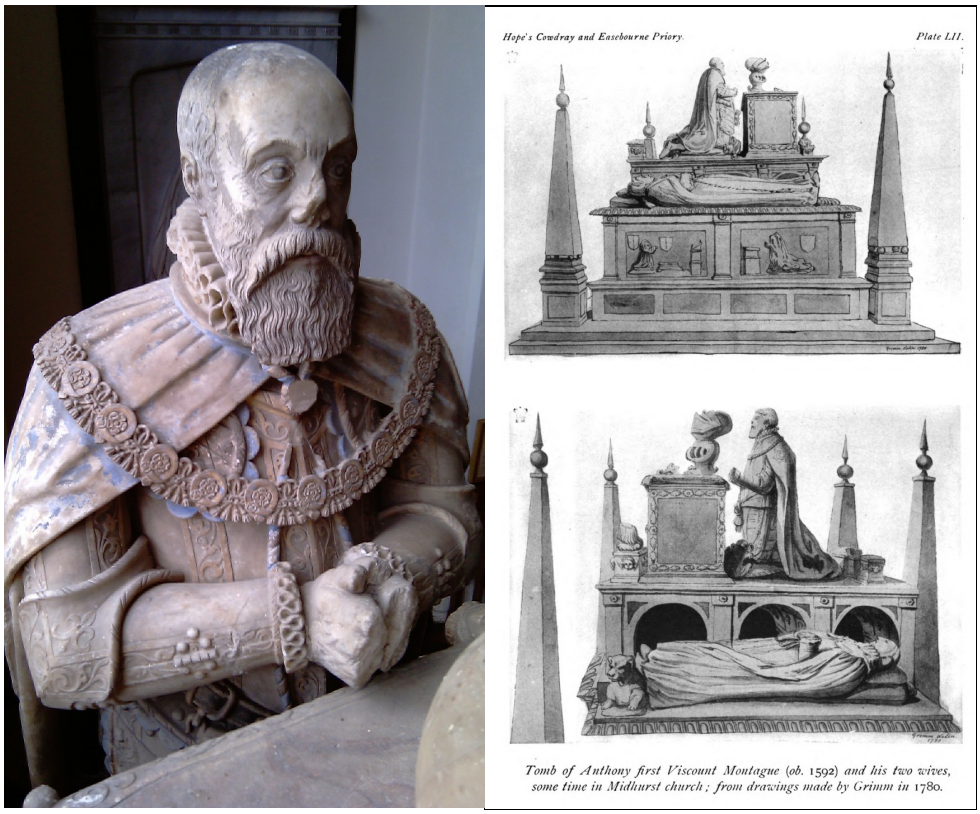
Where the Tong tomb is concerned, there were dynastic and denominational connections, the Stanleys being related to the Vernons and both related to the Brownes and Wriothesleys. Southampton's wife was Elizabeth Vernon of Hodnet in Shropshire and was a cousin of Edward Stanley's mother, "sharing a grandfather in Richard Vernon of Haddon".[177] Tong is *en route* from Hodnet to London.

But it is the "piramids" on this tomb (subsequently repositioned and reduced in order to fit into a more restricted space), and their relationship to the two similarly crypto-Catholic monuments in the south of England that tend to confirm the Shakespearean hypothesis. One of these southern tombs has been even more drastically mutilated than the Tong one and not merely relocated within a church but moved from one church to another and shorn of it Egyptianizing obelisks. This, the Montagu monument, once in the Southampton Chapel in St Mary Magdalene and St Denys in Midhurst, was created by Garat Johnson after the death of the first Viscount in October 1592. It seems to have been vandalized by iconoclasts (notably the nose and praying hands of Lord Montagu) prior to being further damaged in 1851 by being crudely dismantled and relocated to Easebourne Priory, closer to Montagu's by now burnt-out country house at Cowdray.[178] (Figs. 10–11) Far from being sky-aspiring, its four forlorn obelisks still lie abandoned in the yard outside the Priory. Its original

[177] Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen, *Shakespeare's Poems*, 444. Lord Burghley's granddaughter, Elizabeth de Vere, whom Shakespeare is probably persuading Southampton to marry in the *Sonnets*, married William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby instead in January 1595. For his supposed travels in Egypt, see Barry Coward, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley, and Earls of Derby, 1385–1672: The Origins, Wealth, and Power of a Landowning Family* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 64.

