

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Examination

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate School, have given Paul Campbell Young final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts . We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

.....1920

E. R. Stoll

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Chairman

G. N. Northrop

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Report

of

Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Paul Campbell Young for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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T H E S I S

Shakespeare's Ophelia and the Original

A Thesis Submitted to the
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University of Minnesota

by

Paul Campbell Young

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Shakespeare's Ophelia and the Original.

Long ago a German critic used the following language in regard to Ophelia: "But if I do not entirely misunderstand Shakespeare the poet has meant to intimate throughout the piece that the poor girl, in the ardor of her passion for the fair prince, has yielded all to him"⁽¹⁾. A contemporary English scholar, Professor Bradley, would doubtless have said to Tieck, "Well, in this case you do entirely misunderstand him"; for Professor Bradley has said, "Her father and brother are jealously anxious for her because of her ignorance and innocence; and we resent their anxiety because we know Hamlet better than they"⁽²⁾. These quotations are not meant to show a different moral standard among German and English critics, but to show that the same confusion that has accompanied the interpretation of Hamlet's character has, though in a less striking fashion, attended that of Ophelia. Some actresses, notably Sarah Bernhardt, have portrayed the character in keeping with the conception of Tieck; while on the English and American stage Ophelia is presented as perfectly pure. The effort to account for Ophelia's character in the Shakespearean text is somewhat baffling, and has led some scholars to the conclusion that Shakespeare withholds from us much that was originally in her story. Professor Lewis, it seems to me, has got closer to the truth about this composite picture of Ophelia than any

1. Tieck, quoted by Furness "Variorum Hamlet" vol.2, p 286. Not being able to read German, I have been forced to work without the material to be found in late untranslated German works.
2. "Shakespearean Tragedy" p 261. All references to Bradley will be in regard to this work.

one else whose work I have seen. After having shown the irreconcilable nature of Shakespeare's Ophelia, in the following words he states the first prerequisite to a solution: "For all these reasons we conclude that the true story of Ophelia is not fully told in Shakespeare's play"⁽³⁾. That Shakespeare's Hamlet is a composite of traits of character from the old stage Hamlet and of traits of character added by Shakespeare, sometimes imperfectly harmonized, has been in late years the point of departure for a study of Hamlet's character,⁽⁴⁾ carried out especially by Professors Thorndike,⁽³⁾ Lewis,⁽⁵⁾ and Stoll. The results of these historical studies have been far-reaching; surely this method of investigation has been justified by its achievements. Professor Stoll, although he dealt very thoroughly with Hamlet's character, did not take up Ophelia; and others have not done a great deal with the character. She is only a woman, and the play is Hamlet. The scant treatment she received at Shakespeare's hands has left her with a negative personality, which readers have made positive according to their own sentiment and sentimentality, fashioning her almost always in England as an angel of purity, and sometimes on the continent as a frail woman who loved too well. The meagerness of her character in Shakespeare has kept critics from doing much more than writing a subjective

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3. "Genesis of Hamlet" p 120: All references to Lewis will be in regard to this work.
 4. "Relation of Hamlet to Contemporary Revenge Plays" in Modern Language Publ. 1902: All references to Thorndike are to this essay.
 5. "Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study".

and psychological "appreciation" of her. Professor Lewis, it is true, did much more than this; and although he did not say all he might have said, still he settled some things. I shall refer every now and then to his admirable ninth chapter. But it seems to me that there is further need of pursuing the historical method in regard to Ophelia in order to see what the complete characterization of her must have been in Kyd's Hamlet, and thus better to understand the partial portrayal of her in Shakespeare.

Before we see how the character developed historically let us call to mind the finished Ophelia in Shakespeare's Q2⁽⁶⁾. Having been courted by Hamlet and being warned by Laertes, she says that she will take his advice⁽⁷⁾ (Q1 adds that she can keep her "honor firm"), and tells him to look to himself. Her father continues the advice, calls her a fool for believing Hamlet's vows, and commands her to deny him access to her (and in Q1 to refuse his letters). She obeys. The next we hear, Hamlet, all dishevelled, has frightened her in the gallery, off stage, by his evidently feigned delirious actions. Polonius will wager now that he is mad for love. The test scene comes, Hamlet shows absolutely no love, but rather a cynical and coarse disregard for her feelings. She implores Heaven's mercy on him. In the play scene his words to her are flippant and obscene; and although Ophelia may never have learned⁽⁸⁾ he did it, he kills her father. She goes mad, sings immodest

Q2

6. An abbreviation for Quarto two, the edition of 1604.

Q1

7. As usual refers to the Quarto of 1603, a first or early draft of Shakespeare's play.

songs on the stage, strews flowers around, and soon drowns herself. Over her grave Hamlet says that he loved her more than forty-thousand brothers. In all Shakespeare's play there is not one unconstrained scene between her and Hamlet, nor a single full-fledged soliloquy to give vent to her feelings. Notwithstanding this fact, her part in the play is important and the actual stage effectiveness of the character is wonderful. Yet it is for the reason that we do not see her in unconstrained scenes or in soliloquy that her character cannot be made out in Shakespeare. For the full implications of the part we must look to Shakespeare's sources, and to the evident prototypes.

Scholars unite in saying that the original Ophelia as well as the entire Hamlet story came from Kyd's play, which for convenience we shall hereafter call the old "Hamlet". What Professor Boas says of the whole "Hamlet" is true of Ophelia: "The Hamlet that we know is not a homogeneous product of genius. It is - unless evidences external and internal combine to deceive us - a fusion, with the intermediate stages in the process still partly recognizable, of the inventive dramatic craftsmanship of Thomas Kyd and the majestic imagery, penetrative psychology and rich verbal music of William Shakespeare"⁽⁹⁾ .

In order to see more of this craftsmanship we shall look at Kyd's works. I propose by an examination of Kyd's extant writings to try to arrive at the type of play he must have written when

8. Lewis p 120; and note that Laertes did not know who killed his father.

9. "Thomas Kyd" LIV; all references to Boas will be to this work.

he brought out the old "Hamlet", and in particular to come at the type of woman Ophelia must have been. Then in the light of our conclusions as to Kyd's genius we shall look at the type of revenge play as it later followed the "Spanish Tragedy" and the old "Hamlet" to see if there is any reason for modifying our opinion in regard to the part Ophelia played in the old play. In the third place we shall note the likenesses between the "Spanish Tragedy" ⁽¹⁰⁾ and the old "Hamlet"; in the fourth place we shall look at the remains of the old play in "Fratricide Punished" ⁽¹¹⁾, Q1, and Q2; last of all, taking our lives in our hands, we shall try to reconstruct Ophelia's part in Kyd's play.

I.

First as to Kyd's genius. The canon of Kyd, as Professor Boas makes it out, includes "The Spanish Tragedy", "Soliman and Perseda", "The Murther of John Brewen", "Cornelia" (a translation from the French), and "The Householdiers Philosophie", which is also a translation. Except the last, which is a purely didactic piece, every one of these is a story of blood and of romantic love. "The Murther of John Brewen" is a tale of adultery and poisoning with the common Elizabethan moral added. "Cornelia" is of a woman who married a second time, she knew not exactly why; with the death of her father, her husband, and herself as the penalty for unfaithfulness to the first deceased husband. "Soliman and Perseda" demands closer inspection. It is supposed to have been written by Kyd after the old "Hamlet" ⁽¹²⁾. The play opens at Rhodes. Erastus

10. See appendix for discussion of the dates of Sp.Tr. and Kyd's "Hamlet".

loves Perseda and gains her love. In a tournament he overcomes all the knights, but loses the love token of Perseda, and with it her love. He recovers the jewel and her favor, but has to kill the man who has found it and given it to his love, Lucina. Erastus flees to Constantinople, where Soliman befriends him. Perseda and Lucina are brought as captives to Soliman. Soliman gives Brusor Lucina and thinks to keep Perseda for himself, but she will die before submitting to him. He is on the point of killing her, but decides to court her instead. Erastus come in; Perseda falls on his neck and kisses him; they marry and are sent back to Rhodes as rulers. Soliman later repents his action and desires Perseda for himself.

(13)
Lucina is sent to solicit her love for him. Erastus is killed on a false charge. Perseda learns the facts, turns on Lucina, kills her, and in man's clothing dies in a combat with Soliman. Dying, she reveals her identity; he kisses her poisoned lips and dies. Besides the duplicated love affairs and the bloodiness of the play, there are, as in "The Spanish Tragedy", a great many quick, spectacular changes of mood bringing about startling effects.

The plot of "The Spanish Tragedy" is familiar. Andrea, a former secret lover of Bel-imperia, has been killed in a fair stand-up fight, and yet his ghost craves revenge. Horatio, who buried the

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11. The German version of Hamlet available in Furness "Variorum Hamlet" Vol. II; "Cohn's "Shakespeare in Germany" and the "Bankside" Shakespeare.
 12. Boas "Kyd" LVII - LXI
 13. Note this in connection with the discussion of "Celestina" page 28
 14. It was implied, too, in S & P I. 1:30, where the lovers are seen alone four times.

body, falls heir to Bel-imperia's love. Three love scenes are shown between the two, and all through the play Balthazer pleads for her love. Lorenzo, her brother, learns of the Horatio-Bel-imperia liaison, murders him while the lovers are in a bower, and coops her up. Hieronimo finally revenges his son's death after being informed about it and egged on to action by Bel-imperia. Isabella "runs lunatic", chops down the bower where her son was slain, and stabs herself. The revenge is accompanied by a play within the play in which the villains and the revengers are performers. The play as a whole abounds in striking situations, quick changes of moods, and, like "Soliman and Perseda", deals with aristocratic persons.

