# An Enquiry into Middleton's supposed "adaptation" of Macbeth 

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This Enquiry considers the claim by Gary Taylor in Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works (Oxford, 2007), that the 1623 Folio text of Macbeth was adapted in about 1616, and that "Middleton seems to have been responsible" for an additional "151 lines"; furthermore, Taylor claims, "Middletonian and Shakespearean writing seem to be combined" in "72 lines....Other short passages of Middletonian or mixed writing may be impossible to detect, but what can be detected includes about eleven percent of the extant play" (Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works (Oxford, 2007), p.397).

Our Enquiry is in three parts, testing Taylor's claims against an examination of the two dramatists' diction, and their prosody. The authors are:
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Part 1: Matching collocations of three or more consecutive words, found in Macbeth and in the canons of Shakespeare and Middleton.

Using software programs designed to detect student plagiarising (Pl@giarism, WCopyFind), together with search engines (Concordance, Ultra-Edit, ‘PSWP’ Phrase and Word Search Program) and a database of appropriate early modern texts, we first document the occurrence of matching three word collocations in Macbeth and in the two dramatists' canons. Our search is limited to those passages stigmatized in Taylor's edition by being printed in bold face. Taylor declares these to be non-Shakespearian ("passages apparently added or rewritten by Middleton"). However, believing that "Middleton apparently made several major transpositions: transferring lines from 4.1 to 1.3, and transferring lines within 4.1 and within $4.3^{\prime \prime}$ (Companion, p. 397) he also uses bold face to mark Shakespearian passages "where Middleton apparently moved them". This use of the same type face to mark two completely different categories of text is confusing, and may arouse in some readers the mistaken impression that these passages, too, have been put under suspicion. In order to avoid this confusion, the passages he claims for Middleton are enclosed within pointed brackets. As for the passages which, Taylor thinks, Middleton shifted around, they are underlined here. However, we submit them to the same linguistic tests as the other material that Taylor ascribes to Middleton, in order to dispel any confusion about their authenticity. We highlight in red those words that occur in Macbeth and elsewhere in the Shakespeare canon. Those highlighted in yellow occur in Macbeth, but not elsewhere in Shakespeare (however, as we know from the evidence of hapax legomena, he frequently used a word once only); they do occur in Middleton, but in some cases in plays which postdate Macbeth (ca. 1606).

Our text is the First Folio, but with a few changes to the lineation, approved by most editors. Our act, scene and line-references follow The Riverside Shakespeare, ed. G.B.Evans and J.J.M.Tobin, second edition (Boston and New York, 1997). Word frequencies for Shakespeare are taken from Marvin Spevack, The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare (Hildesheim, 1973).

## THE TRAGEDIE OF MACBETH.

## [Folio,p.131]

Actus Primus. Scoena Prima.

Thunder and Lightning. Enter three Witches.

1. < I come, Gray-Malkin.
[2.] Padock calls.
[3.] Anon. >
All . Faire is foule, and foule is faire, 10
<Houer through> the fogge and filthie ayre. Exeunt.

Scena Secunda [1.2.7-23, 27-31]
Alarum within. $<$ Enter >King, Malcolme, Donalbaine, Lenox, with attendants, < meeting> a bleeding Captaine.

Cap. < Doubtfull it stood,
As two spent Swimmers, that doe cling together,
And choake their Art: The mercilesse Macdonwald
(Worthie to be a Rebell, for to that
The multiplying Villanies of Nature
Doe swarme vpon him) from the Westerne Isles Of Kernes and Gallowgrosses is supply'd, And Fortune on his damned Quarry smiling,

Shew'd like a Rebells Whore: but all's too weake:
For braue Macbeth (well hee deserues that Name)
Disdayning Fortune, with his brandisht Steele, Which smoak'd with bloody execution
(Like Valours Minion) caru'd out his passage,
Till hee fac'd the Slaue:
Which neu'r shooke hands, nor bad farwell to him, Till he vnseam'd him from the Naue toth' Chops, And fix'd his Head vpon our Battlements.>
[Taylor states that these three speeches (according to his lineation, where 'I come...anon' forms one verse-line) are "probably Middleton's" (Companion, p.397).]

Alarum within. Enter - Shakespeare: Lear; Not found elsewhere

Enter...meeting Cf. SD for 3.5 below, and Enter
Bast[ard] and Curan meeting (King Lear 2.1.0.1; 1608 Quarto). SDs of this form occur10 times in Middleton.
for to that MidRow. Change; Mid. Phoenix; Not elsewhere in Shakespeare
vpon him) from ShakespeareA\&C; Not in Middleton Of Kernes and: Shakespeare. 2HVI; Not Middleton Shew'd like a: Shakespeare 1HIV; HVIII; Not Mid. too weake: For - 3 Shakespeare; 1 Middleton
'd with bloody - Shakespeare R.III; Not Middleton
him till he - 7 Shakespeare (including Titus \& Macbeth); 1 Middleton
him from the - 11 Shakespeare; 1 Middleton
And fix'd: Shakespeare WT; Not in Middleton his Head vpon -Shakespeare Hamlet; R.II; Not Mid.


Scena Tertia. [1.3.1-29, 40, 43-5]
[Folio, p.132]

Thunder. Enter the three Witches.

1. Where hast thou beene, Sister?
2. Killing Swine.
3. Sister, where thou?
4. A Saylors Wife had Chestnuts in her Lappe,

And mouncht, \& mouncht, and mouncht:
Giue me, quoth I. 5

Aroynt thee, Witch, the rumpe-fed Ronyon cryes.
Her Husband's to Aleppo gone, Master o'th' Tiger:
But in a Syue Ile thither sayle,
And like a Rat without a tayle,
Ile doe, Ile doe, and Ile doe.
2. Ile giue thee a Winde.

1. Th'art kinde.
2. And I another.
3. I my selfe haue all the other,

And the very Ports they blow, 15

All the Quarters that they know,
I'th' Ship-mans Card.
Ile dreyne him drie as Hay:
[Taylor speculates that lines 1-29" may originally have been part of 4.1" (Works, p.1171, note).]

Where hast thou - Shakespeare 1HIV; A\&C; Not in Middleton
her Lappe, And - Shakespeare 1HIV; Not in Middleton

Aroynt thee, Witch: Shakespeare: F Lear; Not Mid . Master o'th'- Shakespeare: HVIII; Not in Middleton

I my selfe haue Shakespeare: A\&C; Not Middleton the other, And - 6 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton

| Sleepe shall neyther Night nor Day |  | Hang vpon his Shakespeare: MM; Not in Middleton |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hang vpon his Pent-house Lid: | 20 | shall liue a Shakespeare: Hamlet; Not in Middleton |
| He shall liue a man forbid: |  |  |
| Wearie Seu'nights, nine times nine, |  |  |
| Shall he dwindle, peake, and pine: |  |  |
| Though his Barke cannot be lost, |  |  |
| Yet it shall be Tempest-tost. | 25 |  |
| Looke what I haue. |  |  |
| 2. Shew me, shew me. |  |  |
| 1. Here I haue a Pilots Thumbe, |  | Here I haue - 4 Middleton; Not elsewhere in |
| Wrackt, as homeward he did come. Drum within. | 29 | Shakespeare |
| $\cdots$ |  |  |
| <So wither'd, and> | 40 | wither'd, and - 3 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton |
| < you should be Women, | 45 |  |
| And yet your Beards forbid me to interprete |  |  |
| That you are so. > |  |  |
| Scena Quinta.[3.5.1-36] [Folio, p.142] |  | [3.5 Taylor describes this as "A new scene, written entirely by Middleton..." (Works, p. 1185 note).] |
|  |  | Enter...meeting Cf .SD 1.2 above. |
| <Thunder. Enter the three Witches, meeting Hecat. |  |  |
|  |  | Haue I not reason Shak.: GentV; R.II;Titus; notMid. |
| 1. Why how now Hecat, you looke angerly? |  | I not reason - Shakespeare: 3HVI; 2GentV; R.II; |
| Hec. Haue I not reason (Beldams) as you are? |  | Titus; Not in Middleton |
| Sawcy, and ouer-bold, how did you dare |  |  |
| To Trade, and Trafficke with Macbeth, |  | and Affaires of Shakespeare: Much Ado; Not Mid. |
| In Riddles, and Affaires of death; | 5 | the Mistris of - Shakespeare: MV; Middleton: MQ; |
| And I the Mistris of your Charmes, |  | Hengist; Changeling; Game at Chess; FQ |
| The close contriuer of all harmes, |  | Was neuer call'd - Shakespeare: 1HIV; Not in Mid. |
| Was neuer call'd to beare my part, |  | beare my part - Shakespeare: WintersTale; No Mid. |
| Or shew the glory of our Art? |  | the glory of our - Shakespeare:T\&C; Not in Mid. |
| And which is worse, all you haue done | 10 |  |


| Hath bene but for a wayward Sonne, |  |
| :--- | ---: |
| Spightfull, and wrathfull, who (as others do) |  |
| Loues for his owne ends, not for you. |  |
| But make amends now: Get you gon, |  |
| And at the pit of Acheron |  |
| Meete me i'th' Morning: thither he |  |
| Will come, to know his Destinie. |  |
| Your Vessels, and your Spels prouide, |  |
| Your Charmes, and euery thing beside; |  |
| I am for th' Ayre: This night Ile spend |  |
| Vnto a dismall, and a Fatall end. |  |
| Great businesse must be wrought ere Noone. |  |
| Vpon the Corner of the Moone |  |
| There hangs a vap'rous drop, profound, |  |
| Ile catch it ere it come to ground; |  |
| And that distill'd by Magicke slights, |  |
| Shall raise such Artificiall Sprights, |  |
| As by the strength of their illusion, |  |
| Shall draw him on to his Confusion. |  |
| He shall spurne Fate, scorne Death, and beare |  |
| His hopes 'boue Wisedome, Grace, and Feare: |  |
| And you all know, Security |  |
| Is Mortals cheefest Enemie. |  |
| Sits in Foggy cloud, and stayes for me. |  |
| Musicke, and a Song. |  | Sits in Foggy cloud, and stayes for me.35

Sing within. Come away, come away, \&c.