[178] The Easebourne Priory had belonged to Lord Montagu's father's half-brother, William Fitzwilliam, 1st Earl of Southampton, who built the chapel, east of the tower at Midhurst in which the Montagu tomb was originally located, his own being abandoned. During her six-day stay at Cowdray in 1591, Elizabeth knighted Montagu's second son, George Browne, and Montagu's son-in-law, Robert Dormer, 1st Baron Dormer. As well as the Gage tombs at Firle, Johnson built the fine Renaissance monument to Robert's fellow-Catholic father Sir William Dormer at All Saints, Wing.

design, however, more closely resembles the original design of the Tong tomb than does the well-preserved Southampton one.[179]



Figs. 10–11. Garat Johnson, *Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu* (1528–1592) (Photo: E. Chaney) and S.H. Grimm's 18th-century record of *The Montagu Monument* (c. 1595) as it stood in the Southampton Chapel, St Mary Magdalene and St Denys, Midhurst, now altered and deprived of its obelisks in Easebourne Priory, West Sussex

By virtue of his daughter, Mary Browne, having married Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton, Lord Montagu was grandfather to the 3rd Earl, also Henry, who was indeed born at Cowdray, which resembled the smaller Wriothesley residence of Titchfield Abbey, then called Place House, across the

[179] Adam White rejects both William Cure the Younger and Garat Johnson as sculptors of the Tong Tomb; see "A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors c. 1560–c. 1660", *Walpole Society*, 61 (1999), 46 and 74 but the latter seems more likely than most alternatives. It can in any case be safely attributed to the so-called Southwark School. Johnson described himself as "Tombemaker" in his July 1611 will (PROB 11/120/66).

county border in Hampshire.[180] Both ruins resemble the style of the Countess of Salisbury's Warblington Castle, which Montagu's half-brother, Southampton, possessed after her brutal execution.

Lord Montagu's will required that "within convenient time" a monument should be erected to him, his two wives and his son and heir Antony who had predeceased him.[181] His executor, cousin and fellow Catholic, Edward Gage, was released from prison in order to attend Montagu's funeral.[182] Recusant cousin, John Gage of Firle, meanwhile had Johnson create three family tombs in a new chapel at the same time as the Montagus and Southamptons were building theirs.[183] Montagu's son-in-law, the 2nd Earl of Southampton, had meanwhile died aged only 37, leaving £1000 for two tombs to be built in an enhanced family chapel at Titchfield church. This was eventually combined in one monument with recumbent effigies of his parents, the 1st Earl and Countess of Southampton (Jane Cheney), himself, and, in relief, his children, including the 3rd Earl.[184] The 2nd Earl and his wife, Mary, had had an acrimonious relationship,

[180] The 2nd Earl was let out of prison for Henry junior's birth. Shakespeare would doubtless have known that Henry VI had married Margaret of Anjou at Titchfield and perhaps of other visits by royalty.

[181] TNA, PROB 11/81/22–3.

[182] William Raleigh Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England: 1558–1603* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 154. Gage was also released at the request of the Countess to counter Thomas Dymocke's influence over the will; Stopes, *Southampton*, 10–3.

[183] See *Art, Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict*, eds Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Paul Quinn (London: Routledge, 2019), figs 9.6, 9.7 and 9.8.