If we accept "Jeronimo", a fore-part to "Spanish Tragedy" as Kyd's - Boas rejects it - , we find Kyd in it using three sentimental scenes between the lovers, while secret love is clearly implied (14) . Paraphrasing Professor Thorndike (15) , Jeronimo is made up of two murders, is full of embassies, battles, mouthings, defiances, villanous intrigues, and contains a romantic love affair.

Now from a close reading of these plays we should arrive at a pretty definite conception of Kyd's genius; even from this hurried glance we see certain characteristics which Professor Boas and Professor Lewis have already formulated. According to the former, Kyd has a "genius for devising impressive situations and flamboyant phrases, and for exploiting to the full the technical resources of the contemporary stage" (16) .

15. p. 142; see note 4, above

16. XXXI.

Speaking of Bel-imperia, Professor Boas says, "It is characteristic of Kyd's confused moral standard that his heroine is prepared to put no limits to her self surrender 'when life in passion dies' " ⁽¹⁷⁾ . Professor Lewis, although referring to Hamlet's actions toward Ophelia, spoke in terms that apply to all of Kyd's work:

"Perhaps we can most comfortably reconcile ourselves to Hamlet's behavior by saying that the indifference is not his (Hamlet's) but Shakespeare's, while the passion and cruelty are not Shakespeare's ⁽¹⁸⁾ but Kyd's" .

So here, from our own cursory view of Kyd's works, from the judgment of Professor Boas and Professor Lewis, we come to a conception of Kyd's genius: first of all his genius is for passion, passion of love and hate, showing itself on the stage in love scenes and scenes of revenging fury; second his abilities are shown in the working out of a complicated plot, made effective by striking situations, sudden changes in characters, "tragic speeches", and novel and sometimes ghastly stage business. Seeing the work of Kyd's that remains, I should say that - at least as far as women are concerned - he could not do any other sort of work. Shakespeare, fifteen years later, was eclectic and could have women in love or not as he chose; and if only three or four of his plays had remained, it would have been folly to say that all his others must have been like them. We could hardly judge Marlowe as I am judging Kyd; his work is more varied. But Kyd, inheriting the Senecan tradition, and if possible adding to its passion of love and hate, in a time when inspiration was coming from the continent, when there were no English prede-

17. XXXIV.

18. p. 127

cessors to change his purpose or modify his treatment, portrayed women in love or he portrayed them not at all. In fact Kyd had a predilection for secret love. So my theory is that wherein our Ophelia lacks passion, she is Shakespeare's and not Kyd's. The titles and sub-titles of Kyd's works show how great a part the women played.

In my opinion the point that Kyd portrays romantic love on the stage is important. Kyd evidently felt himself an adept at working out these love scenes (three in "Jeronimo", four in "The Spanish Tragedy" - besides those where Balthazar pleads for Bel-imperia's love - , four in "Soliman and Perseda", the whole of "John Brewen" - all show this as inherent in Kyd's dramaturgy). If this sort of love is not found in any extant story of Hamlet, it is not Kyd's fault. From this view of Kyd's genius we should expect to find Hamlet not only bringing destruction on the villain for murder and adultery, but being in love himself, in the Kydian fashion, and not in the conventional, or even off stage fashion. And we should expect to see him in love with one of the sisters of Bel-imperia, Perseda, Cornelia, and John Brewen's wife, the whole family of whom were as romantic as the Spanish and as courageous as the English.

II.

But there is indirect evidence of great weight that bears out our theory in regard to Kyd's treatment of women, namely, the later course of the revenge play. "The Spanish Tragedy" and old "Hamlet" were the first of a whole series of revenge plays¹⁹. The phenomenal success of Kyd's plays stamped their likeness on the

19. See Thorndike p.148 ff. Professor Thorndike implies that the romantic love element is always present; but he does not, I think,

revenge plays that followed them. There was a revenge tradition just as there was a pastoral tradition. The point is this revenge type that interests us is that the revenger always had a mistress or wife, or if a woman, a lover - at least this was the case up to Q1. A detached revenger was unknown. One of the pair might be killed half way through the action, or even before then, but there were always sentimental scenes before that. Beginning with "The Spanish Tragedy" (subtitle "Horatio and Bel-imperia"), "Antonio's Revenge" (or Antonio and Mellida, Part II) comes next. Malevole in "The Malcontent" is not only worried about trying to kill Mendoza, but is hard pressed to keep him from appropriating his wife. In this play there are love affairs ad nauseam. Bussy d' Ambois, whose spirit called so effectively for revenge, was himself the adulterous lover of the woman whose husband the revenger is to kill, and the revenger has a liaison all his own. Chettle's Hoffman, who revenges himself, is killed, but not before he has felt lust toward the mother of the man he has slaughtered. Lucibella, who lives to see her lover's death revenged on Hoffman, had declared herself chaste, showing that Chettle was adding novelty or trying to break the love tradition; but although her lover is killed almost as she speaks, she later refers to him as husband. And so the revenge plays go on. The later the play, the more love affairs are shown, and the more lust; until Tourneur fills up the measure. Shakespeare's "Hamlet" is the only revenge play in

make enough of it as an essential part of this genre.

which the love element is not elaborated. Is it too much to say that Chapman, Marston, Chettle, and Tourneur were following Kyd's lead and that Shakespeare for some reason chose to subordinate the love element? Though arrived at differently, this is the conclusion of Professor Lewis, stated in these words: "He did not omit the love theme, for it was in the play already, and he had no leisure for complete reconstruction; but he grievously scanted it because he found it troublesome and unmanageable"⁽²⁰⁾, How grievously Shakespeare scanted this Kydian love story we shall see as we go on. If the old "Hamlet" had differed from "The Spanish Tragedy" in this matter of love passion, surely we should see imitators of it in succeeding plays. The truth, however, seems to be that in this very respect of love motive the old "Hamlet" rather than the "Spanish Tragedy" served as a pattern, for prevailing in revenge plays we find the lover (the Hamlet type) wreaking vengeance, and not the mistress (Bel-imperia type) or the father (Hieronimo type). Judging by the later course of the revenge plays, then, there is no reason at all to suppose that Kyd in his "Hamlet" wrote of love and revenge in a different way from what we should expect from our consideration of his genius.

In trying to understand the original Ophelia we should take the hints of the character contained in the various versions of Hamlet, namely "Fratricide Punished", Q1, and Q2; but we should take them only as throwing light on a product of Kyd's genius. To any one who can not agree with me that Kyd's Ophelia was more like

20. p. 124.

Bel-imperia than like Shakespeare's Ophelia (in character, not stage business), what I shall say will be sheer speculation. As an illustration, I do not think that Kyd would make Ophelia, loving Hamlet as she did (and is it unreasonable to suppose that Kyd's Ophelia loved him?), deny him a visit merely because her father told her to. Bel-imperia, in spite of her father a real duke, and her brother a regular fire-eater, had two secret love affairs; Perseda was not "nice" about loving Erastus ⁽²¹⁾. Aside from the nature of Kyd's genius, he had no need to make Ophelia deny him access. In Belleforest Hamlet was not mad on account of being repulsed by the girl. He simply acted toward her as though he were insane to prove to others that he was mad. As Professor Lewis shows, "Fratricide Punished" and Q1 both place the off stage gallery scene just after Hamlet's resolution to put on madness. From this he concludes that Hamlet, even in Shakespeare, used the gallery scene for the purpose of showing a madness decided upon before (or at least entirely apart from) Ophelia's change of attitude toward him. I think, then, that Shakespeare changed this somewhat, making the girl obey her father and repulse her lover - but this question comes up again on page 30 below. Professor Bradley's remark that children in those days obeyed their parents ⁽²²⁾, seems wide of the mark; they did not obey their parents in romantic love plays; at least they did not in Kyd's plays; and the type of passion in the whole revenge series made parental authority a thing of naught ⁽²³⁾.

21. "S and P" I 1:23.

22. p. 261

23. In "Antonio and Mellida", Mellida kept running away to be with

So too, with Professor Bradley's statement quoted above, page one, which apparently does not contemplate this historical Ophelia at all. Granted then that the original is Kyd's and not Shakespeare's, we can begin to see what she was like.

III.

Before we turn to "The Spanish Tragedy" to see its relation to Ophelia, let us get a nucleus for the character. What is the beginning of the character? The prototype of Ophelia is found where (24) Hamlet himself originated, in the old story of Belleforest. Hamlet is feigning madness, The king wants to prove him sane in order to kill him. For the purpose a beautiful woman, a childhood friend of Hamlet's, is left in the forest alone with him - while spies are watching from afar. Warned by a friend and the girl herself, Hamlet still simulates madness, although both love each other very much (in Saxo after eluding the spies, the desire of the couple is accomplished). They go back to the court, where the assembled crowd asks Hamlet if he gained her love. He vows he did; but the girl and the spies declare he did not; so he is judged downright mad. Here, with Hamlet saying he did and her saying he did not, to a question that concerned her honor is seen the comic trait of the

Antonio; Lucibella in "Hoffman" ran off with Lodowick, see p. ff. The same disobedience is manifested in the "Atheist's Tragedy".