1. Come, let's make hast, shee'l soone be Backe againe

Exeunt. >

Get you gon, And - Shakespeare: MFM; Not in Middleton
the Corner of the - Shakespeare: TN; Not in Middleton
strength of their - 2 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton draw him on to Shakespeare: Hamlet; Not in Midd. and beare His Shakespeare: The Shrew; Not in Midd.
and a Song - Shakes: AYLI; JC; Not in Middleton

Come away, come away - Shakespeare: Twelfth Night;
Middleton: The Witch

Actus Quartus. Scena Prima. [4.1.39-43, 61-72, 74-6, 86-9, 122-

132, 135-156] [Folio, p.143]

## Enter Hecat, and the other three Witches.

Heс. O well done: I commend your paines,
And euery one shall share i'th' gaines:
And now about the Cauldron sing
Like Elues and Fairies in a Ring, Inchanting all that you put in.

Musicke and a Song. Blacke Spirits, \&c.
< 1. Say, if th'hadst rather heare it from our mouthes,
Or from our Masters.
Macb. Call 'em: let me see 'em.

1. Powre in Sowes blood, that hath eaten

Her nine Farrow: Greaze that's sweaten
From the Murderers Gibbet, throw
Into the Flame.
All. Come high or low:
Thy Selfe and Office deaftly show. Thunder.

## 1. Apparation, an Armed Head.

Macb. Tell me, thou vnknowne power.

1. He knowes thy thought:

Heare his speech, but say thou nought.>
1 Appar.
Beware Macduffe,......
$<$ Dismisse me. Enough.
the other three Shakespeare: A\&C; LLL;

O well done MidDek: HWh; Mid: Phoe.; Not Shak. I commend your Mid: Chaste; MQ; MoreDiss; Mid. Row. Mass: Trick; Not elsewhere in Shakespeare And now about: Mid Chaste Maid; Not Shakespeare now about the: MidDek-RG; FiveGallants;Not Shak. Musicke and a Song. - Shakes: JC; Not in Middleton Blacke Spirits, - Mid: TheWitch: 'white spirits, black spirits: gray spirits; redd Spiritts:' but cf. Shakesp. MWW: 'Fairies blacke gray, greene, and white’.
it from our Shakespeare: AYLI; Not in Middleton

He knowes thy - Shakespeare 3HVI; Not in Middleton


Macb. Saw you the Weyard Sisters?
Lenox. No my Lord.
Macb. Came they not by you?
Lenox. No indeed my Lord.>
Macb. Infected be the Ayre whereon they ride,
And damn'd all those that trust them. $<$ I did heare
The gallopping of Horse. Who was't came by?
Len. 'Tis two or three my Lord, that bring you word:
Macduff is fled to England.
Macb. Fled to England?
Len . I, my good Lord.
Macb. Time, thou anticipat'st my dread exploits:
The flighty purpose neuer is o're-tooke
Vnlesse the deed go with it. From this moment,
The very firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand. And euen now
To Crown my thoughts with Acts: be it thoght \& done:
The Castle of Macduff, I will surprize.
Seize vpon Fife; giue to th' edge o'th' Sword
His Wife, his Babes, and all vnfortunate Soules
That trace him in his Line. No boasting like a Foole,
This deed Ile do, before this purpose coole,
But no more sights. Where are these Gentlemen?
Come bring me where they are.>
Exeunt
[4.2.38-56]
[Folio, p.145]

No my Lord - 23 Shakespeare; 3 Middleton No indeed my Lord Shakespeare: Othello; Not Mid. I did heare - 5 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton Who was't - Mid. WBW; Not elsewhere in Shakesp. two or three - 16 Shakespeare; 19 Middleton bring you word Mid Trick; Not elsewhere in Shakesp.
is fled to 6 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton I, my good Lord 22 Shakespeare; 1 Middleton go with it MidRowMass Old Law; Not elsewhere in Shakspeare
this moment - Shakespeare TN; Not in Middleton of my heart - 19 Shakespeare; 12 Middleton my heart shall Shakespeare Errors; R.II; Not Mid. And euen now Shakespeare-2HVI; MV; Not Mid. euen now to ShakespeareWT; Not in Middleton Seize vpon 5 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton him in his - $\mathbf{1 3}$ Mid; 6 Shake (incl. Macbeth; Titus) like a Foole - 6 Shakespeare; 4 Middleton But no more- 4 Shakespeare; 1 Middleton Where are these Shakesp.: MND; HVIII; Not Mid. Come bring me Shakespeare 2HIV; MV; Not Mid. bring me where 4 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton where they are - 8 Shakespeare (including Titus \& Macbeth); Not in Middleton
wilt thou do for: Shakespeare: Hamlet; Not Mid. Why I can Shakespeare:1HIV; 3HVI; Not Middleton

Wife. ....< How wilt thou do for a Father?
Son. Nay how will you do for a Husband?
Wife. Why I can buy me twenty at any Market.
Son. Then you'l by 'em to sell againe.
Wife. Thou speak'st withall thy wit,
And yet I'faith with wit enough for thee.
Son. Was my Father a Traitor, Mother?
Wife. I, that he was.
Son. What is a Traitor?
Wife. Why one that sweares, and lyes.
Son. And be all Traitors, that do so.
Wife. Euery one that do's so, is a Traitor,
And must be hang'd.
Son. And must they all be hang'd, that swear and lye?
Wife. Euery one.
Son. Who must hang them?
Wife. Why, the honest men.
Son. Then the Liars and Swearers are Fools: for there are Lyars and Swearers enow, to beate the honest men, and hang vp them.>
[4.3.140-159] Folio, p. 147

## Enter a Doctor.

Mal. ......................Comes the King forth
I pray you?
Doct. I Sir: there are a crew of wretched Soules
That stay his Cure: their malady conuinces
The great assay of Art. But at his touch,
Such sanctity hath Heauen giuen his hand,

Thou speak'st - 27 Shakespeare (including Titus; Macbeth; Timon); Not in Middleton
Was my Father 5 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton my Father a - Shakespeare 2GentV; Not Middleton I, that he: MidDek-HonWh; Not elsewhere in Shake. that he was - 8 Shakespeare; $\mathbf{3}$ Middleton Why one that: Shakespeare Cymbeline; Not Mid. all Traitors - Shakespeare AYLI; Not in Middleton do's so Shakespeare MWW; Not in Middleton is a Traitor - Shakespeare 2HVI; Not in Middleton a Traitor, And - 4 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton must be hang'd - Shakespeare MV, Tit.; Not in Mid. be hang'd, that : Shakespeare WT; Not in Middleton
honest men, and: Shakespeare 2HVI;Not Middleton.
[Taylor speculates that this passage was "probably replacing, as reported speech rather than dialogue, a longer sequence in which the holy King Edward appeared and performed a miracle on stage" (Works, p. 1192 note).]

Comes the King: 6 Shakespeare; Not inMiddleton
a crew of - Shakespeare MND; Not in Middleton
hath Heauen -Shakespeare KJ; Not in Middleton


| Malc. ....Come go we to the King, our Power is ready, 239 | go we to - 5 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton |
| :---: | :---: |
| Our lacke is nothing but our leaue. Macbeth | we to the Shakespeare 2HVI; Hamlet; Not in Mid. |
| Is ripe for shaking, and the Powres aboue | our Power is Shakespeare T\&C; Not in Middleton |
| Put on their Instruments: | The Night is 4 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton |
| Receiue what cheere you may, | the Day. Exeunt 4 Shakespeare; Not in Middleton |
| The Night is long, that neuer findes the Day. Exeunt |  |
| [5.8.34.1-2 SD] Folio, p. 151 Exeunt fighting. Alarums. Enter Fighting, and Macbeth slaine. | [Taylor speculates that "some adaptation seems to have occurred in connection with this staging." (Companion, p. 397).] |

Part 2: A commentary on the Shakespearian diction of the contested scenes, compiled manually from primary and secondary texts.

Note: The following commentary on Taylor's claims for Middleton as the author of several scenes and speeches in Macbeth concentrates primarily on the topic he signally neglected, namely the evidence for Shakespeare's diction. All passages in bold face represent quotations from Shakespeare, usually in the Folio text. Passages within double quotation marks are taken from Taylor's section on the play in the Companion volume; the page references in parentheses distinguish the two columns of text as 'A' and ' B ' respectively. Act, scene and line references have been standardized to the Riverside edition.