[184] Witnesses to the will were George Fortescue, Edmund Prettye, Thomas Fryar [the Catholic physician], Thomas Peigham and Flox Hunt. "One part of the church however seems to separate itself from the rest and that is the South Chapel, which was built in the C14th and would have been a closed chapel, having its own sedilia (the stone seats found on the south side of an altar) and piscina […]." (http://www.hampshire-history.com/wriothesley-monument/ cf. https://sslt.odoo.com/chapel-timeline and Benjamin W. Greenfield, "The Wriothesley Tomb in Titchfield, Hants: Its effigial Statues and Heraldry", *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* (1889), 65–82. For a hopefully expanding new source of documentation see now the Shakespeare-Southampton Legacy Trust (https://sslt.odoo.com/). Given Rowse's proclivities it is amusing to note his mistakenly describing the Countess, Jane Cheney, who has in fact the dominant position on the topmost tier of the tomb, as her husband: "the Lord Chancellor in his robes, the collar of the Garter around his neck; below him, on the

to the extent that he had ordered that his heir, the future 3rd Earl, should be taken from his mother and handed over to his servant-friend Thomas Dymocke to be cared for.[185] Although after a spell in prison the 2nd Earl predeceased his father-in-law, Lord Montagu, it seems to have been the latter's death that prompted both commissions to be carried out by the Flemish Garat Johnson. Johnson lived near Montague House (or Close) in Southwark (built on the Priory of St Mary Overie) and had his workshop there, close to Henslowe's recently-constructed Rose Playhouse and the site of the first Globe, which would be erected at the end of the 1590s.[186]

Of the 1st Lord Montagu's devout if ultimately *politique* Roman Catholicism there is no doubt. Together with the Catholic Bishop Thomas Thirlby he welcomed Cardinal Pole home from exile at Dover in November 1554 and the following February he travelled to Rome with Thirlby as one of the English ambassadors sent by Philip and Mary to treat with Pope Julius III for the restoration of Catholicism in England.[187] He founded two chantries in Sussex, one at

next level, lie his Countess Jane on his right, on his left his son, the second Earl in armour." He had presumably used an oblique photograph such as the one reproduced as the frontispiece to his biography; see *Shakespeare's Southampton: Patron of Virginia* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 41.

185 See Hampshire Record Office and Stopes, *Southampton*, 3, 7, 11, 17 and 526. For an earlier mayor of Southampton by this name; see Cheryl Butler ed., *Book of Fines I: Southampton Records XLI*, 175, cf. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, 15–21. Best known was the relation of the Stanleys, via the Vernons, Sir Edward Dymoke (brother of Dame Margaret Vernon) who as Hereditary Champion of England officiated at the Coronation of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. The Countess complains to her father (as later to Lord Leicester) about Thomas Dymocke's suspiciously powerful status in the household whilst her husband accused her of an affair with a man called Dowsam or Donesame; Stope, *Southampton*, 523. Dymocke seems to have acted as go-between with Edmund Campion at one stage; Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, 15.

186 Questier, *Catholics and Community*, 207, says Montague Close, citing the London Metropolitan Archives P92/SAV/184–200e; cf. White, "A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors", 65-7. Montague Close skirts the old St Saviour's, now Southwark Cathedral, in which Shakespeare's brother Edmund was buried in 1609.

187 Questier, *Catholics and Community*, 113 and *Miscellaneous State Papers 1501–1726*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1778), I. For their journal's praise of Italian hospitals see my "Philanthropy in Italy Revisited: Post-Reformation British Perceptions of Italian Hospitals", *ISLG Bulletin*, 2018, 23–42. Though the sceptical author recommends

Battle Abbey and the other at Midhurst. Like his son and son-in-law he was in and out of prison due to his recusancy and occasional plotting, the Spanish ambassador writing to the Duke of Alva in December 1569:

> Lord Montague and the Earl of Southampton have sent to ask me for advice as to whether they should take up arms or go over to your excellency. I told them I could not advise them until I had direction to do so. I said my letter had been seized because there had been rumours about them lately […].[188]