24. In Furness Variorum Hamlet Vol. 2; and "Bankside Shakespeare". Laying aside the Saga of Saxo Grammaticus which seems not to have been used; although Belleforest is based on Saxo.

character which, I think, is never lost, not even in Shakespeare - as we shall see later. John Corbin uses the following words in regard to this scene: "When the lady was eager, Hamlet rebuffed her; but when she admitted to the king that Hamlet had not satisfied her 'expectation', he insisted falsely that he had. In executing it (his purpose) he turned the tables so neatly on both the "beautiful" lady and the king that the situation remains to this day vulgarly amusing. Yet in the second quarto this scene is, under our modern interpretation, one of the most deeply tragic in literature" (25). It is to be noticed that here in the beginning Ophelia is the old sweetheart and perhaps mistress of Hamlet. She is, also, as in "Fratricide Punished", one of the ladies in waiting (26). A woman of the court Kyd found her, and a woman of the court he evidently left her; and being such a woman, very likely she was not ordered around by her father as was Shakespeare's Ophelia. Finally, she is made short shrift of, appearing only in this one scene. The interest even then was centered on Hamlet. Although Kyd, I think, divided this interest at the beginning of the play enough to portray her in some love scenes, he soon got rid of her after a few effective mad scenes.

Now having a framework for the character we are ready to see the implications of Ophelia in "The Spanish Tragedy". The minute likenesses of these two plays have been pointed out again and again.

25. "The Elizabethan Hamlet" p.14.

26. "F P" IV 6 The queen refers to her as the favorite of her retinue.

Most critics seem to take it for granted that "The Spanish Tragedy" came first and served as a model for the "Hamlet"; but I have not seen that anyone has attempted to prove it. Professor Stoll has made this statement in his monograph on Hamlet: "'The Spanish Tragedy' itself is the Hamlet story transposed, and was written no doubt in expectation of a like success". I have added a short appendix in which I give my reasons for thinking that the "Spanish Tragedy" came first and served as a basis for the old "Hamlet". But for the argument below it is immaterial which was the older play. If the "Spanish Tragedy" was written prior to the Hamlet play and served as model for it, the likenesses are explained easily enough; on the other hand if the old "Hamlet" was transposed in such a way as to form material for plot and characterization in the "Spanish Tragedy" there is still as good reason for the likenesses. If the "Spanish Tragedy" came first we have, so to speak, the cause from which to conjecture (by the aid of remains in other Hamlet plays) the effect, which was the old "Hamlet". If the old "Hamlet" came first, we have, in a way, the result, the "Spanish Tragedy", from which (by the help of the same remains of extant plays) we may conjecture the nature of the cause, which was the old "Hamlet". Really, if there is any difference, it is easier having the effect to judge the cause than vice versa. Whatever the chronology of the two plays, and whether, "having his hand in", Kyd consciously or unconsciously imitated the earlier of these plays when he wrote the other, still the influence was surely exerted in one direction or the other.

That Bel-imperia was the mistress of Andrea seems pretty clear. In the "Spanish Tragedy" I. 1:9 ff.

Andrea says,

"By duteous service and deserving love
In secret I possessed a worthy dame.

* * * *

But in the harvest of my summer joys
Death's winter nipped the blossoms of my bliss,
Forcing divorce betwixt my love and me".

In III. 10:54 ff. Lorenzo, her brother, says to Bel-imperia,

"Why, then, remembering that old disgrace,
Which you for Don Andrea had endured
And now were likely longer to sustain,

By being found so meanly accompanied" (i.e. with Horatio in the bower). Later, line 68, he says,

"Your melancholy, sister, since the news
Of your first favorite Don Andrea's death,
My father's old wrath hath exasperate".

In III. 14:110 Bel-imperia's father speaks,

"Content thyself, for I am satisfied:
It is not now as when Andrea lived;
We have forgotten and forgiven that,
And thou art graced with a happier love".

We can see how passionate Bel-imperia is from her vows to Horatio when she is speaking of their future meeting in the bower:

"Haply the gentle nightingale
Shall carol us asleep, ere we be ware,

And, singing with the prickle at her breast,
Tell our delight and mirthful dalliance".

From this speech very likely and the whole bower scene II. 4, Professor Boas draws the conclusion quoted above, page 8, to the effect that Kyd's heroine is prepared to put no limits to her self-surrender." "The First Part of Jeronimo", which may or may not have been Kyd's, yet which, if it is not his, takes advantage of the popularity of the "Spanish Tragedy", has Bel-imperia living up to her reputation in Kyd's play. Lazaretto, the villain, seeking to kill Andrea, says,

"This gallery leads to Bell' Imperia's lodging;

There he is, sure, or will be, sure. I'll stay".

If the "Spanish Tragedy" came first, from Bel-imperia, who was the mistress of the dead Andrea, and who elected to be the mistress of Horatio in order to further her revenge, ⁽²⁷⁾ Kyd took the passionate lover (although, as already suggested, the hint is in Belleforest); from Isabella, the wife of the real revenger, who went mad for the loss of her son, he took the motive of madness for Ophelia, and made this madness spring, not from the loss of her father - what Kydian lover would run mad for her father? - but from the supposed loss through madness of her lover.

It will readily occur to the reader that if the old "Hamlet" came first, Kyd instead of synthesizing the parts of Bel-imperia and Isabella into Ophelia's part, divided Ophelia's part between the two. As said before, this process may have been unconsciously done; but judging by the extant characterization of Ophelia, something like this was done. There may, of course, have been the complicated

motive of losing a kind if foolish father by the hands of her supposedly insane lover; but in the mad scenes in "Fratricide Punished" the emphasis is all on the lover, in Q1 it is preponderantly so. In Q2 the father seems to be deeper in mind. As proof of what is emphasized in her madness, it is significant that in the three scenes in which the insane Ophelia appears in the German play, there is not one word about her father. In Act III sc.9 she is running here and there, unable to find her sweetheart. She spies Phantasma and embarrasses him by the directness of her talk, especially in her second speech. In III. 11 she begins "Where can my love be?", and again talks very plainly. She goes out saying "There, there, is my love, my dearest * * * he wants to entice me * * * I come, I come". In IV. 7 she strews flowers, but does not refer definitely to any one. Then she remembers her jewels; she thinks of going to the goldsmith to ask about fashions in ornaments. As she goes out, she tells the other people to spread the table. All this seems to deal with celebration of her marriage.

In both Q1 and Q2 she makes her first appearance mad, saying, "How should I your true love know from another man? By his cockle hat and staffe, and his sandal shoone". In both she then turns to talking of her father and continues through seven lines. In Q1 this strain about her father is kept up for thirteen more lines; whereas in Q2 the Saint Valentine snatch and "young men will do't" come next. Then in Q2 there come two lines containing "My brother shall know of it" (of laying him in the cold ground) which are not in Q1 at all. In Ophelia's second appearance in this scene the differences in the quartos are even more marked. They both have

the distribution of flowers, but in Q2 just before this she says "Sing a downe-a downe, and you call him a down a. O how the whole becomes it. It is the false steward that stole his master's daughter". While Q1 has nearly all of this, it has it all after the distribution and makes it an integral part of the song about Saint Valentine, and her very last words in the quarto are the immodest song. In Q2 this song is sung at her first appearance, but it is well interlarded with references to her father; while in Q2 her last words are "No, no, he is dead * * * His beard was white as snow * * He is gone" etc. Then three lines not in Q1 appear, beginning "They bore him bare faste".

To summarize this matter: in "Fratricide Punished" her words when mad are all about her lover; in Q1 she begins with her lover and ends in the same key, with a love song, and more than half of her words are about love; in Q2 she began with the lover, but ended with the father, and the songs and references are so arranged and so added to that the death of her father seems the more important thing. Judging from these facts, I think that Shakespeare was pruning away the love motive. These changes seem to make for a somewhat different conception of Ophelia's character as between Q1 and Q2. If "Fratricide Punished" be taken into account as representing more nearly Ophelia's mad words as they were in Kyd, the difference is very great. There is another slight difference between Q1 and Q2 which may be of significance in this connection. In Act III. 2:39 Q2 has "Enter Polonius"; Q1 has "enter Corombis i.e. Polonius, and Ophelia". Soon after follows the rehearsal by Polonius of the whole Ophelia-Hamlet love affair, and of Polonius' part in stopping it. In the cor-

responding passage in Q1 Ophelia listens to the whole tedious and (28)
disgusting harangue. In Q2 Shakespeare left her out of the scene.
The vulgar words of Polonius in Q1 "In brief be scanted of your
maiden presence, or tendering thus you'll tender me a fool" are left
out of Q2, but they reappear in the Folio. In the later versions
Ophelia says "He hath importuned me with love in honorable fashion",
words that do not occur in Q1. Q2 has the "nunnery scene" much later
(III. 1) than Q1. In Q2 Polonius and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern
try to find out the source of his trouble, and after they all fail,
Ophelia allows herself to be used. In Q1 Ophelia is thrust upon him
just as soon as Polonius and the king have reason to think that love
may be responsible for his condition.

