Nick de Somogyi

Shakespeare and the Three Bears

Recent researchers into the documentary evidence of Shakespeare's professional life as a writer–performer have understandably restricted themselves to his human fellows and rivals. But on Bankside in the 1590s bear-baiting vied for popularity with theatre, and in this article, Nick de Somogyi seeks to correct a long-standing error of naming among the celebrity fighting bears of Paris Garden – stabled some hundred yards west of the Globe. Scholars are agreed that the careers of George Stone, Harry Hunks, and the great Sackerson competed for attention with the dramatist's own. But while Sackerson's is the only contemporary name Shakespeare ever dropped in his plays, and while George Stone probably expired in the same season as witnessed the premiere of *Macbeth*, it is argued here that the only scholarly basis for the existence of 'the famous Harry Hunks' lies in the erratic contemporary punctuation of a single poem. A Contributing Editor to NTQ, Nick de Somogyi gained his PhD at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and is now an independent scholar and textual consultant. He was the founder editor of the Globe Quartos series for Nick Hern Books, and *The Winter's Tale*, the eighteenth play in his Shakespeare Folios series (with Simon Trussler) appeared in early 2011. He curated three successive exhibitions at Shakespeare's Globe (2003–5), contributed to the National Portrait Gallery's *Searching for Shakespeare* exhibition (2006), and is the author of *Shakespeare's Theatre of War* (1998) and *Shakespeare on Theatre* (2011). This is the first in a series of pieces on the relationship between playhouse and beargarden he is currently researching.

THE LAST TEN years have seen enormous advances in our knowledge of the archaeology, 'original practice', working methods, textual residue, social climate, and documented personnel of the Shakespearean stage. A series of expert biographers, aided and inspired by the fruition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–), the ongoing project of the *Records of Early English Drama*, and the Literature Online and EEBO resources, have meanwhile variously detailed Shakespeare's marriage, acting career, London lodgings, publications, and contemporary reputation.[1] Such important work has built on, and extended, the foundations laid by a generation of early-twentieth-century scholars (E.K. Chambers, W.W. Greg, R.B. McKerrow, C.T. Onions, F.P. Wilson).

This article offers a contribution to that formidably double-initialled scholarship by seeking to correct an error of naming which, if miniature, is at once pervasive and long-standing – though not quite as substantial as a correction offered by Edwin Nungezer in his 1929 *Dictionary of Actors: and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England Before 1642*. 'Gew (or Gue),' it reads – somewhat stretching the definition of 'Other Persons' – 'although often referred to as "an actor who had gone blind", seems more likely to have been a "blind performing baboon".'[2]

Whether man or ape, Blind Gew hasn't yet made it to the pages of the *ODNB*, despite the 16,500 'new subjects from all periods' it researched; and although variously influential figures had 'come to light in histories of art . . . sport, and popular culture' during the course of its compilation, the only scapegoats and black sheep to qualify for inclusion were human ones.[3] But the national family has always included its animals, and it is therefore high time to rectify a century-old error among the proper names of the most famous celebrity personalities of Shakespeare's day: the fighting bears of Paris Garden.

The misunderstanding originates with Sidney Lee, the great co-editor of the original *DNB*, whose essay on 'Bearbaiting, Bull-baiting, and Cockfighting' appeared in 1916, as part of *Shakespeare's England*, C.T. Onions's

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two-volume *Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*. Lee draws a proper attention to the 'distinctive names . . . allotted to the bears' which 'played a large part in popular parlance': 'At the end of the sixteenth century,' he writes, 'fighting bears called respectively George Stone, Harry Hunks . . . and, above all, Sackerson, were for the sporting public of London vulgar idols.'

The same names have continued to appear in modern accounts.[4] Lisa Picard's *Elizabethan London* (2004), for example, mentions the same trio among the 'bears . . . well known to Londoners by name', while Erica Fudge's more theoretical study, *Perceiving Animals* (2002), noting that 'most of the bears had "human" names', duly includes 'Hunkes, Harry' and 'Stone, George' among their human contemporaries in her index. 'The two bears "Harry Hunks" and "George Stone",' agrees René Weis in his recent biography, *Shakespeare Revealed*, 'were the stars of late-sixteenth century Bankside, and Shakespeare would have known them and known their names.' 'The bears were given affectionate names,' confirms Peter Ackroyd in his *Biography* of London, 'such as "Harry Hunks" or "Sacherson", but the treatment of them was vicious.'[5]

An Afternoon at the Beargarden

It was. An afternoon's bear-baiting, which took place twice a week on Bankside, and at other times at court, included a series of bouts, or 'courses', by which a parade of bears were successively roped, or chained, by the neck, or foot, to a central stake, where, overseen by bearwards armed with long staves, they were set upon, in singles and then groups, by the Elizabethan equivalent of rottweilers. 'Now the excellence and fine temper of such mastiffs was evinced,' reads Thomas Platter's description from September 1599, 'for although they were much struck and mauled by the bear, they did not give in':

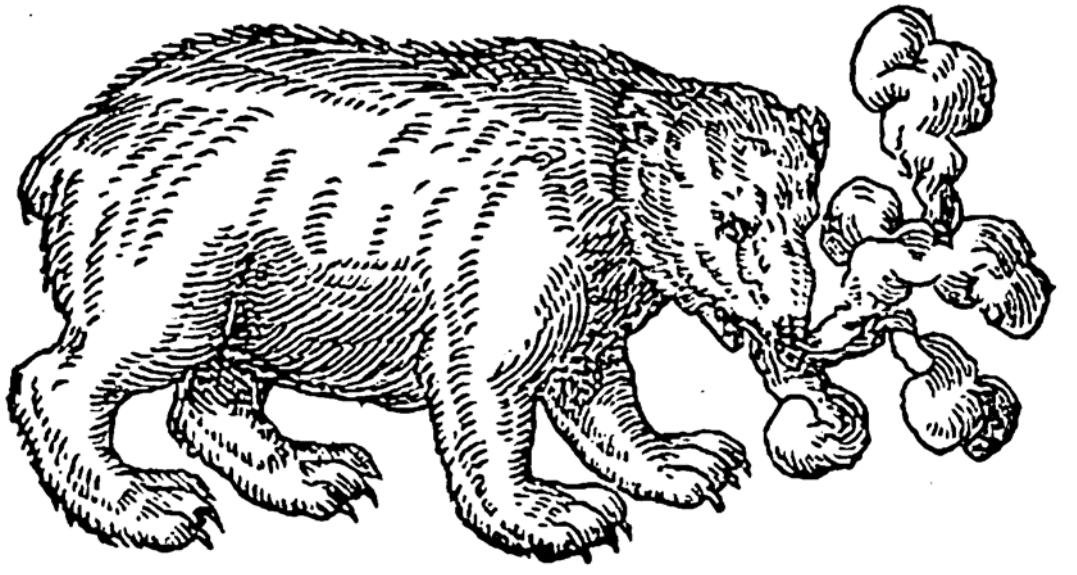
> When the first bear was weary, another was supplied and fresh dogs to bait him, first one at a time, then more as it lasted, till they had overpowered the bear – then, only, did they come to its aid. The second bear was very big and old, and kept the dogs at bay so artfully with his paws that they could not score a point off him until there were more of them. . . . Lastly they brought in an old blind bear which the boys hit with canes and sticks; but he knew how to untie his leash, and ran back to his stall.[6]

Platter's full account of the Bear Garden runs to five times the length of that of another 'artful' spectacle he attended at a neighbouring Bankside venue that month: a performance of *Julius Caesar* at the Globe. 'I had rather be a dog and bay at the moon | Than such a Roman,' chides Brutus there; 'Brutus, bait not me,' replies Cassius, 'I'll not endure it' (4.3.27–9).[7] Their patrician disdain for such plebeian pleasures is as authentic to Ancient Rome as Elizabethan London.

