

WHAT'S IN A NAME: AND MORE

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Drawing on examples from a range of sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, including Erasmus, More (and work devoted to More), Shakespeare, and Milton, this paper explores the cratylitic and other forms of punning and wordplay—especially multilingual punning—as a serious as well as comic form. The paper takes the syllable “mor-” as a case in point. This paper sustains the underlying argument that only by abandoning later Enlightenment prejudices against puns can we come to terms with much of what now seems foreign to us in the earlier period.

A remarkable feature of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century European culture is its penchant for homophones and wordplay on names, in the tradition stemming in part from Plato's *Cratylus*. Shakespeare, whose weakness for the “fatal Cleopatra” of the pun comes to us filtered through later prejudices, plays not only on his own name “Will” but on the multiple possibilities in other names, including the Suffolk whose enemy wishes him “suffocated” —“For Suffolk's duke, may he be soffocate,” (*2Henry VI* 1.1.124)—, who dies in the “puddle” of blood that recalls his other name of “Poole” (4.1.71). Even “Iago,” it has been suggested, may summon both Latin “ago” (perform or act but also accuse) and Spanish Sant Iago, conqueror of Moors.¹ Such cratylitic or polyglot punning has long since become foreign to Post-Enlightenment ears, erased by standardized orthographies that remove it from the eye as well. What I propose to explore here is a pervasive but largely effaced network that not only exploited the crosslingual potential within a single name but implicated a single syllable (“mor-”) in the burgeoning lexicon of early distinctions of color and “race” in several of its senses. This metamorphic “mor-” (actually put on stage in the

1. For Shakespeare's “fatal Cleopatra,” see Sherbo ed. 1966: VII, 74. On Iago and Sant Iago, see Griffin 1998. Unless otherwise noted, all Shakespeare quotations are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, Evans ed. 1974. Bibliographical reference to editions of single plays are given in footnotes. Translations are my own, with the gratefully acknowledged assistance of Stephen Hinds, Brendon Reay, and Diana de Armas Wilson, who with Terence Cave, Roland Greene, Jeffrey Masten, Lois Potter, Gary Taylor, Peter Stallybrass, Judy and Dick Kennedy, Peter Donaldson, Richard Rand, Timothy Hampton, Paul Werstine, Philippa Berry, Margaret Tudeau-Clayton and audiences at Cambridge, Oxford, London, Southampton, Sussex, University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania, Newberry Library, and L'Institut du Monde Anglophone / Paris III also offered invaluable comments and suggestions.

“Morr-Is” dance of *Two Noble Kinsmen*) was already part of a rich tradition of wordplay in the Latin texts known not just to humanists but to schoolboys like Shakespeare himself. But what I want to begin with—before moving on to this larger network—are the changes rung on the name of Thomas More, familiar to Morians perhaps (from the work of Germain Marc’hadour and others) but largely unknown even to specialists of the period.²

Scholars have long been aware of the links between More and Greek *Moria* or “folly” from Erasmus’s *Encomium Moriae*, simultaneously *The Praise of Folly* (or *Stultitiae Laus*) and punning praise of his friend. More’s Latin name of *Morus*—in a culture in which Latin was still the lingua franca—had as one of its meanings “moron” or “fool,” counterpart to the *Moria* that gave this “Praise of Folly” its title. Erasmus makes the pun explicit in his dedicatory letter, remarking on More’s name “which is just as close to *Moria*, the Greek word for folly, as you are remote from the thing itself.”³ Within the text, Folly herself makes the link with the familiar fools-cap and asses’ ears but also with the higher folly of the *Phraedrus* and New Testament passages on the “fool for Christ” and foolishness of the cross that Greek reason cannot comprehend.⁴

This link was evoked repeatedly by both enemies and friends. Germain de Brie exploits the literal sense of *moros* in the invective of his *Antimorus* (1519), a volley to which More responded: “*Antimoron* tuam, non *Moriam* modo, sed Maniam quoque spirare” (“Your *Antimorus* is actually a *moros* through its genuine folly ... Far worse, because its furious tone, its shrill invectives breath a maniacal spirit”).⁵ George Joye notes the link between “More” and “fool” on the title page of his *Subversion of More’s Foundation* (1534): “*Moros* in Greke is *stultus* in Latyn / a fool in Englyssh.”⁶ Thomas Audley, who succeeded More as Lord Chancellor of England, compares him to the foolish wise man of Aesop’s fable, a comparison to which More responded: “whome my Lorde taketh here for the wyse men and whome he meaneth to be fooles, I cannot very well gesse. ... But I trust my Lorde rekeneth me amonge the foles, and so reken I my self, as my name is

2. The best summary of Marc’hadour’s work in this regard appears in Marc’hadour 1977.

3. See Adams ed. 1989: 3. Both Adams 1989: 87, and Marc’hadour 1977: 550, note the further wordplay (in the “Haec est Moriae pars” of the final section of Erasmus’s text) on *Moria* and *Maria* (from Luke 10:42), a pun that Marc’hadour notes may be ‘made in England,’ where long *a* has always tended to a dark *o*-like quality.”

4. See for example 1 Corinthians 1 and 2, with Erasmus’s Folly’s praise of a higher form of madness and folly of a man possessed by the ardor of Christian piety [quod christiane pietatis ardor semel totos arripuit] in Le Clerc 1703-06: IV, 500 AB. The final section of *Folly* (240ff) alludes to Paul’s visionary *raptus* (which cannot be put into words), echoed along with 1 Corinthians 2:9 when Bottom awakens from his dream in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.

5. See Germain de Brie’s *Antimorus* (1519), cited and translated in Marc’hadour 1977: 551, with More’s retort in Rogers ed. 1947: 236 / 872 .

6. See the title page of George Joye, *Subversion of More’s Foundation* (1534) with Marc’hadour 1977: 552, 554, on the further punning on “more” and “mocke” and the spelling of More as possessive “Moris” (“M. Moris letter”). More dismisses and returns the “mocke” in his *Answer to the Poisoned Book*.

in Greke.”⁷ Stapleton’s seventeenth-century life of More (*Thomae Mori Vita*) cites More’s reply when rebuked by Wolsey for dissenting from “so many noble and prudent men”: “God must be highly thanked that the King’s Highness has but one fool (here *stultus*, counterpart of *moros*) in his supreme Council.”⁸ Stapleton also responds to the anecdote (familiar from Hall’s Chronicle) of More’s jesting on the scaffold with yet more puns on *morosophos* and *sophomoros*, foolish wiseman and wise fool.⁹ Friendly punning on the *Moria* or folly in More’s name highlights the contrast between this sharpest of wits and the “moronic” or “dull.” Erasmus rehearses the paradox of this wise English *Morus* in the “Master Moron” of his letter to More in June 1516.¹⁰ Vives writes of “the man most like a fool in name, but most unlike one in deed.”¹¹ Guillaume Budé underlines the contradiction of addressing More as *Morus* (“dull” as well as “fool”) – playing on the oxymoron of this “morosophe” or “foolish sage” as *Oxymorus* (“keen dull” or “sharp blunt”).¹²

Punning on *Moria* and the wise moron or *Morus* thus extended well beyond the *Encomium Moriae* through which the pun is best known to modern readers. But what may come as a surprise is how many other networks were enabled by the affiliations of More’s name. Perhaps the most common of English puns on “More” was the comparative corresponding to Latin *maior*, or greater. The *Book of Sir Thomas More* in which Shakespeare is said to have collaborated plays repeatedly on “More” and “more” (“Sheriff More, thou hast done more with thy good words than all they could with their weapons”), echoing the rhyme “When More some time had Chancellor been / No more suits did remain. / The like will never more be seen / Till More be there again.”¹³ More himself is said to have responded to his fool’s “A king cannot make a Sir Thomas More” that “The King can make me Chancellor of the realm, then he will make Sir Thomas

7. The entire quotation is: “whome my Lorde taketh here for the wyse men and whome he meaneth to be fooles, I cannot very well gesse, I can not reade such riddles. For as Dauus saith in Terence (*Non sum Oedipus*) I may say you wot well (*Non sum Oedipus, sed Morus*) which name of mine what it signifieth in Greke, I nede not tel you. But I trust my Lorde rekeneth me amonge the foles, and so reken I my self, as my name is in Greke” (Rogers ed. 1947: 519 / 183f., with Marc’hadour 1977: 551-552).

8. See the Frankfurt 1689 edition of *Thomae Mori Vita*, ch. 13, 47-48, with Marc’hadour 1977: 552, and Reynolds ed. 1966.

9. Edward Hall’s comment on More at the scaffold (*Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York*, fol. CCXXVI v), quoted by Holinshed (App. A, p. 238) and by Foxe in *Acts and Monuments* (p. 1069) reads: “I cannot tell whether I shoulde call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolishman, for vndoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, . . . that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the comunicacion.”

10. The Latin is: “*Apud Morum non verear vel ineptire*” (Allen ed. 1906-58: 2, 242.24, with Marc’hadour 1977: 500).

11. See the translation in Marc’hadour 1977: 551, and Vives’ letter to Francis Cranevelt of 1525 (Vocht ed. 1928: no. 160).

12. See the September 9, 1518 letter of Guillaume Budé, Epistle of Sept. 9, 1528 (Rogers 1947: 126/9-14, and 132 / 228, with Marc’hadour 1977: 550).

13. See *Sir Thomas More* (2.3.181), Gabrieli and Melchiori eds. 1990: 106, which cites the contemporary rhyme reported in R. W. Chambers ed. 1936: 274, for the “more ... more” (2.3.181). See also 3.1.155ff.

more.¹⁴ “More,” however, was also linked interlingually with *mores*, the Latin for “morals, behavior, manners or customs.” Sagundino described the English More as exemplar of the best *mores* or morals, a link also exploited in a poem by John Constable (“*ad Thomam Morum*”).¹⁵ Punning on *Honores mutant mores* (“Honors change manners or morals”) underwrote an entire exchange between Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Manners.¹⁶ The “moral” of *moralis* linked “More” with the tradition of “moralizing” or “moral” meaning. Randle Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* cites English “Morall” as “belonging unto civilitie, or manners” and “morally” as meaning “in a morall sense,” highlighting the root (in *mores*) that allows John Fowler to play (in the caption to the engraving of More in his 1568 *Epistola*) on *Morus* and a “moral portrait not so easy to achieve.”¹⁷ Yet another related pun on More’s name (from *mores*) was with Latin *morosus* (melancholy, saturnine, “morose”), the mood Erasmus opposed to the humanist ideal.¹⁸ Budé writes to More: “No letter this year? ... Has sweet *Morus* changed for me to *morosus*?,” while Robert Whittington describes More as a “*ensor morum*,” in lines bristling with puns on *mores*, morals, and *morosus* or morose, characterizing this “*Morum censor hic urbicus*” (“censor of our city’s *mores*”) as “never morose” (*morosus minime*) and praising “the friendliness of his manner” that “makes More the man that he is” (“*Morosus minime / at moriger est sibi / Morum quippe ea comitas*”).¹⁹

The vernacular versions and metamorphic case endings of More’s Latin name contributed even further transmutations. Erasmus plays on *memento mori* as simultaneously remembrance of death (or *mors*) and of his friend More (genitive “*Mori*”), in variations on “My dear More is never absent from my mind” (“*Mori memoria*,” “*Mori mei memoria*,” “*mea memoria Morus*”) that link More with *memoria* as well as mortality.²⁰ In the dedication of his *Epistola* to Philip II in 1568, Fowler summons the link between “More” and death or *mors*: “*Te fecit vere vivere, More, mori*.”²¹ Alan Cope’s couplet on More’s death in Stapleton’s *Vita Mori* exploits the variants

14. See Marc’hadour 1977: 557.

15. See Marc’hadour: 247, for Sagundino’s 1521 letter to Musuro; and Sylvester 1963: 529-530.

16. See Gibson and Patrick 1961 nos. 104-105:), with Marc’hadour 1977: 554, who also cites the appearance of this proverb in *Rede me and be not wroth* (Strasbourg 1528): “I perceive well now that honores, / As it is spoken, mutant mores – where it may be “a sly attack on More, too popular in 1528 for an open attack.”

17. See Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611; facsimile rpt. Menston, England: The Scolar Press, 1968), under “Moral” and “Morally”; John Fowler’s 1568 *Epistola*, cited in Marc’hadour, “Name,” p. 554.

18. For this sense of *morosus* (from *mos*, *moris*, the root of *mores*), see Le Clerc ed. 1703-06: I, 2(1971), 491/19 and “*Vitiat enim omnem vitae jucunditatem morositas*” in his *Guide to Christian marriage* (Le Clerc ed. 1703-06: V, 673 C).

19. For Budé’s letter of August 12, 1519, see Rogers 1947: 162/59, with Marc’hadour 1977: 553 and 671 n.69, which notes that Budé’s pun is supported by long vowels (“pro More suavissimo morosus”). For the Latin and this translation of Whittington’s 1519 poem, see *Opusculum Roberti Whittingtoni in florentissima Oxoniensi academia laureati*, with Sylvester 1963b: 151-152.

20. “*Clavis adamantinis nostrae memoriae infixus est Morus, quos non nisi una mors valeat abrumperè*” (“More is fastened to our memory by adamantine nails, which nothing but death alone is able to break”), translated here by Marc’hadour. See chapter 32 of the first part of Erasmus’s *De duplici copia: verborum et rerum* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 26C TO 29E).

of “Moro,” “mori” and “moriens” or dying (“*Quis Moro nolit sic moriente mori?*”), adding a quatrain that plays on *mores* or morals.²² In the 1556 *Il Moro* by Ellis Heywood—son of More’s niece and uncle of John Donne—a merchant declares that he will wear a ring with the inscription *Memento Mori*, “provided it be understood to put me in mind, not of death, but of you, Mr. More”—“non della morte, ma di voi, Signor Moro,” More’s Italian name.²³

The polymorphic “mor-” further linked this English *Morus* with Latin *mora* or delay, the term sounded in English “moratorium,” French “demeurer,” Spanish “demora” and other vernaculars. (The *remora* or “eel,” linked with delay through Pliny’s description of its delaying of ships, is part of More’s own punning in *Utopia: velut remora retrahit ac remoratur*).²⁴ The link between Latin *mora* and Greek *moria* or “folly” was already familiar from Latin literature, appearing in Plautus’s *Miles Gloriosus* (well known to Renaissance writers) and in Suetonius’s report of a famous pun from Nero, transmitted through Erasmus’s influential *De Copia* (I, 9).²⁵ The varying case endings of More’s name also enabled connection with *amor* or “love” through the ablative *a More*. Caspar Cunradus’s 1615 distich beginning *Morus Amoris Amor* starts from this punning connection,²⁶ while More exploited the link between *amor* and *mora* in his *Carmen Gratulatorium* (1509) to Henry VIII on his wedding to Catherine of Aragon.²⁷ Such wordplay also extended well beyond

21. For Fowler’s 1568 dedication of the *Epistola*, see Marc’hadour 1977: 555 and Gibson 1961: 61.

22. See the Appendix to Stapleton’s *Vita Mori*, with Marc’hadour 1977: 555, who also cites Thomas Lineaues’ epitaph for Erasmus: “*Moro ne careat, non fugit ipse mori.*”

23. Ellis Heywood, *Il Moro*, ed. by R. L. Deakins, Cambridge, Mass. (1972), p. 62, translated by Marc’hadour 1977: 555, and discussed in Dennis E. Rhodes, “*Il Moro*: An Italian View of Sir Thomas More” in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, eds. Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 67-72.

24. See the Loeb edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann, 1942); and *Utopia*, ed. E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter (1965; rpt. 1974), p. 244/1 and p. 565, with Marc’hadour p. 557. More himself may also be punning on lingering or delay and the *morosus* or “fool” in a quatrain on his name a few years before his death. See Marc’hadour, p. 556 and Nicholas Harpsfield’s *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (London: EETS, 1932), p. 181. *OED* (“morose”) links it with *mora* or delay, through Aquinas’s *morosa delectatio* or dwelling upon thoughts, citing also St. Augustine’s *De Ciu. Dei* XXIII: “Ne in eo quod male delectat vel visio vel cogitatio remoretur.”

25. See Plautus’s *Miles Gloriosus* in Nixon: 1926, where Philocomas’s “*Ego stulta moror multum / quae cum hoc insano fabuler*” (2.4.17) plays on delaying or wasting time and the *stultitia* or folly suggested by “*moror*” – an association that may be reflected in *All’s Well That Ends Well*, where the Countess says “I play the noble huswife with the time, / To entertain it so merrily with a fool” (2.2.60-61). For the pun from Nero cited by Suetonius, see Erasmus, *De Copia* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 9), quoting Suetonius (no. 33 of his Twelve Caesars); Marc’hadour 1977; and Ahl 1985: “Suetonius (*Nero* 33) tells us . . . that Nero jested across syllabic quantities when talking about his dead predecessor Claudius: *nam et MORARI eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur* (‘For he used to stretch out the first syllable of the word MORARI [to delay] so that it became MOR-ARI [to be an imbecile]: ‘He has ceased to be a loon on earth!’) A play involving MOR is also ghoulishly appropriate, since death (MORs) has carried Claudius off” (55). In addition to addressing the question of puns across syllabic quantities, Ahl’s study (like other more recent studies by classicists) makes clear how extensive the punning on syllables, including “MOR” was in classical texts (342).

26. For Caspar Cunradus’ couplet, see M. P. Sullivan, *Moreana-Bibliography*, 1 (1964), 235, with Marc’hadour 1977: 553.

exploitation of the name of “More.” George Herbert includes *mora* and *amor* in a series of such anagrammatic exchanges; Richard Braithwait links *amor* and *mores* or morals in the “Certus amor morum est” of *The English Gentleman*; while Middleton, in *The Family of Love*, actually puts wordplay on “love’s Latin word ... *Amore*” on the stage: “take *A* from thence, then *more* is the perfect moral sense... Take *M* away, *ore* ... craves an eternal trophy to thy fame: lastly, take *O*, in *re* stands all my rest, which *I*, in Chaucer-style, do term a jest.”²⁸

The network I want to focus on in particular, however, was the one linking the metamorphic “mor-” with both “Moors” and inhabitants of “Inde.” *Morus* (a version of *maurus*) meant “black” as well as “fool,” counterpart of Greek *mauros*, origin of “Mauretania” and frequent synonym for *Aethiops* or *Niger*.²⁹ *Maurus* was popularly rendered as *morus* in spelling as well as pronunciation, as the “*Vulgo Maurum vocant Morum*” that forms one of Lister’s glosses to the Erasmus’s *Moria* makes clear, while simultaneously underlining the link with the “Greek for foolish.”³⁰ In

27. See the lines on the years of delay involved for Catherine of Aragon after the death of Henry’s elder brother: “*Illa tibi, princeps, multos devota per annos / Sola tui longa mansit amore mora*” (Bradner and Lynch 1953: 21). The lines may also be punning playing on Catherine’s Spanish origin. See the discussion of *mora* below.