The actual words of the two quartos in the "nunnery scene"
vary little; but it seems to me that they are so arranged in Q2 as
to subdue the effect of indecency. In Q1 Hamlet's first words are,
"Are you fair?"; his next, "Are you honest?"; then he speaks of
beauty's transforming "honesty" into a bawd. His next speech: "I
never loved you"; then he begins "Go to a nunnery, goe"; and gives
her a plague for her dowry. The jokes about shutting the doors on
Polonius at home, about marrying a fool; about women's painting,
conclude Hamlet's part. In Q2 Hamlet answers Ophelia's first ques-
tion in a civil manner, saying, "I humbly thank you: well, well,
well". His next words, "No, no, I never gave you aught", although
tantalizing, are not indecent. The references to Ophelia's being
fair and honest, which come next are given just about the promi-
nence that Q1 gives to them. The old reference to marrying a fool
is not in a separate speech as in Q1, and seems subordinated to the

28. Professor Stoll in his monograph on Hamlet makes this point.
See also p. 35 below.

less shocking "plague to thy dowry". To me the effect of these changes is to make less prominent the obscene things by emphasizing Hamlet's state of health, then by stressing mere denials, and by combining with a strong moralizing statement (i.e. "plague to the dowry") the more notorious reference to marry a fool.

In later versions Ophelia seems more of an equal of the main characters. In the Folio (but not in Q1 or Q2) she appears in the court scene (I. 2); she speaks proportionately more to Laertes and Polonius than she did in Q1; the queen speaks to her as follows:

" And for your part Ophelia, I do wish
That your good beauties be the happy cause
Of Hamlet's wildness, so shall I hope your virtues
Will bring him to his wonted way again

To both your honors". III. 1:38 (Q2 and F)

These words do not occur in Q1.

In the later versions, too, her madness is announced, thus preparing for her entrance, which otherwise might occasion a ludicrous scene. IV. 5:72. Q1, without this preparation, may have allowed of this construction of the scene. Is it not possible that all these changes are indications of Shakespeare's attempt to dignify the conception of Ophelia, even after he took up the character?

Kyd in the composite Ophelia may have had a lover of Bel-imperia's sort going mad in a way that would make Isabella's one effective acting scene look like a faint suggestion of a mad motive. Isabella, mad, acted in accordance with the facts that brought on her insanity, cutting down the bower where she found Horatio hanging; so, doubtless, Kyd made Ophelia do and say things that reminded

the audience of the cause of her madness. Evidently here is the explanation for the hunt for her lover in "Fratricide Punished" and for the immodest songs in Shakespeare. Modern actresses slur over these songs; but it is reasonable to suppose that Elizabethan actors sang them; and it seems that to the Elizabethan audience they were humorous as well as pathetic. The taste that led men and women, women especially, to visit Bedlam for diversion would make them relish Ophelia's songs. And of course they would give them almost their face value. The Elizabethan mind in this respect may be compared with that of some school boys who, when a companion in mischief, in an unconscious state, began to move his lips, were about to stop his mouth for fear lest in his delerium he should give himself and them away. To the Elizabethans, likewise, Ophelia's words while she is mad were reminiscent as well as unconventional. It was true of Shakespeare's own Lady Macbeth and King Lear. But that Ophelia was comic as well as pathetic past all our comprehension is in keeping with Shakespeare's art in "King Lear". In the most tragic of all plays we find a professional fool and a noisy Tom of Bedlam. But to show how comedy and tragedy lie side by side we shall take one of the best examples in "King Lear". In III 6 Lear is insane. The Fool asks "Prithee, nuncle, tell me whether a mad man be a gentleman or a yoeman?" Lear answers, "A King, A King!", thus showing the deep seriousness of the undertone. The Fool says something else, and Lear begins, "To have a thousand with red burning spits come hissing in upon 'em -" but into this desperate speech breaks Edgar with his bedlam words, "The foul fiend bites my back", accompanying his words, perhaps, with appropriate

actions in hunting for the foul fiend. Then Lear arraigns his daughters, appointing Tom of Bedlam (Edgar) and the Fool judges. Edgar chimes in again in regard to the foul fiend, and then says,

Wantest thou eyes at trial madam?

"Come o'er the bourn, Bessy, to me" -

Then the Fool makes it all comic again by replying,

"Her boat hath a leak

And she must not speak

Why she dares not come over to thee".

Still later in the fancied arraignment of the daughters, Lear says, "Arraign her first, 'tis Goneril". The Fool says, "Come hither, mistress, is your name Goneril?". Lear answers, "She cannot deny it". Then the Fool uses the gag, "Cry you mercy, I took you for a joint stool". To the Elizabethans this scene was serious enough, no doubt; but at the same time it gave them occasion for many a laugh. It has often been remarked how close, even with us, the pathetic and the comic are. The stock example is the proneness to laugh at a funeral. Professor A. H. Thorndike's remark applies very well to the treatment of madness: "The Elizabethans took their emotions strong, and mixed". Mr. John Corbin makes this interesting statement in his "Elizabethan Hamlet" : "Three centuries from now, perhaps, it will take as strong an effort of historical imagination to appreciate the fun of Putney's drunken gibes (in Howell's "Annie Kilburn") as it takes today to appreciate the humor of Hamlet's hoax upon Ophelia."⁽²⁹⁾

29. p 70, 71 of "Elizabethan Hamlet"; the hoax referred to is Hamlet's repulse of Ophelia in the "nunnery scene".

Besides this definite characterization which was very likely an out growth of the "Spanish Tragedy", or was suggested by the "Spanish Tragedy" there was evidently a general likeness in the relative importance of the love affair and the number of scenes in which we see the lovers together. In the "Spanish Tragedy" they are seen alone three times; in "Fratricide Punished" or any other extant Hamlet play Ophelia does not appear in a single love scene. The "nunnery scene" is after Hamlet dons his madness, and in it she is under constraint by reason of the fact that the king and Polonius are listening. The off stage scene in the gallery is, as Professor Lewis shows from its immediately following his declaration to assume madness, for the purpose of announcing this new role, and does not show the real frenzy of love (30).

This question whether Kyd presented Hamlet and Ophelia in love scenes before he parted them by Hamlet's feigned madness is an important one. Professor Lewis seems to take it for granted that Shakespeare eliminated some love scenes of Kyd's, for he says: "Hamlet must have loved Ophelia, and Kyd must have conceived their unhappy relations as an integral part of Hamlet's tragedy (31). We have seen that Kyd's genius lay in mingling love and revenge (32). The idyllic love scenes between Horatio and Bel-imperia must have been very similar to scenes in the old "Hamlet", regardless of which came first; but Kyd himself got this idea from some Spanish source - if we judge by the name "Spanish Tragedy". There were no scenes just like this on the English stage before Kyd; he must have been

30. p 113 ff. He seems to have settled this point.
31. p 123.
32. p 8, 9 above.

inspired by continental treatment of this love motive. Such a treatment as Kyd gave to the bower scene is found in the Spanish play, "Celestina" ⁽³³⁾ by Fernands Rojas, written before 1499, a romance full of realistic details and endless discursiveness. This play was known in England as early as 1530, when material in it was used in the interlude "Calisto and Melibea" by an unknown author. The moralistic interlude, however, did not use the idyllic love scenes. It stopped short before that point was reached.

The Spanish play, "Celestina" was referred to in 1590 in "A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters set forth by Anglophile Eutheo". Anglophile Eutheo is quoted by Allen as follows: "The nature of their comedies are, for the most part, after one manner of nature, like the tragical comedie of Calistus: where the bawdress Scelestina inflamed the maiden Melibeia with her sorceries". As Mr. H. W. Allen says, this reference is to the Spanish play which is called the "Tragi-comedia de Calisto y Melibea" rather than to the innocuous English "A new comedy in manner of an Enterlude" ⁽³⁴⁾. Allen points out, too, that the sorceries mentioned in the "Retrait" did not so much as appear in the interlude. In 1581 Gosson in "Plays Confuted" says, "Bawdrie Comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish have been ransackt to furnish the play houses

33. "Celestina with an Interlude of Calisto and Melibea" edited by H. Warner Allen. The relation of the play to the interlude is discussed in Appendix III. The full title of the play is "La Tragi-comedia de Calisto y Melibea".

34. See "Celestina" (H. W. Allen) p. 335.

(35) in London" . The fact that the Spanish play was known to a non-theater going Puritan, that the foreign languages were being rifled for motives, and that Kyd could use his Spanish to search with - (36) all go to settle the point that Kyd might have used "Celestina". The question whether or not he did use it may be decided by looking at the similar situations. Now I know that there is no end of finding analogies; but this seems such a clear case of Kyd's requiring some suggestions for love scenes, and of the hints being so easily available in this famous piece that we may do well to point out the likelihood of Kyd's using it for his main idea. In the Spanish play Melibea and Calisto have their first secret meeting in her house, (37) where all is quiet, a quietness contrasted with the noise outside . The outside noise is just such as brings on Calisto's death later. This scene where the lovers are fringed about with hostile circumstances is similar to that in the "Spanish Tragedy" II.2, in which Horatio and Bel-imperia meet in the bower and are spied upon by Lorenzo and Balthazar. The murder scene in Kyd's play is even more like the fatal incident in "Celestina". In "Celestina", Calisto and Melibea are in a garden, men come up to the wall making a great noise, breaking up the tryst and causing (though by accident) Calisto's death. In Kyd, as in "Celestina", the lovers are at their love-making in the bower when Balthazar and Lorenzo rush in. Kyd is not indebted to "Celestina" for any definite words or details, perhaps; but in the two plays the whole tone, and the effect of a quiet

35. Quoted by Allen.

36. Schelling is my authority.

37. "Celestina" III. p 183

spot surrounded by a storm that finally breaks in upon it are alike.