Although Johnson had already created tombs for a handful of other Catholic aristocrats, including that in St Mary's Bottesford (c. 1591) for Sir Thomas Stanley's nephews the 3rd and 4th Earls of Rutland (whose family continued to patronise Shakespeare, Dallington and Inigo Jones), the Montagu and Southampton tombs were to be distinctive, above all in featuring four giant obelisks on each corner of the tombs (the ones on the Rutland tombs are relatively modest, the largest and finest on the Southampton tomb).[189] More

"William Thomas's book, of the Description of Italy" in Rome he mocks the "world of relicks, very ridiculous and incredible" (96 and 99). The fact that Montagu travelled to Rome with Thirlby to meet Julius III represents a rare instance of Richard Wilson overlooking a Catholic connection given Shakespeare's 1613 purchase of the upper floor of the Priory gatehouse at Blackfriars, which complex had been developed by Thirlby who died there in 1570; see Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in theatre, religion and resistance* (Manchester: MUP, 2004), 258–9. When Thirlby's body was discovered in 1783, it "had evidently been been preserved in some species of pickle […] and had the appearance of a mummy"; T.F. Shirley, *Thomas Thirlby: Tudor Bishop* (London: SPCK, 1964), 230. Wilson's reading of Shakespeare as a *politique* seems appropriate here, connecting him to the legacy of Vives, Erasmus and Pole rather than the less compromising one of either Protestant/Puritan versus Jesuit. Southampton seems to have converted to a kind of pan-European Protestantism in the Tower; see below, note 195.

[188] Calendar Simancas MSS, 1568–71 in Stopes, *Southampton*, 509.

[189] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 139. Six years after his death in 1612 the Johnsons were commissioned to build another tomb for the 5th Earl of Rutland and the following year Rutland's brother, Francis, the 6th Earl commissioned Shakespeare to devise an *impresa* for him and Richard Burbage for making and painting it. (Burbage was one of only three London "fellows" mentioned in Shakespeare's 1616 will). If Burbage did not actually design the *impresa* it is likely that Inigo Jones may have done as he had overall supervision of the event; Chaney, *Inigo Jones's Roman Sketchbook*, II, 8–9. For Ben Jonson's visit to the Rutland tombs see James Loxley https://www.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk/ben-jonsons-walk/the-bottesford-tombs/. Jones had been paid by the 5th Earl of Rutland and his

evident in its original design, the Tong tomb followed those of the Hampshire and Sussex Catholic families, which tends to support the Shakespearean connection where the inscription is concerned. It may also lend support to the notion that the young Shakespeare spent some time in the north of England. That Shakespeare became a protégé of the young Earl of Southampton when his patron's family tomb was being planned is not in doubt; Southampton is depicted in an alabaster relief on the Titchfield monument in the very year that Shakespeare lovingly dedicated *The Rape of Lucrece* to him and his mother remarried (Fig. 2). Southampton and his sister, Mary, are facing each other, kneeling in prayer for the souls of their parents and grandparents in a manner ultimately reminiscent of the way in which ancient Egyptians and their priests prayed for the souls of their departed. After 1552, however, apart from during the reign of Philip and Mary, this practice was condemned as unacceptably Catholic.[190]

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brothers as a picture maker on the 28 June 1603, the very day of their departure for Denmark. In his 1585 translation of Paolo Giovio's treatise on *imprese*, Samuel Daniel elaborates on the Egyptian origins of *imprese*; see *The worthy tract of Paulus Iovius, containing a discourse of rare institutions, both militarie and amorous called imprese. By Samuel Daniell late student in Oxenforde*. This is dedicated by Daniel to Sir Edward Dimmock, Champion to her Maiestie, perhaps a relation of Thomas, the 2nd Earl of Southampton's intimate friend, to whom he entrusted the care of his son, Shakespeare's patron.