Horace's Second Epistle describes how often ambitious poets are deterred from writing for the stage by 'unlearned and foolish' audiences who 'in the midst of the play will call for either a bear or boxers; for in these the mob delight'.[8] It has been argued that the play was in part designed to show off the 'Roman' splendours of the newly built Globe, with its mock-marble pillars, a double-vision that perhaps even extends to equating the Roman Capitol with the Tower of London, at the time thought built by Julius Caesar himself, and due east of the playhouse ('the high east,' says Caska, 'Stands as the Capitol, directly here').[9] If so, Cassius's glancing reference to bear-baiting would sustain the conceit, since surviving evidence records a later roster of famous Roman bears' names – ' "Simplicius" ("Frank"), "Gloriosus" and "Braciatus" ("Brawny") . . . CRVDELIS and OMICIDA' – exactly equivalent to those of the Globe's neighbouring stable.

These Roman bears, like modern racehorses, 'may have been "star" performers who made reputations for themselves in successive appearances and were known to the public by name'.[10] Shakespeare would indeed, as Weis says, have known his own rival 'stars' on Bankside, audible as far away as Prospero's island ('Thy groans,' he reminds Ariel, 'Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts | Of ever-angry bears'),[11] and perhaps also even closer to home, if Edmond Malone's note from his own,

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'The cruelty of the bear': *The Heroicall Devices of M. Claudius Paradin*, trans. P.S. (London, 1591), p. 96 (detail).
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unfinished *Life of Shakespeare* is to be believed: 'From a paper now before me, our poet appears to have lived in Southwark near the Bear-Garden, in 1596.'[12]

I'm a Celebrity . . . Get Me Out of Here!

'George Stone, Harry Hunks . . . and above all, Sackerson.' Of these three bears, it was George Stone who earned the most obituaries, after dying an unexpected and heroic death in the summer of 1606, during a baiting laid on at Whitehall during the month-long state visit by James I's brother-in-law, King Christian IV. One of the earliest tributes paid was by Thomas Middleton, the comic hero of whose play *The Puritan* brags about evading arrest by a platoon of constables: 'Guess, guess, how many dogs do you think I'd upon me? . . . Almost as many as George Stone the bear. | Three at once, three at once.'[13]

By the time Middleton's play was entered for publication in the Stationers' Register a year later, on 6 August 1607, the retired actor Edward Alleyn and his father-in-law, the theatrical entrepreneur Philip Henslowe, had successfully established themselves as joint Masters of His Majesty's Game of Bears, Bulls, and Mastiff Dogs – and were licking their own financial wounds. Drafting a letter to the King in the first half of 1607 (its three surviving drafts, at Dulwich College, presumably measures of its importance to the authors), Alleyn and Henslowe variously bemoan the costs of their purchase of the office in November 1604; the 'great charge that the keeping of the said game continually requireth'; the loss of earnings resulting from the banning of the sport on Sundays ('which was the chiefest means and benefit to the place'); the restraint placed on them on working days 'in the time of the sickness'; and the specific monetary cost involved in the bloody turnover of their most famous bears. 'These hindrances in general,' they wrote in the first draft,

> with the loss of divers of these beasts, as before the King of Denmark was lost a \goodly/ bear called George Stone; and at our last ~~baiting~~ being before Your Majesty were killed iiij [four] of our best bears, which in your kingdom are not the like to be had, \all/ which were in value worth £30; and also our ordinary charges amounteth yearly unto £200 and better: these losses and charges are so heavy upon your petitioners . . . which is your poor servants' undoing, unless Your Majesty of your gracious clemency have consideration of us.[14]

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King Christian's visit was a notably debauched one,[15] and George Stone perhaps represents a casualty of its excess – though the later tally of four more 'of our best bears' before King James confirms the monarch's unhealthy love of the spectacle. The letter nevertheless demonstrates the further important fact that such fatalities were – or were at least expected to be – relatively rare. Unlike a Spanish bullfight, the premise of this disgusting contest seems to have been the skilfully heroic endurance of the bear, not the gorefest, however stylized, of the baited animal's death. In modern terms, these were essentially video-nasties,[16] not snuff-movies.

According to Platter, as we have seen, it was only when the pack of dogs 'overpowered the bear' that the attendant bearwards 'did come to its aid'; while Henslowe and Alleyn's letter further complains of unlicensed bearwards 'spoiling and killing dogs for that game'. It was the anonymous dogs, in other words, that were expendable – at a rate of ten to one, according to Platter's figures – which is why it was the bears who were expected to survive long enough to live up to the 'human' names of their celebrity. That 1606 season is also the best guess for the royal command performance of *Macbeth*, lending a grim topicality to the opening words of its enduring hero's final scene: 'They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly, | But, bear-like, I must fight the course' (5.7.1–2).

Of all our three bears, George Stone seems to have been the best named. England's – or at least London's – taste for this malicious sport repeatedly features among reports by foreign visitors,[17] so it is fitting that he shares his (is it quite right to say?) Christian name with England's dragon-slaying patron saint. According to the Cambridge naturalist John Caius's treatise *De canibus* (1570), 'Our Englishmen (to th'intent that their dogs might be more fell and fierce) assist nature with art, use, and custom, for they teach their dogs to bait the bear, to bait the bull, and other suchlike cruel and bloody beasts (appointing an overseer of the game) without any collar to defend their throats'; and Shakespeare has two French lords comment on the peculiarly English nature of the sport in *Henry V*.[18] So 'Cry God for Harry, England, and . . . George Stone'?

The range of that nationalist association was furthered by the stoical endurance – outnumbered and beleaguered – that is conjured by his surname. 'He is a stone,' Lance had complained of his obdurate dog Crab in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 'a very pebblestone, and has no more pity in him than a dog' (2.3.9–10). Lance's circular gag combines two proverbial instances of impassive cruelty: the dog ('To have as much pity as a dog') and the stone ('O, you are men of stones!').[19] So at once an emblem of pitilessness ('a type of motionlessness or fixity . . . of stability or constancy . . . a "hard" or unfeeling person', *OED*, *n.* 3a, 3b, 4b); a dazzling gem or *precious* stone (*n.* 7a); and a solid hunk of testosterone (*n.* 11a) – George Stone was, if you'll pardon my French, the dogs' bollock(s).

He was also, by August 1606, stone dead. Gone, but not forgotten: for as late as 1609, the shrewish Mrs Otter, in Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, was rebuking her henpecked husband's lowly origins as a bearward: 'Were you ever so much as look'd upon by a lord, or a lady, before I married you: but on the Easter, or Whitson-holy-daies? And then out at the banquetting-house windore, when Ned Whiting, or George Stone, were at the stake?' (3.1.46–50).