But when Kyd wrote the old "Hamlet", apparently he did make use of the details of a scene in "Celestina". I do not have reference to the manner of Ophelia's death in "Fratricide Punished", by throwing herself down from a high hill, much like Melibea's hurling herself from the tower ⁽³⁸⁾. The important thing in Shakespeare that seems to reach back through Kyd to "Celestina" is the warning scene, in which Laertes and Polonius tell Ophelia not to believe Hamlet, and where she promises to obey. To me the upshot of this, the obedience, is utterly different from Kyd. According to my theory Kyd simply could not have a girl in love act so supinely. The explanation may be that Kyd, imitating "Celestina", had a warning scene after Ophelia had already committed the fault. Tieck long ago in an uncanny fashion read this historical view into Shakespeare in the following words: "The hints, and warnings of Laertes come too late. It is tender and worthy of the great poet to leave the relation of Hamlet and Ophelia, like much else in the piece a riddle, but it is from this point of view alone that Hamlet's behavior, his bitterness, and Ophelia's suffering and madness, find connection and consistency" ⁽³⁹⁾. Today if "Hamlet" were Shakespeare's only work, if there were no Shakespearean tradition, if his treatment of women were not already settled; then taking up Ophelia's character from what we see in the play as we have it, there would doubtless be many who would agree with Tieck.

38. This would leave Shakespeare to introduce the drowning incident; see below p.34.

39. See above, note 1.

With Shakespeare out of account for the time being, it is surely plain that Kyd, at a time when "Celestina" was well known, not only to theater goers, but to the author of "A Retrait", must have been greatly influenced by the amazing situation where Melibea was warned against Celestina. If Kyd used the scene of the warning at such a time, it could hardly have lacked this Spanish coloring (40). The "Celestina" situation is this. Melibea has striven in vain against her love for Calisto, a love aroused by the solicitation (41) of the bawd, Celestina. Melibea's reserve has broken down; an appointment with Calisto has been made. At this juncture her mother, thinking her a child so pure as to blush at her own fancies, warns her against the bawd as follows, "Do not give her any entertainment no manner of welcome, no, not so much as to show her the least countenance of liking * * * Let her find that you stand upon your honesty and reputation, and be you round and short with her in your answers, and she will never come at you again". Melibea answers, "Is she one of those you know not what? She shall never come at me more. And believe me, madam, I much joy in your good advice, and that you have so well instructed me of whom I ought to beware" (42). There is a side remark by the old nurse: "My old lady's counsel comes too late". Further on in Act XVI her father and mother speak of her absolute ignorance of what love is after she has been Calisto's mistress for some time.

40. My reasons for thinking Kyd, not Shakespeare, introduced this are given below, page 30.

41. See "Soliman and Perseda" for a similar use of solicitation V.3:45

42. "Celestina" p. 164, 165

Now just what Kyd made of this warning we do not know, but if he used it at all, the presumption is that he did not repudiate the entire meaning and make the warning run counter to the "Celestina" tradition. Perhaps even in Shakespeare's day the warning still had the same effect as the Melibea warning. When a situation is well known, you do not have to begin at the beginning to get the effect. The whole point to the "Celestina" warning is that the mother hits off the old bawd exactly, but she thoroughly misunderstands the girl. In like fashion in the old "Hamlet" Polonius may have hit off Hamlet; but in the eyes of the audience, who know of the secret love, he was a fool for not knowing his own daughter. Later when he changed and thought Hamlet in earnest (after the gallery scene), he was more of a fool than ever, and the effect was heightened by his saying that once he had been just about as mad for love as Hamlet. I refer to this matter of Polonius' character below, page 38.

What then have we in Shakespeare that may hark back to "Celestina"? Ophelia has been in love with Hamlet for some time. The fact that it is just now coming to Polonius ears does not mean that it began yesterday. Polonius warns her as follows: "Be something scunter of your maiden presence * * * Do not believe his vows, for they are brokers

Not of that die which their investments show;
But mere implorators of unholy suites
Breathing like sanctified and pious bawds
The better to bequile." I.3

Ophelia's answer to Laertes begins, "I shall the effect of this good lesson keep". The reference to sanctified and pious bawds, the assumed innocence of the girl, at least in "Celestina" and perhaps in

Kyd, - make a scene that is striking. Such a scene was in Kyd's vein. Shakespeare has the girl obey. I have given my reasons for thinking that Kyd's genius would have followed "Celestina" here in making her deceive her parents, and continue her love affair ⁽⁴³⁾. Professor Lewis' remark ⁽⁴⁴⁾ that we know Hamlet better than Polonius did, and we can not believe him a villain is like many statements from less acute critics. However much we know Hamlet (and we all know him differently) the fact remains that the revenger was allowed a mistress without thereby becoming a villain. Andrea was far from being a villain; and yet we have seen (above page 16) the old "disgrace" (that is, in her brother's eyes) that he brought on Bel-imperia. Horatio is not painted as a destroyer of morals; still his love affair with Bel-imperia had fair to duplicate that of Andrea and Bel-imperia.

I believe that this warning was introduced by Kyd. I do not think that Shakespeare would gratuitously refer to a notorious situation like this, bringing in a whole train of associations, only to switch them off by having the girl obey. But if it was in the old "Hamlet", Shakespeare could say: "Here is a way to get the full effect of the old play and at the same time, by making Ophelia obedient, cut short this unruly love element". If in Kyd or Shakespeare Ophelia is thought of as Hamlet's mistress, who would expect her to confess the fact to Polonius? Whether innocent or guilty, her answer would be the same; she must behave as if innocent, regardless of her status. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ I know that this warning is not in "Fratricide Punished".

43. See above, page 12.

44. 117-118

45. In Kyd this warning may have been an amplifying of the secret love motive mentioned in Sp. Tr. III. 10:54, just as "S & P" is a filling out of the play in "Sp. Trag".

It is, of course, in Q1. This may mean that in its original Kydian form it was too highly spiced for the German taste - if "Fratricide Punished" came directly from Kyd's "Hamlet"; or that - if it came from an early Shakespearean version, it was cut out along with Hamlet's remarks at the play and with the whole grave-yard incident. But now we shall turn to the "Fratricide Punished".

III.

"The Fratricide Punished" or "Der Bestrafte Brudermord" is dated 1710 in the oldest extant copy, but it is thought by A. Cohn⁽⁴⁶⁾ that it derives from a play brought into Germany by English actors about 1603. There has been a piled-up discussion about the ultimate source of the German play, some holding that it is a translation of the old "Hamlet", although of course badly mangled. Most American scholars incline to this view. Sarrazin⁽⁴⁷⁾, followed by Professor Boas, thinks it a translation of Q1 with a few additions by those who knew Q2. Creizenach⁽⁴⁸⁾ thinks it, as well as Q1 and Q2, comes from a still earlier quarto of Shakespeare.

Without entering into a discussion as to the exact status of the German version, we shall use what in it is plainly a relic of Kyd. But here I should like to call attention to a theory which I may not be able to establish, but which, I think, helps to account of some things in Ophelia's character and in the whole love element in Shakespeare's "Hamlet", hard to understand otherwise. This theory

46. "Shakespeare in Germany" CXX

47. Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis Eine Litterhistorische Untersuchung.

48. Modern Philology II 249-260 "Der Bestrafte Brudermord" etc.

is that "The Fratricide Punished" and Shakespeare's versions, as well, resemble Kyd's work more in the later part than they do in the first part; in other words that there has been a reconstruction of the first part of Kyd's work; while there has been only an adaptation of the later part. I deal with Shakespeare below page 35; but I wish now to show how this theory applies to the German play. It is well to state that for the conclusions which I endeavor to draw from this investigation, the establishment of this theory is not essential. But I think that this theory does not militate against the sanity of my views elsewhere - if I may take it for granted that the reader will think this theory too speculative.

But now we shall look at the first parts of these plays. Kyd's first acts are made up of varied scenes. Take Act I of the "Spanish Tragedy" : scene 1. Ghost of Andrea and Revenge. scene 2. court of Spain; king, generals, foreign ambassador, army; messenger enters; dispute settled. scene 3. Court of Portugal; wicked reported believed. scene 4. Horatio and Bel-imperia's love begins; her soliloquy; Lorenzo and Balthazar enter, latter courts Bel-imperia. scene 5. Banquet at Spanish court; a masque presented.

This complexity of scenes is also characteristic of "Jeronimo". Here is how "Soliman and Perseda" ⁽⁴⁹⁾ goes: 1. Induction, Love, Fortune, and Death. 2. Erastus and Perseda's love scene. 3. All knights assembled; Erastus and Perseda pass over stage to show love making still in progress; comic characters make play. 4. Tournament; Erastus victor, but loses carkanet and Perseda's love. 5. Solimon's court (Constantinople); some killings. 6. Chorus.