[190] Cf. note 8 above. The 2nd Earl left the very large sum of £266 for prayers for his soul to be said. In the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* a Homily is added saying: "Let us not therefore dreame either of Purgatory, or of prayer for the soules of them that be dead". https://www.lutterworth.com/pub/understanding%20prayer%20dead%20ch2.pdf.
For useful discussions of this and other relevant locations see Judith Frances Jones, *Dances of Life and Death: Interpretations of Early Modern Religious Identity from Rural Parish Church and their Landscapes along the Hampshire/Sussex Border 1500–1800* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Southampton, 2013 (https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/366338/). Following a rather too abridged account of the 3rd Earl's religion in Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 823, Dr Jones mistaken in stating that he was "as emphatic a Protestant as his father was a Catholic" (50). Southampton was a fashionably rebellious Catholic prior to his imprisonment in the Tower. As late as 28 May 1603 the Venetian Ambassador writes that "old Howard [Northampton] and Southampton, who are both Catholics, declare that God has touched their hearts, and that the example of their King has more weight with them than the disputes of theologians. They have become Protestants, and go to church in the train of the King"; see *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1603–7* (28 May 1603). https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol10/pp28-42.

In late 1624 Southampton and his son would both succumb to disease whilst fighting the Habsburgs in the Low Countries and would be shipped back to join their ancestors in the vault beneath Shakespeare's sky-aspiring pyramids. The once quasi-enclosed, *de facto* mortuary or chantry chapel is no longer clandestinely Catholic but the "Ka" of its occupants surely survives in the ultimately Egyptian effigies that maintain their memory and that of their ancestors.[191]

Shakespeare had died in Stratford eight years before Southampton, who on the eve of his less expected death, accepted the dedication of a very different kind of book to those that he had accepted in the previous century. It was earlier in 1624 that the young "student of divinitie", Thomas Ailesbury, published his *Paganisme and papisme parallel'd and set forth in a sermon at the Temple-Church, vpon the feast day of All-Saints*. Interestingly, the printer of this sermon was the same George Eld who had printed Shakespeare's *Sonnets* for Thomas Thorpe. He had also (appropriately?) printed Ben Jonson's *Volpone* for Thorpe in 1605, as well as other plays and masques by Jonson, the satirical *Returne from Pernassus* (twice) in 1606 (see above) and the presumably unauthorized quarto of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* in the same year as the *Sonnets*. Eld also combined printing with publishing in his own right, apparently imitating Thorpe in exploiting Shakespeare's selling power, notably with *The Puritaine: or the Widdowe of Watling Street*, which was signed simply "W.S." in the titlepage.[192]

By the time Lord Southampton received Ailesbury's dedication he was no longer a Catholic nor even a Shakespeareanly *politique* sympathizer but had become an exemplary Protestant in the manner of Philip II's godson, Sir Philip Sidney.[193]

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[191] For the legacy of the mortuary temple and the function of the effigy, see my "'Mummy first: Statue after': Wyndham Lewis: Diffusionism, Mosaic Distinctions and the Egyptian Origins of Art", 47–73; cf. above 267.

[192] Included by Philip Chetwinde (with *Pericles*) in the second impression of the Third Folio but clearly not by Shakespeare. Curiously, "Printed for Philip Chetwin" is engraved on the title-page of my copy of the 1670 edition of Sandys's *Relation of a Journey*. Ailesbury's sermon dedicated to Southampton was published by Leonard Becket, who had entrepreneured the successful literary anthology, *A help to discourse; or, A miscellany of merriment*, which includes excerpts from Shakespeare among many others, in 1619.

[193] *En route* to such exemplarity, however, we find Southampton still capable of flirting with Anne of Denmark; see Ann Somerset, *Unnatural Murder: Poison at the Court of James I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), 121. This may even explain Southampton's

The anti-Catholic Ailesbury clearly felt confident to regale him with a preface which if it echoes Shakespeare's dedications in its "humble acknowledgement of your *Lordships* great fauours," bore no further resemblance:

> I present vnto your *Lordships* view, the Modell of a *Sermon* […] wherein your Lordship may behold *Pagan* and *Papal* Rome, so mutually intertexed and folded up into one Masse or *Chaos*, that you may safely pronounce the Heathen City to liue in this they call Christian: Yea, such is the dependancy, that if this *Iezabel* were stripped out of those Robes of *Paganisme*, she would well-nigh goe naked.