## 1.1

1.0.1 "incipit actus primus...incipit actus secundus", etc. Such stage directions may appear in Middleton, but never in Shakespeare. The Folio is the only textual authority for this play.
when shall we three meet again | in thunder lightning or in rain Taylor’s opening note to the play announces that "This edition removes all punctuation and all capitalization at the beginning of sentences or verse lines. The punctuation in the text first printed in 1623 bears little, if any, relation to the authors' intentions; it reflects the preferences of different compositors and scribes. Neither playwright capitalized the beginnings of sentences or verse lines. This completely unpunctuated text lets readers decide for themselves how to interpret the words" Works, p. 1170). A note refers us to a fuller discussion in the Companion, p. 690 (in fact, 691), which repeats these statements and adds: "On the evidence of the Hand D pages of Sir Thomas More, Shakespeare's own manuscripts contained virtually no punctuation, and what punctuation there was would be unlikely to survive into a printed text, or there would be surrounded by so much non-authorial punctuation that the identity and function of any such authorial practices would be irrecoverable" (p. 691A; my italics). There are several faults, logical and historical, in this argument. To begin at the end, the word that I have italicized makes a claim, repeated a few lines later, that "Shakespeare’s manuscripts" (p. 691B) exist. So far as I know, the only extant ms that has ever been connected with Shakespeare is that of STM. However, we have no way of knowing whether or not this was Shakespeare's usual way of writing. Secondly, one cannot infer from a rough draft what Shakespeare's intentions were as regards the punctuation of a finished, and especially a printed text. None of his published works omits punctuation. If - as seems likely -Shakespeare was more closely involved with the preparation of his narrative poems, Venus and Adonis (1593) and Lucrece (1594), both printed by his fellow Stratfordian, Richard Field, than with his plays, then he approved standard punctuation practices. And as we know from the Mechanicals’ play in A Midsummer Night’s Dream, he was all too aware of the ambiguity and ridicule that could result from inaccurate punctuation. Finally, Taylor’s claim that the Hand D pages of STM "contained virtually no punctuation" is false. Thomas Clayton's valuable collection of study "Aids" to that play-book computes that Shakespeare's contribution (147 lines) includes 38 commas, 4 semi-colons, 1 colon, and 7 periods, fewer than other authors might
have used, or Shakespeare himself in a more finished piece of writing, but by no stretch of the imagination "virtually none". See Thomas Clayton, The "Shakespearean" Additions in the Booke of Sir Thomas Moore: some aids to scholarly and critical Shakespearean studies; Shakespeare Studies Monograph Series, ed. J.L.Barroll, I (Dubuque, Iowa, 1969), p. 22.

9 I come Graymalkin Taylor (p. 397A) states that "There is no parallel in Shakespeare for 'greymalkin'", whereas "'Malkin' is a witch’s familiar at Witch 3.3.60". This may be so, but the existence in Shakespeare of many hapax legomena deprives it of any significance for authorship attribution. Shakespeare was perfectly capable of inventing the names of familiars, or drawing them from the enormous contemporary literature on demonology. At 4.1.3 'we learn that the familiar of the Third Witch is called Harpier, apparently meaning "harpy"' (Riverside edn, p. 1360).

Taylor (ibid.) notes that the phrase I come is repeated four times in Middleton’s Witch. However, he fails to note that Shakespeare several times uses it in combination with a character's name or relationship to the speaker, as in Cleopatra's Husband I come (Ant. 5.2.287); cf. also My faire Rosalind, I come (AYLI 4.1.42), Plantagenet, I come Plantagenet (3HVI 1.3.49), I come Master Shallow (2HIV 5.1.87), Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee (RII 4.1.107), Good my liege, I come (WT 2.3.52).

Taylor (ibid.) suggests that this line is "anomalous metrically", in that (in his lineation, at least, 'I...anon') it constitutes an unrhymed iambic pentameter amid a series of trochaic octosyllabics, rhyming $a a b b b c c \mathrm{Xdd}$. But there are no laws in prosody forbidding a poet to vary his metrical and rhyme schemes. Here the rhymed lines symbolize the Witches’ self-contained world, so a message from outside cannot form part of the same rhyme scheme. Similarly, in the opening lines of the Witches' next scene, the question and answer sequence - 'Where hast thou beene, Sister?...Sister, where thou? - is set in the temporal world, reporting events in the intervening time since their last meeting. For this reason the first 8 lines are unrhymed, of varying line lengths, partly in trochaic metre (lines 1-3), partly iambic (4-7). It is only when the First Witch plans future evil that the verse changes to rhymed octosyllabics - although still iambic: But in a Syue Ile thither sayle, | And like a Rat without a tayle...(8-10). Their verse does not settle into trochaic octosyllabics until line 14.

12 Houer through Taylor ascribes these words to Middleton, since they suggest "that the witches are flying, a spectacular effect also used in 3.5; the sisters do not fly in Shakespeare's source" (Works, p. 1170 note). But this ascription is dubious in three respects: it depends on an $a$ priori decision that Shakespeare did not write 3.5, an illicit procedure in authorship attribution studies based on internal evidence, where the attributor must be able to show a distinct change of style or linguistic register; secondly, the Folio text is a regular decasyllabic line, complete with rhyme; thirdly, Shakespeare's imagination was never limited by slavish adherence to the source. Taylor fails to cite any instance of Middleton using the word houer, and indeed, it seems to be rather rare; a search by Marcus Dahl of 457 early modern play texts turned up only 56 instances, none in Middleton. Shakespeare used houer three times elsewhere, in Richard III (4.4.13, 15) and Hamlet (3.4.103), also the forms houering (Luc 1297; WT 1.2.302) and houers (Jn 3.2.2).

## 1.2

In Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, William Shakespeare. A Textual Companion (Oxford, 1987[1988]), Taylor declared that "the likeliest candidate for extended writing by [Middleton] is 1.2. Wilson (edn. 1947) argued for his presence there..." (p. 129). However, although Dover Wilson judged that the second scene 'has undoubtedly been drastically and crudely cut', he stated that 'the verse, except for a word or two here and there, is certainly Shakespeare's'; Macbeth (Cambridge, 1947; 1951), pp. xxiv-xxv. But Wilson detected some evidence of cuts made by 'the adapter', unaware of their significance to the plot, and commented: 'I suggest that this botcher is Middleton, who, having interpolated some fifty lines of his own in the witchscenes, is here seen robbing Shakespeare of lines in exchange in order not unduly to increase the length of the play in performance' (p. xxvi). Thus Wilson's argument is exactly the opposite of that which Taylor attributed to him.

### 1.0.1-2 Alarum within. Enter ... meeting a bleeding Captaine. As noted in Part 1 of this

 Enquiry, the first three words of this stage direction occur in the Folio text of King Lear and nowhere else in the canons of Shakespeare or Middleton. Yet, by printing them in bold face Taylor claims them for Middleton. He does so again for its conclusion, meeting a bleeding Captaine, citing as his authority the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by R.V.Holdsworth, 'Middleton and Shakespeare. The case for Middleton’s hand in Timon of Athens' (University ofManchester, 1982), pp. 187-218, which drew attention to the idiosyncrasy by which characters are described as 'meeting' each other as they enter, an event often dealt with by the formula 'Enter at several [i.e. separate] doors'. Another instance of this form occurs in this play at the opening of 3.5: Enter the three witches, meeting Hecat. Holdsworth showed that stage directions of this form occur quite often in Middleton (10 times) and in Heywood (9 times). However, Taylor misreports Holdsworth’s findings concerning Shakespeare, stating that "Elsewhere in the Shakespeare canon, it appears only in a Middletonian scene in Timon of Athens (1.2.0.2) [sic]" (384B), "and never occurs in Shakespeare except in the Middletonian sections of Timon and here in Macbeth" (387A). But Holdsworth (p. 189) cited four other instances of this form in Shakespearian texts: Enter Varro's man, meeting others (Tim. 3.3.0.1, Folio); Enter three Senators at one doore, Alcibiades meeting them (Tim. 3.5.0.1); Enter Bast[ard] and Curan meeting (King Lear 2.1.0.1; 1608 Quarto); Enter two Gentlemen, meeting one another (Henry VIII, 4.1.0.1; Folio). While the Timon and Henry VIII directions may perhaps be due to a co-author, King Lear was performed in 1604, thus antedating Macbeth; and, as Peter Blayney definitively showed (1982), the 1608 Quarto was set from an authorial manuscript. Taylor's attempt to appropriate this stage-direction for Middleton is thus unwarranted.