49. Boas and others attribute S & P to Kyd; while others deny it is Kyd's.

Now when we look at Act I of "Fratricide" we see this: Prologue, scene 1. Ghost is reported; sc. 2. Ghost disturbs sentinel; sc. 3. Ghost appears to sentinel and Horatio. sc. 4. They report to Hamlet the ghost's appearance. sc 5. Ghost appears to Hamlet. sc. 6. Court scene. I must maintain that the ghost in the "Spanish Tragedy", if this play came before the "Hamlet", was not so successful as to swamp everything in Kyd's next play, submerging idyllic love scenes and flamboyant court scenes. The point I am making is that for the first act of Kyd's play we cannot depend much on "Fratricide Punished", even though elsewhere in the German play there are traits of Kyd not found in any other version. As for Ophelia's part, there is nothing said of her being warned by her brother and father. As to the comic aspect of the character and the relation of the comic aspect in the German play to the comic aspect in Shakespeare, I shall cite the following passage from Mr. John Corbin: "The German Hamlet says, 'What, girl! Wouldst thou have a husband? . . . Hearken, girl, you young women do nothing but lead young fellows astray! Shakespeare's Hamlet says, 'But if thou wilt needs marry, marry a foole, For wisemen know well enough, what monsters ye make of them.' After this the German Hamlet says, 'Your beauty you buy of the apothecaries and peddlers', which in Shakespeare is 'Nay, I have heard of your paintings too, God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another'. Both scenes end with the familiar 'To a nunnery go!'. Thus the first and last features of the scene are identical, and every intermediate speech in the German version, with the trifling exception noted, is represented in Shakespeare. We have here positive proof that the two scenes - one abject

buffonery, and the other 'the most terrifically affecting scene in Shakespeare' - were constructed on precisely the same lines * * We must conclude that even in Shakespeare's first version the comic element, now quite archaic, must have been distinctly evident to the Elizabethans". p 82, 83. Mr. Corbin had previously referred to the comic element in Ophelia's songs in Shakespeare.

There is another feature of the German play which, although not used by Shakespeare, may have been in the play of Kyd's. I refer to the manner of Ophelia's death, which was by casting herself down from a high hill. This rather uncommon means of suicide, as was suggested before, may go back to "Celestina", in which Melibea, after the death of her secret lover, hurls herself from a high tower. If Kyd had Ophelia kill herself in this fashion reported in the German play, he reproduced more nearly than Shakespeare did the Melibea story. A death patterned after Melibea's might be easily construed to have been preceded by a life like Melibea's. If Shakespeare changed the manner of Ophelia's death, it may have been because he wished the audience to have a different conception of her life (see page 49).

In "Fratricide Punished", then, we see the strong comic traits of Ophelia's character. While she is sane, there is comedy in "the nunnery scene", between her and Hamlet; when she is insane, the comedy lies in her words to Phantasma, whom she takes for her lover. Joined with this comedy, in both its aspects, there is an obscenity, or at least an immodesty, which I think was taken by the audience as truly representative of the character. (see below, page 40, ff.)

IV.

As in "Fratricide Punished", so with Q1 and Q2, the crux of the problem as to their relation to Kyd - according to my theory - lies in the question of the first act. It seems to me that Shakespeare in order to use the play of Kyd at all had to reconstruct the first act. In doing so, he put hard thought on it and produced an act for Q1 that did not have to be changed much when he later revised the play for Q2. But having got rid of the love element which was in the first part of Kyd, he joined his first act of Q1 to Kyd's later acts without much alteration. Consequently, when he came to work up the play for Q2, he had little to do in the first part because it already represented his work; but he was dissatisfied with the Kydian tone of the rest of Q1 and almost entirely rewrote it. Messrs. Pollard and Wilson in "The Times Literary Supplement"⁽⁵⁰⁾ make the differences between Q1 and Q2 due to "Scrivener's errors, abbreviations, adaptations, piracy, and author's revision". They think Q1 goes back to a version Shakespeare made about 1593; but the revision, they say, of Kyd's work in the 1593 version had not gone much, if at all, beyond the second act. They think, too, that the "Stolne abridged transcript of a much earlier Hamlet" (i.e. of the 1593 version) was somewhat enlarged by "minor actors' surreptitious additions to it" and somewhat cut down for some reason or other. Missing portions in Q1 are explained in this way: "A gap in a Bad Quarto, when compared with

50. Beginning Jan. 10, 1919, and running for several numbers, thought not consecutively, thereafter.

a good text is not always to be taken as a cut. Sometimes it is to be credited to the pirate; and occasionally the best explanation is that Shakespeare added to his material in the course of his later revision". My reason for thinking that Shakespeare's revision is responsible for the changes in regard to Ophelia's part in Q1 and Q2 is that Kyd very likely made her actively in love; the German play in her scenes gave great prominence to love; and Shakespeare when he took up "Hamlet" to rewrite it was not, as judged by his works at this time, interested in portraying love. The differences are not great in themselves, but if viewed as merely accidental or as the result of some bungler's additions, they seem stranger than if attributed to Shakespeare's revision. My idea is that after the love scenes and soliloquies about love in the old "Hamlet" were past, as they were soon after Hamlet chose revenge instead of love, Shakespeare could follow Kyd more closely. Therefore, the first part of Q1 represents more of Shakespeare than the latter part. Hence the likeness between Q1 and Q2 in the early part⁽⁵¹⁾. In regard to this matter Professor Boas says: "The bulk of the blank verse in the three later acts is, in my opinion, unmistakably pre-Shakespearean"⁽⁵²⁾. Then he goes on to show the likeness to Kyd.

"Fratricide Punished", Q1, and Q2, it seems to me, all⁽⁵³⁾ show reconstruction of the beginning of the play. Somehow, in

51. This point has long been recognized; but has been accounted for in various ways, including of course the idea of incomplete revision. I do not know whether or not others have predicated this, as I have, on the change Shakespeare wished to make in the treatment of love.

52. p. XLIX.

the scramble "Fratricide" lost more traits of Kyd's old first act than the other two, but the others lost enough. In this reconstruction Shakespeare made very difficult the explanation of Hamlet's love and Ophelia's character, and besides altered the revenge type of play by leaving out the romantic love element (54). Kyd's "Hamlet", perhaps, laid the emphasis on love in the first scenes, and then switched to revenge. All the other revenge plays have a strong love element, sometimes helping along the revenge, e.g., Bel-imperia's love for Andrea and Horatio; Lucibella's for Lodowick; Antonio's for Mellida. Shakespeare, perhaps, unified the revenge type by pruning down this love motive.

We have already had occasion to refer to the Ophelia of Q1 and Q2. Little remains to be said about them. Let us look again at these plays in the light of what we have seen of the historical Ophelia. I think that this is the light in which the character was viewed on the London stage in 1603. The idyllic love scenes that were an integral part of Kyd's "Hamlet" are left out of both quartos. The warning by Laertes and Polonius, however, to the people who knew "Celestina" and the old "Hamlet", very likely pre-supposed this love element without affirming it, and may have had a strong ironic meaning (somewhat like the comic scene in "Spanish Tragedy", where Pedringano is under misapprehension as to what is

53. How Shakespeare may have foreshortened Kyd's play can be seen in his combining several of the early scenes in "King Leir" into one in "King Lear".

54. As for Shakespeare's reason for eliminating the love story see Lewis p.125.

in the box). Thus, I should say, in Kyd from the very first Polonius was used as the comic butt. In Shakespeare he loses dignity as the play progresses because, as we have seen, the latter part of Shakespeare is more Kydian in its material than the early part. Hamlet's treating him with disrespect and calling him an old fool have worried some critics. Hamlet's being a malcontent (see Professor Stoll's "Shakespeare, Marston and the Malcontent Type" Modern Philology Vol. III.) might explain it in Shakespeare alone; but Kyd did not develop the type so far; and besides in Kyd Polonius was likely a blabbing fool. His directions to Montano in regard to Laertes were ludicrous and contrasted strongly with his advice to Ophelia. His asking if the King thought him a chair or a table book, to be silent while Hamlet's love for Ophelia was on the wing, (a very effective scene in view of the fact that the audience knew him to have been just that while the love affair was going on). His actions when Hamlet calls him a fish monger, etc. - all these things presuppose a Polonius such as we described above, page 29. Perhaps in the old "Hamlet" Polonius was comparable to Basilisco in "Soliman and Perseda".

The gallery scene, reported in Q1 and Q2, was perhaps on stage in the old "Hamlet" (like Hieronimo's coming in in his shirt) and was for the purpose of announcing his madness, when, under an overwhelming sense of responsibility, he had decided to sacrifice

55. Professor Thorndike's statement p.220, "Shakespeare followed the original type of revenge tragedy much more clearly than his contemporaries, Chettle and Tourneur" seems not to take this fact into account. His statement that Shakespeare retained the old plot almost entire (p.203) I think is correct if we except his elimination of romantic love.

love to revenge. Shakespeare's scene should be read in this light
(57)

. The nunnery scene in Kyd was to carry out the feigned madness and served to show that Ophelia had not only given all but lost all. No doubt the comedy of it did not destroy this tragic meaning for Shakespeare's audience. The fact that Shakespeare is reticent as to their early relations did not prevent his using the striking effect of this scene. The quips at the play also remind the audience of the Ophelia they knew before, and no doubt were very edifying to the groundlings. As Professor Bradley has pointed out, it would be preposterous to think that Shakespeare ought to have put these indecent
(58) remarks there . They are in the vein of the "nunnery scene" of the German play and Q1, and, I think, were part and parcel of the old play. They are in keeping with Kyd's broad effects. But they were so entrenched in popularity that Shakespeare could not leave them out. A parallel case is that of Lear, cited on page 23 above - and also in regard to Q1, page 33.