28. See George Herbert’s Latin *Lucus* 25 (cited in Ahl 1985: 49), which exploits the series of anagrammatic variants on *amor / mora / ramo / armo / Maro / oram* and *Roma*; Richard Braithwait, *The English Gentleman*; Middleton, *Family of Love* (c. 1604) 3.1.46, cited Williams 1994: II, 829. “O” and “I” as well as Latin “re” or “thing” are also part of a commonplace set of obscene jokes. In a different register, offered here as instance of the importance vested in what a later period might trivialize as mere “wordplay,” protestant polemicist John Bale, in *Actes of English Votaries* (STC 1271), notes that “If ye spell Roma backwarde, ye shall fynde it love in this prodygyouse kynde, for it is preposterus *amor*, a love out of order or a love agaynst kynde,” referring to the “preposterous *amor*” that was another term for sodomy (reversing “back” or “backwarde” for forward), in the midst of an extended passage on those who “leavyng the naturall use of women . . . have brent in their owne lustes one to another,” and of the “arsewarde procedynges” of this “preposterouse offyce of Veneri” among the Roman religious orders. For this and other examples, see Parker 1996: chapter 1.

29. See Barthelemy (1987: 8): “*Moor* is most probably derived from the Greek *Mauros*, a proper noun that identifies the inhabitants of ancient Mauretania, the area that now makes up Morocco and Algeria. . . . The Greek *Mauros* because *Maurus* in Latin, a proper noun that identified a particular ethnic group and that, like its Greek predecessor, came to mean black. *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Ab Anno DCCC Usque Ad Annum MCC* lists several such examples. The most interesting example is found in the first entry for *Maurus*. Defining the word as *maure* (the French translation of the Latin), *Novum Glossarium* cites the definition found in the twelfth-century *Liber Derivationum* of Pisanus Ugutio. Ugutio writes of *maurus*: ...quidam populus qui estivo calore combustus speciem nigri coloris atraxit’ (...a certain people burnt black with summer heat’). [(*Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Ab Anno DCCC Usque Ad Annum MCC* (Copenhagen, 1959), 276].” Barthelemy also addresses (pp. 9ff) the issue of the confusion of terms: In medieval France as in Rome, *maurus* is synonymous with *niger*. The gallo-roman term *Maurus* like the French *moreau* is used as a nickname and alludes more to the black color of the hair than a dark complexion since the inhabitants of the African shores of the Mediterranean have roughly the same complexion as the Italians from Campania and Latium. It was, therefore, not possible to mistake a Negro and a Mauretanian. That confusion, however, becomes general in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. In France, the adjective *more* is then used in many cases synonymously with the word *noir*. . . . This confusion reached England in the fourteenth century when the author of Mandeville’s Travels spoke of the Moors as black. In his description of Ethiopia, he reported that ‘Moretane’ was a part of Ethiopia and described its inhabitants as black: ...Ethiope is departed in .ij. parties princypall. And that is in the est partie & in the meridionall partie, The which partie meridionall is clept Moretane. And the folk of that contree ben blacke ynow & more blacke

1528, when England was moving towards the divorce crisis, Erasmus concealed the identity of *Morus* or More (also spelled “Moore”) under the code-name *Niger*: “*Nigro commiseram epistolam*.”³¹ More’s seal puns visually on this aspect of his name, featuring not only the moorcocks or moorfowl of the English marshlands or moors (counterpart of Dutch *moeras* and Flemish *moer*) but the head of a Moor.³² Domenico Regi’s *Vita di Tommaso Moro* (1675) even makes More into a “Moor of Venice,” claiming that his father was a Venetian nobleman in London, descendant of Cristoforo Moro, the doge once thought to have influenced the “Moro” (Italian, “Moor”) of *Othello*’s source.³³ The spelling of More (or “Moure” in the French of Du Bellay and Chapuys) as “Thomas *Maure*” in the 1559 French edition of the *Utopia* may also reflect associations between More and *mauros* / *maurus*, “black” and “Moor.”³⁴

Numerous European texts call attention to the “Moorishness” of this English “Moore.” Gracian’s *Criticón* refers in Spanish to the martyred More as “un moro cristiano” (both Christian More and the paradox of a Christian Moor), while the infidel “More” lies behind the paradoxical “Moro santo” of Lope de Vega’s “Aquí yace un Moro Santo,” where “Tomas Moro” (“Muro” or “wall” of the Church) is

than in tother partie & thei ben clept mowres”.

... While the numerous manuscripts of *Manderiville’s Travels* were making their way around England, the Spanish were struggling to expel their foreign conquerors from the Iberian Peninsula. From the eighth century until the fifteenth, Spain was dominated by Islamic invaders who came north from Mauretania. Using the word passed on from ancient Greece, the Spanish called their Muslim conquerors “Moros.” The *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana* gives as its first definition of Moro: “habitante de Mauretania.” *A Medieval Spanish Word List* dates the first documented use of Moro in 1091. *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico* defines Moro as follows: ...In Spain moro was used to refer to all Muslims and came to mean “gentile”, “pagan”, “unbaptized”.

30. See Lister’s gloss in Le Clerc, 44, 401-402, n. 6, with Marc’hadour 1977: 544, and 669n.29, remarking that in Lister’s view, “*Maurus* is the ‘normal’, the etymologic form of More’s name, *Morus* is a popular reduction of it.”

31. “I had entrusted the Moor – or black man – with my letter (to Queen Catherine).” For this September 2, 1528 letter, see Allen 1906-58: 7, 471, with Marc’hadour 1977: 544.

32. See Marc’hadour 1977: 543; the tradition of heraldic Moor’s heads cited in J. Devisse and M. Mollat, *The Image of the Black in Western Art / L’Image du Noir dans l’art occidental*, ed. L. Bugner, vol. 2 (1979), chapter 1; and the discussion of the iconography of More by J. B. Trapp in *Ephialte* 2 (1990): 45-59, which includes a 1625 engraving that accompanies the portrait of More after Holbein with a similar heraldic motif. Elizabeth McGrath of the Warburg has indicated to me in a private communication that More’s device was also part of Trapp’s catalogue of the Thomas More exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in 1977-78 where (no. 31) there is “an illustration of the official seal used by More from 1521 featuring a moor’s head on a helmet,” an illustration that “takes over a fairly common heraldic device (in Germany and then in England) for people whose family name has some allusion to Moors or blackness – though not exclusively for these.”

33. On the source of *Othello* in the narrative of the anonymous “Moro” of Cinthio’s *Hecatommithi*, see the discussion of *Othello* below. On Regi’s *Vita* (which on pp. 328 and 334 of the 1681 edition puns on *mori*, ...to die’ and the genitive of *morus* or “mulberry”) see Marc’hadour 1977: 545, and *Moreana* 47-48 (Nov. 1975), esp. 4, 72.

34. See Marc’hadour 1977: 555 and 558, which elaborates further on confusions between “Saint Maur” and “Saint Mort” made easier by the similarities in sound of *maure* and *mort*. On “Saint Mort,” see Brabant (1968) 145.

invoked as a “sainted Moor,” in lines that treat of his martyr’s death or *mors*:

Aquí yace un Moro santo
 en la vida y en la muerte
 de la Iglesia Muro fuerte,
 Mártir por honrarla tanto.
 Fue Tomás, y más seguro
 fue Bautista que Tomás.
 pues fue sin volver atrás
 mártir, muerto, Moro y Muro.³⁵

[Here lies a sainted Moor (*Moro*) / Strong wall (*Muro*) of the Church / In life and death, / A martyr for having honored her so much. / He was Thomas, and more surely / Was Baptist than Thomas. / Hence he was, without turning back, / Martyr, Dead Man, Moor, and Wall.]

“Morian” could be used in the period for “Moor,” “Ethiope,” or “man of ynde.”³⁶ The *morus* that meant “black” as well as “fool” was thus available for a range of associations, just as the Geneva Bible rendered the Vulgate’s *Aethiops* (of Jeremiah 13:23) as “Can the blacke *More* change his skin or the leopard his spottedes”. The association with *maurus* or “black” that allowed Erasmus to refer to More by the code-name *Niger* is hinted at by More himself when he consoled Erasmus for

35. On Gracian and on Lope de Vega’s epitaph “Aquí yace un Moro santo” (*Rimas* 1623), see Estrada’s discussion in *Moreana* 5 (1965): 36. Lope’s epitaph also plays interlingually on “Tomás” and “más” (Spanish for “more”). I am grateful for this latter suggestion to Ana Elena Gonzales of the National University of Mexico, who heard a version of this paper when it was delivered to the Renaissance Seminar in London. In a private communication she has also suggested to me that these lines may enact a Baptist-like beheading (appropriate to this “mártir”) in thus truncating “To-” from “-más.” She also cited an array of Spanish “color” terms, including *carmelita* (pale brown) – close to *carmen* / *carmine* (for “red”) – *moreno* (used for “mulato” and “dark” as well as a person with dark hair and white skin or blond hair and dark skin), *morada* (purple), *morel* (purple tincture used to paint al fresco), *morapio* (red wine), most of which share the syllable “mor” with *amor* (or Spanish *mor*, apheresis of *amor*), *morada* (dwelling or sojourn) from *morar* (to dwell), *moratoria* (delay for paying a debt), *la moral* (for morals or ethics as well as “spirits”), *morena* (a kind of eel), *amoriscado* (moorish), *moro* / *mauro* (Moor, muslim), *morisco* (baptized Moor, also half mulato, half European), the sense of moor as unbaptized person but also a pure undiluted wine, *moriangano* (another term for “strawberry” in addition to *fresa*), *moroso* (a slow person but also a late payer), as in *demora*, *demorar* (delay), and *morir*, *morirse* (to die).

36. “Morians” appears in Coverdale’s version of Psalm 68.31 (“The Morians londe shal stretch out hir hondes unto God”) as well as his translation of the passage from 2 Kings 19:9 that Tyndale’s Matthew Bible renders as “King of the black mores,” while the 1549 Prayer Book has “morians” (in Psalms 68:31 and 87:4) for inhabitants of the (Vulgate) *Aethiopia* to which the Geneva, Douai and King James versions would ultimately return. *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* (1526) alternates “blacke moryan” with “man of ynde,” while Joy’s 1530 Psalter treats of “Mooris of ynde.” Tyndale translates 2 Kings 19:9 as “black mores” but he also calls Moses’ Midianite or Cushite wife (Numbers 12:1) “his wife of Inde,” though she is called in the Vulgate (as she will be in Geneva and King James) his “Ethiopian” spouse (“*uxorem eius Aethiopiissam*”). See Marc’hadour, “Name,” pp. 548-549, with Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades* I.ix, 38, in *LB*, 2, 947B (where *Indicon* from Lucian is rendered as “Aethiopem,” accompanied by a description of *niger*: “*nigrore vultus, intortis capillis, labris tumentibus, dentium candore*”); and OED under “Morien” (“variant of MORIAN”) and under “blackamorian,” which records citations noted above, including 1526 *Pilg. perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 78b: “Out of the chirche thou blacke moryan, out of the chirche thou man of Inde”; a. 1563 BALE Sel. Wks. (1849) 177: “When the blackamorian change his skin, and the cat of the mountain her spots”; 1631 HEYWOOD Fair Maide of the West Wks 1874

the attack on the *Encomium Moriae* by Jean Briselot, a former Carmelite (or Whitefriar) turned Benedictine (or black-monk), in lines on this “black White-friar” (“*Niger ille Carmelita*”) that evoke the black-white motley of the *morus* / fool: “*Sed in Moriam quod inuebitur, id vero vix credi potest, homo totus ex Moria conflates*” (“How can that black White-friar possibly attack Folly, being himself wholly compact of folly?”).

³⁷ Erasmus dwells on the whiteness of More’s skin as as stark a contrast to the “blackness” of his name as *Moria* or “folly” is to his friend’s wisdom.³⁸ The link between blackness and the *Moria* belied by this English “Moore” also enable the interlocking puns of Stapleton’s poem on More: “‘More, nec es Maurus, quod vox sonat Anglica Mori, / Nec fatuus, quod vox Attica, *moros*, habet. / Scilicet infausti correxit nominis omen / Et vigor & candor maximus ingenii” [“More, you are neither a Moor, as your English name suggests, / Nor are you silly because the Greek for it is ...moron.’ / The vigor and candor (or “white”) of your genius / Has corrected the omen of a bad-omened name.]³⁹

The other influential part of this network was the further meaning of Latin *morus* as “mulberry tree,” whose fruit (*mora*) were famously turned from white to dark by Pyramus’s blood. The *morus* was rendered by Wycliff as the “more” or “moore” tree; while mulberries (from what Caxton termed “Morbery trees” in his 1480 translation of *Metamorphoses* X.iv) appear as “morberries” (or “moor-berries,” the sounding that also rendered More as Moore) in Caxton’s *Dialogues* (1483) listing “cherys, sloes, morberies, strawberries” (13) or Turner’s description of “a litle blacke bery lyke a blacke morbery” in his *Names of Herbes* (1548).⁴⁰ Archbishop Morton, in whose house More served, had for his emblem a “more-tree” or mulberry issuing from a barrel or “ton,” enacting the link between the “Mor-” of his name and the *arbor morus*.⁴¹ More himself is said to have planted at his Chelsea residence a mulberry emblematic of his name. The association of More with the mulberry or “moor-tree” was also a familiar part of tributes that exploited the

II.328: “To the black a Morrian king.” OED “Blackamoor” also cites 1547 BOORDE Introd. Knowl. 212: “I am a blake More borne in Barbary”; 1548: THOMAS *Ital. Gram.*, “Ethiopo, a blacke More, or a man of Ethiopo”; 1552 HULOET, “Blacke Moryns or Mores”; 1663: COWLEY Cut. Coleman St. IV.vi, “He’s dead long since, and gone to the Blackamores below” and other variants. OED also cites 1570 *Satir. Poems Reform* X.133 (“blak and Moriane of hew”) and J. King *On Jonas* (1618) 493 (“What remaineth, but to repent? to change our Morian skinnes, to put off our stained coats, and to wash our feet from their filthiness”). See also Barclay’s *Slyp of Fohys* (1570 edn) 198: “The ugly Maurians are also of this sect.”

37. For this 1517 text and translation, see Marc’hadour 1977: 544, and Allen 1906-58: 3, 11/19.

38. See Erasmus’ Letter of July 23 to U. von Hutten, Allen 1906-58: 4, 14/37, and *Preface to Ecclesiastes*, Allen 1906-58: 11, 192/102, a sentence quoted by William Roper in the opening lines of *The Life of Sir Thomas More Knight*.

39. See Stapleton, Appendix to *Vita Thomae Mori* (Frankfurt 1689), 77, with Marc’hadour 1977: 546.

40. See OED “mulberry, sb. (and a.)” and “more, sb.2” (“mulberry tree”). Barthelemy noting that “the ethnic term *Maurus* has been semantically influenced by the greek words ‘*amauros*’ and ‘*mauros*’ meaning ‘dark,’ also mentions the “latin adjective *morus* which designates the blackberry,” in a passage that exemplifies the confusion between mulberry and blackberry that can be found throughout the tradition, perhaps because the *morus* that meant “mulberry” could also mean “black” as the popular form of *maurus*, noted above (1985: 9):

link between the *morus* or mulberry and his martyr's death or *mors*. Ludovicus Rometius writes of the "blood not of the mulberry but of Thomas More" ("non mori sanguine, sed Thomae Mori"), evoking death along with the genitive of both *morus* and More.⁴²

Association with the mulberry also brought with it links with the silk production for which it was famous. Domenico Regi ends his *Vita di Tomaso Moro* with "*Mori folio utilia & dulces fructus*," evoking the *dulcis et utile* of this "Moro" whose name in Italian meant "mulberry tree" as well as Moor.⁴³ The mania for mulberry-growing for profit in Italy and France was reflected in England both before and after James I mandated the planting of mulberry trees for silk cultivation in 1609, in Moffet's *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599), whose "bottoms" of silk and Pyramus and Thisbe once made it a suspected source for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, characters such as the courtier of Jonson's *The Magnetic Lady* who "feeds on mulberry leaves, like a true Silkworme," and a portrait of a woman of high rank (possibly Queen Anne) whose dress is decorated with silkworms and mulberry leaves.⁴⁴ More's own mulberry at Chelsea (like Milton's mulberry) has been linked to this contemporary interest. Perhaps the most intriguing association with More himself is a portrait that makes him into a silk-producing *alba morus* (or "white mulberry"), in the 1689 reprint at Graz of Stapleton's *Tres Thomae*, which pictures More surrounded by mulberry leaves on which silkworms are feeding, with female figures detaching cocoons and spinning silk thread and an inscription dense with puns on the *morus* or mulberry, morals or *mores* and *mori*, to die: "Dat fructus homini, Bombyci serica morus. / Virtuti, et Sophiae MORUS utrumque dabit / Moribus e MORI texes tibi serica morum. / Si MORI Bombyx sedule, Lector, eris" [The mulberry tree [*morus*] gives fruit to man, silk to the silkworm. / More [*Morus*] will give both to virtue and wisdom. / From the morals [*mores*] of More [*Mori*] you will weave for yourself silken garments of character [*mores*] / If you, Reader, will be an attentive silkworm of this *Morus* or More.]⁴⁵

Such multiple punning on More's name appears repeatedly, linking mortality,

41. See Marc'hadour 1977: 542, and William Camden's *Remains of Britain* (1605), under "morton," which underscores the links with moors.