7-23, 25-33, 34-42 The speech by the bleeding Captaine has been stigmatized by disintegators of Macbeth, from Clark and Wright (1869), Fleay (1876), Cuningham (1912) to Taylor (1987, 2007). Its authenticity was defended by Coleridge in 1819, as an example of Shakespeare’s 'epic narrative', seen also in the First Player's recitation of 'Aeneas' tale to Dido' (Hamlet, 2.2.46897, 502-18). In 1904 A.C.Bradley suggested that Shakespeare 'may have seen in the bloody story of Macbeth a subject suitable for treatment in a manner somewhat nearer to that of Seneca, or of the English Senecan plays familiar to him in his youth' (Shakespearean Tragedy, second edition (1905; 1950), p. 389). 'For the swelling of the style in some of the great passages ... Shakespeare might easily have found a model in Seneca....Does not the Sergeant’s speech, as Coleridge observed, recall the style of the "passionate speech" of the Player in Hamlet, -- a speech, be it observed, on a Roman subject? And is it entirely an accident that parallels between Seneca and Shakespeare seem to be more frequent in Macbeth than in any other of his undoubtedly genuine works except perhaps Richard III...?' (pp. 389-90). These insights were developed by
J.M.Nosworthy, 'The Bleeding Captain Scene In Macbeth', Review of English Studies, 22 (1946): 126-30, who related the Captain's speech to the 'circumstantial' or 'heroic narrative' of 'the Senecan tradition of the fifteen-nineties,' as in Andrea's narration opening Kyd’s Spanish Tragedy, 'the long narrative of the fall of Troy in Marlowe's Dido, Queen of Carthage', or the 'copy-book specimen of the genre’ that Shakespeare produced for the Player's speech in Hamlet (p. 127). Nosworthy distinguished the Captain's speech from these earlier examples in its greater economy and artistic judgment: 'It does not degenerate into rant, it is pared of superfluities, and the few parentheses that it admits are graphic or relevant to the initial presentation of the hero. The signs, however, of "English Seneca" are, however, palpable: "slave" as a term of abuse; such adjectives as "direful" and "dismal"; the phrase "Curbing his lavish spirit"; the personifications, "Fortune" and "Bellona"; and the chief evidence that the style is being patronized by a writer who has matured beyond it is found in the metrical flexibility, the controlled use of alliteration, and, above all, in the shortness of the speeches' (ibid.). Kenneth Muir, in his Arden edition, agreed with Coleridge, Bradley, and Nosworthy that 'the resemblance' between the captain's and the Player's speeches result from 'a deliberate attempt on Shakespeare's part to adopt a style suitable for "epic" narrative' (1951; ninth edition, 1962), p. xxii. In the Shakespeare Textual Companion (1987), however, Taylor (by implication) dismissed this whole discussion by criticizing Muir, in that he 'does not even discuss the possibility of Middleton's presence in this scene, simply asserting that Shakespeare was deliberately writing in an uncharacteristic "epic" style" (p. 129). This comment betrays a simplistic concept of dramatic language: what is Shakespeare’s "characteristic" style? More than any other English dramatist, he followed the principle of linguistic decorum, by which characters should be individualized according to age, gender, social rank, and other deeper identity markers. Also, those characters adapt their speech to the appropriate context, announcing good or bad news, accusing, petitioning, thanking, and many other speech situations. The Captain's language is entirely suited to this context.

7 Doubtfull it stood, Taylor claims that there are "several verbal parallels linking Middleton to the speeches of the bleeding captain. His first words --- doubtful it stood --- combine 'it stood' with a qualifying adjective, a phrase-pattern found nowhere else in Shakespeare but duplicated at Dissemblers 1.2.182 ('it stood blest')" (387A). But Taylor fails to note two much more unusual
features of the Captain's first words, the syntactical inversion and the incomplete verse line, or 'hemistich'. Although Nosworthy did not note them, these are additional characteristics of the Senecan narrative style as Shakespeare conceived it. The 'circumstantial' or 'heroic' narrators in both tragedies use a verse pause to leave the audience hanging on their words, as with the Captain's Doubtfull it stood, [pause of six syllables], Till hee fac'd the Slaue: [pause of five syllables], and Began a fresh assault [pause of four syllables]. Shakespeare had used this device most effectively in Hamlet for the Player’s description (in the second Quarto text; Folio crowds the lines together) of a quite unexpected delay in Pyrrhus' destruction of Priam: So as a painted tyrant Pyrrhus stood | And like a newtrall to his will and matter | Did nothing: [pause of seven syllables]. Shakespeare also used the pause to complete a narrative thread, marking a transition to new action or to an emotional outburst, as again in the hemistich that follows each of these utterances: Th'unnerved father fals [pause of four syllables]; Pirrhus' bleeding sword | Now falls on Priam [pause of five syllables]; As lowe as to the fiends [pause of four syllables]; And passion in the gods [pause of four syllables]. That Shakespeare was deliberately cultivating a Senecan messenger style is seen from the way in which Rosse continues the narrative after the Captain becomes unable to speak. There is the same convoluted sequence of subordinate clauses, rhetorical figures mimicking the hand-to-hand combat in an eight-line sentence which builds up to a hemistich climax: Curbing his lauish spirit: and to conclude, | The Victorie fell on us [pause of four syllables]. The Folio text gives Rosse three further half lines (TLN 73, 75, 86), variously treated by editors.

The other stylistic element used by Shakespeare to create a narrative mode set off from the immediate dialogue was syntactical inversion. In Aeneas' tale to Dido, jointly recited by Hamlet and the Player, there are 13 inversions of normal word order in 57 lines; in the Captain's speech there are 5 inversions in 35 lines. In his posthumously published book Shakespearean Sentences. A Study in Style and Syntax (Baton Rouge and London, 1988), John Peter Houston analyzed several unusual syntactical features of the Captain’s speech. Of its opening words, Doubtfull it stood, | As two spent Swimmers, that do'e cling together, | And choake their Art, Houston commented that 'Inversion and the use of simile are perhaps in themselves less unaccustomed than the extreme asymmetry of the sentence' (p. 146). When the narrator adds a parenthesis - The merciless Macdonwald | (Worthie to be a Rebell...) from the Westerne Isles | Of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supply'd - 'our immediate sense of the sentence's
shape is further weakened', for 'the combination of diverse grammatical elements between subject and verb' makes the appearance of the verb 'seem abrupt, rather than resolving or encapsulating the sentence’ (p. 147). Having indicated other Shakespearian syntactical choices which 'increase the feeling of asymmetry', Houston summed up his analysis in these terms: 'The curious sentence structures, which continue in Rosse's subsequent speech, might be called grandiose but not stately, if we take similes and disequilibrium as the dominant characteristics; a deliberate dissonance of means (seen also in the metonymies of the vocabulary) would appear to be Shakespeare's method. The captain is, after all, wounded yet speaking to a king, excited and faint by his own admission. He is not really a character in the play, and therefore nothing about his speech counts in the interplay of forms of language among Macbeth, Banquo, Lady Macbeth, and the others. The lines seem to be very much in the spirit of the harsh style, recognized in antiquity and related tangentially to high style' (pp.147-8). In both speeches the 'foreignness' of the style is a deliberate aesthetic effect on Shakespeare's part, not the sign of a heavily cut, and still less of an interpolated text.

9 and choake Taylor (p. 387A), finds in Middleton the collocation 'swimmers ... choked', but fails to note that the phrase and choake occurs in three other Shakespeare plays: 2Henry VI (3.1.33), MM (5.1.422), and Much Ado (2.3.255), while it occurs once only in the Middleton canon, in Fair Quarrel, co-authored with Rowley.

14-15 Fortune ...| Shew'd like a Rebell's Whore Bradley (p. 389 n.) noted 'in Macbeth several shorter passages which recall the Player's speech', as here: Out, out thou Strumpet-Fortune (Ham. 2.2.493).

15 but all's too weake Taylor (ibid.) claims that the collocation 'all's too' is 'unparalleled in Shakespeare but is found in Middleton (two instances cited, together with one of 'all too weak'). However, he fails to note that Shakespeare used the contraction all's 38 times, including the very similar collocation all's but naught (Ant. 4.15.78). Furthermore, the collocation 'all too' is found ten times in Shakespeare in similar contexts - e.g. all too base (R.II 4.1.28), all too heavy (2HIV 5.2.34), all too deere (Ant 2.5.105). Moreover, the collocation 'but all’ (implying the apostrophe) is found 21 times in Shakespeare, e.g. but all disordered (MND 5.1.126).

22 vnseam'd him from the Naue to th' Chops According to Taylor, "the closest parallel is 'rip thee down from neck to navel' (Witch 5.1.14); neither author uses 'unseamed' elsewhere, but Shakespeare never elsewhere uses the word 'seam' at all, which appears at least six times in Middleton, including the verb 'seamed' (Meeting of Gallants 201)" (387A). Taylor has evidently forgotten that The Witch postdates Macbeth, which makes Middleton the debtor here. He has also forgotten the evidence (first cited by Steevens in 1793) that Shakespeare recalled a passage in Marlowe’s Dido, Queen of Carthage: ‘Then from the nauell to the throat at once / He ript old Priam' (H.H.Furness, Jr., A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare Macbeth (1873; New York, 1963), p. 20). As for the word 'seam' in its various forms, Shakespeare's Emilia accuses Iago of consorting with someone That turn'd your wit the seamy side without, | And made you to suspect me with the Moor (Oth. 4.2.145-6).

## 25-7 As whence the Sunne 'gins his reflection, | Shipwracking Stormes, and Direfull

 Thunders: | So from that Spring, whence comfort seem'd to come, | Discomfort swells: Nosworthy (p. 128) noted that both the Captain and the Player 'make use of epic simile, but what is especially significant is that these similes are substantially the same'. Cf. the Player’s longer and more coherent version: But as we often see against some storme, $\|$ A silence in the Heauens, the Racke stand still, | The bold windes speechless, and the Orbe below | As hush as death: Anon the dreadfull thunder | Doth rend the Region. So ...(2.2.483-7).27-8 Taylor (387A) claims that "Another set of overlapping parallels suggests that Middleton wrote So from that Spring, where comfort seem'd to come, | Discomfort swells: There is no Shakespeare parallel for seemed to come" - but then, it turns out that the nearest Middleton got to one was 'seem to come.' (As Hamlet says when confronted by the Gravedigger, 'wee must speake by the carde...') Taylor claims that "although both authors juxtapose 'comfort' and 'come’, Middleton does so much more often": that may be true, but relative frequency is an illicit argument in this context, and one that Taylor misuses several times in this sequence ("although both authors use the phrase 'no sooner' it is more common in Middleton", 387A).