However little, Ophelia's madness is motivated in Shakespeare, I suspect that it was as well motivated in Kyd as anything else in a play full of quick changes. She had lost a real lover - according
(60) to my theory - and a well meaning father . Only by remembering this, can we understand Ophelia's madness in Shakespeare. The mad songs in Shakespeare, as I have pointed out already, are a relic of

57. See p. 24, above.

58. p. 103

59. Lewis p. 120 discusses this arbitrary way of disposing of her.

60. See above, page 18.

the old play where they had verisimilitude. Only psychologically minded critics can make them mean anything at all in keeping with the great reticence of Shakespeare's handling the character up to this point. To say that in Shakespearean times a perfectly pure girl would, even in her madness, be portrayed as singing these songs is to read our knowledge of the mind, not only into Shakespeare, but into the people who saw Shakespeare's play. It seems to me that the Elizabethan stage convention demanded the continuity of the mad person's character, making him speak in accordance with the facts that brought on madness (see above, page 22). I have been unable to find any noteworthy deviation from this procedure (Ophelia out of account for the nonce). I shall not argue that all mad folk were looked upon in the same light as stage mad folk; for here, as well as in other particulars, the stage may not have presented actual conditions. However, we are considering only how mad people were treated on the stage. Speaking a priori, we might say that the Elizabethans would take the chance to make mad characters utter things contrary to their real personality, things only dimly thought before, never really purposed, at least never actually done by them; such a presentation would, of course, be comic. But outside of certain farces I have found no such use of madness on the Elizabethan stage. There is a great deal of comedy in connection with madness; but it is not a comedy that comes from a pure character's saying coarse things. So far as I can see, all the mad characters, including Isabella, Lear, Lady Macbeth, Lucibella, Penthea, the Gaoler's daughter, speak reminiscently. Of course a mad person must speak some nonsense, otherwise we should not know he is mad; but for dramatic purposes he must, underneath

all his whirling words, speak to the point. Otherwise, indeed, we should have only a bedlam of buffoonery. The malcontent type seemed to have license to say anything; but I seriously doubt that the mad man (at least on the stage) could, as he can with us, say almost anything without affording material for judging his character. All the comments of the other stage characters show the appropriateness of the mad people's talk, e.g., Horatio's says of Ophelia's speeches:

"This nothing's more than matter: A document in madness, thoughts and remembrances fitted". Likewise Orgilus in Ford's "Broken Heart" says of Penthea, : "She has tutored me; if this be madness, madness is an oracle." So far from giving fundamentally wrong conceptions of fact in their madness, the mad people on the stage were supposed to have an uncanny faculty for arriving at truth; so Polonius, thinking Hamlet mad, says: "How pregnant sometimes his replies are!".

But we shall come to examples. The case of Isabella's destroying the bower as revenge for her son's being killed there; Lear's arraigning his daughters for trial; Lady Macbeth's trying to wash the blood from her hands; Ophelia's saying the violets withered when her father died, - all these are plainly reminiscent. Even for Edgar in "King Lear" Shakespeare seems to have worked out a detailed jargon on the theory that he had gone mad about the belief in demons. Lucibella, in Chettle's "Hoffman", in all her madness speaks home about the knave, who

"May kill one by a trick,

Or lay a plot, or soe, or cog, or prate,

Make strife, make a man's father hang him".

Her idea of her relation to Lodowick is also true to the point -

altho to keep up the madness she is under the delusion that he is not dead. When she speaks of her father,

"My father is (dead):

Reason he should be, he made me run away,"

she is stating a fact.

In the "Two Noble Kinsmen" the Gaoler's daughter in her madness speaks in character, not out of character; so does Penthea in Ford's "Broken Heart". The Gaoler's daughter while sane had said in soliloquies:

"To marry him (Palamon) is hopeless

To be his whore is witless. Out upon't!

What pushes are we wenches driven to,

When fifteen once has found us!" II 4:4-7;

and again;

"For I would fain enjoy him" (1.30);

and in a third soliloquy:

"I love him beyond love and beyond reason,

Or wit, or safety: I have made him know it.

I care not I am desperate. Let him do

What he will, so he use me kindly". II 6:11.

When she goes mad, she sings "Willow willow"; asks for her wedding gown; speaks as plainly as Ophelia does in "Fratricide Punished".

The doctor prescribes a remedy which Mr. E. A. Peers in "Elizabethan Drama and its Mad Folk" characterizes as "of the crudest". To quote further: "The Wooer is to dress as if he were Palamon, satisfy all the girl's desires, and wait for her to return to her right mind. Both the Wooer and the Gaoler protest against this extreme application of the 'cure', but the Doctor is so insistent that they give

in". p. 87. It is noteworthy that this mad girl is an imitation, or as Mr. Peers says, "Almost a caricature of Ophelia". She comes in with her hair down, as Ophelia does, weaves garland, sings "down a down-a", speaks of the "Barley Brake", etc. But her portrayal is not by way of a parody; it is rather by way of taking advantage of the comic and immodest features of Shakespeare's Ophelia (perhaps this statement is even truer when applied to Kyd's Ophelia). The fact that the Gaoler's daughter is used in strong, coarse comic scenes does not militate against the point I am making, namely, that for the audience the continuity of her character is preserved. In fact her soliloquies had prepared us for these vulgar scenes.

In the "Broken Heart" Penthea in her madness speaks apropos, as is shown by the speech,

"Oh my wracked honor, ruined through those tyrants,

IV. 2:144

There is no peace left for a ravished wife" -
which is as true as anything she ever said while sane.

I do not mean (although I myself believe it) that Shakespeare could not have understood this matter of insanity even as you and I, but I do think that the stage convention as he elsewhere followed it, and as other Elizabethan dramatists followed it, would have led him to treat madness as a revelation of the past, or of the past dominant state of mind of the mad person, rather than as a study of the aberrations of a diseased mind. This line of thought seems to create a presumption in favor of the old "Kydian" comic and immodest features having been retained by Shakespeare. On this point

Mr. Peer's statement on page 77 of his book sounds almost naive: "Her (Ophelia's) songs have been censured for their alleged coarseness. Small wonder if they should contain reminiscences of her lover's foul talk, yet for the most part these ditties are mere expressions of piercing sorrow at his supposed untimely madness".

Mr. Peers for the moment seemed almost on the point of admitting what I think is true of the Elizabethan presentation of madness: that it was portrayed as reminiscent, as in keeping with the general tone of the character. As said before, I think that Shakespeare has Ophelia say these things which seem inappropriate to her because this comic and coarse side of her character was bequeathed to him by Kyd, and was so popular on the stage that it could not be eliminated. But the fact that these things are there at all argues, from this standpoint, that the "frail" Ophelia existed in Kyd, if not in Shakespeare. It is to be noticed (if we consider "Fratricide" as more closely representing Kyd in this matter) that Shakespeare, without "going in for" this sort of thing, satisfied a vulgar desire that it would have been impossible for him as a popular playwright to disappoint.

Whether the old play had the quarrel over Ophelia's body does not concern us. The fact that the whole grave incident is not in "Fratricide Punished" does not mean a great deal to me either way ⁽⁶¹⁾. Hamlet's saying over the grave that he loved her more than forty-thousand brothers, may echo a passage in Kyd's play.

61. See above, page 31. The fact has been pointed out by others that the Catholic coloring may have been responsible for its omission in Protestant Germany.

That Hamlet loved Ophelia in the old "Hamlet" seems to me a foregone conclusion. The fact that Shakespeare, in changing Hamlet from a lover-revenger to a pure revenger, had a hard time curbing the old love element shows that the love motive must have been very strong. In the Shakespearean play, Professor Lewis thinks, Hamlet did not love Ophelia. To him Hamlet's soliloquies, which do not so much as mention Ophelia's name, are final on this point ⁽⁶²⁾. But it seems to me that Shakespeare still allowed Hamlet to love Ophelia, and to say once that he loved her (at the grave); but in subordinating his love to revenge, Shakespeare never let him act as though he loved her (explaining the closet scene as I do on page 24).

V.

Without having read Sarrazin's reconstruction of the old "Hamlet" ⁽⁶³⁾, I shall try to reconstruct it to the point where Ophelia drops out, or at least so far as she is concerned up to that point. To arrive at a conjectural old "Hamlet" is not so easy a matter as Professor Lewis seems to indicate. His theory for reconstructing it is this: "By sorting out, therefore, all the ideas that occur in any of the three authors (Belleforest, "Fratricide Punished", and Shakespeare) and bringing together again all that are found in any two, it should, in theory, be possible to effect a skeleton reconstruction ⁽⁶⁴⁾ of Kyd's play". Professor Lewis does not seem to take

62. Lewis p.117; 124 has said a good word on why Shakespeare did not use this love story.

63. See note 45 above, Thorndike only refers to Sarrazin; Lewis does not go into details at all in his reconstruction.

64.. page 69

into account what might be missing in all three and yet was in the old "Hamlet". Kyd added a great deal to the simple Belleforest story, and much of what he added Shakespeare omitted or changed; and, as we have seen, the Germans came very near making a scrap of paper of their version. My theory of arriving at Kyd's "Hamlet" has been intimated before. It is this: to use the materials extant in Belleforest, "Fratricide", Q1, Q2: and to interpret them and amplify them in accordance with Kyd's known works and the whole series of revenge plays modelled on the "Spanish Tragedy" and Kyd's "Hamlet". It is not necessary to say what wild speculation this is: all I expect of it is that it may serve to start others to thinking along lines that will be followed more scientifically than I have been able to. My theoretical "Hamlet", though, for what it is worth, is herewith given: A prologue (although Creizenach says that prologues were characteristic of German plays of that time); a bower scene à la Kyd; a court scene as in Q1 I.2; a scene, I think, in which Ophelia is warned and feigns innocent (like Melibea), an unusually effective scene that could carry force into Shakespeare's warning scene which lacked the previous preparatory love scenes between Hamlet and Ophelia; perhaps another love scene, more sentimental than before; appearance of the ghost to the sentinels; the ghost's appearance to Hamlet; a great soliloquy of Hamlet's, renouncing love and dedicating himself to revenge. In Act II the first scene (which immediately follows the Hamlet soliloquy in which he had resolved "to put an antic disposition on")⁽⁶⁵⁾ was likely the gallery scene where Hamlet frightens Ophelia, thus announcing his madness; Ophelia reports Hamlet's action to Polonius; then, as

65. Lewis p. 113 ff.

in Q1, the "nunnery scene". The order of these scenes is conjectured as above; but the order, of course, is not so important as the matter of the scenes. The rest of the play goes pretty much as Shakespeare's play, because, according to my theory, with the love story out of the way, Shakespeare could follow Kyd more freely. However, there may have been an Ophelia soliloquy like Bel-imperia's in "Spanish Tragedy" III. 9. There may have been an additional mad scene or two, where she is hunting Hamlet and runs into Phantasma. The amorous songs she sings were, of course, comic and extremely apropos. Perhaps her death was like that in "Fratricide", from casting herself down from a high hill, if so, this manner of death suggested to Elizabethans, I suspect, the death of the impure Melibea, who threw herself from a tower.