42. Rometius, Canon of Notre Dame, dedicated to More part of his "Orchard of Holy Writ," ending with these lines. See *Scripturae Sacrae Viridarium* (no. 16), *Viridarium in tres libros et sexaginta arboreta digestum*, Paris (Jean Foüet), 1626 (*Gibson*, no. 492), cited in Marc'hadour 1977:547, who suggests that the text may echo 1 Maccabees 6:34 on the "blood of grapes and mulberries" ("*sanguinem uvae et mori*"). Even apart from Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe story, the link between mulberries and blood is ancient. See, for example, Book 10 of the *De arboribus* of Columella (roughly a contemporary of Pliny), on the "blood-red juice of mulberries."

43. "*Mori folia utilia & dulces fructus*." See Marc'hadour, 1977: 547-548, esp. 545, on the puns on *mori*, "to die" and the genitive of *morus* or "mulberry tree" in Regi's *Vita* (1681 edition).

44. See Ben Jonson, *Magnetic Lady* (2.4.120); Thomas Moffet, *The Silkwormes and their Flies*; Pugh 1993, which discusses (in addition to the king's mulberry garden in Westminster), James I's requiring of landowners in every shire to plant 10,000 mulberry trees and the ultimate failure of James' attempts. See Duncan-Jones 1981, on its unlikelihood as a source for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Moffet's text nevertheless offers an important contemporary reflection of the preoccupation with the mulberry for silk cultivation in the period.

Moors, *Moria* or folly, *amor* or love, moroseness or melancholy, *mores* or morals, and the *mora* that designated both mulberries and delay. Budé exploits the contrast between *candidus* or “white” and the “black” [*maurus* / *morus*] of More’s name, contending that he is no more “black” than foolish or morose.⁴⁶ Whittington—the London grammarian who plays elsewhere on *mores*, *morosus*, and *ensor morum*—combines *morus*, *mores*, *mora* and *amor* into yet more concentrated punning: “Morum te vocitant / quod agendo nil tibi praeceps: / At cum matura cuncta agis ipse mora. / Disceret ut mores / orbem peragravit ulisses / At Mori Eutopia plus docet ipsa domi. / Pyramus et Tysbe in morum conversi ob amorem / Curtureo morus nomen amore capit” [They call you a delayer (*morum*), for you never act hastily, / But do everything with a mature delay (*matura . . . mora*). / Ulysses sailed the world over to learn the customs (*mores*) of men, / But the *Utopia* of More [*Mor*] teaches us more [*plus*] while we stay at home. / Pyramus and Thisbe were changed into a mulberry tree [*morum*] by love [*amor*] / Thus More [*morus*] takes his name from a shortened form of *amor*].⁴⁷

Onomastic exploitation of More’s name thus extends far beyond the *Moria* familiar to readers of *The Praise of Folly*. But such punning was only one small instance of the much wider network surrounding the metamorphic “mor-,” the syllable actually put on stage in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Two Noble Kinsmen*. Punning on “mor-” was already familiar from classical texts, as the work of Frederick Ahl and others makes clear.⁴⁸ The Plautus beloved of More, Shakespeare, and others puns on *amor* / *mores* / *morus* / *morosus*, in a passage echoed in Whittington’s tribute to the anything-but-morose More.⁴⁹ The “more” of *maurus* or blackness is linked with *mora* or “delay” in Erasmus’s 1531 letter to Guy Morillon (“little Moor” but also suggestive of *morillus* or “little mulberry”): “Morillon cannot be accused, I think, though his name appears to come from *morando*.”⁵⁰ Such homophonic links continue to appear in Milton, whose *Second Defence of the English People*, published in Latin in 1654 and directed against another (Alexander) More, compares his “clandestin amour” with the Pyramus and Thisbe story of *amor* and the *morus* or mulberry suggested by his name: “More seems suddenly transformed into Pyramus. . . . From this amour no common prodigy accrued. . . . Pontia conceived a

45. For the portrait and inscription, see Barker ed. 1963: 548, on Stapleton’s *Vita Mori* published at Graz, Austria, as a companion to More’s *Opera Omnia Latina* (1689).

46. Budé’s letter of May 23, 1521 appears in Rogers, p. 251/19f.

47. Both the Latin text and translation (slightly modified) appear in Sylvester 1963: 151. The metamorphosis of Pyramus and Thisbe themselves into the mulberry – not Ovidian though characteristic of many stories in the *Metamorphoses* – also appears in another form in Milton (see below). In the collection of illustrations of the deaths of these lovers at the Warburg in London, there is frequently a visual link between the sword in Pyramus’s body, or the body itself, and the trunk of the mulberry whose fruit changed color by his blood.

48. In addition to Ahl’s *Metaformations*, see inter alia Jane Snyder, *Puns and Poetry in Lucretius’ ‘De rerum natura’* (Amsterdam, 1980).

49. See Plautus, *Trinummus*, in Nixon ed. 1926: “*Ita est amor . . . Atque is mores hominum moros et morosos efficit*” (3.2.43); and Richard Sylvester 1963: 151.

50. “*Quaunque hic nihil incusandum arbitror Morillonum, licet a morando cognomen videatur sortum.*” See Marchadour 1977: 557, with Erasmus’s Letter of August 21, 1531 (Allen, 1906-58: IX, 323/61).

Morill,” or little “mulberry tree.”⁵¹

Conflations and confusions (as well as learned or deliberate punning) were also part of this morass of like-sounding terms. We have already cited the similarity in sound of French “Moure,” “Maure” (or Moor) and death or “mort.” French “mulberry tree” (“*mürrier*”—alternatively spelled “*morier*”) is similarly close to “*mürir*” (“to ripen, or mature,” alternately spelled *meurir* or *meurer*), as well as *mourir* (“to die,” as in “il meurt”), “demeurer” (“to linger, or dwell,” from *mora* or delay), and *murer* (“to wall in”). “Mulberry” (“*la müre*”) resembles not only “*mür*” or “*müre*” (“ripe” or “mature”) but “*le mur*” or “wall.” (English “mure”—from Old French *meür[e]*—could also designate “mature” or “ripe” as well as “wall”).⁵² In Stephen Scrope’s translation of *Pyramus and Thisbe* from the French of Christine de Pisan, in a confusion that seems destined to happen, the similarity between “*la müre*” (mulberry) and “*le mur*” (wall) results in a version in which the *wall* of the famous Ovidian story, rather than the mulberry, turns from white to black.⁵³

The easy shift between “mor-” and “mur-” is itself reflected across a broad spectrum, just as “More” could be spelled “Moore” or Shakespeare could play on “room” and “Rome.” The name of Thomas More (the “Moro” or Moor that Lope de Vega transforms into a “Muro” or Wall) appeared as “Mur” in a 1551 Spanish *Cronica* of the reign of Henry VIII.⁵⁴ “Moor” as the waste, marsh or bog land evoked by the moorfowl on More’s seal could be spelled “mor(r),” “more,” “moore,” “muir,” “mur,” or “mure,” while “Morian” (“Moorish” or “pertaining to the Moors”) appeared as “Murrian” as well as “Morien” or “Maurian,” the spelling in Barclay’s 1509 *Slypp of Fohys*. “Morberries,” moorberries or mulberries were also spelled “murberien” (or “murer”), just as “murder” (from *mors* /death, *mori*, to die) could be variously “mordre,” “moordre,” “moerdre,” “mourther” and “murther,” “mourn” (or “morne”) could be “murn” as well as “moorne,” and

51. Joannis Miltoni *Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda* (1654), or *Second Defence of the English People, Against an Anonymous Libel, Entitled ‘The Royal Blood crying to Heaven for Vengeance on the English Parricides’*, in Hughes ed. 1957: 822-823. For the further wordplay in this Miltonic passage (including on *amor* and “sycamore”), see below.

52. See *OED* “mure, a.” and “mure, v.” in the sense of “to wall in” and “mure, sb.” (from a. F. mur: - L. murum (murus.), as in Shakespeare’s *2H4* (IV.iv.119); *OED* “mure” as adjective meaning “mature” (from Old French *meür*, *meüre*, for “ripe, mature”), citing 1500 Melusine XXIV.160 (“meure deliberacion of his counseill”) and 1442 T. BECKINGTON Corr. (Rolls) II.215: “By commune and mure deliberacion.” See also *OED* “MURR,” sb (alternately spelled “murre,” “myrr,” “morre,” “murre,” Murr,” and “mur”), which cites for the meaning of “a severe form of catarrh”) 1603 FLORIO Montaigne III. xii.620 (“With them a . . . consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough. . . . A pleurisie but a cold or murre”). “Mure” is also cited by *OED* as “obs. f. MARE sb.1, MIRE, MOOR sb.1, MYRRH” (from Latin *murra*, *murrba*, *myrrba*), while for “myrrh” *OED* cites inter alia 1603 DRAYTON, Heroic Ep. IV.141: “Turn’d into a Myrrhe, Whose dropping Liquor ever weepes for her.”

53. See the EETS edition (n. 264, 1970 ed. Curt F. Bühler) of *The Epistle of Othea* on these confusions in Scrope’s translation of Christine de Pisan’s original. In Colard Mansion’s French translation of the *Ovide de Salmonen son livre intitulé Metamorphose . . . moralisé par maistre Thomas Waleys* (Bruges, 1494), the mulberry is spelled “*la mour(ri)e*,” close to the text’s “*lamour*” or love, while “ripe” is “meure.”

54. See *Cronica del Rey Enrico otavo de Inglaterra, escrita por un autor coetaneo . . .* ed. de Marques de Molins (Madrid, 1874), with “Santo Tomás Moro en España y en la América hispana” in *Moreana* 2 (1965): 27-40.

“mourning” variously “moornnyng” or “murning.”⁵⁵ “Murmur” in English, like French “murmure(r),” was the counterpart of Italian “mormorio / mormorare” and could also be spelled “murmour,” “murmure” and “murmure,” while “morel” appeared as “murrel,” “murr” as “morre,” “moray” as “murry,” and “murrey” (or “murre”) as “mourrey” and “morrey.”⁵⁶

Variant spellings also linked terms we might never think to connect, weaving an associational “texture” from etymological, aural and visual affinities. In the *Book of Sir Thomas More* – where More’s name is often spelled “moor” and the lines attributed to Shakespeare involve play on “more” and “moore” (“moore, the more thou hast”) – the comparative “more” and *Moria* or “folly” are joined by “murrin” or “murrain” (1.2.143), a plague afflicting cattle and sheep, counterpart of French “moryn,” Spanish “morriña,” and Italian “moria,” and alternatively spelled “moren,” “moryen,” “moreyne,” “moryn,” “murrion” and “murren.” The variable “mor-” and “mur-” enabled links between this pestilent “murrion” and the *mors* or death from which it was commonly derived, making it a synonym for “mortality” itself (as in Palsgrave’s “Moreyne dethe”).⁵⁷ John Minsheu’s polyglot *Ductor in Linguas, or Guide unto the Tongues* (London 1617) links “Murraine” with French “mourir,” from “*mori*, to die”: “Murraine amonst catell, *quasi dicas, a Gal: Mourerie, a mourir, i. mori, to die,*” while John Florio makes the link with folly or *Moria* explicit in his Italian-English *World of Wordes*: “*Moria*, an infection, a pestilence, a murrian, a rot or mortalitie that comes among sheepe. Also used for follie and taken from the Greeke.”⁵⁸

The “murrian” associated with folly, plague, and death could also, however, serve as a variant of “Morian” or “Moor” —as in Munday’s *John a Kent* (“monstrous murrian black-a-moore”) or Lyly’s *Euphues* (“a faire pearle in a Murrians eare cannot make him white”) —while “Murion” (a spelling for the “murrion” plague

55. See *OED* “moor,” “morian,” “mulberry,” “murder,” “mourn(er),” “mourn(ing),” “murmur,” “murr,” “morel,” “murrey,” “moray,” “murena,” “mur” cited in *OED* as an obsolete form of “MIRE sb.1” (c. 1275 *XI Pains of Hell* 150 in O.E. Misc. 151: “a froren mur”). *Mordre* (“bite” as in “remorse” as the “agenbite of inwit”) could also be confused with “mordre” as “murder,” from death or *mors*. See also *OED* “murderdom” for “murthirdome” as “martyrdom” (1525 St. Papers Hen. VIII, IV.419 note: “Yair cruell tiranny and murthirdome of cristin pepill”).

56. See Shakespeare *Venus and Adonis* (706: “Ech shadow makes him stop, ech murmour stay”); *1H4* (2.3.51: “I be thee haue watcht, / And heard thee murmure tales of Iron Warres”); *Twelfth Night* (1.2.32: “’Twas fresh in murmure . . . That he did seeke the loue of faire Olivia”); *Henry VIII* (2.2.131: “Heau’ns peace be with him: . . . for liuing Murmurers, There’s places of rebuke”) and *As You Like It* (4.3.8: “The ranke of Oziers, by the murmuring streame”). Spenser appears to be playing on the similarity in sound of “mur” to “mar” in *Faerie Queene* 1.1.23: “their tender wings He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings.” See also the *OED* entries for the terms cited in the text, on “merry” as “mury(e),” and “more” as “mare.”

57. See *OED* “murrain,” which notes that it is commonly derived from “Latin *mori*, to die”; and *Sir Thomas More* (1.2.143), Gabrieli and Melchiori ed. 1990: 75. In Shakespeare, the term appears in different spellings. The 1623 Folio of Shakespeare has *The Tempest*’s “a murren on your Monster,” *Coriolanus*’s “A Murrain on’t,” *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*’s “murrion,” and *Troilus and Cressida*’s “red Murren,” for the line that appears in the Quarto as “murrion.” “Murrain” (“murrion,” “murren,” or “murrian”) plague could also appear as “moren,” “mor(re)yn,” and “moryn.” The “red Murren” of *Troilus and Cressida* shares the color of the “red plague” of *The Tempest* (1.2.367) and “red pestilence” of *Coriolanus* (4.1.3).

linked with both *Moria* and *moriens* or dying) was also used for the “morian” helmet associated with Moors.⁵⁹ Ford’s *The Lover’s Melancholy* (4.2.27ff.) plays on “morian” / moron / amor / melancholy and “murrain” as well as the “morian” or Moorish helmet. Minsheu gives for “Murrion, G. Morion. I. Morione, a Mauris qui huiusmodi utebantur casside, of the Moores which used this kinde of head-peece.” and under “Murion, or marrion. G. Murion. I Murione, morione, a Mauris, ... of the Moores which used such headpeecees.” This “morian” (or “morian”) helmet appeared elsewhere as “murrain,” “mourron,” “murreowne,” “murren,” and “murrin.”⁶⁰ Minsheu’s “marrion” for this Moorish “murrion” or “morian” may further evoke the “Maid Marion” of the *Moresca* or morris dance linked with blackface and Moors, as well as a “Fool,” just as “Saint Maur” (source of the English name Seymour) was confused with “Saint Mort” or associations with *maurus* (or Mauretania) affected representations of St. Maurice as Moorish or black.⁶¹

The “more” of the “Moor” was part of an even wider set of associations. To “moor” in the sense of anchor or make stay came from *mora* or delay (moroseness or melancholy was also associated with *mora* through dwelling upon dark thoughts). To make “more” in the sense of “increase” could be spelled “moren” or “mooryne.”⁶² Nashe renders “blackamoors” as “black-amores,” a spelling that underscores the commonplace links between *Amor* and Moors.⁶³ The similarity between Moors and *mors* may have contributed to the depiction of death itself as black, in an environment in which “moriens” could designate both blackamoors (as in Spenser’s *Shepherds’ Calendar*) and the “dying” of the *ars moriendi* treatises.⁶⁴ In addition to “mulberry tree” (or mulberry-like tumor), English “more” (spelled “moore” and “moare” as well as plural “moris” and “moren”) could itself simultaneously mean “root,” “branch,” or “stock” (from Old English *more*, *moru*), as in a 1578 text that treats of “branches” or “moores,” Moffet’s *Silkwormes* and its

58. See John Minsheu’s 1617 *Ductor in Linguas (Guide Into the Tongues)* and *Vocabularium HispanicoLatinum (A Most Copious Spanish Dictionary)* facsimile reproduction by Jürgen Schäfer (Delmar, New York: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1978), “murraine”; and the entries in John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Wordes* (London, 1611), cited here, and the 1598 *World of Wordes* (1598; facsimile reprint: New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) entry which reads: “*Moria*, a murrain, a plague, an infection, a rot that commes among sheepe. Also used for follie or foolishnes, but it is a greeke word.”

59. John Munday, *John a Kent* (1595), 17; John Lyly, *Euphues*, 315.

60. OED “morian” cites 1563 Lanc. Wills (1857) I.141 “A shirt of mayle with the hed peace or murren thereunto belonging.”; 1582-8 Hist. James VI (1804) 137: “in the shipp was funden... twa hundrethe murreownes”; 1601 HOLLAND Pliny I.480 – “The people of Thracia... doe with Ivie... garnish the heads of their launces... their mourrons also and targuets.” See OED “murrain, obs. form of MORION” and “murrin, murrion(n): obs. ff. MORION, MURRAIN, MORIAN”; Minsheu, “murrion”; George Sandys’ translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (“she armes: her head a murrion steild: Her brest her Aegis”); and Marion Lomax, ed. John Ford, *Tis Pity She’s a Whore and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 4.2.27ff, where the servant Trollio (already called a “fool” in 2.2.15) enters with a “morian” on, in lines that may play on “morian” or the helmet associated with moors and “moran” or fool (“I have provided me a morion, for fear of a clap on the coxcomb,” 4.2.37), in a play that has to do with the “melancholy” of “love.”

61. On St. Maurice, Devisse 1979: II, ch. 3. French “Saint-Maur” —invoked in Chaucer’s Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* (line 173)— is cited in Camden’s *Remains* as the origin of the English name “Seymour.”