27 that spring Taylor (ibid.) states that "Shakespeare never uses 'that' before 'spring'", but he fails to note: Currents that spring from one most gracious head (RII 3.3.108).

28 discomfort swells Taylor states that "only Middleton ... associates 'comfort' with liquids", but the word swells does not necessarily have a material referent here. Shakespeare often associates the word with abstract nouns like discomfort, such as their understanding | Begins to swell (Tmp. 5.1.80), or swell my thoughts (2HIV 4.5.170), swell in their pride (Luc 432), the strong and swelling evil (MM 2.4.6), proud swelling state (Jn. 2.1.74), their swelling griefs (3H6 4.8.42), The swelling difference of your settled hate (R2 1.1.291), swelling o'er with arts (TC 4.4.78), and swelling passion (Ven. 218).

29 No sooner Justice had, with Valour arm'd Taylor finds this verse "more Middletonian" (387A), but gives no reason why he thinks so. Shakespeare regularly collocates each of these abstract nouns with other abstract substantives, often with an ethical or psychological association. In his testing of Macduff, Malcolm pretends to lack all The King-becoming graces, | As Justice, Verity, Temp'rance, Stablenesse, | Bounty, Perseverance, Mercy, Lowlinesse, | Devotion, Patience, Courage, Fortitude (Mac 4.3.92-4) - a list that collocates both terms that seem "Middletonian" to Taylor. Elsewhere Shakespeare collocates Justice with the following abstract nouns: liberty (MM 1.3.21); iniquity (MM 2.1.172; Luc 1687); goodness (MM 5.1.6); mercy (MV 4.1.19); chivalry (RII 1.1.203); law (2H IV 5.2.78); truth (H VIII 5.1.130); peace...truth (Tim 4.1.16). As for Valour, Shakespeare uses it together with other abstract nouns of an ethical and psychological nature: bearing, argument (MA 3.1.96); discretion (MND 5.1.233; 1 H IV 5.4.120); care and kindness (HV 4.1.84); dignity and honesty (AWW 4.3.69, 177); policy (TN 3.2.29); virtue (R II 1.3.98); folly and pride (T\&C 1.2.23, 4.5.79); virtue (Cor 2.2.84); honour (JC 3.2.28); wisdom (Mac 3.1.52); purpose, courage (Oth 4.2.214); reason (A\&C 3.13.198); respect (Luc 201). To collocate Justice and Valour, then, seems eminently Shakespearian.

33 Began a fresh assault Nosworthy (p.128) compares the Player’s account: so after Pyrrhus pause, | A rowsed Vengeance sets him new a-worke (Ham. 2.2.487-8).

53 began a dismall Conflict Nosworthy (ibid.) compares Heraldry more dismall (Ham. 2.2.456).

54-6 Till that Bellona's Bridegroome...| Confronted him...| Point against Point, rebellious Arme 'gainst Arme Editors do not seem to have noticed the echoes here of another 'heroic narrative', the Spanish General's account of the decisive battle against the Portugese, in the second scene of Kyd’s revenge play: ‘Now while Bellona rageth here and there... | And shiuered Lances darke the troubled aire. | Pede pes \& cuspide cuspis; | Arma sonant armis, vir petiturque viro' (1.2.52-6), that is: 'Foot against foot, lance against lance; arms clash on arms and man is assailed by man' (tr. P. Edwards, Revels edn, 1959). The use of Till to begin the account of a turning point in the battle is also found in Kyd’s narrative: ‘The victory to neither part inclined, | Till Don Andrea...’ (64-5).

## 1.3

In Wells and Taylor, William Shakespeare. A Textual Companion (Oxford, 1987[1988]), Taylor speculated that Banquo's first speech to the Witches, What are these, | So wither'd, and so wilde in their attyre, | That look not like th' Inhabitants o' th' Earth, | And yet are on't? (39-47), "might be an addition, or a substitution for a Shakespearian original" (p. 129). By 2007, however, he had found "compelling evidence of Shakespeare's presence in parts of Banquo's speech" (389A) -- at any rate in the first seven lines. But even here Taylor proceeded to cast doubt on the authenticity of inhabitants, which Shakespeare uses twice only, whereas "it is common in Middleton, occurring eleven times". This is to misuse the 'greater frequency' argument again, as Taylor does once more in claiming significance for the fact that "The contraction 'on't' (40) is also more frequent in Middleton than Shakespeare" (389B). But such arguments are irrelevant in the context of claimed matches, since an author's greater or lesser use of an expression elsewhere does not mean that he could not have used it here. Sadly enough, Taylor failed to investigate Shakespeare's other use of the word inhabitants, in the apocalyptic speech by which King Henry IV, having so misinterpreted his son’s behaviour in haunting Esatcheap, expresses the fear that once Hal accedes to the throne England will relapse into a state before civilization: O, thou wilt be a Wildernesse againe, | Peopled with Wolues (thy old

Inhabitants) (2 Henry IV, 4.5.137). There is more than a little resemblance to this blasted Heath whose Inhabitants, these creatures so wilde in their attyre, accost the two generals.

45-7 you should be Women, | And yet your Beards forbid me to interprete | That you are so Observing that the witches "were not bearded in Shakespeare's source" (Holinshed), Taylor deduces that at some point "the gender of the three original witches was changed" from earlier in this scene ('Where hast thou beene, Sister ?'), and deduces further, that Middleton made the change. However, this is to accord the source overwhelming authority and to deny the dramatist any freedom to draw on other traditions, both of which would be highly inappropriate for Shakespeare. Taylor does not inform his readers that there was a long tradition, referred to in earlier editions of Macbeth, by which witches were described as bearded. Furness, in his 'New Variorum’ edition (1873) reproduced a note by Staunton (1860): ‘Witches, according to popular belief, were always bearded. So in The Honest Man's Fortune, II, i: "and the women that Come to us, for disguises must wear beards; And that’s to say, a token of a witch"' (p. 40). In his 'New Cambridge’ edition (1947) Dover Wilson cited T.A.Spalding, Elizabethan Demonology (1880), p. 99 for detailed evidence, and added the essential reference to that scene in The Merry Wives of Windsor where Falstaff, disguised as Mistress Ford's old aunt, manages to escape from Ford's increasingly desperate searches. Ford describes her as 'A witch' who 'workes by Charmes, by Spels, by th'figure, \& such dawbry as this is, beyond our Element', and Sir Hugh Evans, the Welsh parson, adds his bit of technical knowledge: ‘By yea, and no, I thinke the o'man is a witch indeed: I like not when a o'man has a great peard; I spie a great peard under his muffler’ (4.2.172-8, 191-4). The fact that witches were thought to be bearded has been known for at least 400 years, so it is strange that Taylor chose to withhold it from users of his claimed Middleton "adaptation." The parallel he cites from "Patient Man 10.193-5: 'fear he should be a woman, for some women have beards; marry, they are half witches'" (389B), shows that Middleton was aware of the tradition, but not that he rewrote this scene of Macbeth.

## 3.5

In Wells and Taylor, William Shakespeare. A Textual Companion (Oxford, 1987[1988]), Taylor reported that "Holdsworth provides further evidence for Middleton’s authorship of the Hecate
passages (3.5, 4.1...) in which the [two songs from The Witch] appear' (p.129). In the 2007 Middleton Companion Taylor repeated his assertion that "Holdsworth also notes a cluster of verbal parallels between the songs, the lines introducing them, and the Middleton canon" (384B). In both cases Taylor gives only one bibliographical reference, to R.V.Holdsworth's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, but that work includes no discussion of these scenes; thus, this 'evidence' should never have been cited.

Moreover, Taylor has failed to cite some highly pertinent arguments that Shakespeare wrote the Hecate passages in 3.5 and 4.1, including G.Wilson Knight, The Shakespearian Tempest, Third edition (London, 1953), Appendix B: ‘The "Hecate" scenes in Macbeth’ (pp. 326-32); Richard Flatter, 'Who wrote the Hecate-Scene?’, Shakespeare Jahrbuch 93 (1957): 196-210, and 'Hecate, "The Other Three Witches", and their songs’, ibid., 95 (1959): 225-37; J.M.Nosworthy, Shakespeare’s Occasional Plays (London, 1965), Chapter 1: ‘Macbeth. Date, Scope and Integrity’ (pp. 8-31); and Grace Ioppolo, Revising Shakespeare (Cambridge, MA 1991), pp. 121-4.
1.01 Thunder. Enter the three Witches, meeting Hecat. Knight observes that the stage direction Thunder describes 'the discord existing here between these evil spirits. It is discord within the world of evil'. Hecate looks angrily and 'speaks a long speech rebuking the three sisters for their "trade and traffic" with Macbeth....Now this speech is not pitched on the weird note that characterizes the prophecies and incantations of the three witches. It has a far lighter, rippling, flow. Indeed, it is very similar to the speeches of other gods and goddesses in Shakespeare: in all we can detect the same apparent faults: almost as though the poet were very deliberately attempting to render an effect pre-eminently supernormal, standing off from the powerful naturalism of his poetic presentations elsewhere....The result is, that Hecate, Hymen, Diana, and Jupiter, all have a certain strangeness about them which marks them off from the more firmly actualized figures of the Weird Sisters, the Ghost in Hamlet, Oberon, and Puck. And I conclude that this sense we have almost of unreality is part of the intention, I will not say of Shakespeare, but rather of the speeches themselves’ (pp. 326-7).