If Ailesbury ever saw the obelisks on the richly decorated family tomb in its private chapel he would doubtless have disapproved but then Southampton himself may no longer have admired it, if indeed the slightly disrespectful "but dressings of a former sight" of Shakespeare's sonnet 123 doesn't suggest he may never have been enthusiastic. But it is idolatry that most exercises Ailesbury, albeit Egyptian idolatry or that which corrupted the Israelites. Ailesbury's respect for St Augustine perhaps accounts for his traditional adulation of the Virgin Mary but he is otherwise (also conventionally) in denial of the extent to which Christianity evolved out of the religion of ancient Egypt. The worship of the "Heathen deities" is worship of the devil. Despite referring to "the great Casaubon" (who had discredited him a decade ago), Ailesbury quotes the opinion of:

> *Hermes Trismegistus*, that the *Idols* were as bodies, & the *Demons* as soules to informe them: the reason of this coniecture was, because the Devils did confine themselues to particullar Statues, as at *Delphos*, &c.[194]

When God gave Moses the Law on Mount Sinai:

> He appeared in no shape, lest man thereby should take a patterne to delineate his Image. It was vncouth in *Israel* (such was their breeding in *Egypt)* to adore an unseene *God* therefore they became suitors to *Aaron* for an Instauration of the *Egyptian gods, Make vs gods that may goe before vs*. When Man became vaine in his thoughts, *Idols* were not erected till then, and then they were.

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mysterious but brief imprisonment in June 1604 for which see Akrigg, *Southampton*, 141. The following year, however, he entertained Anne to a performance of *Love's Labour's Lost* at Southampton House.

[194] *Paganisme and papisme parallel'd*, 14.

He blames Egypt in particular for encouraging worship the golden calf or Apis. Ailesbury's attack on the Catholic mass is negatively contextualised in terms of pagan sacrifices such as that of "an Oxe […] sacred to Osyris".[195]

> The Israelites infected with the *Egyptian* aire, and imbrued with Idolatry, learnt no more but to erect *Calves* in memory of the great *God*. They could not on the sudden fall off from the Lord, so lately catechized with his wonders, but thought to set up *Calves* to his honour […]. The *Papall Rome* at this day out-bids the *Pagan* for *Idols* of this sort, and scornes the old City should exceed the new in Pluralitie of *Images*.[196]

Ailesbury was probably unaware that the Southampton emblem was a sable bull "with a Ducal Coronet between the horns" and that the family mansion in Southampton itself was called Bull or Bugle Hall off what is now known as Bugle Street, a bugle being a medieval name for a young ox, derived from "buculus", the diminutive of the Latin "bos" but closer to the bull-god, "Buchis".[197] At the feet of the effigies on the Titchfield monument are four bulls,

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[195] Ailesbury, *Paganisme and Papisme Parallel'd*, 9; cf. Thomas Nashe's more satirical reference to "the Egyptian Oxe" in his prologue to *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles* of 1600 cited by Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 266. G. P. V. Akrigg quotes, albeit disparagingly, Dr Peckard: "This Earl […] had been converted from Popery by Sir Edwin Sandys" (*Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton*, 177). Sandys and Southampton were fellow-members and effective co-controllers of the Virginia Company, which appointed Sir Edwin's brother and fellow-Arminian, George Sandys, Treasurer of the Company. For Ailesbury, see *ODNB* (under Thomas Aylesbury). Sadly, like so many relatively moderate critics of the old religion he eventually fell foul of more virulently anti-Catholic parliamentarians, was imprisoned for a while and deprived of his livings, becoming increasingly anti-Calvinist.

[196] Ailesbury, *Paganisme and Papisme Parallel'd*, 7.