“moares,” or the “ten thousand mores” of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* (VII.vii.x). “More” was thus already linked with the early sense of “race” itself as root or stock, as in the reference to “Jesses more” (or the “root” of Jesse) in medieval and later texts (including the fifteenth-century *Sir Beves* referred to in Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII*). It could therefore be easily confounded with “mores” or “moores” in a different sense, the “curse” that was rooted or “mored” in the “children of Canaan” (“Seuen naciones of them were of children of Canaan, in the whiche the curse that was geven to them, was *ye moret*, as it were by heritage”).⁶⁵

The mulberry linked with Moors, India or “Inde,” and “dark” women in particular was part of an even more extended network. Pliny’s *Natural History* (which discusses the mulberry along with the strawberry, cherry and quince) treats of the “stain” of its ripe, dark fruit as well as its progression from white (*candidus*) to blood-red (*rubens*) to black (*niger*). It also stresses that this *morus* whose name means “fool” is paradoxically the “wisest of trees” (*sapientissima arborum*) since it delays putting forth its fruit until winter is past.⁶⁶ Erasmus’s *Similia* repeats the irony of the name *morus* or “fool” for this wisest of trees, as the *Encomium Moriae* had done for his friend *Morus* or More.⁶⁷ The tradition from Pliny of the wise

62. See OED “more, v.2, which also cites 1483 *Vulg. abs Terentio* 15: “He dredith lest thy olde angyr or hardnes be mored or incresyd” and the OED’s citation of c.1440 *Promp. Parv.* 341/1 “Moryn, or make more (*H. mooryne*), *majoro*.”

63. See Nashe’s “The Prayes of the Red Herring” in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), p. 180; and Dekker’s *Honest Whore* (2.98): “This is the Blackamore that by washing was turned white.”

64. See *The Sheepherdes Calendar* facsimile edition (London: Peter Davis, 1930), p. 174; Caxton’s 1490 printing of *The arte & crafte to know ell to dye* (sig. A2v), glossed by Phoebe S. Spinrad 1987: 31; Stegemeier 1939: 22, 24; and the discussion of the use of “moriens” for Moors and “dying” in Engel 1995: 72, which also cites the similarity between Latin *mors* and “Ethiopians, which we now caule moores” from Richard Eden’s *Decades of the New World* (London, 1555), 335. See also Gillies 1994: 161, on maps where African winds are represented by “death’s-heads” and “Africans seem to be interchangeable with skulls,” cited with Engel on Death as “der schwarze Mann” in Neill 1997: 147. For Peter Apian’s *Cosmographia* of 1524, and its skull-like “African” wind-heads, see Shirley 1987: Entry 82, Plate 70.

65. See OED “more, v. 1”, citing 1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.* XV.xxxvii (Tollem. MS.), “Seuen naciones of them were of children of Canaan, in the whiche the curse that was given to them, was y moret, as it were by heritage; OED more, sb.3: “A small swelling or tumour (resembling a mulberry); OED “more, v.1” citing” 1607 *Schol. Disc. agst. Antichr.* I.i.42: “They gaue them scope . . . not only to moare but also to spread, and finally to gaine that height in which at this day we find them”; c. 1380 TREVISA *Barth. De P.R.* XIV.ii. (1495) 466: “Noo thyng on lyue maye growe but yf he be rotyd and moryd in substance of erthe”; OED “more, sb.1” which cites (inter alia) 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 139 “Moren and wilde uni was his mete”; 1200 *LAY.* 31885: “Heo lufeden bi wurten, bi moren and bi roten”; 1290 *St. Brendan* 284 in *S. Eng. Leg.* 1.227: “wite moren, ase it of herbes were, bifore heom he sette al-so”; c. 1400 Beryn 1056: “a tre withouten more”; c. 1470 *Build. Bodm. Ch.* in *Camden Misc.* VII, “olde tymber and moris”; 1485 Bk. *St. Albans Biiij*, “percelly Moris otherwise calde percelly Rootis”; 1578 *LYTE Dodoens* III.lxxxviii.441, “The roote putteth forth many brances or moores, spread abrode”; 1599 *T. MOUFET Silkwormes* 6 (“Comfrey moares”); c. 1200 *Trin. Coll. Homo.* 217 (“iesse more”), 14. *Sir Beues* (MS.M>) 70, “god spronge of Jesses more”; and this sense as late as 1787 *GROSE Provinc. Gloss. s.v. Maur, More, or Maur*, also in Gloucestershire, signifies a root; as, a strawberry-more.” The romance *Sir Bevis* is cited in *Henry VIII* (1.1.38).

morus or mulberry thus joined the “wise fool” of Corinthians as yet another emblem of the wisdom in apparent folly; and it was widely disseminated through Alciati’s influential mulberry emblem, glossed by the *maturior moro* of Erasmus’s *Adagia*.⁶⁸ In Alciati’s emblem and its vernacular extensions, the mulberry (*morus*) whose name evokes *morus* or fool is proclaimed the opposite of foolish because it delays (*mora*) the maturing of its mulberries (*mora*). The links between *mora* or delay, *maurus*, *niger* or black, and *moria* or folly are harped on again and again in this influential tradition, producing a network that became part of a European and English commonplace in the period—from the Italian representation of the “tardo Moro” or tardy mulberry as an emblem not of ignorance but of wisdom to its French counterpart, which defends “Le Morier sage, & en Grec mal nommé,” stressing that its link with *Moria* or folly is only “par sens contraire.”⁶⁹ In the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa Perugino, *Prudentia* (or *Prudenza*) wears a helmet decorated with “folgie del moro” (glossed by Alciati’s motto from Pliny on the mulberry as the *sapientissima arbor*), while her arrow is entwined by the “*remora*” described by Pliny as delaying ships, visually evoking the familiar *mora* pun.⁷⁰ English explications of the mulberry echo this rich interlingual network. John Barrett’s *Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie in English, Latin, and French* (1573) derives “A Mulberry” or “*Une meure*” from “*mora, id est tarditate*,” while Minsheu’s *Guide* (1617) explains under “*Mulberry*”: “*G. Meure, f. I.H. Mora. P. Amora. L. Morum. Sunt qui a mora, i. tarditate ... Morum* the Mul-berry, of *Mora*, lingring, or slow comming forth, because it doth not budde, nor come forth, till other trees have done, least it should be also nipped with cold, and therefore also it is stiled and called *Prudentissima arbor*, the most wise or advised

66. See Books XV and XVI of Pliny’s *Natural History* (Rackham 1945: IV, 354-355). Pliny’s text was well known in England long before its translation by Philemon Holland. Pliny’s “*sicuti morus quae novissima urbanarum germinat nec nisi exacto frigore, ob id dicta sapientissima arborum* (XVI.xli.102) is translated by Holland as follows: “as the Mulberry tree, which of civile and domesticall trees, is the last that buds, and never before all the cold weather is past; and therefore she is called the wisest tree of all others” (ie *sapientissima arborum*). See Holland 1635: I, 472. On this “*sapientissima arborum*,” see also Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentarius in quat. Evang.* 146. Pliny’s description of the mulberry’s notorious “stain” is immediately juxtaposed with his description of the strawberry, rendered in Holland’s translation as follows: “There is a kind of Mulberries growing upon the bramble, but their skin is much harder than the other. Like as the ground-strawberries differ in cornositate from the fruit of the Arbut tree, and yet it is held for a kind of Strawberrie, even as the tree itself is tearmed the Strawberrie tree” (Holland 1635: I, 447). The mulberry in Pliny is also frequently likened to the cherry, including for the “sanguine and bloudie liquor” produced by both and the fact that it also turns from red to black (XV.xxix.101). See Holland 1635: I, 449. The mulberry which “darkens with age” (*quae vetustate etiam nigrescit*), as Pliny puts it in Book XVI.lxxix.218, also has the property of looking younger as it grows older, lasting long but not seeming old, because “it is not given greatly to beare fruit neither is overloden with Mulberries.” (Holland 1635: I, 475).

67. See Erasmus *Similia* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 618B), citing Pliny’s “*ob id dicta sapientissima arborum*” (*Hist. Nat.* XVI, 41:4), with Marc’hadour 1977: 547, who notes that “The black mulberry—*morus nigra*—was common in Pliny’s Italy (XXI: 21), and the Peloponnesus owed the nickname of *Morea*—a Greek form of the word—to being overgrown with it.”

68. See, for example, the citations of both Pliny and Erasmus’s adage in *Omnia Andreae Alciati Emblemata Cum Commentariis . . . per Claudium Minoem* (Antwerp, 1577), 667; and Franciscus Sanctius (or Sanchez), *Commentaria in Andreae Alciati emblemata* (Lyon, 1573), 555-556.

69. See *Diverse imprese tratti da gli embleme di Alciati* 441; and *Emblemes d’Alciat*, 256-257.

tree,” adding that others derive its name from *mauros* or *niger* because of the blackness of its fruit, stained by Pyramus’s blood.⁷¹

The conflation of the paradoxically “wise fool” from Pliny with the mulberry of Pyramus and Thisbe supplements a story from the *Metamorphoses* already bristling with puns, as a narrative of *amor* and *moriens* or dying, as well as the *muris* or city walls the lovers abandon for their meeting near the *morus* whose fruit would be turned from white to dark. It adds even more to the mix when Pyramus, turning his sword upon himself *nec mora* (without delay), transforms the color of the mulberries (or *mora*) through his dying (*moriens*) gesture and Thisbe, after a delay (*postquam remorata*), recognizes the dead body of her lover (*amores*). The Ovidian text goes out of its way to emphasize these links, choosing the plural (*mora*, mulberries) rather than singular (*morum*) in the lines that begin with the *nec mora* of Pyramus’s dying act (*nec mora, ferventi moriens ... purpureo tinguūt pendentia mora*). The *mora* or mulberries are stained by the blood of the dying (*moriens*) Pyramus, who kills himself when he sees the stained or bloody mantle of Thisbe who has arrived too soon. The story links *amor* and *mors* with *mora* or mulberries, in a plot that centrally depends on *mora* or delay. It even puns on the walls that figure so prominently within it – in the whispering of the lovers through the hole in the wall described more than once as “murmuring” (*murmur ... murmure*), a pun that may also stand behind Rabelais’ decision not to allow his “Abbaye de Theleme” to have “walls” (because “mur” plus “mur” would yield “murmure”).⁷²

Ovid’s story of the lovers and mulberry stained with blood was filtered through a rich tradition of commentary, which added to the mix the “moralizing” of the tale itself. John of Garland’s influential moralization rendered the turning of its *mora* or mulberries from white to *niger* or black as the tragic movement of *amor* towards death or *mors* (“*Alba prius morus nigredine mora colorans / Signat quod dulci mors in amore latet*”).⁷³ Giovanni Del Virgilio added such moralizing to the naturalized reading in which the mulberry’s blackening was simply a sign of its ripeness, commenting that “Interpreting morally [*moraliter*], we can note through this that in love [*in amore*], which is sweet at the beginning, death [*mors*] finally hides, for death [*mors*] often follows love [*amor*].”⁷⁴ This moralized *amor* is reflected across the numerous retellings of this Ovidian story, including the Garden of Cupid or *Amor*

70. See pp. 508-509 of Cesare Ripa Perugino, *Iconologia* (Venice: 1645), and Maser ed. 1971: no. 179.

71. See Barrett 1573, under “Mulberry”, and Minsheu under “Mulberry.”

72. “Premierement donques (dist Gargantua) il n’y faudra ja bastir murailles au circuit, car toutes aultres abbayes sont fierement murees. – Voyre (dist le moyne), et non sans cause: ou mur y a et davant et derriere, y a force murmur, envie et conspiracy mutue.” (Rabelais 1962: I, 189). I am grateful to Timothy Hampton for this suggestion. See also Miller ed. 1971-76: I, 182-191. In a private communication, classicist Stephen Hinds, supporting the evocation of “murus” in the Ovidian “murmur,” notes that even though *muris* is strictly an outer wall (as in the city walls of the tale) while *paries* is used for domestic walls, “these distinctions have overlaps and grey areas; and in the present passage, where walls are so foregrounded and thematized, I would regard the party wall of P’s and T’s houses as *necessarily* capable of evoking the word *muris*, whether or not a real-life Roman builder would use the word *muris* to describe such a wall. Add too that (in a covert *militia amoris* kind of

in Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallite*, where the "Molberye" turned to "blaknesse" in this story of the lovers' "woful deth" marks what is "first sweet, but bitter at last."⁷⁵ Ovid's *morus* or mulberry also became part of a rich subsequent network of puns that linked its story of *amor*, *mors*, walls and *mora* or delay with the *morus* or "fool" as well as the "wise fool" from Corinthians and Pliny. The extraordinary pictorial and textual dissemination of the Pyramus and Thisbe story throughout Europe included illustrations in which the lovers' tragic death or *mors* was accompanied by Cupid or *Amor* with his arrow. But there was also a tradition that replaced the winged *Amor* with the *morus* or fool, complete with asses' ears, turning the tragedy of love and death into a comic or satiric version of its "folly."⁷⁶

Yet another contributor to this network (still reflected in Milton) was the *arbor morus* of Luke 17, the Vulgate Latin for the original Greek *sykaminos* and source of Wyclif's "more-tree." This is the passage from Luke (less familiar than the "mustard seed" of Matthew 17, where faith moves mountains) in which Christ says to his disciples: "If ye had faith as much as is a graine of mustard sede, and shulde say unto this mulberry tre, plucke thy self up by the rootes, and plante thy self in the sea, it shulde even obey you."⁷⁷ Commentary on this *morus* or mulberry had a widely influential history—linking it both with the traditions we have traced and with another contrast of "white" and dark or "black." In St. Ambrose's influential gloss, the darkening of the mulberry evoked the Lucifer who turned from light to *niger*, a tradition behind the depiction of Satan in Dante's *Inferno* and still current in a story told of Thomas *Morus* or "More."⁷⁸ But a counter-tradition from Augustine (widely disseminated through the *Glossa Ordinaria*) figured the *morus* or mulberry turned dark through Pyramus's blood as the passion and di-

way) one can regard the two houses as opposed camps in a battlefield of love, for which context *morus* would again be the mot juste for their ramparts. Perhaps, indeed, Ovid's repeated specification of the party wall as a *paries* (not a common word in his poetry) is deliberately coy: he's avoiding the word which would give away the pun. In the subsequent tradition of this Ovidian story, this Ovidian *paries* or dividing wall is evoked in the "muro" separating Dante and Beatrice in *Purgatorio*. See below.

73. See John of Garland's *Integumenta Ovidii; poemetto inedito del secolo XIII*, Ghisalberti ed. 1933: lines 131-32.

74. "Quarta transmutatio est de moris que de albis versa sunt in nigra. Nam verum est quod morus prius producit mora alba, deinde cum sunt matura efficiuntur nigra. Moraliter ergo per hoc possumus notare quod in amore qui est dulcis in principio aliquando mors latet, quia ad ipsum sepe consequitur mors sicut consecutum fuit in istis duobus" (Ghisalberti 1933: 55). See also Ghisalberti 1932: 210: "Arnolfo d'Orléans: un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII," *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 24 (1932): 157-234, p.210: "Mora de albis in nigra nichil aliud est quam quod alba sunt nondum matura, sed nigrescunt dum maturescunt."

75. See Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallite*, Sieper ed. 1901: 104-5, lines 3936-4001, on which the marginal Latin gloss is "*Fructus illius arboris secundum dicta poetarum fuit mutatus de albedine in nigredinem.*"

76. For a comprehensive survey of literary, pictorial, and other representations of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in English and various European vernaculars from the early middle ages to the late seventeenth century, see Schmitt-Von Mühlenfels 1972: 44-45, which includes the 1525 illustration by Urs Graf in which the figure of Amor or Cupid traditionally included in depictions of the death of Pyramus and Thisbe is replaced by the figure of a fool (Table VII), replacing *Amor* by *Moria* or folly as the emblem of the scene.

fferent *amor* of the cross that enabled metamorphosis in the opposite direction, basis of the New Testament passages on the wisdom in its apparent folly and counterpart of the baptism that could wash the “Ethiope” white. This Ovidian story and its mulberry sound through Dante’s *Commedia* like a leitmotif—from the *Inferno*’s Satan to the steps (white, darker than purple, and red) of *Purgatorio*, where the redemptive red (“*come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia*”; “like blood that spurts out of the veins”) explicitly echoes Pyramus’s death, to Dante’s encounter with Beatrice (separated from him by a “muro” or Wall), which recalls both Ovid and the Bridegroom and Bride of Apocalypse and the Song of Songs.⁷⁹

The Dantesque combination of Pyramus and Thisbe with biblical texts, including the *morus* or “mulberry” of Luke 17, reflects the influential tradition of Ovid “moralized,” in which Pyramus signified Christ, Thisbe *anima humana*, the lion the “roaring lion” of the New Testament (Peter 5), and the mulberry or *morus* stained with blood the tree of a different *amor*. Widely disseminated through the commentary of “Thomas Walleys, Englishman,” the *Ovide moralisé*, and other means (both visual and textual), this influential “moralization” also appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, famous as a source for *The Merchant of Venice*.⁸⁰ Walls figure centrally in this moralized Ovid, which conflated the wall separating the lovers Pyramus and Thisbe with the “wall” dividing the lovers of the Song of Songs (2:9) and the wall of “partition” familiar from Ephesians (2:14), both to be finally down in the apocalyptic marriage of Bridegroom and Bride. (This “marriage” typology continued to appear in the translation of the Song of Songs in English Bibles in

77. This is the Geneva Bible (1560) version of what the Vulgate of Luke 17:6 renders as “Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis huic arbori moro: Eradicare et transplantare in mare, et obediet vobis.” The Coverdale Bible (1550) has “The Lorde sayde: If ye have faith as a grayne of mustarde sede / and say unto this Molbery tree. . . .” while the Bishops’ (1568) Bible renders the passage as “If ye had fayth as much as a grayne of mustarde seede, & should say unto this Sycamine tree, plucke up thy selfe by the rootes, and plant thy selfe in the sea, it shoulde obey you.” For the Miltonic reference, see below.