1 Why how now Hecat, you looke angerly? Shakespeare uses this unusual word form in two other plays: How angerly I taught my brow to frown (TGV 1.2.62), and Nor look upon the iron angerly (Jn 4.1.81).

2 Haue I not reason (Beldams) as you are? Nosworthy (p. 28) compared the (Shakespearian) scene in Titus Andronicus, where Aaron has left Tamora, Queen of the Goths, alone and instructed her to pick a quarrel with Bassianus, brother to Saturninus, newly elected Emperor of Rome. When Tamora’s sons, Chiron and Demetrius arrive, they exclaim: How now deere Soueraigne | And our gracious Mother, | Why doth your Highnes looke so pale and wan? 2.3.89-90). She replies: Haue I not reason thinke you to looke pale, and falsely complains that she has been lured to this place, | A barren, detested vale (91-3).As Nosworthy commented, 'This linkage, common to both plays, of "how now", "looke" and "Haue I not reason" does not give the impression of being something that an imitator would readily seize upon, and it is relevant to remark that in both plays it is part of what may be termed a monarch-subject relationship and is presented in a context of projected evil.' He also noted that Tamora's description of the barren, detested vale shares several features with the witch scenes in Macbeth: ‘so many of the evil life-forms mentioned by Tamora - owl, raven, snakes, toads, urchins and yews - find their way into the Hell-broth in Macbeth, IV.i.... These parallels, especially with the yew, which is the exception in both passages, can hardly be dismissed as coincidental...' (pp.30-1).

2 Beldams Shakespeare uses this word, in singular and plural forms, in three other plays and twice in Lucrece

3 Sawcy, and ouerbold Shakespeare uses 'saucy' on 32 other occasions in his plays, including Macbeth's reference to being confin'd, bound in | To saucy doubts and fears (3.4.23-4). He uses ouer-boldly once elsewhere (LLL 5.2.374). A further, un-noted link with the scene in Titus Andronicus is that Tamora rebukes Bassianus as Sawcie controuler of our priuate steps (2.3.60).

5 In Riddles and Affaires of death Shakespeare uses very similar collocations elsewhere: cf. The fortunes and affairs of noble Brutus (JC 3.1.135), dangerous affairs | Of hostile arms (RIII 4.4.398-9), went to Jewry | On Affaires of Anthony (AC 4.6.12), the affairs of loue (AYLI 4.1.47).

7 The close contriuer For similar collocations cf. the damn'd contriuer (Tit 4.1.36), a shrewd contriuer (JC 2.1.158), villainous contriuer (AYLI 1.1.145).

7 all harmes Cf. includes all harmes (RIII 1.3.8; also ending a verse line)

9 the glory of Shakespeare uses this collocation ten times in his plays.

10 And which is worse For similar collocations cf. And which is worse (HV 2.1.50), and what's worse (AYLI 2.1.61).

11 wayward Sonne For similar collocations cf. wayward boy (LLL 3.1.179), wayward girl ( $R J$ 4.2.47), wayward husband (Oth 3.3.292), wayward boy (Ven 344).

12 (as others do) Shakespeare uses the identical collocation: as others do (AYLI 1.2.171), and similar ones: things that others do (Ant 5.2.177), that others do (Cym 1.6.90).

13 his owne endes For similar collocations cf. mine own ends (HVIII 3.2.171), for mine own ends (HVIII 3.2.212), his bold ends (TNK 1.2.17).

14 make amends now For similar collocations cf. make amends ere long (MND 5.1.434), make you amends next (CE 2.2.53), I will make amends (3HVI 5.1.100), you make amends (Cym 1.6.168), and another 10 instances.

14 Get you gon The phrase get you gone occurs 20 times in Shakespeare; get thee gone occurs 22 times.

15-16 And at the pit of Acheron | Meete me i'th'morning. Knight noted the same rhyme word in Oberon's instructions to Puck to ouercast the night; | The starrie Welkin couer thou anon | With drooping fogge as blacke as Acheron (MND 3.2.355-7). In his mad search for Astrea (Justice) Titus Andronicus vows that he will dive into the burning Lake (of Phlegethon) And pull her out of Acheron by the heels (Tit 4.3.45).

16 Meete me i'th'morning Cf. Where shall we meet i'th'morning? (Oth 1.3.373) The phrase i'th'morning occurs on six other occasions in Shakespeare.

19 and euery thing beside Cf. on euery day beside (LLL 1.1.40), and all beside (RII 5.3.104).

19-20 This night Ile spend | Vnto a dismall, and a Fatal end. Nosworthy (p.28) compared Shakespeare's use of these 'Senecan adjectives' in Tamora's speech: Vnto the body of a dismall yew, and Vnlesse the nightly Owle, or fatall Rauen (Tit 2.2.107, 97).

20 Fatal end Cf. from Macbeth alone, fatal entrance, fatal vision, fatal bellman (1.5.39, 2.1.36, 2.2.3).

22 Great businesse must be wrought ere Noone. Knight pointed out that Oberon's fairies also 'have to accomplish their night's work before morning'. Puck urges: My Fairie Lord, this must be done with haste, | For night-swift Dragons cut the Clouds full fast, | And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger, and Oberon agrees: make no delay: | We may effect this business yet ere day (MND 3.2.378-80, 394-5). Elsewhere Shakespeare ends a verse line with the phrase ere night (HV 4.3.116 3HVI 5.4.69, JC 5.3.109), ere day (JC 1.3.153), ere the set of sun (Mac. 1.1.5).

23 Corner of the Moone Cf. corner of the west (Jn 2.1.29).

24 Moone ... a vap'rous drop Knight (p. 327) thought that in Hecate 'evil does not appear unpleasant. She is a fairy, floating in air, rising toward the moon, and watching for a "vaporous drop" to fall to earth'. However, two lines earlier Hecate vowed This night Ile spend | Vnto a
dismall, and a Fatal end. In the early modern period the connotations of vaporous were with night air, then thought to be noxious, as in Enobarbus' guilt-stricken wish that The poisonous damp of night might put an end to his life (Ant. 4.9.13-15). Cf. also The vaporous night approaches (MM 4.1.57), O hateful, vaporous and foggy night! (Luc 771). Moreover, in antiquity this drop had supernatural significance, as Steevens pointed out in 1790, being 'the virus lunare ... a foam which the moon was suppose to shed on particular herbs, or other objects, when strongly solicited by enchantment' (Furness edn, p.235). According to several well-known classical texts witches were able to call down the moon for this sinister purpose. The magic foam is one of the ingredients used by the witch Erichtho in the most gruesome description of necromancy in Lucan's Pharsalia, 6.492-830; cf. Lucan, Civil War, tr. S.H.Brand (Oxford, 1992), pp. 119-128, 282-7.

29 Shall draw him to his Confusion Knight (p. 329) commented: "Confusion", "spurn fate", "scorn death", a final victory over "grace" and "fear". All these are Macbeth impressions. And these lines are a most admirable comment on the falling action of the play.' Hecate rhymes ‘illusion | confusion’ here; Hymen, the goddess of marriage, also uses this rhyme: 'Peace hoa: I barre confusion, | 'Tis I must make conclusion' (AYLI 5.4.125). Shakespeare ends verse-lines with the word confusion on nine other occasions; cf. CE 2.2.180, MND 1.1.149, 4.1.110, 1HIV 5.1.82, Cor 3.1.110, Ham 3.1.2, Lr 3.2.86, Cym 3.1.65, Per 4.1.64.

32 Security Shakespeare uses this word in the sense of 'carelessness, want of caution' also at RII 3.2.34, HV 2.2.44, and JC 2.3.7.

A note on rhymes. In Shakespeare's Pronunciation (New Haven, 1953) Helge Kökeritz compiled An Index of Shakespeare's Rhymes (pp. 399-495). Of the eighteen rhymes in this scene, ten occur elsewhere in Shakespeare.