While a full discussion of the doomed Ned Whiting's celebrity career belongs elsewhere, it is the sturdily patronymic Sackerson who most closely rivalled George Stone's fame, alongside the increasingly celebrated 'hacks' of Henslowe's other 'stable' – those actors and dramatists who arrived on Bankside in the mid-1580s following the construction of Henslowe's Rose, and who shared much the same social status as their animal neighbours and their keepers. Elizabethan legislation, after all, bracketed together as 'Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars' all unlicensed 'Bearwards, Common Players in Enterludes, & Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realm'.[20] By the mid-1590s, of course, Shakespeare had passed through a series of companies formally presided over by such a patron, and if he did indeed have digs, by now as a Lord Chamberlain's Man,

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'That island of England breeds very valiant creatures': detail from the Luttrell Psalter (*c.* 1330). © The British Library Board. BL Add. MS. 42130, fo. 161.

'near the Bear-Garden in 1596', the circumstances of his new prospects might help to explain the only reference by name to a living flesh-and-blood contemporary he ever made in his writing.

'Recall Sickerson . . . Seckerson . . . Sackerson!'[21]

I have given that statement a great deal of thought, but apart from the dedications to Southampton in the prelims to *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, and the many players' names that found their way into his published speech-prefixes, I cannot find another example. There are of course some specific allusions ('the General of our gracious Empress'), the odd cryptic hint ('"I hate" from "hate" away she threw'), and the occasional direct quotation ('Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?'),[22] but the only time that Shakespeare ever named a living contemporary in his work was during Abraham Slender's preposterous courtship of Anne Page (1.1.269–80) in the 1623 Folio text of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

Slender. Why doe your dogs barke so? be there Beares ith' Towne?
Anne. I thinke there are, Sir, I heard them talk'd of.
Slender. I love the sport well, but I shall as soone quarrell at it, as any man in *England*: you are afraid if you see the Beare loose, are you not?
Anne. I indeede Sir.
Slender. That's meate and drinke to me now: I have seene *Sackerson* loose, twenty times, and have taken him by the Chaine: but (I warrant you) the women have so cride and shrekt at it, that it past: But women indeede, cannot abide 'em, they are very ill-favour'd rough things.

It is worth noting that 'Sackerson' is afforded the same italic privilege here as 'England' (yet another insistence on the peculiarly English enthusiasm for the sport), so the scene's Jacobean compositor (or its scribe, Ralph Crane, who prepared the printer's copy)[23] must have recognized his proper name, at the same time as maintaining the proper hierarchy by giving lower-case 'dogs' but upper-case 'Beares'.

'Off-stage barking noises at this point,' comments the Arden editor, 'are optional for the director': but 'optional' they were not for most of Shakespeare's working life at the Globe, since as Platter tells us, the 'evil-smelling' kennels housing a hundred and twenty dogs, and the stables for twelve bears, stood a hundred yards or so west of

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the theatre. So close, indeed, for the printed engraving of Hollar's *Long View of London* (1647) to mistakenly reverse the captions indicating 'The Globe' and the 'Beere bayting h[ouse]'.[24]

The social comedy of Slender's excruciating chat-up line is a domestic embarrassment worthy of an Alan Ayckbourn or Mike Leigh. His heroic self-portrait as a sort of Uccello St George – rescuing damsels in distress by catching an errant bear 'by the chain' to the grubby applause of the Bear Garden – reduces the genteel Mistress Anne to silence; the name he drops thuds on stony ground.[25] Even Slender's close cousin Sir Andrew Aguecheek has the wit to recognize that his dissolute enthusiasms have diminished his bachelor eligibility: 'What is *Pourquoi*? Do, or not do? I would I had bestowed that time in the tongues that I have in fencing, dancing, and bear-baiting. O, had I but followed the arts!'[26]

And in the topsy-turvy world of Richard Brome's *Antipodes* (1638) it is a respectable Old Woman – the last person in the world to be seen at such a deafening and stinking spectacle – who claims that 'The noise revives me, and the Bear-garden scent | Refresheth much my smelling', while her lowly Maid, no better (or worse) than she should be, scorns such 'profane and diabolical courses'.[27] 'Women indeed cannot abide 'em,' as Slender acknowledges – before gallantly assigning to womankind the ugly humour of bears: 'they are very ill-favoured rough things'.

Traditionally dated to the spring of 1597, specifically to April's Garter Feast, but perhaps premiered as late as 1599,[28] *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was first published in full, from a transcript of Shakespeare's original annotated manuscript, in the 1623 First Folio. An unauthorized Quarto edition had, however, meanwhile appeared in 1602, so this is how the play's first Elizabethan readers first encountered the passage (A4v):

Slender. What have you Beares in your Towne
mistresse *Anne*, your dogs barke so?
Anne. I cannot tell M[aster]. *Slender*, I thinke
there be.
Slender. Ha how say you? I warrant your afeard
of a Beare let loose, are you not?
Anne. Yes trust me.
Slender. Now that's meate and drinke to me,
Ile run yon to a Beare, and take her by the
mussell,
You never saw the like.
But indeed I cannot blame you,
For they are marvellous rough things.

The divergence between the play's Quarto and Folio texts remains a thorny mystery. It is intriguing to note, however, that as well as ruining the joke of Slender's inadvertent insult by restoring his train of thought ('I cannot blame you, | For they are marvellous rough things'), and erasing his brazen exaggeration ('I have seen Sackerson loose, twenty times'), the Quarto passage at once omits Sackerson's name-check and reverses his gender ('I'll run yon to a bear, and take her by the muzzle').

Probably a 'memorial reconstruction of an authorial acting version', the Quarto text was entered for publication in the Stationers' Register in mid-January 1602.[29] Given that Sackerson was then at the height of his fame (see below), however, it seems unlikely that the player responsible for this pirated text can simply have forgotten him. Perhaps, then, Sackerson was a local London hero, and Shakespeare's reference to him deliberately altered or deleted as otiose for a provincial tour. Female bears were certainly as fierce, and sometimes as famous, as their male counterparts (the plucky Little Bess of Bromley, for one, earning particular praise in June 1610),[30] and the Chamberlain's Men are known to have toured the Kent coast and West Country in the second half of 1597, in the wake of the *Isle of Dogs* scandal that July.[31]

Whatever the truth, Shakespeare's original notice of Sackerson, albeit in the mouth of a buffoon, has certainly guaranteed him his measure of immortality, though one that has proved slightly hard to place. *Shakespeare's Words*, for example – David and Ben Crystal's Penguin *Glossary and Language Companion* (2002) – relegates him to the last of six Appendices detailing the 'Beings' to which Shakespeare alluded, a loose and baggy section headed 'Contemporary Figures, Factual and Fictitious'. Here this 'famous bear' rubs shoulders with Ruffian (the 'character of a

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fiend in morality plays') and Solyman (a dead sixteenth-century 'sultan') – somewhere between a symbolic villain and a distantly exotic tyrant.[32] A character, in fact, not so very far away from George Stone's counterpart, Macbeth.

Was it perhaps this sense of marginal literary exile that sponsored James Joyce's strange attachment to Sackerson's life? The correspondence he conducted while researching *Ulysses*, in search of 'sacred coincidences', includes a letter from 1918 expressing interest 'that Sidney Lee's [first] name had been changed from Simon Lazarus [in fact Solomon Lazarus]', which may suggest his familiarity with Lee's influential essay on bear-baiting in *Shakespeare's England* (1916).[33] Four times named in *Finnegans Wake* (as in the title to this section), Sackerson features more straightforwardly in the Library scene of *Ulysses* that eventually issued from that correspondence:

— It is this hour of day in mid June, Stephen said, begging with a swift glance their hearing. The flag is up on the playhouse by the bankside. The bear Sackerson growls in the pit near it, Paris garden. Canvasclimbers who sailed with Drake chew their sausages among the groundlings.