78. See Freccero 1986: ch. 10; Ambrose, *In Lucam VIII*, 29, in the *Patrologia Latina* 15, 1774.col. 1864: “Nam fructus ejus primo albet in flore, deinde jam formatus irrutilat, maturitate nigrescit. Diabolus quoque ex albeti angelicae flore naturae et potestate rutilanti, praevaricatione dejectus, tetro inhorruit odore peccati. En tibi illum arbori moro dicentem: *Eradicare et jactare in mare*, cum legionem ejecit ex homine, in porcos transire permittit, qui exagitati diabolico spiritu, se in maria demerserunt.” For the continuation of this tradition in the story told of More, Schoeck 1951: 313, on Erasmus’s alleged “Aut tu es Morus, aut nullus,” and More’s retort “Aut tu es Erasmus, aut diabolus.” Schoeck also cites the widely-known *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam* (erroneously attributed to Rabanus Maurus), with Le P. C. Spicq 1944: 39 and 307: “Morus est diabolus, ut in Evangelio: ‘Dicens huic arbori, More, eradicare [Luc. xvii.6],’ quod apostoli diabolum in hominibus exsarpaverunt” (*Patrologia Latina* 112, col. 1002). Schoeck indicates that he has not found “this allegorization of morus (mulberry tree) elsewhere,” though it is clearly part of the tradition from Ambrose. Marc’hadour 1977: .669n.41, also notes that the name of the pseudo-Rabanus Maurus, author of the “morus est diabolus” of the *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam* on Lk. 17: 6, also links him with the complex from *morus* / *maurus*.

79. See *Inferno* XXXIV; *Purgatorio* IX.93-102 (“bianco marmo”; “tinto piu che perso”; “porfido me pareo, si fiammeggiante, / come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia”); *Purgatorio* XXVII.36-39 (“tra Beatrice e te e questo muro), the latter followed by explicit allusion to Pyramus and Thisbe, also separated by a wall, at the point of Pyramus’s death “when the mulberry became red” (“vermiglio”); the allu-

the sixteenth century, which also regularly rendered it as the “Ballette of Ballettes” or “Ballad of Ballads,” the term that Bottom chooses to record his “rare vision” in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Shakespeare’s “marriage” play).⁸¹

In a tradition still influencing the punning on Alexander “More” in Milton, the Vulgate *arbor morus* of Luke 17 was further conflated with the *sycamoros* of Luke 19, also associated with the cross and glossed by Isidore of Seville (in an influential pseudo-etymology) as “*sicut morus*” or “like the mulberry.”⁸² The sycamore became so interchangeable with the mulberry, “more” or “moor” tree that the Vulgate *sycamoros* of Amos 7:14 was translated by Coverdale as “mulberry,” while Wycliff rendered the *sycamoros* of 2 Chronicles 1:15 as “mulberies.”⁸³ Holland’s English translation of Pliny on the “sycamore” associated with Egypt and Cyprus describes it as “like unto the Mulberry tree,” in a passage that may also reflect the rich crossing of Pliny with other traditions.⁸⁴ Both *morus* and *sycamoros* were further absorbed into wordplay on *Moria* or “folly,” and the paradoxical “wise fool” from the combination of Pliny and Corinthians: as late as the seventeenth century, the

sion to Pyramus and the mulberry in *Purgatorio* XXXIII.69, and Freccero 1986: 176–171, citing inter alia Augustine, *II. Quaes. Evangelior*, q.39, n.2, Alanus de Insulis (*Sermo* 2, in *Patrologia Latina*, 210, 225) and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Freccero remarks on the influential combined legacy of these traditions (one linking the mulberry tree with the devil, the other with the cross): “These two glosses by Ambrose and Augustine, respectively, on the passage in Luke entered into the *Glossa Ordinaria* and became traditional allegorizations of the mulberry tree, to be repeated by virtually every important commentator throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance.” Freccero also cites Bonaventure, *Opera* VII, 430–431 and the convenient (though not exhaustive) survey of exegetical commentary in Cornelius a Lapide’s *Commentarius in Quat. Evang.* (Venice, 1700), II, 146.

80. See Ovidius *Metamorphoseos moralizatus a Fratres P. Berchorii*, appendix Ghisalberti 1933:114–115; *Ovide moralise* (IV, 1176), edited by C. De Boer ed. 1920: II, 37; Panofsky 1962: 23, and Plate V, figure 11, which reproduces an illustration of Pyramus and Thisbe from the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 15158 (dated 1289), illustrated *Bible*. 238, p. 272, in which “Thisbe awaits Pyramus on a Gothic tombstone which bears the inscription ‘Hic situs est Ninus rex,’ preceded by the usual cross” (p. 20), as well as the lovers separated by the wall from earlier moments in the story; and Allen 1970: ch. VII, which also cites Thomas Walsingham’s *De archana deorum* [ed. Robert A. van Kluve (Durham, N.C., 1968)], which continued the tradition of symbolic exegesis into the fifteenth century and the influence of the moralization of Ovid “known to the Renaissance . . . as the work of Thomas Walleys” (p. 169), available to English readers who knew Latin through any one of the “five editions published in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.” The “Thomas Walleys” under which the Bersuire moralization was disseminated suggests along with other evidence, including the *Gesta Romanorum*, the dissemination of this moralizing tradition in England as on the continent. Pyramus and Thisbe bas-reliefs appear in the cathedral at Basle, while in England, St. Mary’s church in Patricxbourne near Canterbury has a sixteenth-century stained glass window (of Swiss origin) depicting the deaths of Pyramus and Thisbe. “The roaring lion” is the running head in the Geneva (1560) Bible page that translates 1 Peter 5:8 (“Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil as a roaring lyon walketh about, seeking whom he may devour”) – which also makes reference in the margin to the church at “Babylon.” This biblical “roaring lion” is an acknowledged echo in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, comically in the lion of the artisans’ Pyramus and Thisbe play (where “deflower” is substituted for “devour”) and in Puck’s “Now the hungry lion roars” speech at the end. See below. The Bishops Bible (1585) has “Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil, as a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.”

influential exegete Cornelius a Lapide, commenting on the *arbor morus* of Luke 17, quoted Pliny on the mulberry as the “wisest of plants” and added: “As Thomas More ... was the wisest of men.”⁸⁵

Kaleidoscopic punning on the name of More was thus part of a much broader network linking the *morus* or mulberry, the sycamore (or *sicut morus*), *Moria* / folly,

81. The traditional typological relation of the lovers of the Song of Songs with the Bridegroom and Bride of Revelation is a familiar part of the introduction of the Song itself in sixteenth-century English Bibles. In Taverner’s 1539 English Bible, “The Ballet of Balletes of Salomon: Called in Latyne, *Canticum Canticorum*” is introduced as “A mysticall device of the spirituall and godly love betwene Chryste the spouse, and the churche or congregacion his spousesse”; the Bishops Bible of 1568 introduces “The Ballet of Balletes of Solomon, called in Latin, *Canticum Canticorum*” as “The familiar talke and mysticall communication of the spirituall love between Jesus Christ and his Church.” The Geneva (1560) Bible – unusual among sixteenth-century translations in titling it as Solomon’s “Song” (rather than “ballet”) – similarly introduces it as follows: “In this Song, Salomon by moste swete and comfortable allegories and parables describeth the perfite loue of Jesus Christ, the true Salomon and King of peace, and the faithful soule of his Church, which he hath sanctified and appointed to be his spouse, holy, chaste and without reprehension. So that here is declared the singular loue of the bridegrome toward the bride. . . . Also the earnest affection of the Church which is inflamed with the loue of Christ desiring to be more and more ioyned to him in loue, and not to be forsaken for any spot or blemish that is in her”). The “wall” of Song of Songs 2:9 as of Ephesians 2:14 is *paries* in the Vulgate, though “muro” in Dante (“tra Beatrice e te e questo muro,” *Purgatorio* XXVII.36-39). The Coverdale (1550) translation also uses “ballettes” (“Salomons Ballettes, called *Cantica Canticorum*”). See also Wycliff’s *Song of Solomon* (1382), cited by the *OED* for the “chyne” in the “stone wall,” along with the “chins and walls” of *Batman upon Bartholomew* (1582), ed. Barth. De P.R. 180. The allegorization by Walleys (now known to be Pierre Bersuire) – still appearing for example in *Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de Professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico: explanata* (Paris 1511) – provides an extended commentary on Book IV of the *Metamorphoses* (eg. Folio XXIX), which inter alia (along with other commentaries) helps to explain the description of Pyramus in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* as “most lovely Jew” both in this allegorization and in its reminder that “pyramus erat Iuvenis pulcherrimus.” Of the story of these lovers it comments: “Ista historia potest allegari de passione & incarnatione christi. Pyram est dei filius. Tisbe vero anima humana quese principio multum dilexerunt & per charitatem & amorem coniungi invicem decreverunt sed quia datoq essent vicini & quasi consimiles: eoq ad imagines dei factus est homo: quidem tamen paries: id est peccatum ade: coniunctionem pediebat & ipsos abinvicem difungebat. Ipsi autem per prophetas colloquentes condixerant per beatam incarnationez in simul convenire: & sub mori arbor: id est sub cruce ad fontem baptismi & gratieinvicem consentire. Sic igitur factus est q ista puella anima propter leenam: id est diabolum fontem gratie adire non potuit sed adventum amici sui pyrami: id est dei sub silentio expectavit Abacuc 2. Si moram fecerit expecta eum quia veniens veniet & non tardabit. Iste igitur iuxta conductum finaliter ad nos venit et sub arbore crucis amore tysbes: id est anime morti se exposuit ita q. arborem ipsam: videlicet crucem proprio sanguie cruentavit et colore ipsius denigravit. Et ideo tysbe: id est fidelis anima debet per compassionem eius de passionis gladio se transfigure & eandem penam mentaliter sustinere. Vel dic y ista puella est virgo maria ad quam dei filius per incarnationem venit. & sub crucis arbore mori voluit. Ipsa vero per compassionem eius gladio se tranfodit. Luc. 2 Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius.” Habbakuk 2 is thus cited along with Luke 2, where Mary’s description (by Simeon) as pierced with a sword (*gladius*) is used to provide a further link between Tisbe and Mary. The Geneva (1560) version of Luke 2:15 is: “Yea and a sworde shal pearce through thy soul) that the thoughts of manie hearts may be opened” (with the marginal gloss: “this is, sorrowes shulde pearce her heart, as a sworde”). The entire allegorization by “Walleys” was also disseminated through the influential French translation of Colard Mansion, known to Caxton (*Ovide de Salmonen son livre intitule Metamorphose contenant xvi. livres particuliers moralisé par maistre Thomas Walleys docteur en theologie . . . Translate & compilé par Colard Mansion en la noble ville de Bruges* (Bruges-en-flandres 1484).

mores / morals, *maurus* / black or Moor, *amor* / love, *mora* / delay, *moriens* or dying, *morosus* or melancholy, English “moors” (or “muirs”) with the ripe or “mure” as well as with “mures,” murals, or walls. *Moria* could evoke both folly and “murrain” plague; French “mürier” (“morier” and other spellings) the mulberry whose fruit (“la müre”) resembled “le mur” (or “wall”) as well as “mür” or “ripe.” “More” could be the ablative of morals, customs, or *mores*, and the comparative “more.” “Morel” suggested both mulberry and the color of a horse (“The Woman Wrapped in Morels Hide”), as well as “black” nightshade and the “morello” or “winter cherry.”⁸⁶ “Myrrh” (associated with the Arabian *murra* or myrrh-tree in Pliny and in Ovid’s tale of Myrrha, another story of forbidden love) was linked with *murmura*, *mora*, *mors*, and “bitter” (*amarus*) *amor*, while (in the moralizing tradition) simultaneously linked with “Maria” and the “myrrh” of the Song of Songs.⁸⁷ The Spanish for “mulberry tree” (“el moral”) was close to “la moral” from *mores*; Spa-

82. See Freccero 1986: 178, on Zachaeus’ conversion by climbing a sycamore in Luke 19; Isidore, *Etymol.* XVII.vii (*Patrologia Latina* 82, 63): “Sycamorus, sicut et morus Graeca nomina sunt . . . Hanc Latine celsam appellant”; and McCulloch 1960: 80-81 on *De sycamora* and Amos 7:14 (which appears in the Vulgate as *sycomorus*, but also as the *morus* in other patristic writing). Freccero also cites Albertus Magnus: “Sycomorum autem quidam virtutem vocabuli ignorantes, dicunt arborem quae est sicut morus” (*In Evang. D. Luc.* XIX, Opera X, 261).

83. See *OED*, “mulberry,” citing 1382 WYCLIF 2 Chron. 1:15 (“cedres as long mulberies” for Vulgate *cedrus quasi sycomorus*). The Geneva 1560 translation of Luke 17:6 has “mulberry tre” for what the Bishops (1568) version renders as “Sycamine tree”; both have “wild fig tree” (differently spelled) for Luke 19:4. The Geneva 1560 version of 2 Chronicles 1:15 has “wilde fig trees” for what the Bishops 1568 version renders as “Mulberry trees.” Both have “wilde figges” for Amos 7:14. The links between the mulberry or *arbor morus* (Greek *sykaminos*), sycamore (*sycamoros*), and the “fig” (*sykos*) with which both share a syllable also appear in the punning on the name of Alexander *Morus* or “More” in Milton’s *Second Defence* (“he might have inserted a mulberry in a fig and thence have rapidly raised a progeny of sycamores”), in the listing of his “criminal amours” even before the tryst with Pontia that produced “a Morill” (*morillus*) or “little mulberry tree.” See Milton, in Hughes 1957: 823.

84. See Pliny XIII.xiv, 132, with Holland’s translation (1635: I, 389): “In AEGypt likewise there be found many trees which grow not els-where: and principally the Sycomore, which thereupon is called the AEGyptian Fig-tree. The tree for leafe, bignesse, and barke, is like unto the Mulberry tree.’ and Vol. II, Book XXIII, chapter VII (p. 168): “In Egypt and Cypres both, there groweth the Sycomore, which is a kind by it selfe between a fig tree and a mulberry tree, as I have before said; the fruit or berries whereof be full of liquor. . . This juice issuing out of them, is a singular defensative against the poison of Serpents: a wholesome medicine for the bloody flix; and a notable carminative to discusse and resolve pushes, biles, and al impostumations. It souldereth and heaeth up wounds, it allaieth head-ach, and assuageth the wens or pains of the ears. Such also as be splenicke or diseased in the spleene, fine much ease and comfort by drinking thereof. Moreover, a liniment made therewith, is good to chaufe and heat those, who chill and quake for extremity of cold: howbeit, last it will not, but breed worms very quickly.”

85. Cited in Marc’hadour 1977: 547: “The exegetes certainly had no trouble associating the two trees allegorically, for it seemed to them that their common root, again verbally, was *morus*, meaning . . .foolish’ in precisely the same sense that St. Paul spoke of the cross as foolish: . . .unto the Jews a stumbling block and unto the Greeks foolishness’ (1 Cor. 1:23)”; “Erasmus, in his *Annotations* on the New Testament [LB 4, 300 E, 306 DEF], examines their botanical identity more than their allegorical significance. He adds a third word, Celsus’ *morasykos*, or . . .foolish fig-tree.’ Despite the short -o- of *morus* in these compounds, he advocates linking those trees with the mulberry, whose foliage has affinities with theirs. Now, in Greek *mora*, *morea*, there is an omega, and the root-vowel of the Latin equivalent *morus* is also long, as appears from the scansion in Ovid and Palladius (the fourth-century agricuturist). Thus the Lucan trees are eligible too for . . .silly’ symbolism . . .”

nish moralizations of Pyramus and Thisbe could thus exploit links between the mulberry and the “moral” sense.⁸⁶ In England, Minsheu’s *Guide* taught its readers that “Mulberrie tree” was “Moral” in Spanish, while Spanish-English dictionaries reminded theirs that Spanish “*mora*” (or mulberry) was the fruit of the “*moral*” or mulberry tree. Minsheu’s *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599), addressed to an audience “desirous to attaine the perfection of the Spanish tongue,” lists “*Moral*, a Mulberrie tree” right before “*Moralidad*” for “moralnes” and “*Moralmente*” or “morally.”⁸⁷ In Portuguese, mulberry tree (*amora*) was available for puns on *amor* or love and the *mora* short for *demora* or delay. The description of the Island of Love (*Ilha Namorada*) in Camoens’ *Lusiads* links “*mora*” (“*de mora*”) or delay with “*a mora*” (or love), inverting the gender of the epithet “Moor” (“*Mouro*”) repeated so often in this epic of African circumnavigation and the voyage to India, providing (as Roland Greene has suggested) “an inversion of the realm of the Moors” themselves, “*amor*” instead of “*O mouro*.”⁸⁸

The mulberry also figured in the growing lexicon of color and exoticism in the period. “*Moro*” was the Italian for mulberry as well as Moor, while Spanish “*Mora*” designated both mulberries and “black” or “dark” women. The mulberry’s turning from white to dark was counterpart to climate-based conceptions of “Moriens” (or Moriens) – including “Moors,” Ethiopians and inhabitants of “Inde” – as darkened from an original white, reflected in the “complexion” of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice* (“shadowed livery of the burnish’d sun”), Mary Wroth’s “Indians, scorched with the sunne,” or the “Inde” of Golding’s rendering of Phaeton’s driving the sun-chariot too close to the earth that provided an Ovidian

86. See *OED* “morel, sb.2; and Cotgrave (1611): “*Morelles*, Morell Cherries; late-ripe Cherries, dried for Winter prouision.” For nightshade, see *OED* “morel,” sb.1 which cites inter alia 1519 HORMAN *Vulg.* 110: “Purple veluette of Ynde: that hath the coloure of morelle, or vyolette, or rusty yron: is mooste of pryce”; 1601 HOLLAND *Pliny* II.58: “Morel or Night-shade” and Cotgrave (1711) on “*Morelle*, the hearbe Morell, pettie Morell, garden Nightshade.”

87. For Ovidian punning on *murra*, *murmura*, *amor*, and *mors* in the tale of Myrrha and the *murra* or myrrh tree, with other related puns, see Ahl, *Metaformations* pp. 214–224. John of Garland’s lines on Myrrha (“De Mirra”) are crammed with such punning (“Rem miram mirare novam Mirram per amorem / In mirram verti quam dat amarus amor”). See Ghisalberti ed. 1933: 68. The link between Ovid’s Myrrha (mother of Adonis, alluded to in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*) and Maria (mother of Christ, of whom “Adonis” was a type) is also made in the moralizing tradition, including Walleys / Bersuire. See Book X (Fol lx) of the *Metamorphoses Ovidiana Moraliter* (Paris 1511), which also invokes the myrrh of the Song of Songs (and its *hortus conclusus*, allegorized as a type of Mary’s womb).