We shall now summarize the results of this investigation, however tentative and even speculative they may be. In Belleforest we saw the origin of Ophelia, a woman of the court, an old friend of Hamlet's, perhaps (as in Saxo-Grammaticus) his mistress. There were strong comic possibilities in connection with the question of her honor.

In the German play, "Fratricide Punished", she was vulgarly comic in her madness, and even before; for in the "nunnery scene" she helps make a decidedly comic scene. The question of her relation to Hamlet is not brought out clearly. There are no love scenes between the two; she does not, as in Shakespeare, say of him; "O, woe is mee, T'have seene what I have seene, see what I see". Neither is she warned against him by her brother and father. But when she goes mad, all her thoughts are of her lover whom she is seeking. When she finds Phantasma and mistakes him for her lover,

we have some rather coarse comedy. For reasons which I expressed at some length (page 39), I think these mad words were considered by the Elizabethan audience as a key to her character.

Q1, as Mr. Corbin shows, contains nearly all the words of the German "nunnery scene"; and the presumption is that the coarse comedy of the German play was thus retained. Hamlet's words to her at the play - not in "Fratricide Punished" - seem comic also. In her madness she speaks of her father as well as Hamlet; but still the lover seems uppermost in her thoughts. Instead of hitting on some one whom she mistakes for her lover and saying immodest things to him, she sings songs which are almost or quite as immodest; but still because they are songs, are not so directly vulgar. However, I think the old coarse comedy is found in them. The warning scene, which is not in "Fratricide Punished", called for particular treatment (p. 28). This scene may go back to a similar scene in the Spanish play, "Celestina", where a girl who is tainted, at least in heart, is treated as though she were innocent; but she does not heed the warning. My theory is, that Kyd may have introduced this incident, getting such an effect as "Celestina" produces; while Shakespeare may have elected to retain it, getting some of the effect yet choosing to use it in such a fashion (by making Ophelia obey) as to prune away the love element. I went into some detail to propound my theory of Shakespeare's reconstructing the whole first part of the old "Hamlet" in order to subordinate the love element (p.36).

In Q2 Shakespeare seems to dignify the conception of Ophelia by making the mad words deal preponderantly with her father's death, by sparing her the scene where her father explains her love affair to

the king, by interlarding her Obscene snatches of song in her madness with other material, and by having her drown herself rather than hurl herself from a height. (p. 34) However, Hamlet's words to her in the "nunnery scene" and the scene at the play are as coarse in Q2 as in Q1.

From this history of the characters I am inclined to think that Shakespeare found in the character and did not entirely eliminate a comic and immodest aspect. My opinion as to her relation to Hamlet seems not altogether improbable when we remember that Kyd, who first made use of the character on the stage had a penchant for portraying romantic and even secret love, e.g. Bel-imperia and Andrea, Erastus and Perseda; and that the subsequent history of the revenge plays contains no example of the elimination of the romantic love element (p.9,ff).

Such, then, may have been the character that Shakespeare found in Kyd's plays. How he changed the very spirit of Ophelia by adding obedience and silence it is not necessary for me to point out; in fact on this matter all of us would have his own opinion. I do not think the change was very great for those who saw the play in Shakespeare's theater. I suspect they thought that Shakespeare's Ophelia was their old Ophelia of Kyd's "Hamlet". The fact that to critics now she is either "a rare, sweet girl, but by no means the woman to take deep hold upon Hamlet's affections" ⁽⁶⁶⁾; or else the heavenly angel, for love of whom Hamlet was so distraught as to be on the verge of real insanity - that fact shows how utterly unlike Kyd's Ophelia, Shakespeare's character is to most of us today. The fact, of course, is that Shakespeare's characterization of Ophelia

is meager and even contradictory, and we moderns read our own ideas into the part to fill out the picture. Only by a view of the character in its historical setting can we understand the nature of this incompleteness, and understand how Shakespeare handles his materials. For us, Shakespeare's Ophelia is not Kyd's; but we can only know Shakespeare's Ophelia, the Ophelia of the Globe Theater, when we know the Ophelia of Kyd.

Appendix A.

We may well wonder where Kyd got the "Spanish Tragedy" plot if he did not transpose it from the old "Hamlet", but to me it would seem a greater wonder if the Hamlet play, which in many respects is more highly developed, should have come first. A Spanish romance or a number of Spanish romances giving the facts, and the Senecan tradition determining the tone may explain the "Spanish Tragedy"; but without the "Spanish Tragedy" it would be hard to explain the metamorphosis of Belleforest into the old "Hamlet". Here are my reasons for thinking the "Spanish Tragedy" came first and was used as a basis for the Hamlet play. 1. The "Spanish Tragedy" had two women, one in love, one mad. They were both effective - why not have a woman in love go mad? The natural thing would be to combine the stage business of two people, looking for more startling effects, not to divide the business of one person between two characters. (1) 2. The ghost in the Hamlet play is a higher development. The ghost of Andrea was effective as an onlooker. The logical step would be to have him take part in the action. It is hard to imagine anyone with an ear for effects taking a ghost that shrieked "Hamlet, revenge", and in the next play setting him down to argue and to watch the play with revenge. Rather if the old "Hamlet", with its ghost that cried like an "oister-wife", came first, Kyd would have dragged that old ghost into action again and again (as Marston did in "An-

1. Professor Thorndike (p 154) refers to Sarrasin's reconstruction of Kyd's "Hamlet" in which he speaks of "Ophelia, whose wooing has the grace of Bel-imperia and whose fate has the pathos of Isabella".

2. I see that Professor Thorndike notes this definite advance in the ghost's business. p. 149

tonio's Revenge", where the ghost appears five times to egg on the son or restrain the wife). A spectator after a participant? No, the tendency was to make the most of a popular device. ⁽²⁾ Besides in the old "Hamlet" the ghost was the informer, playing Bel-imperia's part. In Q1 the stage direction is, "Enter ghost in his night-gown". Who but the man that had made a "hit" with Hieronimo in his shirt, would put the ghost in a gown? The "Spanish Tragedy" ghost was Senecan and experimental; the night Kyd saw him on the boards, the conception of a real ghost was born; he went home and began to write the part of the ghost for the old "Hamlet". 3. The mad scenes in the old "Hamlet" were evidently made more of than in "The Spanish Tragedy". Isabella went mad in Act III sc 8 and is not seen until IV 2, where she hacks down the bower; in the same scene she stabs herself. In Kyd's "Hamlet" Ophelia must have come on the stage several times. In "Fratricide Punished" after her insanity is announced, she appears three times. In Shakespeare she comes on the stage twice in one long scene. Hieronimo's madness was not to be compared with Hamlet's. ⁽³⁾ Hieronimo's madness was not a real madness nor a feigned one like Hamlet's but was more like the Senecan frenzy, say of Hercules Furens, a delirious involuntary response to certain ideas.

4. The play within the play was more complicated in the old "Hamlet". In the "Spanish Tragedy" the play was at the end and served to kill off the villains and the others. The matter of guilt was settled by accident (Hieronimo's finding a letter on Pedringono). In Kyd's "Hamlet" the play was in the midst of the story and was for the purpose of finding out guilt. The scene with foils at the end, where

3. It was of course understood that the painter scenes and other mad

all the court is assembled to see the play is, as Professor Thorndike points out, analogous to the play in "Spanish Tragedy". The tendency is always to develop and use again and again a startling innovation.⁽⁴⁾

5. The fifth reason for thinking the "Spanish Tragedy" came first is its discursiveness. However rambling the old "Hamlet" was (and it was evidently not so well unified as Shakespeare's play), it marked an advance on the "Spanish Tragedy". "The Spanish Tragedy" begins with a revenge for Andrea and switches, as far as the human beings are concerned, to a revenge for Horatio. The exciting cause does not come until Act II sc 4, when Horatio is killed. It is then that Hieronimo assumes responsibility for revenge. This space of time did not elapse before the murder in the old "Hamlet". In the "Spanish Tragedy" Andrea's ghost is demanding revenge for himself, while the presentation is all about a revenge for Horatio. Now it can be allowed that Kyd might have happened on such a loose arrangement in the first place; but is it to be thought that having written a comparatively unified revenge play in the old "Hamlet", he should then muddle up his motives in this fashion?

scenes in "Sp. Tr." were added by Ben Jonson.

4. After having had two such spectacles in "Hamlet", it is hardly conceivable that Kyd would be content to use only one in Sp. Tr. - if the Ur-H came first.

Appendix B.

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