Local colour. Work in all you know.[34]

But was it just 'local colour' that led Shakespeare to mention Sackerson in the first place?

Despite the Falstaffian resonance of his name (a 'saker' was a hefty siege cannon; the '-stone' of his variant spelling a bullet or cannon-ball; and the fat knight 'a bombard of sack'),[35] the single-barrelled Sackerson seems to have been named after a human dynasty rather than for any symbolic force, apparently in this case confirming Malone's conjecture 'that bears were usually named from their masters'.[36] As Frederick Blair first noted in 1953,[37] and as Elizabeth Baldwin has fully documented since,[38] John Sackerson, otherwise Seckerston (1541–95), was the proprietor of the Bear Inn in the Cheshire town of Nantwich, 'who having in his stable iiij great bears of his did loose them out . . . to the street' during the devastating fire that swept the town in December 1583.



'They have tied me to a stake': the heraldic crest of the Earl of Leicester, from Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (London, 1586), p. 105 (detail). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

The Strange Connection

Named as 'The Earl of Derby our good lord's bearward' in 1574 at Liverpool, 'offering his bears to be coursed' as far away as Bristol in 1579, and at Coventry in 1584, John Sackerson's career repeatedly coincided with that of the acting troupes associated with the same aristocratic household, and along the same touring circuit. Successive entries in the Coventry Wardens' accounts in November 1578, for example, record the payment of ten shillings to 'the Earle of darbies Playerz' and 'the Earle of darbies Bearward', who appears again on the same page as 'Lo*rd* Strange his players' in the same accounts a year later.[39]

Shakespeare's later association with that company (Strange's Men, named for Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who briefly succeeded his father as the 5th Earl of Derby in 1593–4) is broadly accepted. The company is known to have included Kemp, Heminge, and Condell, as well as Alleyn, who went their separate ways into the Lord Chamberlain's and Lord Admiral's companies respectively following the Earl's mysterious death in

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April 1594.[40] It is therefore an extraordinary fact that for a brief and turbulent period in the early 1590s, the household servants associated with the Earl of Derby probably included the up-and-coming playwright William Shakespeare, the star actor Edward Alleyn, the innkeeper John Sackerson – and presumably also the latter's namesake, 'great Sackerson', the champion bear named for his stable, whose fame, when Shakespeare name-checked him, all but outstripped his own. Might the sympathy Shakespeare constantly exhibited towards the plight of the baited bear in his plays, notable for its time, have originated in a sense of fellow feeling?

That the bear Sackerson was indeed famous in London around the time the First Quarto of *The Merry Wives* appeared in its bookstalls in 1602 is shown by a heartlessly droll sequence in George Chapman's *Sir Giles Goosecap*, which was published in 1606 but probably dates from the winter of 1601–2.[41] An Elizabethan Bertie Wooster, the 'foolish knight' of Chapman's play has been enjoyably described as one who 'exhibits an insurmountable stupidity in his attempts to comprehend and express ideas'. This, together with the fact that the 1606 Quarto was complicatedly printed from a transcript of a censored authorial draft, sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between Goosecap's 'fundamental obtuseness' and the obscurity of textual corruption.[42] But the idiocy of this English upper-class twit – a close relative to Shakespeare's Slender and Aguecheek – is plain to hear in the following (modernized) version:

> I'll be sworn, I'll be sworn, they took away a masty dog of mine by commission, now I think on't, makes my tears stand in my eyes with grief. I had rather lost the dearest friend that ever I lay withal in my life, by this light. Never stir if he fought not with great Sackerson [Q *Sekerson*], four hours to one, foremost take up hindmost, and took so many loaves from him that he starved him presently. So at last the dog could do no more than a bear could do, and the bear being heavy with hunger, you know, fell upon the dog, broke his back, and the dog never stirred more.[43]

Goosecap's complaint at his 'masty' dog being taken up by royal 'commission' partly reflects contemporary practice (King James's 1604 patent to Henslowe and Alleyn reasserting the right of their office 'to take up & keep for our service, pastime, and sport any mastiff dog or dogs and mastiff bitches, bears, bulls, and other meet and convenient for our said service'),[44] but his blaming the French for the requisition probably also represents one of his stupidities; as (more certainly) does his superbly fatuous brag about his dog's heroic death under Sackerson.

Dogs' backs were frequently broken in the blood-spattered baiting-rings of Bankside, but none – I think it is safe to say – was ever killed by starving a bear into fainting on to it. 'I do not understand this allusion,' confesses the play's early editor: 'Probably Sir Giles is talking nonsense as usual.'[45] Probably so; but the reference to Sackerson significantly adds to what we know of the great bear's career. Celebrated by November 1594, as we shall see, famous enough to have attracted Shakespeare's attention at some point between April 1597 and late 1599, and perhaps indeed growling from his stable at the time of *Hamlet*'s premiere, Sackerson was worthy of a brag by Chapman's derivative fool in late 1601, by which time – or so I assume, by the nostalgic tone of Goosecap's speech – Sackerson was dead.[46]

Old Harry's Game

Given Chapman's increasing prominence as the 'rival poet' of the Sonnets at the turn of the century,[47] the relevance of his parallel allusion to the great Sackerson may perhaps require further thought. What I want to focus on instead, however, is the third of our bears: not George Stone, nor Sackerson, but Harry Hunks – already 'the famous Harry Hunks' in an article by Thornton Graves in 1922, shortly before Chambers wrote as follows in *The Elizabethan Stage*: 'He, by the way, was called Harry Hunks, and is named by Sir John Davies in his *Epigrams* of *c.* 1594, in company with the Sackerson who gave rise to the boast on the part of Master Slender, and at a later date by Dekker and Henry Peacham.'[48]

Well, yes and no. As Chambers details, Thomas Dekker supplied a gruelling account

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of the Bear Garden in 1609 ('Paris Garden an Image of hell'), in which 'a blind bear was tied to the stake, and instead of baiting him with dogs, a company of creatures that had the shapes of men, and faces of Christians . . . whipped Monsieur Hunks till the blood ran down his old shoulders'.[49] And in 1611 Peacham indeed listed among the many 'toys not worthy the viewing' (to which 'the rude vulgar' nevertheless 'hastily post in a madness'): 'Drake's ship at Deptford . . . the Whitehall whalebones . . . and Harry the Lion, / Hunks of the Bear-Garden to be feared, if he be nigh on'.[50] Despite such chapter-and-verse quotation, however, the sole evidence for the existence of any bear called 'Harry Hunks' is that epigram of John Davies's from the mid-1590s, which adds 'Publius' to our list of reprobate younger sons (Slender, Goosecap, Aguecheek) who so relished the sport.