88. See for example *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco (1611; Castalia 1994 edition): “MORA. La fruta del moral” (762); “MORENA. Color, la que no es del todo negra, como la de los moros, de done tomó nombre, o de mora” (763); “MORISCOS. Los convertidos de moros a la Fe católica, y si ellos son católicos, gran merced les ha hecho Dios y a nosotros también” (763); “MORO. *Latine* MAURUS, dicho así de la provincia de Mauritania.”

89. See Minsheu, under “Mulberrie tree”: “H. Moral. . . . L. Morus. . . Est enim, ut supra dictum, arbor nigrum ferens fructum. Arbor Pyramea. Sub hac enim arbore occubuisse Pyramum, & Thisbem tradunt, eorumq, sanguine fructum eius e nigro in sanguineum colorem conversum fuisse.” Minsheu’s *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* also states on its frontispiece that it includes “an Alphabeticall Table of the Arabicke and Moorish words now commonly receiued and vsed in the Spanish tongue.”

source for this tradition.⁹¹ The association of the “more [or ...moor]-tree” with the growing lexicon of color and exoticism extended to the proliferation of mulberry emblems for figures whose names linked them with blackness or Moors. Lodovico Sforza, the Duke of Milan whose name meant “Black,” was nicknamed *Il Moro*: his emblem was the *morus* or mulberry tree.⁹² Cristoforo Moro – linked with the English More in Regi’s *Vita di Tommaso Moro* as with the “Moor” of *Othello*’s Italian source – had an insignia spotted with mulberries, punning visually on the combination of mulberry and Moor in his own name.⁹³ In England, Aemilia Lanyer, once linked with the so-called “Dark Lady” of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, came from the Bassano family of Italian Jews, whose coat of arms featured a mulberry tree and silkworm moth evocative of their origin in Bassano del Grappa north of Venice, a center of the silk trade in the period. For this reason she has been associated with the *Sonnets*’ opposition of “fair” and “dark,” *The Merchant of Venice*, with its converted Jewish daughter and female Moor, and the *moro albo*, both “white mulberry” and “white Moor,” a contrast with darker “Moore” also applied to Carthaginian / Phoenician Dido in Thomas Phaer’s translation of the *Aeneid*.⁹⁴ Moffet’s treatise promoting mulberry cultivation in England was itself a mixture of practical handbook, theological allegory, and exoticism (including the multiple contemporary associations of “white” and “black”), combining Pliny on the “Morus” or “Mulberry most wise, / That never breeds till winter wholly dies,” the Bible (including the Song of Songs), the fire or heat of love suggested by the name of “Pyr-amus,” and reference to “Kafirs” and the origins of sericulture in “East India.” It links the “purple” or “blackish” “staine” of the mulberry

90. The related puns from Luis Vas de Camoes’ *Os Lusíadas* were suggested to me in a private communication by Professor Greene. See also Florio1598, listings under “Moro, a blackamoore. Also a mulberie tree”; “Moroso, a lover, a paramour, an amorous fellow”; “Morologo, wayward, foolish, tipsie, tatling, babbling, full of wyne”; “Morone, a mulberie tree. Also a kinde of sweete meate so called in Italie. Also a kinde of fish much like flesh, that is eaten in Lente”; “Moraglie, a devise to pinch a horse about the nose to tame him when he is a shoeing. Also any kind of stone wals”; “Moraro, a blackeberrie tree, or a mulberie tree”; “Morsura, a biting, a snipping, a nipping.” See also “La Tisbe” by Luis de Gongora, in the original Vicuña edition and the modern edition by Carreño 1988: 384ff.

91. See *The Merchant of Venice* (2.1.1-17), with Hall 1995: 94-97, 105 on Golding, Wroth, Elizabeth Cary’s *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), where Herod calls his sister Salome a “sun-burnt blackamoore” (4.7.461-462), and the Moorish Eleazer of *Lust’s Dominion; or, the Lascivious Queen* (1600), who declares that his complexion is “ta’en from the kisses of the amorous sun” (3.4.14). See also Walvin 1972: 32-47, and Washington 1984: 70-101. As Hall comments, “The popularity of the idea that sun caused ‘black’ skin color may have lasted because the very name ‘Aethiope’ signified burnt or ...torrid’ skin, as many travelers intimated, or, more likely, because it provided an oblique way of addressing fears of miscegenation and the absorption of ‘white’ European by the foreign other” (95).

92. Marc’hadour 1977: 545.

93. See Holloway 1985: 125-136. Furness includes in the Variorum edition of *Othello* a letter dated January 9, 1875 in which Rawdon Brown discusses the link between Cinthio’s “Moro” and the historical Cristoforo Moro, as well as the shields “spotted with mulberries” and Moro’s insignia, three mulberries sable and three bends azure on a field argent. Holloway also notes that “the doge, Cristoforo Moro, was honored by his namesake being created lord lieutenant of Cyprus in May 1505. In October 1508, this Moro returned to Venice in mourning for the death of his wife on her way from Cyprus.”

from the Ovidian story of Babylonian lovers to the Fall as a taint or staining of the white of “former perfitnesse,” and resurrection from death and the upward metamorphosis of the silkworms themselves to a redemptive whitening. “Blacke at the first, like pitch of Syrian deepe,” they become “in time as white as Atlas snow. . . Till they be cleane of blacknesse dispossesed, “ bearing no longer “the marke of blackish fiend,” transformed (as silkflies) into a “pure white” like that of “tenne thousand Angells all in white” at the Apocalypse or final Doom, a “milk-white” or “badge of chastity” without any “spotte” because “in them no follies ever grew.”⁹⁵

The *morus* or “mulberry” provided in addition not only the counterpart of the turning of the “Ethiope” from white to black (and its reverse) but also the color known as “murrey,” the mulberry shade between white and black. This “mulberry” color appears as “Murry ... or browne brunette” in Palsgrave (153), in the definition of *Hiberus color* as “swart, browne, or murrey colour” in Thomas Thomas’s *Dictionary*, as “murrey or yron colour, darke colour” in Minsheu (1599), and as “murrey” or “sanguine” in Cockeram (1623), a meaning it has in heraldry as well (“Sanguin in Heraldry signifies a Murrey colour,” as Blount put it in 1656). In Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as *The Decades of the New World*, in the context of Columbus’s voyages to the West Indies, “mulberry” or “murrey” colored (“somewhat lighter than black”) is associated with the “tawny” of “sod quinces” described as the color of “West Indians,” linking mulberries and quinces with the Indies or Inde.⁹⁶ Minsheu’s *Guide* links “murrey” with Italian “moretto” or “morell” and Spanish “morado,” as well as “niger, fuscus, blackish or dunne colour, aut a morus,” between black and red, or purple. English-Spanish dictionaries introduce not only the “Moral” that is “a mulberie tree, *Morus*” and “*Mora*, a mulberie, *Morum*,” but also “morado,” “moreno” or mulberry-color.⁹⁷ Minsheu’s Spanish-English *Dictionary* (1599) lists “Moral, a Mulberrie tree” along with “Morel” as a “browne duskish colour,” “Morella” as “an herbe called nightshade,” “Morado color” as “murrey or ... darke,” “Moreno color, murrie colour, browne, darke, duskish,” “hombre Mo-

94. See Prior 1987, and on Lanyer’s family background and the argument of A. L. Rowse’s *Shakespeare’s Sonnets: The Problems Solved*, Woods (1993: pp. xvff. *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* also provides, among other contemporary examples, abundant indication of how interlinked was the imagery of the Song of Songs with the final marriage of Bridegroom and Bride in Revelation and other related biblical passages, including Matthew 24 and 25. See also “mirrhe” in lines 1319-20 (pp. 107 and p. xxxviii of Woods’ edition).

95. See *The Silkwormes and their Flies*, 51, 19 (“In Aprils wane when buds the mulb’ry slow”), and the marginal note on p. 23: “The Mulberry is called the wisest tree, because it never buddeth till all danger of cold be gone” – glossing its reference to the silkworms devouring “the leaves of tree most wise”; p. 17 on Pyramus as “One too too hot, for so imports his name” (with the marginal gloss: “Pyramus signifieth as much as fiery”); pp. 68, 70, on “Indian wormes” and the progress of sericulture from “Serinda” [“A cite of east India”]; allusion to the Psalm (137) of Babylonian exile (p. 20); pp. 54, 72, 27-28; and 38-40 comparing these creatures (who die after coupling) to Pyramus and Thisbe, in their fidelity and union in death; and the echo of the Song of Songs in the “no spotte” of p. 28. Moffet’s text ends with assurances to his English audience that “Keeping of silke-wormes hindreth not the keeping of sheepe nor Sheepheards” and a strong “yarne” is made by carding “an ounce of silke with ten of wooll.” See also below.

reno, a man of swartish hue,” “More, vide Moro, a blacke Moore,” “Moro ... a blacke Moore of Barberie, or a Neager that followeth the Turkish religion,” and the reminder that Spanish “Mora” meant both “Mulberry” and “a woman black-Moore.”

The mulberry or “more-tree” linking “Moor,” “Ethiope,” and “Inde” figured in still other ways in relation to “dark” women in particular. We have already noted the traditional association of the mulberry with a taint or stain as well as with blood, familiar not only from Ovid but from a range of classical and biblical texts.⁹⁶ The comparison of a woman to a ripe “mulberry” was already established in an epigraph of Martial (*nigrior est cadente moro*: “blacker than a falling mulberry”), associating her sexuality with the “falling” mulberry and with blackness. Martial’s text is both echoed and rewritten in the “blackberry, no Mulberry” and “winter Cherry” (or “morel”) of Edward Guilpin’s “Of Nigrina. 57” (1598), from a period in which (as Kim F. Hall has argued) literary, aesthetic, and theological contrasting of “fair” and “dark,” white and black, was influenced by increasing contact with Africa, India, and the New World.⁹⁷ The “Ethiope” to be washed white (in the tradition that linked the *mora* or dark fruit of the mulberry with the blackness of sin) was joined by the “black” bride of the Song of Songs, conflated by the moralizing tradition with Ovid’s Babylonian Thisbe (“I am blacke, O daughters of Jerusalem, but comelie, as the frutes of Kedar, as the curtines of Salomon. Regarde ye me not because I am blacke: for the sunne hathe looked upon me,” lines also echoed by Shakespeare’s Cleopatra: “Think on me, / That I am with Phoebus’ amorous pinches black”).¹⁰⁰ Abraham Wright’s “To a Black Gentlewoman: Mistress A. H.” reflects the conflation of the “black” bride of the Song of Songs with the “spouse” to be made white in the apocalyptic marriage of Bridegroom and Bride: “Grieve not (faire maid) cause you are black; so’s she / Thats spouse to him who died upon the tree.” The Song of “Solomon” (one of James I’s favorite figures for his reign) had itself an extraordinary impact on both exoticism and colonialism in the period, as well as a complex relationship

96. See *The First Decade*, Book II of Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as “The Decades of the New World” (1555).

97. See Minsheu, under “Murrey, or a Murrey colours,” which also cites its counterpart in “B. Mooreyt, Moorhey”; Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London, 1591), under *Moral* and *Mora*. OED “Murrey” (“ad med. Lat *moratus*, *morata*, f. L. *morum*, mulberry”) defines it as “A colour like the mulberry” and under “murrey colour” cites a 1537 spelling as “murre color.” See also the entries in Florio’s *World of Wordes*, which make clear both the easy shifting between “mor-” and “mur-” and the links with a wider network of terms: “*Morare*, as *Murare*. Also as *Dimorare*”; “*Moratore*, used for *Muratore*”; “*Moratoria*, a dispensation to stay. Also a Mortuarie”; “*Morello*, the colour Murrey, or darke red (Also the name of a Sawyers toole)”; “*Morali*, pieces of timber, or rafters”; “*Moralita*, moralitie, a morall sence”; “*Morale*, morall, pertaining to manners”; “*Moraro*, a blacke or Mulberie tree”; “*Morato*, a blacke colour like a Mulberrie”; “*Moresca*, a Morice, or Antique dance”; “*Moresco*, a Moore. Also a Barbery horse”; “*Moriccio*, a mud-wall, a dry-wall”; “*Morie*, the piles or hemorrhoides”; “*Moricino*, a little Blacke-moore”; “*Moriente*, dying, yeelding the last gaspe”; “*Morione*, a murion, a caske, a head-piece. Also the male Mandragora. Also a kind of blacke transparent stone.”

98. See the references cited above, including Ovid’s Pyramus and Thisbe story, Book 10 of Columella’s *De arboribus* (on the “blood-red juice of mulberries”), and 1 Maccabees 6:34 on the “blood of grapes and mulberries” (“*sanguinem uvae et mori*”).

to Queen Elizabeth, whose “two bodies” made her the subject of comparisons to its Bridegroom as well as its Bride, just as her name linked her with Dido or “Elissa,” queen of the Carthage in Barbary that provided the name of a contemporary Spanish colony.¹⁰¹

This complex linking of the mulberry with both sexuality or *amor* and “dark” women, including the “black” Bride associated with the biblical Sheba, influenced texts that evoke Moors or Moorish women as well as the moralized Ovidian tradition of the *mora* or mulberries turned from white to dark. One of these is the story of Doña Endrina from Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor*, an “Endrina” who bears the name of the “sloe-berry” also legendary for its blackness, linked with *Amor* in Chaucer’s *Romaunt of the Rose* (1928), where the “bachelor” who accompanies Love holds a bow made of wood as “black as berry or ony slo.” Since this “Doña” is from Calatayud, famous for its “gente mora o de moro origen,” one recent critic has linked the blackness associated with her name, the “Mora” that designates the mulberry as well as female Moor, and the moralizing tradition from John of Garland that makes the Ovidian mulberry’s blackness an allegory of *amor* itself.¹⁰² The polarity of “white” and “black” from this episode of Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor* (embedded in a text in which the “chromatic opposition” of white and black is central) would thus involve a subtle rewriting of its source in the *Pamphilus*, where the heroine’s name (“Galathea”) – from *gala* or “milk-white” – is the opposite of the blackness of the Doña Endrina linked with both mulberries and Moors.¹⁰³

I propose to end my examination of this “texture” of associations —if only provisionally— with Shakespeare, who is said to have planted his own mulberry at New Place. Punning on “more” and “Moor” is crucial to *Othello*, *Titus Andronicus*, and the lines on the pregnant female “Moor” associated with “increase” in *The Merchant of Venice* (“the Moor is with child by you. . . . It is much that the Moor should be more than reason: but if she be less than an honest woman, she is indeed more than I took her for”), a homophone that may also

99. See Hall 1995: 90, 272-2 and Edward Guilpin, *Skeiaetheia: Or A shadow of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres* (London, 1598), B5r-v; Martial’s Epigram is translated in the Loeb edition of Martial’s Epigrams (Book I.lxx-lxxii), pp. 74-5, as follows: “so she who is blacker than a falling mulberry, Lycoris, fancies herself when plastered with white lead.”

100. The Geneva Bible version of 1:4-5 is cited here (the Vulgate has *nigra sum, sed formosa*). See *Antony and Cleopatra* 1.5.27-28; Hall, 1995: 66-69, 97, 110; and for more on the Jeremiah verse “Can the blacke More change his skin?” and the proverb “To Wash an Ethiopie White,” Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586) [“Aethiopem Lavare”], Newman 1987: 141-162; Prager 1987; Blakeley 1993: 92-95. On the beginnings of Portuguese and English slavery and coats of arms depicting Moors, see Hall 1995: 19-20; Vilar 1976; Williamson 1927 esp. 113-114. On the colors of the *Song of Songs*, in a study that also cites Pyramus and Thisbe, see Woodbridge 1987.

101. See Abraham Wright, “To a Black Gentlewoman: Mistress A.H.,” in *Parnassus Biceps, or Several Choice Pieces of Poetry* (London, 1656), 128, cited in Hall 1995: 280; on the Song of Songs, Van Noren and Pollack, eds 1985: 55, 64; King 1989: 37, 196, 254-56; and on Solomon, Sheba, and its “black” bride, see inter alia, Hall 1995: 97-112, Felder 32-36; and Kaplan 1985: 41-42. On Cartagena, Dido or “Elissa,” and Elizabeth, see Orgel 1987: 40-66, 58-64; and the introduction to his Oxford World Classics edition of *The Tempest*. See also Lally ed. 1987, 20 (Book I, line 472) on “Dido . . . so faire of hew,” and the “Moores.” This translation also conveys the link between “Moor” and “blunt” or “dull” (from *moros*) in I.5.42 (“Wee Moores be not so base of wit, ne yet so blunt of minde”), on 22 here.

sound in the poetry of another “dark” woman (Sonnet 150: “The more I hear and see just cause of hate”). “More” and the “murmur” spelled “*murmour*” elsewhere in Shakespeare reverberate in Prospero’s threat to Ariel of reversion to his imprisonment by Sycorax of Algiers (“If thou *more murmur’st*, I will rend an oak / And peg thee in his knotty entrails”), lines whose “*Dull thing*” (185)—evoking the familiar charge of the moronic—could apply to Caliban as well as Ariel.¹⁰⁴ The link between *amor* and “Moor” appears in the overtones of “T’amo” as well as of *mora* or dark woman in the name of “Tamora,” paramour of the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*, a play where the Pyramus and Thisbe narrative is evoked both in Lavinia’s “loss of blood, / As from a conduit with three issuing spouts” (II.iv.29-30) and in “So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus / When he by night lay bath’d in maiden blood” (II.iii.231-232), lines that make clear the link with loss of virginity.¹⁰⁵

OED cites the first appearance in English of “morigerous” (from *mores*) in *Timon of Athens*, for Timon’s “morigerous” wife.¹⁰⁶ But the most striking staging of the combinatory potential of the polymorphic “mor-” is the extraordinary foregrounding of the syllable itself in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Two Noble Kinsmen*, in the scene of the “morris” dance, the *moresco* or “wild morisco” (2*H6* 3.1.365) traditionally associated with Moors, Maid Marion and a *Morus* or “Fool”:

Upon this mighty *Morr* – of mickle weight –
Is – now comes in, which being glu’d together
Makes
Morris, and the cause that we came hither.