## 4.1

41-2 And now about the Cauldron sing | Like Elues and Fairies in a Ring Nosworthy (p. 30) defended 'the authenticity of Hecate's short speech', citing evidence from an unexpected Shakespearian source, Mistress Quickly's instructions to the Fairies who are told to Search

Windsor Castle and Strew good lucke...on euery sacred roome, including all marks of heraldic distinction; And Nightly-meadow-Fairies, looke you sing | Like to the GartersCompasse, in a ring. (MWW 5.5.56-66). Shakespeare uses the word inchaunting four times elsewhere (CE 3.2.161, LLL 1.1.167, Tit 3.1.86, Luc 1521), once spelled inchanting (Ven 247), and twice spelled enchanting (T\&C 3.1.151, A\&C 1.2.128). Middleton never uses it.
68.1 Apparition Taylor declares (p. 391A) his opinion that "The three apparitions also seem suspect", and records (p.391B) the fact that "the word 'apparition' ... occurs in stage directions in only three plays written for the commercial theatres between 1580 and 1642", namely Macbeth, Cymbeline (5.5.123.1), and Middleton’s Game at Chess (1614). However, he fails to note that the spelling Apparation occurs only in Cymbeline and here in Macbeth at the entry of the 3.Apparation (86.1)

140 the galloping of horse Taylor claims (p. 390A) that "the actual exchanges with Lennox about the witches' exit and Macduff's flight [135-143] contains nothing notably Shakespearean." His first piece of evidence is the fact that "Shakespeare never elsewhere uses the word 'gallopping’; Middleton does" -- if only once. This may be true, but in itself proves nothing. Moreover, the full phrase is the gallopping of horse, and the collocation of horse occurs seven times elsewhere in Shakespeare, but not in Middleton, including a close syntactical parallel in the neighes of horse (Ant. 3.6.45). Additionally, the phrase of horse, referring to more than one horse, is found at least three times in Shakespeare, while of horses is found four times in Shakespeare; neither collocation occurs in Middleton.

141 'Tis two or three Taylor has computed that "The collocation 'two or three' appears five times elsewhere in Shakespeare; but it appears 23 times in Middleton's (significantly shorter) canon..." (390A). This is another instance of the 'bigger frequency elsewhere' fallacy.

142 fled to England. -- Fled to England? Taylor cites (p. 390A) this phrase as "an example of what Holdsworth [1982, pp. 236-67] defines very precisely, as 'interrogative repetition’; Middleton uses it three times more often than Shakespeare". But the fact that Middleton used it more often than Shakespeare does not prove that Middleton wrote these lines. The device of
catching up a speaker's words and returning them is an ancient device in drama, categorized by the rhetoricians as asteismus, and frequently used by Shakespeare. Cf. Sister Miriam Joseph, C.S.C., Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language (New York, 1947; ${ }^{3} 1966$ ), pp. 165, 167-8 (citing examples from six plays), 341. Stefan Daniel Keller, in The Development of Shakespeare's Rhetoric: A Study of Nine Plays (Tübingen, 2009), pp. 271, 280, identified 379 instances of this figure in his chosen sample, less than a quarter of Shakespeare's total works, the most frequent occurrences being in Love's Labour's Lost (98), Hamlet (60), Twelfth Night (56), Richard III (52), King Lear (41) and The Tempest (27).

Taylor fails to note that Shakespeare frequently uses the collocation fled to, both in connection with a place-name: Fled to London (2HVI, 5.3.36), fled to Burgundy (3HVI, 4.6.79), and without: fled to Richmond (RIII 4.2.48, 85), fled to heaven (Jn. 4.3.145), fled to him (RII 2.2.55).

144-56 Taylor informs us that "Holdsworth has expressed doubts about Shakespeare’s authorship..." of "Macbeth's long speech which closes the scene" (390A). Five columns later, Taylor tells us again that "Holdsworth had noticed some Middleton parallels in Macbeth's last speech here" (393B). Unfortunately, since no such comments appear in Holdsworth’s 1982 dissertation, these suspicions come into the category of non-existing, and therefore inadmissible evidence. But Taylor was sufficiently inspired by Holdsworth’s doubts to conduct "an independent examination of the entire speech," which, he believes, "echoes with Middletonian phrases". However, candour at once forces him to concede that lines 150-53 (from The Castle of Macduff to trace him in his line) must "belong to the original play" - which is his way of admitting that Shakespeare wrote them. But he then asserts (393A) that "There is nothing distinctly Shakespearean from The flighty purpose to thought and done [145-9] or from No boasting to where they are [153-6]." However, our Table A presents evidence that these lines contain no less than twelve Shakespeare collocations of three consecutive words, of which nine do not occur in Middleton. In addition, several words and shorter phrases in Macbeth’s speech have close matches in Shakespeare. For flighty purpose (145), Shakespeare frequently collocated 'purpose' with an epithet, e.g. vile purpose (Luc. 220), holy purpose (1HIV 1.1.102), noble purpose ( $A W W$ 3.2.70), unlawfull purpose ( $A W W$ 3.5.70), pernicious purpose ( $M M$ 2.4.150), great purpose (TC 5.1.38), unnatural purpose (Lr. 2.1.51), and, from Cymbeline:
graver purpose (1.4.139), angry purpose (2.3.56), sore purpose (4.1.23), and unchaste purpose (5.5.204). For o're-tooke (144), cf. Hamlet 2.1.58. For the collocation heart ... hand (147-8), cf. Strange things I have in head that will to hand (Mac. 3.5.138), Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand (Tit 2.2.38), My heart is not confederate with my hand (RII 5.3.53), and at least 16 other instances in Shakespeare. For the collocation thoughts ... acts (149), cf. nor any unproportion'd thought his act (Ham. 1.2.6), be great in act, as you have been in thought (Jn. 5.1.45). For this purpose coole (154), cf. this purpose speake (T\&C 1.3.264). The phrase Ile do (154), also spelled Ile doe, occurs 18 times in the Folio. Cumulatively, and taken with the indisputable presence of twelve matching Shakespearian collocations in this speech, the evidence for his authorship is incontestable.

146 firstlings Taylor suggests (393A) that "Most readers might think 'firstlings' Shakespearian, but Middleton also uses it...." -- Well, most readers would be right, for Shakespeare does indeed use it, in Troilus and Cressida: The vaunt and firstlings of these broils (Prol. 27).

153 No boasting Taylor observes (393B) that in Honourable Entertainments (1620-1) "Middleton, unlike Shakespeare, has the collocation 'No boasting'". But this instance post dates Macbeth by many years; elsewhere Middleton uses the word boasting twice, whereas Shakespeare uses it here and in three other plays (Tro. 4.5.290; Cor. 2.1.20; Oth. 1.2.20).

## 4.2

Taylor (p. 394B) casts suspicion on lines 38-56, primarily because the dialogue between Lady Macduff and her son shifts from verse to prose, and back. However, Shakespeare often moved between the two media, for a variety of dramatic purposes; cf. Brian Vickers, The Artistry of Shakeapeare's Prose (London, 1968, 2005). As for the language of these 19 lines, in Part 1 of this Enquiry we showed that they share 13 three-word collocations with other Shakespeare plays, none of which is found in Middleton, with a total of 55 occurrences.

42 and yet i’faith Taylor claims (p. 395A) that "Middleton frequently, and Shakespeare rarely, uses the oath i'faith ...", but he gives no figures. As with other of his claims, the fact that

Shakespeare used a collocation less frequently does not mean that he never used it. Moreover, Taylor fails to note an exact match of this construction in 1 Henry IV: and yet in faith (4.1.44).
5.8.34.1-2 Exeunt fighting. Alarums. Enter Fighting, and Macbeth slaine. Taylor (p.397B) speculates that, "At the end of the play, Middleton may be responsible for a change of staging...", citing Nicholas Brooke’s observation, in his edition of Macbeth (Oxford, 1990), p. 209, that the Folio stage direction "suggests that the stage is left bare for a short while, an unusual effect used a few years later by Middleton in The Changeling (1622), 3.1.10, where De Flores is leading Alonso to his death, with the direction 'Exeunt at one door and enter at the other'". But to credit Middleton as having performed this "adaptation", since he used a similar device some 16 years after Macbeth, is an extraordinary instance of petitio principii. In his edition of Macbeth (Cambridge, 1997), A.R.Braunmuller observed that, "However inadequate, the SDs convey a shifting duel, moving from place to place on the stage" (p. 236).

## Conclusion

The only possible conclusion to be drawn from this enquiry was made by J.M.Nosworthy in 1965:

It has been necessary to labour this demonstration of authenticity because it is a crucial one. It establishes that Shakespeare was the sole author of Macbeth and that the revising hand was his also. The implications, both for aesthetic judgments and textual criticism, are far-reaching. (p.31)

## Part 3: Did Middleton refurbish Macbeth? The evidence from versification.

In his recent edition of Thomas Middleton. The Collected Works Professor Gary Taylor argues that a considerable portion of Macbeth was refurbished for a later production, years after Shakespeare's death. Allegedly, the author of the additions was Middleton, and thus Professor Taylor claims the right to place Macbeth in Middleton’s canon.

My specialty is English versification, from the $13^{\text {th }}$ through the $20^{\text {th }}$ centuries (see my English Verse. Theory and History. Mouton: The Hague, Paris, 1976). During the last twenty years I have become particularly interested in Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic verse, and especially in the problems of authorship. My first published book in this area was Shakespeare's Verse. Iambic Pentameter and the Poet's Idiosyncrasies. (Peter Lang: New York and Bern, 1987). Since then I have widened my scope to take in earlier and later dramatists, from Norton and Sackville’s Gorboduc through Shirley's The Cardinal. My book now in progress is tentatively called Shakespeare Among Others: Versification in English Drama 1565-1642.