Davies's *Epigrammes* were printed in the same volume as Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* (EPIGRAMMES *and* ELEGIES. *By I.D. and C.M.*), through a series of editions, each undated (but in fact dating between 1599 and 1640), where 'In Publium' is the 43rd of the four dozen in the full sequence. It was their scurrilous nature, rather than the licentiousness of Marlowe's posthumous portion, that led to the book's public burning following the Bishops' Ban of 1599, though the poems elsewhere survive in a number of manuscript forms (with variants of wording and punctuation), the earliest of which was transcribed in November 1594.[51]

Davies, a 'flamboyant and tempestuous personality', was a law student at the Middle Temple from 1588 until July 1595 (when he was called to the Bar), so it is not impossible that he and Marlowe were personally acquainted before their work was yoked together in print after the latter's death in May 1593.[52] 'In Publium' describes a visit to the Bear Gardens, across the river from the Inns of Court, by a fellow student who, like many an undergraduate since, forsakes his studies for the messier pleasures of popular culture. For reasons that will become clear, I will reserve till later a full discussion of the poem's final couplet and its variants, instead presenting below a modernized version of its earliest published text.[53]

Publius, student at the common law,
Oft leaves his books, and for his recreation
To Paris Garden doth himself withdraw,
Where he is ravish'd with such delectation,
As down amongst the bears and dogs he goes,
Where whilst he skipping cries, 'To head, to head,'
His satin doublet and his velvet hose
Are all with spittle from above bespread:
When he is like his father's country hall,
Stinking with dogs, and muted all with hawks.[54]
And rightly, too, on him this filth doth fall,
Which for such filthy sports his books forsake[s],
Leaving old Plowden, Dyer and Broke alone,
To see old Harry Hunks and Sackerson.

'Old Plowden' indeed: dead by 1585, along with *Sir James* Dyer, and *Sir Robert* Broke, *Edmund* Plowden was a founding father of Elizabethan case-law, their printed textbooks constituting essential reading for every law student at the Inns of Court in Shakespeare's day.[55]

In terms both of poetic sense and documented fact, however, something feels wrong. The lowlife celebrity of 'Sack-er-son' certainly clinches Davies's rhyme on the higher-minded 'Broke a-lone' (the couplet enacting, as it were, Publius's journey across the river from Middle Temple to Paris Garden), and the first-listed of these lawyers ('Leaving old Plowden') anticipates the first-listed of the bears ('To see old Harry Hunks'). But the premise of the joke surely also relies on the symmetry of its couplet, and therefore also depends on the so-called 'rule of three' – that principle of classic narrative and cosmic law recently applied to our domestic 'Goldilocks economy' and the 'Goldilocks zone' of our habitable planet (in reference to the three chairs, three bowls of porridge, three beds – and three bears – of her fable).[56]

When Ben Jonson name-checked the blind entertainer now known to be baboon rather than man, for example (see above, p. 99), his name caps a list of three such minor comedians in addressing an over-energetic performer whose audiences laugh at him (rather than *with* him): 'Yet, take thy due,' it reads, 'Thou dost out-zany COKELY, POD; nay, GVE.'[57] So the three stuffy legal

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authorities from which Publius escapes in Davies's poem must – surely – be balanced by the *three* rival claims on his time: not 'old Harry Hunks and Sackerson', but 'old Harry, Hunks, and Sackerson'.

In the six printed (1594–1640) and four contemporary manuscript versions of 'In Publium' I have consulted, the range of variation in its wording and spelling, particularly in the punctuation of its closing couplet, is wide.[58] The undated manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, for example, supplies no commas at all (the copyist presumably being ignorant of Hunks's star-name), while the earliest-dated manuscript ('An^{o} 1594 in November'), now in the Bodleian Library, provides Oxford commas for the lawyers, but none for the lowlier bears (at the same time as introducing a uniquely Joycean spelling of Shakespeare's Sackerson):

> And leaves old Ployden Dyer and Brook alone
> To see ould Harry Houkes and Sekerson.
>
> And leaues ould Ployden, Dyar, & Brooke alone,
> To see old Harry Hunks & Shakersone.

Those commas also form a set of incremental refinements to the poem's printed progress:

> Leauing olde Ployden, Dier & Brooke alone,
> To see olde Harry Hunkes & Sacarson.
>
> Leauing old Ployden, Diar, and Brooke alone,
> To see old Harry Hunkes and Sakersone.
>
> Leaving old *Ployden*, *Dyer*, and *Brooke* alone,
> To see old *Harry Hunkes*, and *Sacarson*.[59]

And it is these printed editions that have conjured what I take to be the entirely phantom existence of 'the famous Harry Hunks', the bear that has stalked the corridors of Shakespearean biography and commentary for a hundred years.

Between the austerity of the Cambridge transcript on the one hand, and the printed Oxford commas on the other, one particular manuscript in the British Library[60] supplies what I take to be the 'Goldilocks' version of Davies's couplet, restoring the 'rule of three' by being 'just right':

> And leaues old Ploydon, Dyer, & Brooke alone
> to see old Harye, Hunkes and Sakerstone

'Probably written in about 1631', whoever wrote it was sensible enough to restore the intended half-rhyme ('wth haukes . . . forsakes') that the book's original editions had not – presumably independently, since the spelling 'Sakerstone' is unique among them.[61]

Those printed texts, furthermore, had repeatedly compromised the sense of a line in Davies's Epigram 47, where a vacuous 'Gull' contemplates a trip 'To Paris garden cocke-pit or the play'. This is certainly another of Davies's trios: Paris Garden, south of the river on Bankside, was the site of the baiting-houses, but the main cock-pits stood north of the river, and the gallant's choice of theatres ('or the play') enacts his deliberation between north and south.[62]

Later editions sporadically restored that sense ('To Paris-garden, cocke-pit or the play'),[63] but the vagaries of early modern punctuation reveal what I take to be a transparent fact. Just as there never lived a lawyer named 'Ployden Dyer', nor ever existed a 'Paris garden cocke-pit', so the fame of 'olde Harry Hunkes' is likewise built on the sand of a missing comma.

My contention is strengthened by another Bodleian manuscript (Add. B. 97), a compilation by Davies's junior contemporary at Middle Temple, Leweston Fitzjames (1574–1638), who transcribed the sequence in 1595, when the poems were new. His version of 'In Publium' (fo. 46r) concludes with a flurry of commas, at the bottom of the page, a style of pointing Fitzjames supplied as an angled downward stroke, preceded by a clear space. Needless to say, the comma separating the first two bears is the least distinct of those marks: faint though it is, however, the surrounding spacing leads me to conclude that Fitzjames transcribed the poem's final couplet as follows:

> Leavinge old Plowden , Dire , and Brooke
> alone ,
> To see old Henry , Hunkes , and Sakerson.

Allowing for its surprisingly formal naming of the first bear (Fitzjames being a more industrious student than Publius?), the manuscript squares with its British Library successor by specifying three separate bears. Such a

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reading ('To see old Harry, Hunks, and Sackerson') of a poem known to have been written by November 1594, would certainly make sense of the 'Scedule', or inventory, of the Bear Garden compiled as part of Thomas Burnaby's seven-year lease of that property to Richard Reve in December 1590.[64]

'Ursa Major, that Great Hunks'[65]

First published in 1920, this vivid document lists the names and prices of nine bears, three bulls, 'one horse & the ape', and the 'Pudding boat' used to ferry offal over from Smithfield to feed the dogs.[66] That it specifies all but one of these bears and bulls ('one Red Bull called Jugler') by name, along with their monetary value, indicates that these animals' careers were expected to extend far beyond a single bout – over many years, indeed, since Burnaby's indenture expects them ('or the prices of them') to be redelivered 'at th'end of the said term of seven years' – and so emulate their Roman ancestors by establishing 'star' names for themselves 'in successive appearances'.[67]

Sackerson does not appear on the list (he was evidently yet to arrive in the capital); nor is George Stone. But the 'one yonge he beare called Whitinge', bringing up the rear at £3, is probably the same 'Ned Whiting' remembered nearly twenty years later by Mrs Otter; and is almost certainly the second of two bears, 'Harry of Tame and great Ned', recorded as resident at Paris Garden in late 1592 by Thomas Nashe, two years after the inventory.[68] And towards the top of Burnaby's inventory (after an anonymous five-pound 'Brinded Bull' and a three-pound 'blacke Bull called Danyell') are the following entries:

> Item one greate beare called Tom Hunckes x. li.
> Item one greate beare called Harry of Tame at viij. li.