In this striking scene, the Quarto’s “mighty Morr-” (or Moor) and the syllable “Is” (possibly introduced by two different actors), join, in a potentially visual as well as verbal rebus or pun, to form “Morris,” in a play in which mulberries suggestive of sexuality as well as darkness appear in the song of the Jailer’s Daughter (“Palamon is gone ... to th’wood to gather mulberries”), a figure whose song links her with the “willow” of both Babylonian exile and *Othello*’s “Maid

102. See Dagenais 1992: 396-405, with Beltran 1977: 218-219, on her origin in Calatayud, famous for its “gente mora o de moro origen.” Among other texts, Dagenais (399) quotes from a passage in Alfonso el Sabio’s *General estoria, segunda parte*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten and Victor B. Oelschläger, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 1957-1961) attributed to John of Garland, which discusses the turning of the mulberry of Ovid’s story from white to dark.

103. See Dagenais 1992: 398-399: “An accessus to the Pamphilus itself gives us a medieval reading of the name: “*Pan*, id est totus, *philos*, id est amor, inde Pamphilus quasi totus in amore, *gala*, id est alba, *thea*, id est dea, inde Galathea, quasi alba dea” (“*Pan*, that is ...all, *philos*, that is ...love, thus Pamphilus means ...all in love’ as it were; *gala*, that is ...white, *thea*, that is ...goddess, thus Galathea means ...white goddess’ as it were”). See Huygens 1970: 53. Galathea also appears as milky-white in glosses to the *Morale Scolarium* of John of Garland, Paetow ed. 1927, with Dagenais 1992: 402, 399.

104. See Bartels 1990: 433-454; Kokeritz 1953: 130; and Parker 1996: 363-364. The ambiguity of “dull thing” is noted in Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan’s new Arden edition of *The Tempest* 1999:170 (2.2.294-296).

105. See Prioron “Tamora.” George Herbert’s “Aethiopissa Ambientum Diversi Coloris Virum” (translated as “A Negress Courts Cestus, a Man of a Different Colour”), whose popularity and importance for the tradition of “literary blackface” is discussed in Hall 1995: 116-17, may also link

call'd Barbary," as well as Chaucer's "blackberries" (already suggestive both of sexuality and an infernal blackness), in a play whose "complexions" include the "swarth," "brown," and "nearer ... brown than black."¹⁰⁷

"More" and moralizing are juxtaposed in *The Rape of Lucrece* ("Nor could she *moralise* his wanton sight, / *More* than his eyes were opened to the light"), in lines that call attention to the repeated "mor-," homophone of "moor." The "moral fool" of *Lear* and "motley fool" who "moral[s] on the time" in *As You Like It* conflate the "folly" of the *morus* with the *mores* in "moral" (as well perhaps as motley's checkered black and white), while wordplay on "moral," "more L," and "more-elle" (or the "sign of she") contributes to the dense verbal texture of *Love's Labor's Lost* (4.2.58-61), a play that evokes the spotted or "maculate," "black" beauty, and the school of "night" as well as "Inde."¹⁰⁸ *Mores*, *morosus*, and the "dullness" as well as blackness in *morus* combine in the "moody and dull melancholy" of *The Comedy of Errors* (5.1.79), the play whose kitchen servant (3.2.102) evokes both Whore of Babylon and the "black" bride of the Song of Songs, while *mores* or morals, *maiores* or ancestors and the comparative "more" lurk within the "mores" of *Twelfth Night* ("More, by all the mores, than e'er I shall love wife"), together with what Middleton called "Love's Latin word."¹⁰⁹ *Morosus* or melancholy, "moral," and mortifying pervade the lines of *Much Ado* where the melancholy Don John (invoking the "morose" effects of being "born under Saturn") speaks of applying "a *moral* medicine to a *mortifying* mischief" (I.iii.12), while a later scene of the play links

amor with the color of its "negress" ("Quid mihi si facies nigra est? hoc, Ceste, colore / Sunt etiam tenebrae, quas tamen optat amor"). For *Titus Andronicus* II.iii.231-232, the "Pyramus" of the 1623 Folio as well as the Second and Third Quartos appears as "Priamus" in the First Quarto. "Pyramus" (linked etymologically with "fire" in Moffet) also appears confused/conflated with "pyramid(s)" in *Antony and Cleopatra* 2.7.35 and *IH6* (1.6.21). In addition to the echo of the "conduit" image from Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe story in *Titus* 2.4.29-30, see *Julius Caesar* 2.2.77 ("like a fountain with an hundred spouts"); *Macbeth* 2.3.98 ("the fountain of your blood? Is stopp'd"); the "purple fountain" of *Lucrece* 1737; and "purple fountains issuing from your veins" (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.85). *As You Like It* (4.2.93-120) provides yet another Shakespearean echo of the Pyramus and Thisbe story, in its "lioness" and "bloody napkin," in a scene that earlier treats of "Ethiope words, blacker in their effect / Than in their countenance."

106. See *OED*, "morigerous," citing *Timon* 3.5.53 as the first historical use, and *Rape of Lucrece*, lines 104-105.

107. On the Quarto's "Morr" and "Is," see *Two Noble Kinsmen* (3.5.118-20), cited from the Riverside edition, whose editor Hallett Smith comments: "It has been suggested that the Schoolmaster first holds up a board bearing the syllable Morr (or possibly the figure of a Moor) and then places beside it a second board with the syllable Is." The Quarto text reads: "Vpon this mighty Morr – of mickle waight / Is – now comes in, which being glewd together / Makes Morris, and the cause that we came hether." Lois Potter's recent Arden edition of John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), glosses (p. 238): "Q's spelling, *Morr*, suggests further distortion of pronunciation for the sake of the pun on Morris, which would be unintelligible without some visual equivalent. The dash following both *Morr* and *Is* in Q also indicates some action at this point." She discusses possible stagings in Appendix 5c, p. 359. Eugene Waith Oxford World's Classics edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 150, glosses it as follows: "Morr. . . Is. . . Morris: The Schoolmaster apparently presents a little charade in which the two syllables of 'Morris' are represented, possibly by two of his dancers carrying placards; 'Morr' might be the depiction of a Moor" (See also his Appendix A). Potter p. 264 writes of "Palamon is gone, / Is gone to th' wood to gather mulberries": "Gathering berries seems to have

“moral,” “fool,” and *amor* in a punning exchange on love, including the “moral meaning” of “*benedictus*,” both the name of Benedick and the “*carduus benedictus*” or Holy Thistle with which Beatrice is “prickt.”¹¹⁰

The link between “moors” of various kinds, Death or *Mors*, and the “black oppressing humor” (or black bile) of “sable-colored melancholy” (*Loves Labors Lost* I.i.231-4) – evoked in the “melancholy of moor-ditch” (or Moreditch) in *Henry IV Part I* – may be behind other Shakespearean passages not generally associated with blackness or Moors. The Prince of Morocco in *Merchant* is confronted with a death’s-head (“A carrion Death”), underscoring the association between Africa, Moors, skulls, and death.¹¹¹ Dover Wilson saw “blackamoor” in Hamlet’s taunt to his mother in the Closet Scene (“Have you eyes? / Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed, / And batten on this *moor*?”), a perception strengthened not only by the “Moore” of the Second Quarto and Folio or the corresponding First Quarto text in which this husband has a blackened face like “Vulcan” but also by the traditional association of Moors and marshlands or moors already

been synonymous with truancy. Chaucer’s Pardoner says that he does not care whether the souls of his parishioners ...goon a-blakeberied’ once they are dead (*Pardoner’s Prologue*, 406),” an association that also links blackberries (and mulberries) with the world of death (and possibly the infernal). In its context – as well as against the background of the associations we have traced – gathering “mulberries” in the woods (where, in addition, Pyramus and Thisbe meet) also suggests sexuality and the loss of virginity. This passage of the play goes on to “black-eyed maids” (line 72) and the “Willow” song that links its singer with Dido and Desdemona, as well as the “willows” of Babylonian exile (familiar from Psalm 137, also cited by Potter, p. 264). For “swarth,” “brown,” and a “complexion / Nearer a brown than black” see *Two Noble Kinsmen* 4.2.27; 4.2.42-44 (on Palamon’s “brown manly face” compared to the “gipsy” or “changeling” Arcite, in a passage which personifies Love: “O Love, this only / From this hour is complexion,” IV.ii.42-43); IV.ii.78-79. According to the *OED*, “moresco” (counterpart of Italian *moresco* and Spanish *morisco*) could designate “Moorish” or “of or pertaining to the Moors” (as in Holinshed’s *Chronicles* III.805/1: “like Moreskoes, their faces blacke”); “the Moorish language”; “an Italian dance to which the English morris dance is related” (as in 1625 *PURCHAS Pilgrims* II.vii.iv.1020: “According to the sound they dance and moue their feet, as it were in a Moresco”). *OED* cites under “Morisco” the meanings of “Moorish” or pertaining to Moors (including 1605: *Relat. Journ.* Earl Nottingham 27: “Diuers Gypsies (as they termed them) men and women, dauncing and tumbling much after the Morisco fashion”; “alla Morisco” as “in the Moorish fashion” (as in 1592 GREENE 2nd Pt. *Mamillia* (1593) H 1b, “scarphes worne Alla Morisco”; “A Moor” and “Morisco’s head” as “Moor’s-Head” in Heraldry (as in a. 1550 in Baring-Gould & Twigg W. *Armory* (1898) 8: “3 moriscoes heads of the 2nd.”

108. See *The Rape of Lucrece* 104-105; *King Lear* 4.1.58; *As You Like It* (2.7.29); *Lear* 4.2.37 (“No more, the text is foolish”); Robert Armin’s *Nest of Ninnies* (1608); *Love’s Labor’s Lost* (1.2.83) on the “maculate” (literally “spotted,” opposite of the “immaculate” Virgin) Jacquenetta, linked with cosmetics or “painting” and 4.3.250ff (starting from the “paradox” of “black” beauty” in “Black is the badge of hell, / The hue of dungeons, and the school of night . . .”). Masten 1997: 60, also notes that “One of the play’s subplots, Gerrold’s morris dance, is built around the antimasque to Francis Beaumont’s *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn*, performed at court to celebrate the marriage of James’s daughter Elizabeth in 1613.”

109. *Twelfth Night* 5.1.136. English “mores” for Latin “majores / maiores, elders, ancestors” appears in the 1387-8 and 1398 citations of *OED* “more” in the sense of “L majores, elders, ancestors.” For the biblical echoes surrounding the “swart,” unwashed and “greasy” would-be bride of Dromio in *The Comedy of Errors* (in lines whose reference to Noah’s flood also ironically evoke a familiar type of baptism), see Parker: 66-68. For “swart” elsewhere in Shakespeare, see also the “swart cimmerian” of *Titus* (2.3.72), “lame, foolish, crooked, swart, prodigious” (*King John* 3.1.46), “black and swart” in *1H6*

familiar from More's seal. Far from being a mere "quibble," this overdetermined "Moore" (in a scene that calls attention to the "black and grained spots" of this maculate Queen, whose counterpart in the *Mousetrap* is named "Baptista") is part of a play preoccupied with blackness, including the "sable" of mourning, melancholia, and death.¹¹² The King here called a "Moore" despairs of his "bosome black as death" ("Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens / To wash it white as snow?"), in lines that evoke the baptismal washing that would make the Morian or "Ethiope" white, a juxtaposition even clearer in the text of Q1 ("Why say thy sinnes were blacker then is ieat, / Yet may contrition make them white as snow"), where the *Mousetrap*'s murder takes place not in Vienna but "guyana."¹¹³ In a play filled with sullyng, tainting, spotting and blackening, reminders of blackness itself as linked to the "sun" sound in Hamlet's punning "too much i' th' Sun" (Q2 "sonne") and in the advice that Ophelia not walk in the sun, lines that convey the threat of a sexuality "blackened" as Desdemona's will also be. As the play draws toward the multiple deaths of its own end, "Lamord" ("Upon my life Lamord"), the enigmatic "Norman" or "french man" of the scene in which the King and Laertes devise the plot "mortall" to Hamlet – suggests simultaneously Death or *Mors*, a personified *memento mori*, the *amor* (or L'amor) sounding in French "l'amour" as well as "la mort" (combined in a "consummation devoutly to be wished") and the blackness of this personified "Mor," syllable of darkness and presage of the Death to come.¹¹⁴

"That black word death" —the *mors* long linked with blackness and *amor* in the traditions we have traced— is explicitly evoked in *Romeo and Juliet* (3.3..27), the play closest to the Pyramus and Thisbe story of love and death, which repeatedly recalls its Ovidian source (starting from the warring families' "purple fountains issuing from your veins," 1.1.85), in a plot that depends, like Ovid's, on the tragic intervention of *mora* or delay. Violently evoking both city walls and the "walls" of "maids," it is filled with reminders of the "bridegroom" of the Apocalypse ("when the bridegroom in the morning comes / To rouse thee from thy bed,"

1.2.84; the "swart-complexion'd night" of Sonnet 28 (11); *Twelfth Night* 2.3.150; the "swarthy ethiope" of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2.6.26).

110. See *Much Ado about Nothing* 3.4.57-59 on the "moral" in "benedictus." For the play on "morall" and the phallic-shaped "more!" here, see Ellis (1973): 164-165.

111. Gillies notes the link between this death's head confronting Shakespeare's Morocco and the maps in which "Africans seem to be interchangeable with skulls" (1994: 61). See *Merchant of Venice* 2.7.63 ("carrion Death") and 2.1.38 ("die with grieving"); *1Henry IV* 1.2.78 for the "melancholy of moor-ditch" and 3.3.31 ("a death's head or a memento mori"); *Comedy of Errors* 5.1.79: "moody and dull melancholy"; and "the melancholy Jacques" of *As You Like It* (eg. 2.1.26), which underscores the traditional link between melancholy and black bile. *OED* also cites the chemical sense of "mortify" (as in 1601 HOLLAND *Pliny* 1.257: "Clodius . . . to know what tast pearles had, mortified them in vinegre, and drunke them up").

112. Dover Wilson, ed., 1936: 213. See Bertram Kliman 1991: 166-169. The Folio's "black and grained spots" – which recalls the familiar passage on the "spots" of the black Moor or "More" from Jeremiah 13:23 – appears in Q2 as "greeued" (suggesting the blackness of mourning).

4.1..107-8; “Make haste, the bridegroom he is come already,” 4.4.27), while its plot of “death-mark’d love” (Prol. 9) is framed by the “grove of sycamore” (Folio, “Sycamour”) in which the love-sick Romeo is first introduced (1.1.121) and the resonant sounding of both “black” words in the final scene (“Shall I believe / That unsubstantial *death* is *amorous*, / And that the lean abhorred monster keeps / Thee here in dark to be his *paramour*?,” 5.3.102-105).¹¹⁵

This network pervades *Otello*, another tragedy of forbidden, death-marked love, its “spotted” handkerchief both evocative of lost virginity and counterpart of Thisbe’s kerchief, stained (as in *Titus Andronicus*) with “maiden” blood. *Otello the Moor of Venice*, set in the Venice and Cyprus associated with Amor as well as Venus, presents a tragedy both of blackness and of one who “loved not wisely but too well,” a linking of Amor and Moor that sounds within this echo-chamber of a play, in Desdemona’s “I did love the Moor to live with him” (I.iii.248) or Iago’s cynical “It cannot be long that Desdemona should continue her love to the Moor” (I.iii.342-3). Evocations of blackness – starting from the general described

113. See Bertram and Kliman eds 1991: 160-161, 146-147. I have discussed Q1’s “*gyyana*” (and the wordplay on “tropically / trapically” in the three texts) in an essay forthcoming in Peter Stallybrass ed. *Material Cultures* entitled “Murder in Guyana,” which also relates this variant to the “Guiana” of *Merry Wives of Windsor* (“She is a Region in *Guiana*: all gold, and bountie: I will be Cheaters to them both, and they shall be Exchequers to mee: they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both”), the controversy over Raleigh’s *Discoverie* [Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904; rpt. New York, 1969), vol. 10] and death itself described as an “undiscovered country” (Q1) in all three of the early texts of the otherwise radically divergent “To be or not to be” soliloquy. “More” in the period could be linked with “moors” in the sense of fens or marshlands or as a synonym for “desert” or “wasteland.” See 1977: 543: “How much ‘moor’ there was about London is recorded in words such as Moorfields, Moorgate, Moreditch, Moorlane. . . . In the under-populated England of the middle ages, those reedy heaths were allowed to lie waste, which no doubt enabled a Richard Rolle to extend the word to the arid wildernesses of Palestine: ‘He brake the stane in the more’ is his rendering of ‘interruptit petram in heremo.’ [669n.23] ‘Rolle adds: ‘in the more . . . that is as a desert forsaken of god’ (*The Psalter of David*, ed. H. R. Bramley. Oxford. 1884, p. 279)]. The marshes across the Channel, some of them already reclaimed as polders for the needs of a dense population, were also called much as in English, despite the spelling *moer*: the Latinized forms *mora*, *morus* can be found in Flemish deeds and cartularies. A *moer* was overseen by a *moermeister*.” [669, n. 24: “*Mora* is defined as ‘muccosa et humida planities’; *morosus* is used as a synonym of *paludosus*. The Latin name of *Morini* for Picardy is commonly linked with Flemish *moer*. English *morass* certainly derives from Dutch *moeras*”. See also Melchiori’s comment 137 on the lines of Sir Thomas More where Falkner says “More had been better a’ scoured Moorditch than a . . . notched me thus” (3.1.253). The gloss on this line is “The cleansing of the obnoxious ditch or open sewer in Moorfields (2.1.43 above) was a recurrent problem for City authorities. See Stow, *Survey*, 1598, pp. 17-18, and 1603, pp. 19-21, complaining of the ineffectual scouring of 1595. It became proverbial for wasted Herculean labour. The relevance of this reference, punning on More’s name, to the dating of the Addition is discussed in Melchiori, ‘Master of Revels’.” See also the reference to “the bubbling of Moore-ditch” in Nashe’s *Lenten Stuffe* in McKerrow ed. 1958: 1958: III, 212.] See also Harington’s *Metamorphosis of Ajax*.