[197] Cf. above, note 38, for Augustus sacrificing to Buchis at Hermonthis (modern day Armant). Shakespeare's familiarity by 1599 with this part of old Southampton is suggested by his reference in the Chorus to Henry V: "Suppose that you have seen / The well-appointed king at Hampton pier / Embark his royalty". The West Gate, which still survives, is that through which Henry V embarked after mass in the Norman church of Southampton having executed the two plotters, as recounted in this part of the play. I assume Shakespeare's familiarity with both Bull Hall and Titchfield Abbey (Place House) which had its own theatre. The original name of the Southampton property may have been due to its 13th-century owners, the de la Bulehuse family; Colin Platt, *Medieval Southampton* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 267; John Leland called Bull House the "chefest" of "the many fair marchauntes houses" in Southampton; ibid., 268; cf. the 11th-century Southampton setting of *Edmund Ironside*, above note 95.

two standing and two "couchant upon a wreath of red and gold […] ducally crowned, horned, hoofed, crined, and muzzle-ringed, with chain reflexed over the back all in gold" (Fig. 12).[198]

Fig. 12. *The Southampton Bull, Wriothesley Monument,* St Peter's Church, Titchfield and Fig. 13. Francis Delaram, *Isis sive Aegyptus* and *Apis sive Osiris*, from titlepage of George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London: 1615)

[198] Greenfield, "The Wriothesley Tomb", 74; cf. also below, note 190 and for the bull god, Buchis, note 38 above.

On the south wall above the monument is the Southampton standing bull crest on top of a nobleman's helmet (Fig. 1). Though Southampton's grandfather, Viscount Montagu, may well have seen them during his visits to the Vatican in 1555, thankfully Ailesbury is unlikely to have known of Pinturicchio's extraordinary "Egyptian" frescoes in the Borgia Apartments in the Sala dei Santi in the Vatican. These celebrate the Apis Bull as the incarnation of Osiris, the husband-brother of Isis. Osiris is depicted as the teacher of mankind and, as the Apis-bull, was worshipped alongside his pyramid tomb.[199] Ailesbury might well have seen the title page of George Sandys's popular *Relation of a Journey* (1615), however, which features Francis Delaram's fine engravings of "Apis sive Osyris", beneath "Isis, sive Aegyptus" holding her sistrum (Fig. 13). In what is much the best contemporary account of Egypt, Sandys also illustrated (and attempted to explain) hieroglyphs seen at Sais and a group of shabti and other artefacts that he brought back and presented to the Tradescants' Lambeth Museum.[200]

In the summer of 1623, more than a year before Southampton's death, Shakespeare's one-time friend and colleague, the "old player", Edward Alleyn, Inigo Jones and his patron Lord Arundel, together with half the Privy Council, rode down to Southampton to prepare the town for the reception of Prince Charles and his bride to be, the Spanish Infanta. Partly due to opposition by the Pope as well as the likes of Ailesbury and Southampton himself, on this occasion the marriage contract remained unsigned since the princess declined to come.[201]

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199 See the detailed discussion in Curran, *Egyptian Renaissance*, chapter 6 (107–31).

200 Chaney, "Egypt in England and America", 52. Amusingly, in the case of the framed hieroglyphs (105), he criticizes his engraver (probably Francis Delaram) in a marginal note for choosing "rather to follow, than reform an error". Where the shabti were engraved as they appear, as best "the cutter" could manage, the hieroglyphs were depicted as described in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*; see Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler*, 86.

201 This event would have echoed that in 1554 when Arundel's great-great-grandfather, Henry Fitzalan, the 12th Earl (godfather with Henry VIII to the 2nd Earl of Southampton) welcomed Philip of Spain who then proceeded to Winchester to marry Queen Mary. In 1623 several, including Jones and Arundel, were made honorary burgesses of the town, as the young 3rd Earl of Southampton had been before having the title annulled as a result of his participation the Essex rebellion (it was restored to him after his pardon in 1603). The southern gate to Bull Hall, also survives, albeit blocked in and could indeed have been redesigned by Inigo Jones for the reception of