That's Harry of *Thame* – the Oxford town named after a tributary of the Thames – however wildly *un*tamed his self-defence must have been. And that's Tom *Hunks* – not Tom *Hanks* – who commands the highest price (in terms of average earnings, £10 represents over £17,000 today),[69] though it is pleasing that such an eminent Hollywood player all but shares his name with a member of an earlier stable.

Like his fellows Ned Whiting, George Stone, and Sackerson, Tom Hunks's star career left more than a few paw-prints in the literature of the period. A valuable property in December 1590, 'Hunks' had lured John Davies's Publius from his studies in November 1594, and his staying-power was remarked upon ('as long as *Hunkes* with his great head has been about') in a play probably written in 1596, but not published until ten years later,[70] by which time the great bear had joined the celebrity constellation, and passed into London lore.

In 1602 Thomas Dekker sniped back at Ben Jonson in *Satiromastix*, as part of the so-called 'War of the Theatres', by comparing that irascible barrel of a man to his growling counterpart in Paris Garden: enjoined to 'shake' on it with Horace (Jonson), Captain Tucca indignantly exclaims, 'Not with great Hunks there, not hands'[71] – and this is *OED*'s earliest cited reference for its definition of 'hunks, *n.*': 'A term of obloquy for a surly, crusty, cross-grained old person, a "bear".' Quite why the word 'bear' should here be enclosed within quotation marks is as mysterious as the compilers' puzzlement at the term: 'Origin unknown: it has the appearance of a quasi proper name or nickname'. For there was nothing remotely 'quasi' about Tom Hunks's proper name, and he was still being counted among London's prime tourist destinations in 1605. Samuel Rowlands included the guying of a certain 'Signor Swash' in a collection of satirical epigrams published that year: after claiming to have spent six months in London, his absence from the social circuit has been noted:

> Yet all this while that he in London lay,
> 'Twas not his luck so much as see a play;
> Nay, which is more, he hath not seen great Hunckes,
> Nor yet hath been in Shoreditch 'mongst his punks.

(Swash's ignorance of the London sights is explained in the final line: ''twill make you smile: / He hath been in the Counter all this

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while.')[72] Nor is this particular bear's reputation for cussedness remarkable – especially if Dekker's later reference to 'Monsieur Hunks', old and blind, being whipped for sport in 1609, relates to the same bear. Rowlands's joke certainly seems to refer to an individual animal (topical specificity is the key note of all satire), and it is at least biologically possible, since brown bears have been known to live for over forty years in captivity – though the toll taken by his regular ordeals must surely have reduced his longevity.[73] More likely, perhaps, these Jacobean references reflect the progress of Tom Hunks's surname from individual to generic bear (the reference by Middleton that heads this section dating from 1611).[74]

What I hope has become quite clear by now is that no contemporary writer ever alluded to the figure described by Terence Hawkes in 2002 as 'Harry Hunks, Superstar', whose presence forms the brilliant – but likewise entirely phantom – counterpoint to Will Kemp in David Wiles's otherwise founding text, *Shakespeare's Clown* (1987).[75] It is another of Samuel Rowlands's epigrams that supplies what I take to be the clinching evidence. Writing in the aftermath of what seems to have been a violent human re-enactment of a bear-baiting at the Fortune playhouse in 1612 – in which a 'fellow i'the bear's skin' (as Jonson recorded)[76] was beaten up for real by 'some Butchers (playing Dogs)' – Rowlands reflects upon a trio of bears, all now dead:

> Belike they did revenge upon him take,
> For *Hunckes* and *Stone*, and *Paris-gardens* sake,
> With all the kindred of their friend old *Harry*:[77]

'Their friend old *Harry*': whether Harry of Thame or Harry of Warwick (valued at £8 apiece in Thomas Burnaby's 1590 inventory), Rowlands's lines surely place it beyond dispute that Old Harry and Tom Hunks were colleagues. 'Old Harry, Hunks, and Sackerson' were *three* bears, and with George Stone deserve to be properly counted among Shakespeare's dramatic forebears as stars of their respective Bankside theatres, each a discrete luminary in our national 'histories of art . . . sport, and popular culture'.

A final related mystery must await another day for exploration. In 1638, John Taylor the Water-Poet published *Bull, Bear, and Horse*, a verse-and-prose pamphlet dedicated to the subject, which included 'the Names of the Bulls and Bears at the Bear-Garden now'. Nineteen bears are listed by name (each of them rich with association); but so, too, are four bulls – the first of which echoes after twelve centuries the name of a Roman bear ('Mica Aurea'), while pre-dating by two hundred years its usual association with an out-numbered intruder in a bear's house (or Bear Garden):[78] 'The *Bulls* are,' wrote Taylor, '1 Goldilocks. . . . '

Notes and References

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1. For the archaeology, see Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988–91* (Museum of London, 2009); Sam Wanamaker's reconstructed Globe on Bankside continues to test the canon against 'original practice'. On the textual residue of Shakespeare's working methods, see, exceptionally, Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton, and Heywood: Authorship, Authority, and the Playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006), Tiffany Stern's *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), and her *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); on the theatres' personnel, see, principally, Andrew Gurr's *The Shakespeare Company 1594–1642* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), and his *Shakespeare's Opposites: the Admiral's Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); on Shakespeare's marriage, see Germaine Greer, *Shakespeare's Wife* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007); for insights into his acting career and contemporary reputation, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan* (London: Methuen, 2011); on his London residence, see Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger: Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Allen Lane, 2007); and on his relationship with print, see Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

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2. Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p. 151.

3. See <www.oup.com/oxforddnb/info/quickguide/who/> (accessed 2 December 2010).

4. Sir Sidney Lee, 'Bearbaiting, Bullbaiting, and Cockfighting', Chapter XXVIII, Section 7, in *Shakespeare's England: an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*, ed. C.T. Onions, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 2, p. 428–36 (p. 431–2). Lee's intermediary figure is 'Tom of Lincoln', but this clamorous individual has since been identified as a great bell, not a great bear: Peacham includes 'the skirts [= 'rim': *OED* 'skirt', II.4.b] of old *Tom* a Lincolne' among the trivial objects gazed upon by sightseers in his dedicatory poem to Thomas Coryate (see note 50 below), a fact overlooked by John Simons, 'A Possible Elucidation', *Notes and Queries*, CCVI (December 1981), p. 521.

5. Liza Picard, *Elizabeth's London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003), p. 247; Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Illinois, 2002), p. 16, 230, and 233; René Weis, *Shakespeare Revealed: a Biography* (London: John Murray, 2007), p. 248; Peter Ackroyd, *London: the Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), p. 178. Of the many variant spellings I have encountered, 'Sacherson' is unique to Ackroyd; Picard (as I shall argue) mistakenly includes both 'Harry Hunks (valued at £10) and Harry of T(h)ame (£8)'.

6. *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, translated and introduced by Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), p. 168–9. For the original German, see Gustav Binz, 'Londoner Theater und Schauspiele im Jahre 1599', *Anglia*, XXII (1899), p. 456–64: Platter praises the actors as '*artlich*', the bear as '*artig*'.

7. All quotations from and references to Shakespeare's works are taken from their most recent Arden editions.

8. *The Complete Works of Horace*, 'Translated by Various Hands' (London: Dent, 1911), p. 254: 'media inter carmina poscunt | aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula gaudet' (2.185–6).