The two corner stones of my approach are: first, the differentiation between an abstract metrical scheme and its concrete linguistic realization in each line and each text; secondly, a wide statistical analysis. The regular iambic pentameter consists of ten syllabic positions, alternating positions filled with few stresses (odd syllables) with positions filled with frequent stresses (even syllables). However, a line consists not just of syllables but of phrases. Strong breaks between phrases in midline have particular places of preference: after position 4 in strict verse, and after position 6 or even 7 in looser verse. There are many features that characterize verse style, which I analyze according to 18 parameters, including stressing; the most frequent syntactic breaks in lines; types of line endings (syllabic, syntactic and accentual); the placement of stresses within verse lines; the frequency of two accentual types of phrases sensitive to authors' individual styles, viz. proclitic or 'forward-leaning' phrases , as in ...to thy sweet SELF, and enclitic or 'backward-leaning' phrases, as in Within thy OWN bud (I use capitals to indicate stressed syllables on even, that is, metrically strong positions); the frequency of pleonastic do, of grammatical inversions; of rhymes and alliterations; and other elements. Every epoch is characterized by a specific versification style and yet each poet remains strictly idiosyncratic.

The great advantage of my approach is that, by capturing minute differences between verse styles, it can be instrumental in the study of authorship.

In Professor Taylor's edition of Macbeth the passages allegedly added by Middleton are printed in bold face; from them I have managed to single out 105 iambic pentameter lines. This is a relatively small number for reliable statistics, meaning that not all parameters could be applied; but those that were, show several clear tendencies.

I have identified four main features of Shakespeare's and Middleton's verse styles that could be compared with the full text of Macbeth and with the limited sample of "Middleton's" additions to this play. To illustrate Shakespeare's stylistic evolution, I take his early play, The Taming of The Shrew and the last sole-authored drama, The Tempest. As plays representative of Middleton’s verse style I take Women, Beware Women and The Changeling (Middleton’s scenes).
(1) Feminine (and longer) line endings. The so-called "feminine endings" contain an eleventh syllable added to the pentameter line. "Dactylic" endings incorporate two additional syllables, 11 and 12. In Shakespeare, the proportion of feminine (and longer) endings is never higher than 35 percent (Tempest); in Middleton, it is always above 50 percent, and constitutes one of the most distinctive features of his verse style. In Women, Beware Women the proportion is 51.7 percent; in Middleton's scenes forThe Changeling 52.7 percent of all lines. Among both feminine and dactylic endings there are also "heavy" endings: they contain stresses on positions 11 or 12. In Shakespeare heavy endings are very scarce, even in the late plays, but are numerous in Middleton's texts. Thus, in The Tempest, heavy feminine endings occur in only 0.9 percent of all lines, while in Women, Beware Women they are found in 11.5 percent of the lines; in Middleton's scenes of The Changeling heavy endings occur in 14.3 percent of all lines.

Examples of lines typical of Middleton are given below. Line endings (capitalized) in these five lines are, respectively: a simple feminine ending, a compound feminine ending light; compound feminine heavy (twice); dactylic compound light; and dactylic compound heavy.

And all as sweet-faced children and as LOVELY
As you'll be mother of, I will not SPARE YOU
Made shift withal to pass away her LOVE IN.
For a young gentlewoman to be got with CHILD IN!
Nay, since I am content to be so KIND TO YOU

Never a green silk quilt is there i'th' HOUSE, MOTHER
(Women, Beware Women 3.1. 31, 34, 18, 30, 22, 27)
The tabulated comparative figures for the plays are below:
Masculine endings -- Feminine endings:

The Shrew
Tempest
Women, Beware
Changeling
Macbeth
"Middleton" in Macbeth
81.5---18.5
64.4---35.6
48.3---51.7
47.3---52.7
74.7--25.3
75.7---24.3

Clearly, the claimed Middletonian additions to Macbeth look no different than the rest of the play.
(2) Run-on (syntactically incomplete) lines, Longer lines require clear syntactic boundaries between them; therefore the number of enjambed lines in Middleton's plays is relatively low. Later Shakespeare has considerably more run-on lines than Middleton. Here are the tabulated results, as percentages:

| The Shrew | 11.8 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Tempest | 42.0 |
| Women, Beware | 19.7 |
| Changeling | 19.6 |
| Macbeth | 28.3 |
| "Middleton" in Macbeth | 31.8 |

Clearly, "Middleton" in Macbeth is no different from the whole play.
(3) Strong syntactic breaks. In early Shakespeare, the most numerous syntactical breaks between phrases in midline occur after position 4 (a short first hemistich, giving a $4+6$ syllabic line structure); in late Shakespeare they occur after position 6 (a long first hemistich, giving a $6+$ 4 line structure). In Middleton, strong breaks shift farther to the end of the line; the most frequent breaks occur both after positions 6 and after 7 .
Syntactic line breaks after positions $4 \ldots--6-7$ :
The Shrew
22.4...---11.0---4.9

| Tempest | $17.0 \ldots--\mathbf{- 3 0 . 0}---17.7$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Women, Beware | $12.8 \ldots--\mathbf{- 2 5 . 4}-\mathbf{- 1 9 . 2}$ |
| Changeling | $10.2 \ldots---\mathbf{2 3 . 0}--22.7$ |
| Macbeth | $15.4 \ldots--\mathbf{- 2 9 . 6}--13.5$ |
| "Middleton" in Macbeth | $16.3 \ldots--\underline{23.1}-11.5$ |

In Shakespeare the number of breaks after positions 4, 6 and 7 evolves, from a most numerous break after position 4 to a major break after position 6, but never after position 7 (breaks after position 7 certainly do occur, and even after positions 8 and 9, but considerably less frequently). Middleton was a younger poet with verse features of the later Jacobean period; a frequent break after position 7 is one of them.
(4) Stressing. In early Shakespearian verse, with its $4+6$ hemistich segmentation, the most often stressed even positions are 4 and 10, the ends of hemistiches, while the least frequently stressed midline position is 6 . In later Shakespeare, the least frequently stressed position becomes 8 . This trend is typical of all verse drama after 1600. In Middleton, additionally, position 4 is often stressed less frequently than 6; such a shift never occurred in Shakespeare. Here are examples of stressing in early Shakespeare, late Shakespeare, Middleton’s scenes in The Changeling, Macbeth, and "Middleton's" additions to Macbeth (notice the numbers in bold and underlined).

| Positions | 2 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The Shrew | 69.4 | $\mathbf{8 7 . 2}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{6 8 . 6}}$ | $\mathbf{7 4 . 3}$ | 88.6 |
| The Tempest | 67.9 | $\mathbf{8 0 . 1}$ | $\mathbf{7 7 . 7}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{6 9 . 4}}$ | 87.6 |
| Women, Beware | 66.6 | $\mathbf{8 3 . 6}$ | $\mathbf{7 9 . 2}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{6 8 . 3}}$ | 96.2 |
| Changeling | 68.9 | $\underline{\mathbf{8 1 . 3}}$ | $\mathbf{8 3 . 5}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{6 6 . 5}}$ | 94.0 |
| Macbeth | 65.0 | $\mathbf{8 1 . 8}$ | $\mathbf{7 6 . 8}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{6 9 . 6}}$ | 94.5 |
| "Middleton's" additions | 72.0 | $\mathbf{8 0 . 4}$ | $\mathbf{7 9 . 8}$ | $\underline{\mathbf{7 1 . 2}}$ | 92.5 |

Clearly, in Macbeth, "Middleton's" addition is not unlike the rest of the play.
Finally, both the undisputed Shakespearian text and the alleged Middletonian additions contain more grammatical inversions and more instances of pleonastic do than are found in actual Middleton. Inversions, pleonastic do and disyllabic syffixes -ion, -ious (as in sus-pi-ci-on, sus-pi-ci-ous) are all marks of an older generation poet. In the 105 lines of alleged Middletonian additions to Macbeth pleonastic do occurs 5 times, a rate of 47.6 per 1000 lines. Examples: As
two spent swimmers that do cling together; Do swarm upon him from the western isles (Macbeth, 1.2.7, 12). In the whole of Macbeth the pleonastic do occurs 67 times, or 40.3 per 1000 lines, a rate very similar to that in the supposed Middletonian additions. In sharp contrast, pleonastic do occurs in Women, Beware Women only 8.1 instances per 1000 lines, and in The Changeling (Middleton's scenes) in 9.5 instances.

Finally, in the 105 iambic pentameter lines of Middleton’s alleged addition to Macbeth there is one case of an unstressed auxiliary be at the end of the line, on position 10: The very firstlings of my heart shall be | The firstlings of my hand... (4.1.165). In the whole of The Changeling (Middleton's scenes) there is not a single similar occurrence; in the 2591 lines Women, Beware Women there is only one instance of an unstressed monosyllable on position 10, giving a rate of 0.4 instances per 1000 lines. In sharp contrast (once more), such cases are very typical of later Shakespeare, and cause his numerous strong enjambements. In the whole of Macbeth there are 21 cases of an unstressed monosyllable on position 10, a rate of 12.1 instances per 1000 lines of text. They include several grammatical categories: the auxiliary verbs have and be, modal verbs, personal pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions. Examples from Macbeth: Hath borne his faculties so well, hath been | So clear in his great office...; He hath been in unusual pleasure, and |Sent forth great largess...; Hath so exasperate the king that he |Prepares for some attempt of war (1.7.17; 2.1.13; 3.6.20), and so on. Middleton's super-long lines avoid enjambements, especially those caused by unstressed monosyllables on position 10.

Thus, so far as I can judge, at least those parameters that are analyzable in the verse parts of the alleged additions to Macbeth argue against their authorship by Middleton and for their authorship by Shakespeare.