The still Catholic, *impresa*-commissioning Rutland commanded the *Prince Royal* that brought back his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, and Prince Charles but instead of Peace in Europe, a Treaty of Southampton effectively declared war on Spain, despite Rutland's opposition.[202] Lord Southampton and his son and heir, James (the King's godson), were soon fighting the Spanish alongside their Dutch allies. Tragically, father followed 19-year-old son in succumbing to "a burning feaver" in November 1624, a matter of months after Ailesbury's sermon was published. Their bodies were brought back to Titchfield where they now lie beneath those four symbols of the Sun God *Ra*, as Christianized by an Augustan Pope. Their deaths meant they escaped the civil war which finally erupted in 1642, the year that Sir William Hervey died and the theatres were closed. Between these two dates, Arundel attempted to import a real Egypto-Romano obelisk. Like his friend, Shakespeare's last known patron, Lord Rutland, he too died a Catholic but self-exiled in Italy. His intestines were extracted and deposited in a wall of the cloisters of the Basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua. His preserved body was brought home to Arundel Castle but his plans for a monument to be designed by Francesco Fanelli were never realized. Only a drawing by Cornelis Schut, etched by fellow-Catholic Wenceslaus Hollar, survives to suggest what Arundel's tomb might have looked like (Fig. 14).[203]

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the Infanta. One wonders whether the notorious priest hunter, Topcliffe had the Southamptons in mind when in December 1591 he taunted the family's now canonised Catholic tutor, Swithun Wells, who was about to be hanged outside his house: "Dogbolt Papists! you follow the Pope and his Bulls; believe me, I think some bulls begot you"; see Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England", *Past & Present*, 153 (November 1996), 64–107.

[202] E. Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 1–5. Jones had already designed a Catholic chapel in St James's in anticipation of the Infanta's arrival. His Banqueting House, inspired by Palladio's "Egyptian Hall", was likewise built to unprecedentedly high standards in anticipation of entertaining international guests.

[203] https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw42983/Thomas-Howard-14th-Earl-of-Arundel-Allegory-on-the-Death-of-.

Fig. 14.Wenceslaus Hollar, etching after Cornelis Schut's *Allegory on the death of the Earl of Arundel*; 1646 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

The winged figure of Time tugs at Arundel's ermine robe but will not be able to "boast" of changing him. Neither the "pyramids" Arundel admired in Rome in 1614, nor those which now featured routinely on funeral monuments were sufficiently "novel" or "strange" for Time's "continual haste" to alter his stable if melancholy pose. Behind both Time and Arundel looms his own "pyramid" representing the repaired and re-erected Obelisk of Domitian that he might have placed in the celebrated sculpture garden of his Thames-side palace, not far from where "Cleopatra's Needle" now stands.[204] Had he, on the other hand, chosen

[204] Chaney, "*Roma Britannica* and the Cultural Memory of Egypt", 153. I gave the talk

to transport this Obelisk to Arundel Castle, his country home in Sussex, it would now have been joined by other "pyramyds buylt up with newer might", against the backdrop of the multiple spires of the Catholic Cathedral. For in tribute to the Collector Earl of Arundel, the focal point of the new garden named for him and opened by Prince Charles on 14 May 2008, is the shell-lined "Oberon's Palace", based on Inigo Jones's 1611 drawing for Ben Jonson's *Oberon*, *The Fairy Prince*.[205] Flanked by two tall oak obelisks, it now provides the perfect venue for performances of the plays of Shakespeare.[206]

on which this is based at Arundel Castle on 9 November 2006. I would like to thank the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, John Martin Robinson, Brian Allen and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art for their advocacy and sponsorship of this occasion.

[205] Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, figs. 63–4.

[206] Jones included obelisks on either side of the triangular pediments on the north and south entrances of his classicizing restoration of old St Paul's Cathedral, largely destroyed in the Great Fire of London. His own tomb, featuring his bust flanked by two obelisks in St Benet's, Paul's Wharf, was likewise ruined in the 1666 Fire; ibid., 153.