9. See Steve Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play: the Opening of the Globe Theatre 1599* (Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 93–5; *Julius Caesar* (2.1.110).

10. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), p. 96–7, 31, and Fig. 34.

11. *The Tempest*, 1.2.287–9.

12. E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930), 2, 88. Malone's reference is complicated by Collier's later and blatant forgery: see George F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College* (London: Longmans, 1881), p. 13 (MS 1, Article 20). Shakespeare's temporary Bankside residence in the later 1590s is nevertheless elsewhere solidly confirmed from taxation records: see S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: a Documentary Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 162–4. I am grateful to Jan Piggott for clarifying my focus on this issue.

13. To which the reply comes, 'How didst thou shake 'em off then?' (3.5.11–17). Quotation is from *The Puritan Widow*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton, in *Thomas Middleton: the Collected Works*, gen. ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2008); on the play's date, see the companion volume, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Culture* (Oxford, 2008), p. 358–9. It is strange that *The Owl's Almanac* (1618), recently reclaimed as Middleton's, states that it is '8' years 'Since that old and loyal soldier George Stone of the Bear-garden died' (*Collected Works*, p. 1278), which would place his death – and Alleyn and Henslowe's undated petition – in 1610–11. On the other hand, the same list claims it is '14' years 'Since the horrible dance to Norwich', which is three years adrift from when Will Kemp famously danced from London in February 1600: 'The Owl is inaccurate about the date,' notes the Oxford editor, and the same is probably true of this reference to George Stone.

14. Warner, *Catalogue*, p. 70–1 (MSS 2, Article 9). I quote from what seems to be the first of the three drafts, in Henslowe's hand, the second of which (a fair copy) estimates the cost of the bears – surely wrongly – at £300, and the third of which (another fair copy) omits all mention of George Stone and the other dead bears. Modernized from <www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-2/Article-009/01r.html> and subsequent pages (accessed 4 December 2010).

15. See Martin Wiggins, 'Exit Hope, Vomiting', *Around the Globe*, No. 45 (Summer 2010), p. 34–5.

16. Or, indeed, 'reality TV': Ackroyd's implicit puzzlement at the bears' 'affectionate names', but the 'vicious' treatment meted out to them, coincides with the growth of this depressing fad.

17. See E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1925), 2, p. 454–7 (citing Spanish, German, Dutch, and Swiss testimony).

18. Quotation from *De canibus* is modernized from its translation by Abraham Fleming, *Of Englishe Dogges* (London, 1576), p. 25. 'That island of England breeds very valiant creatures,' observes Rambures on the eve of Agincourt, 'their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage.' 'Foolish curs,' replies Orléans, 'that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear and have their heads crushed like rotten apples' (3.7.140–44). The standard introductions to the subject are Oscar Brownstein, 'The Popularity of Baiting in England Before 1600: a Study in Social and Theatrical History', *Educational Theatre Journal*, XXI (1969), p. 237–50, and Christoph Daigl, '"All the world is but a bear-baiting": Das englische Helztheater in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte EV*, LXXII (Berlin, 1977).

19. R.W. Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: an Index* (1981), D510:1; *King Lear* (5.3.255). As with many of Shakespeare's references to the sport, Albany's previous line contains the punning instruction 'Bear him hence awhile'.

20. *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660*, ed. Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 62.

21. James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (Faber, 1939; Faber Paperbacks, 1975, reprinted 1982), the full quotation reading: 'Roof Seckesign van der Deckel and get her story from him! Recall Sickerson, the lizzyboy! Seckerson, magnon of Errick. Sackerson! Hookup!' (p. 530), to which is keyed Roland McHugh's *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* (Routledge, 1980), where the sequence is shown to link to Wagner's *Flying Dutchman*.

22. *Henry V* (5.0.30), alluding to Essex's Irish expedition for the Queen in the spring of 1599; Sonnet 145, allegedly punning on the surname of Shakespeare's wife, Anne Hathaway; *As You Like It* (3.5.83), directly quoting Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*.

23. See, for example, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. Nick de Somogyi (London: Nick Hern Books, 2008), p. xxxiv–xxxv.

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24. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori (Arden, 2000), p. 142; *Thomas Platter's Travels*, p. 169–70; Tarnya Cooper, ed., *Searching for Shakespeare* (National Portrait Gallery, 2006), p. 92–3.

25. Blind bears were also routinely whipped by members of the audience, as reported by the German tourist Hentzner in 1598, and Dekker in 1609 (see Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 2, 456, and above p. 107), but Slender's brag relates to the feat of Sackerson's capture, rather than to his whipping. I am grateful to Thomas Woodcock for pointing this out to me.

26. *Twelfth Night* (1.3.89–92). The family resemblance between those two upper-class twits, Slender and Aguecheek, was probably enhanced by their performance by the same actor, the famously thin John Sincklo (or Sincler): see Gurr, *Shakespeare Company*, p. 241.

27. Richard Brome, *The Antipodes*, ed. David Scott Kastan and Richard Proudfoot (London: Nick Hern Books, 2000), p. 75–6.

28. *Merry Wives*, ed. Melchiori, p. 3, 18–30. (Melchiori's edition usefully includes a photo-facsimile of the first Quarto edition.)

29. Ibid., p. 42, 1.

30. Warner, p. 72–3 (MSS 2, 13): 'The bears have with great victory performed all their m[aste]rs' matches, especially Little Bess of Bromley, who fought in one day 20 double & single courses with the best dogs in all the country' (Edward Barrett to Edward Alleyn, 11 June 1610). Modernized from <www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-2/Article-013/01r.html> (accessed 4 December 2010).

31. Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company*, p. 55.

32. David Crystal and Ben Crystal, *Shakespeare's Words: a Glossary and Language Companion* (Penguin Books, 2002), Appendix VI, p. 629.

33. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: New and Revised Edition* (Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 411 and 781 (n. 17). The work goes unmentioned in James S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake: a Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's 'Finnegans Wake'*, expanded and corrected edition (Mamaroneck, New York: Appel, 1979).

34. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Bodley Head, 1960), p. 240–1.

35. *OED* 'saker²'; 'stone', 4g; *1 Henry IV* (2.4.439).

36. Robert Nares, *A Glossary . . . in The Works of English Authors*, 2 vols (London: Gibbings, 1901), 2, p. 760.

37. Frederick G. Blair, 'Shakespeare's Bear "Sackerson"', *Notes and Queries*, CXCVIII (1953), p. 514–15.

38. Elizabeth Baldwin, 'John Seckerston: the Earl of Derby's Bearward', *Medieval English Theatre*, XX (1998), p. 95–103.

39. *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry*, ed. R.W. Ingram (Toronto University Press, 1981), p. 286, 290.

40. See for example Terence G. Schoone-Jongen, *Shakespeare's Companies: William Shakespeare's Early Career and the Acting Companies, 1577–1594* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), p. 104–17.

41. Robt. J. Fusillo, 'On the Date of "Sir Gyles Goosecap"', *Notes and Queries*, CXVIX (August 1954), p. 335–6.

42. Paul V. Kreider, *Elizabethan Comic Character Conventions as Revealed in the Comedies of George Chapman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935), p. 109; John F. Hennedy, 'Textual Introduction', *The Plays of George Chapman: the Tragedies with 'Sir Gyles Goosecappe': A Critical Edition*, gen. ed. Allan Holaday (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), p. 711–17.

43. *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight* (London, 1606), E1r–E1v; (3.1.100–10 in Hennedy's old-spelling edition).

44. Modernized from <www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/images/MSS-2/Article-005/01v.> (accessed 6 December 2010).

45. *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: the Comedies*, ed. T.M. Parrott (London: Routledge, 1914), p. 903.

46. Goosecap's complaint about the French confiscating his dog (which Fusillo links to the visits to London by Byron and Nevers in September 1601 and April 1602) blatantly contradicts his eulogy to its heroic death under Sackerson.

47. See Duncan-Jones, *Crow to Swan*, p. 143–54.

48. Thornton S. Graves, 'Some References to Elizabethan Theaters', *Studies in Philology*, XIX (1922), p. 317–27 (p. 327); Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 2, p. 457.

49. Thomas Dekker, *Work for Armourers* (London, 1609), B1v–B2r.

50. Henry Peacham, 'To the famous Traveller', in Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London, 1611), k4v. '*Harry* the Lyon' was a celebrity resident of King James's Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London – the Jacobean equivalent of London Zoo's Guy the Gorilla (1946–78), named for James's would-be assassin, Guy Fawkes.

51. On the complicated bibliography, see Fredson Bowers, 'The Early Editions of Marlowe's *Ovid's Elegies*', *Studies in Bibliography*, XXV (1972), p. 149–73; Roma Gill and Robert Krueger, 'The Early Editions of Marlowe's Elegies and Davies's Epigrams: Sequence and Authority', *The Library*, XXVI (1971), p. 242–9; and *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Robert Krueger, with introduction and commentary by the editor and Ruby Nemser (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p. 377–82. On the manuscripts, see Robert Krueger, 'Sir John Davies: *Orchestra* Complete, *Epigrams*, Unpublished Poems', *Review of English Studies*, XIII (1962), p. 117–24; *Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Krueger, p. 435–46.

52. Sean Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John (*bap.* 1569, *d.* 1626), *lawyer and poet*' (*ODNB*).

53. STC 6350.5, treated as preceding STC 6350 by Krueger (*Poems*, p. 380). The matter of textual priority remains vexed.

54. The phrase 'muted all with hawks' literally means 'shat-upon by falcons' (appropriately to Publius's country home), but also puns on being spat or 'gobbed' on by the vulgar spectators behind him.

55. See Christopher W. Brooks, 'Plowden, Edmund (*c.* 1518–1585), *law reporter*'; and J.H. Baker, 'Dyer, Sir James (1510–1582), *judge, law reporter, and speaker of the House of Commons*' and 'Broke, Sir Robert (*d.* 1558), *judge, legal writer, and speaker of the House of Commons*' (*ODNB*).

56. 'Goldilocks economy': <http://search.ft.com/search?queryText=Goldilocks&x=18&y=7&aje=true&dse=&dsz=>; 'Goldilocks zone': <http://science.nasa.gov/science-news/science-at-nasa/2003/02oct_goldilocks/> (accessed 18 February 2011).

57. 'To Mime' (Epigram CXXIX), in *Works*, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925–52), vol. 8, p. 81. Cokely and Pod were contemporary entertainers, probably puppeteers.

58. STC 6350.5 (*c.* 1599), STC 6350 (*c.* 1599), STC 18931a (1603), STC 18931 (1603), STC 18932 (*c.* 1630), STC 18933 (*c.* 1640); BL Harley MS. 1836; Cambridge University Library, MS. Kk.1.3 (Part I); Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poet. MS. 212, and MS. Add. B. 97. For variants in wording, see Krueger, *Poems*, p. 148–9. As I argue, it is in some miniature details untrue that Krueger's 'apparatus gives all departures from copy-text and includes all manuscript readings which may have been Davies's earliest efforts' (p. 380).

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59. CUL Kk.1.3 (Part I), fo. 14v; Bodl. Rawl. Poet. 212, fo. 65r; STC 6350.5; STC 6350 (whichever of these printed texts has priority, the compositor of each is careful to maintain a symmetry of effect: 'olde . . . & . . . olde . . . &', 'old . . . and . . . old . . . and'); STC 18932 (additional commas shown in bold).

60. BL Harl. 1836, fo. 5r.

61. Krueger, *Poems*, p. 440; STC 18931a (1603) first printed the required half-rhyme ('haukes . . . forsakes'), which both Bodleian manuscripts supply.

62. John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. Henry Morley (London: Routledge, 1912; reprinted 1997), p. 407–8; Lee, 'Bearbaiting', p. 434–5. (Lee's assertion that there were 'occasional exhibitions [of cock-fighting] at Paris Garden' is unsourced, and likely derives from the same unpunctuated passage in Davies's epigram.)

63. The necessary comma is supplied in one 1603 edition (STC 18931a), omitted in another (STC 18931), and restored in the 1630 and 1640 editions (STC 18932 and 18933).

64. C.L. Kingsford, 'Paris Garden and the Bear-Baiting', *Archaeologia*, LXX (1920), p. 155–78 (p. 174–5), transcribing National Archives, C146/8581.

65. Middleton, *No Wit, No Help like a Woman* (Scene 9), *Collected Works*, ed. Taylor and Lavagnino, p. 828.

66. The spectacle of the horse and ape, chased by the dogs, rounded off an afternoon at the Bear Garden, and requires more than a footnote to discuss; as does what Jonson described in 1610 as the stinking 'meate-boate of Beares colledge, *Paris-garden*' (Epigram CXXXIII, 'On the Famous Voyage', in *Works*, vol. 8, p. 86).

67. See p. 100 above.

68. Thomas Nashe, *Strange News: Four Letters Confuted* (London, 1593), E1r (entered in the Stationers' Register on 12 January that year).

69. See <www.measuringworth.com> (accessed 9 December 2010).

70. *A Pleasant Comedie, Called Wily Beguilde* (London, 1606), G2r.

71. Dekker, *Satiro-mastix, or The untrussing of the Humorous Poet* (London, 1602), D1r. For a defining account of this play's position within the context of the Poets' War, see Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan* (2011), p. 242–50.

72. Samuel Rowlands, *Humors Antique Faces* (London, 1605), A4v. (The 'Counter' was one of London's prisons.)

73. Dewey, T. and L. Ballenger. 2002. 'Ursus arctos', Animal Diversity Web (online), <http://animaldiversity.ummz.umich.edu/site/accounts/information/Ursus_arctos.html> (accessed 10 December 2010).

74. Middleton, *Collected Works*, ed. Taylor and Lavagnino, p. 779. 'Hunks' had become a byword for 'bear' by 1656, when an anonymous playgoer complained that 'Instead of a Stake was suffered a Stage, | And in Hunkes his house a crue of Players' (Graves, 'Some References', p. 327). The name had meanwhile begun to connote a surly drunkard (as in the modern expression 'a bear with a sore head'): see Thomas Campion's *Observations* (1602), p. 21–2, and Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648), p. 201.

75. Terence Hawkes, 'Harry Hunks, Superstar', in his *Shakespeare in the Present* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 83–106; David Wiles, 'William Kemp and Harry Hunks', in his *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 164–81. This will presumably also come as news to the twenty-first-century Finnish rock band Harry Hunks.

76. Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), 3.4.149–50.

77. Samuel Rowlands, *The Knave of Harts* (London, 1612), F3r; reprinted as *Knave of Harts* (London, 1613), F4v.

78. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life*, p. 97 (= 'Grain-of-Gold'); John Taylor, *Bull, Beare, and Horse* (London, 1638), D8r.

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