114. “Vppon my life *Lamord*” is the text of Q2. See Bertram and Kliman 1991: 216-221, and Ferguson (1985): 301-304. Ferguson comments on the Folio’s alternate spelling “Lamound,” followed by Pope (“Lamond”), and Malone’s gloss linking this “brooch and gem of all the nation” to “Lamode” or “fashion.” I would add to Ferguson’s hearing of this “Norman” in the “no man” of the Gravediggers’ Scene the curious earlier variants in which Q2 has “nor the gate of Christian, Pagan, nor man” while the Folio has “nor the gate of Christian, Pagan, or Norman” (Bertram and Kliman 1991: 132-133).

simply as “the Moor” (as in Cinthio’s anonymous “Il Moro”) or (contemptuously) “his Moorship” in the opening scene – summon the range of associations with sexuality and with “devils” who will “the blackest sins put on” (I.ii.351), including the excess of “Moor” or “More” evoked in the “lascivious Moor” (I.i.126) and “lusty Moor” (II.i.295) of Iago’s racialized rhetoric, the figure whose Iberian name recalls the legendary enemy of Moors. “Dull Moor” (5.2.224), the taunt levelled by Emilia at the outsider duped by her husband, resonates with the foolish, moronic, or “dull” already associated with both “Moor” and “More.”¹¹⁶ Even Iago’s rebuke to Cassio (“come, you are too severe a *moraler*”), when he berates himself for “*devil* drunkenness” and “*devil* wrath” (2.3.296-99), echoes the sounds of “mor-” or “moor” pervading a tragedy that depends on the insinuations of words themselves.¹¹⁷

The association of the mulberry with the “strawberry” in Pliny and other texts is fascinating for *Othello*, where the counterpart to the Ovidian story’s bloody kerchief or veil (evocative of loss of virginity and its bloody stain) is the handkerchief spotted with strawberries, described as embroidered *alla moresca* (or “Moorish wise”) in its Italian source. The “Moro” of Cinthio’s narrative (like Cristoforo Moro, the Venetian doge whose insignia was spotted with mulberries) already meant both “mulberry” and “Moor,” as we have seen. Shakespeare’s tragedy of Moor and white Venetian daughter repeatedly echoes the Ovidian story of tragic love and death, while its colors recall the mulberry’s emblematic blackening and stain – in the “white” evoked in the “fair” Desdemona (or ironically the naming of “Bianca”), the “red” of the spotted handkerchief, and the black of both “Moor” and the “*Desdemon*” whose “white” is progressively blackened as the play proceeds. Her sexual “wit” or whiteness is the subject of the scene of waiting on Cyprus (spelled in the Quarto “Cypres” or “Cypresse”), a scene long dismissed by critics as mere filler but one that introduces the intersection of whiteness, blackness, and foolishness or folly (2.1.131-140) that reverberates within the entire play.¹¹⁸ Othello’s “Strumpet I come. / ... Thy bed, lust-stain’d, shall with lust’s blood be spotted” (5.1.42-44) summons the “immaculate” or unspotted Bride of the Song of Songs as well as the “whore” of the Apocalypse, the final “accommpt” invoked as the tragedy reaches its “bloody period” (5.2.356), the multiple deaths upon Desdemona’s “wedding sheets” (4.1.105). Even the handkerchief (“her first re-

115. The Bridegroom whose coming will put an end to delay is the burden of Matthew 24-25 as well as of the Book of Revelation, which ends with the promise to “come quickly.” On love-sickness, see inter alia Mary Wack. The multiple echoes of Ovid’s Pyramus and Thisbe narrative in *Romeo and Juliet* – in addition to its repeated references to delay and “walls” – include the image of the “conduit” in 3.5.129 as well as the direct allusion to “Thisby” (along with Dido, Cleopatra and others) in 2.4.42.

116. On “dull Moor” and the linking of blackness with death as well as *morus* (Greek *moros*) or “fool,” see Neill 1997: 146. As noted above, Phaer’s translation of the *Aeneid* also depends on the link between “Moor” and the “dull” or “blunt” from *morus/moros* in 1.542 (“Wee Moores be not so base of wit, ne yet so blunt of minde”), on p. 22.

117. This is the only instance of the term “moraler” cited by the *OED* (which defines it as “moralizer”), perhaps another sign (like “morigerous” and the “Morr” of *Two Noble Kinsmen*) that Shakespeare was attuned to “mor-”

membrane from the Moor," III.iii.291) whose spots suggest a consummation that remains "unseen" – described by Othello as a love-charm given by an "Egyptian ... charmer" to the "mother" who "dying gave it me" (3.2.55ff.) – is linked explicitly, though this is rarely noticed, with the mulberry ("The worms were hallowed that did breed the silk," 3.2.73), making this spotted "napkin," embroidered *alla moresca* in Cinthio's narrative of the Venetian "Moro," the handiwork of the silkworms that feed on the mulberry or "moor" tree.¹¹⁹

This "more / moor tree" was, as we have seen, routinely conflated with the sycamore, associated with both Cyprus and Egypt. It is fitting, then, that the "sycamore" linked with the "death-marked love" of *Romeo and Juliet* appears in *Othello* in the song of the "willow" associated with exile in Babylon, with "forlorn paramours," and with Dido of Carthage ("In such a night / Stood Dido with a willow in her hand / Upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love / To come again to Carthage"), evoked in *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.9-12), together with the "night" of Pyramus and Thisbe (5.1.6-9), for the forbidden love of Lorenzo and the daughter of Shylock the Jew. For this song, coming after Iago's claim that "fair" Desdemona will be taken into "Mauritania" unless Othello's "abode be linger'd here" (4.2.224-226), is part of the "murmuring" of a "maid call'd Barbary" who was "in love" and "died singing it" (4.3.26-28), in lines whose "sycamore" (Folio "Sicamour") resonates with the sound of sick "amour," of more or Moor, and the "black word" death itself, from the rich homophony that associated this *sicut morus* with the *maurus* or "more" tree ("the poor soul sat sighing by a *sycamore* tree... / "The fresh streams ran by her, and *murmur'd* her moans," 4.3.40-45).¹²⁰ *Othello the Moore of Venice* summons this wealth of associations largely lost to our awareness, including even the "myrrh" of another story of forbidden *amor* located in Cyprus: the "Arabian" tree of the final speech of this Moor ("one whose subdu'd eyes, / Albeit unused to the melting mood, / Drops tears as fast as the Arabian trees / Their medicinable gum" (5.2.348-350), which, moving from "Indian" (or "Iudean") to "Arabian" to "turban'd Turk," ends in the "bloody period" of his suicide.¹²¹

There are many other directions we could take this network within Shakes-

118. On the echoes of the forbidden love and death of Ovid's Babylonian lovers in *Othello*, see Holloway, who also remarks on the colors of the play on p. 129. The spelling of "Cyprus" as "cypres(sse)" – as attested by the entries in the *OED* – was not uncommon; it thus associated Cyprus with the tree also associated with death, blackness, and mourning (as well as yet another Ovidian story).

119. This link between the spotted handkerchief and the silk-cultivation already associated with exoticism and its lexicon of color terms (as in Moffet's text) has received almost no editorial attention. It is not mentioned at all in the Arden 2, New Cambridge, or Oxford World Classics editions of the play. E. A. J. Honigmann, in his recent Arden 3 edition of *Othello* (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), glosses "worms" with "T. Moffet's *The Silkwormes* was published in 1599. A matter of topical interest?," at least opening the possibility of discussion of this link. See also other Shakespearean allusions to silk, including *Coriolanus* 1.9.45 ("when steel grows soft as the parasite's silk") and 5.6.95 ("resolution like / A twist of rotten silk"), *Much Ado* 5.1.25 ("silken thread"), *Lear* 3.4.73 ("thou ow'st the worm no silk"), *Pericles* 4.ch.21 ("weav'd the sleided silk"), 5.ch.8 ("her inkle, silk. / Twin with the rubied cherry"), and 3.2.41 ("silken bags"), *Romeo and Juliet* ("and with a silken thread plucks it back again") and 2.4.23 ("the very butcher of a silk button"), and *2Henry IV* ("master smooth's the silk-man"). *Love's Labor's Lost* 4.3.151-152 ("reprove / These worms for loving, that art most in love") may also evoke the famously "loving" silkworms.

peare, including the “mulberries and ripe-red cherries” of *Venus and Adonis* (1103) or the “ripest mulberry” of *Coriolanus* (3.2.79-80: “humble as the ripest mulberry / That will not hold the handling”), traditionally glossed by Erasmus’s “Maturior moro,” the adage that accompanied Alciati’s mulberry emblem.¹²² But I propose to end with *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, already long linked with Erasmus’s *Encomium Moriae* and the “wise fool” of Corinthians, the text that Bottom echoes on awakening from his dream. *Amor*, “amorous,” and “enamored” sound throughout this play of “paramours,” in a plot whose love juice—generated by *Amor* himself: (“Flower of this purple dye,/ Hit with Cupid’s archery,” 3.2.102-103)—yields both Titania “enamored of an ass” or fool and Puck’s “Lord, what fools these mortals be” (3.2.115). The play’s exploitation of the longstanding links of the Pyramus and Thisbe story with *amor*, folly, and delay repeatedly calls up the network we have traced, including Thisbe’s “tarrying in mulberry shade” (5.1.148), invoking the punning Ovidian *mora* already linking mulberries and tarrying in a plot that itself takes place within the four-day interval of delay before the consummation that Theseus so devoutly wishes (1.1.1-1-6). Even the fact that mulberries (“purple grapes, green figs, and mulberries,” 3.1.167) are fed to the metamorphosed Bottom—the play’s own *Morus* or wise “fool”—links this other familiar emblem of the wisdom in apparent folly with the ripeness that was a sign both of midsummer and of a wise delay (in Barnabe Googe’s assurance, for example, that when the “Mulberie begin[s] to spring, you may bee sure that winter is at an ende” or Moffet’s references to “Aprils wane when buds the mulb’ry slow” and the “Mulberry most wise,/ That never breedes till winter wholly dies”).¹²³ “Bottom”—the *morus* or fool who substitutes for the “changeling” Indian boy as a consequence of the love-juice generated by *Amor* or “Cupid”—evokes the artisanal “bottom” or bobbin that was also called a “clew” (linking this artisan-weaver with the labyrinth threaded by Theseus, with the help of the Ariadne he later abandoned). But he also evokes the “bottoms” of silk produced by the silkworms that feed

120. Holland’s translation of Pliny, Vol II, Book XXIII, Chapter VII (p. 168): “In Egypt and Cypres both, there groweth the Sycomore, which is a kind by it selfe between a fig tree and a mulberry tree . . . This juice issuing out of them, is a singular defensative against the poison of Serpents: a wholesome medicine for the bloody flix; and a notable carminative to discusse and resolve pushes, biles, and al impostumations. It soudereth and healeth up wounds, it allaieth head-ach, and assuageth the wens or pains of the ears.” The New Cambridge editor of *The Merchant of Venice* notes (154) that the “willow” associated there with the abandoned Dido recalls “Chaucer’s Tale of Ariadne,” abandoned by Theseus (*Legend*, 2164). Oxford World Classics editor Jay Halio, writes (212): “Dido was the queen of Carthage whom Aeneas loved and then abandoned (see Virgil’s Aeneid and Ovid’s Heroides, from which Chaucer drew his story in Legend 924-1367). Details here derive, however, from the story of Ariadne, Legend 2185-205 (Malone).”

121. On Myrrha and these lines at the end of *Orbello* (also frequently missed in editions of the play), see Bate 1993: 53-56, 187-188. The Ovidian Myrrha metamorphosed into a weeping myrrh tree—as noted above—would be well-known to Shakespeare, since she was the mother of Adonis; the story of Venus and Adonis immediately follows the story of Myrrha’s forbidden love and metamorphosis in Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*, a book filled (as Bate observes) with stories of repacious female sexuality. Myrrha is evoked in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (lines 203-204).

122. See the glosses to *Coriolanus* 3.2.81-82, in Philip Brockbank’s Arden 2 edition (London: Methuen, 1976), p. 223 and R. B. Parker’s Oxford World’s Classics edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) p. 271; both following the lead of R.H. Case. Fripp (II, 709) also

on the mulberry, described in the text of Moffet that both retells the story of Pyramus and Thisbe and attempts to assuage the fears of English weavers before the foreignness of sericulture (transmitted from “East India”), assuring them that “weavers” can “thrive / Uppon this trade” and that if they “carde an ounce of silke with ten of wool” they will see their “feare” to “ioy and vantage turnd.”¹²⁴ Silk itself appears in the artisan-Thisby’s “shore / With shears his thread of silk” (5.1.340-341), in her dying speech on the Fates (or “Sisters Three”) who, like the narrators of the Ovidian tale itself, are weavers.

The name of “Bottom” also famously recalls the “bottome of Goddes secretes” from the Corinthians passage on the “wise fool” that he cites and scrambles on awakening from his dream (4.1.211-214) —after the metamorphosis and upward “translation” of this so-called “rude mechanical,” temporary consort to the Fairy Queen.¹²⁵ The play is filled with such scriptural echoes (oxymoronically mingling comic and serious), including the “Mustardseed” that evokes the faith that moves mulberries as well as mountains (from the tradition of Luke 17 long linking mulberries with the wisdom of the apparent fool), the wall of “partition” evoked by the artisan-players’ “Wall,” the joiner Snug’s meekly roaring “lion” and Puck’s more ominous “Now the hungry lion roars” (5.1.371), recalling the familiar passage to which the Geneva Bible gives “roaring lion” as a running head, sign of the time of delay before Apocalypse (the Second Coming of a different Pyramus).¹²⁶ In a plot that mirrors the corresponding delay from the Ovidian story of *amor, mora*, and the murmuring (*murmur*) of lovers through an intervening

cites the contemporary planting of mulberries for silk cultivation. See also the allusions to silk in *Coriolanus* 1.9.45 (“when steel grows soft as the parasite’s silk”) and 5.6.95 (“resolution like / A twist of rotten silk”). For the alleged bearing of James’ 1609 proclamation mandating mulberry cultivation on the date of this play (suggested as early as Malone), see Brockbank’s Arden edition, p. 25: “A more bizarre attempt (first made by Malone) to derive a date from a metaphor appeals from III. ii.79, ‘Now humble as the ripest mulberry’, to the royal proclamation encouraging the growth of mulberries, issued on 19 January 1609. Shakespeare’s earlier mulberries, however, in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (III.i.153) and *Venus and Adonis* (1103), make it unlikely that he was subliminally assisting the king to promote the culture of silkworms.” As I argue with regard to Moffet’s *Silkenormes* (now rejected as a “source” of the *Dream*), what appears to matter is the general cultural (as well as textual or other) context rather than a specific one-to-one relationship between a particular line and an event or “source.” For “spintries” and the mulberry garden at St. James, see also Gordon Williams’ three-volume *Dictionary*, which cites under “spintry,” Walker’s *Compleat History* (1649) II.2578 on the “New-erected *Sodomies* and *Spintries* at the Mulbury-garden at St. James.”

123. See Barnabe Googe’s *Heresbach’s Husb.* II. (1586) 92; and Moffet, *Silkenormes*, 19 and 51 with the marginal note on 23: “The Mulbery is called the wisest tree, because it never buddeth till all danger of cold be gone,” glossing its reference to the silkworms devouring “the leaves of tree most wise.” Including mulberries among the fruit fed to “Bottom” may also evoke other properties of the mulberry familiar from Pliny, including that they can “swell in the stomach and be very flatuous.” See Book XXIII.7 (with Holland II, 168), which also mentions that the mulberry’s “leaves” if boiled with the “barke of the blacke fig-tree and the vine, do make a lavature or water to colour the hair [blacke].” I, 449 records that “Mulberries, Cherries, and Corneils have a sanguine and bloudie liquor,” one of many ways (and texts) in which mulberries and cherries (another fruit evoked centrally in the play) were also connected. “Dewberries” in the lines of the *Dream* immediately before “mulberries” are frequently glossed as blackberries, though Harold F. Brooks’ Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (London: Routledge, 1979) considers (61) Halliwell’s suggestion of “dwarf mulberry.”

wall, Theseus' invocation of the temporal interlude that separates him from the consummation of his marriage and the plot of young lovers in the woods outside Athenian walls are joined by the scenes of the artisans (including "Wall" himself) that repeatedly echo as well as burlesque the "moralized" tradition already linking the Ovidian lovers (separated by a wall or partition) with the lovers of the Song of Songs (or "Ballet of Ballets," Bottom's term).¹²⁷ The "marriage" typology of death, absence, and resurrection (the passion or *amor* associated with love's customary "cross") is itself mimicked in the wooing of "Thisby" by the Pyramus /Bottom who after an interval of absence is to "come again" (3.1.92) and who rises comically from the dead (in mummers' fashion) at the end of the play, once the separating "wall" is "down" (5.1.351).¹²⁸

Even the notorious textual crux associated with this intervening "Wall" may be illuminated by this network, which already links murals or walls with an interposed delay. Editors since Pope have amended the Folio's "Now is the morall downe" (when the artisans' "Wall" finally departs) to "mural," some rejecting the Folio's "morall" as simply "nonsense."¹²⁹ But others (including the Variorum and original Arden editor) have speculated that this puzzling "morall" might involve instead a "pun now lost."¹³⁰ Given the emphasis on "moral" meaning (or a "good morall" 5.1.120) earlier in this same scene, the meaning of "morall" as a dramatic "Interlude" (as in Cotgrave on the "Morall" from *mores* that included both "morall sense, or subiect" and "an Enterlude or Play of manners"), the lines that surround the Folio's "morall" with the transformation of "Ninus" into a "ninny" or fool and

124. See Moffet, *Silkenormes*, 69-70 together with its final stanzas.

125. 1 Corinthians 2:9-10. Geneva (1560) has "the deepe thinges of God." These and other passages on the wisdom of the fool, the foolishness of the cross, and the foolishness of the apparently wise – including of rulers of this world and the wisdom of the Greeks (important for Athenian ruler Theseus and his signature speech on "cool reason" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) – also contrast the wisdom of the apparent "fool" with the eloquence of rhetoricians and the learned. The Geneva (1560) marginal gloss to 1 Corinthians 1:17 (on the "wisdom of wordes") is "As rhetoricke, or art oratorie" and "When men shulde attribute that unto eloquence, which onely belonged to the power of God." The marginal Geneva gloss to 1 Corinthians 1:20 (on "disputer of this world") reads: "Paul reprocheth euen the best learned." Contrasted to the learned and eloquent are what the Geneva 1560 translation calls "things which are not" (1 Cor. 1:28), glossed as those who "are in mans iudgement almost nothing, but taken for abiects & castawaies." Paul is also repeatedly associated with manual labor (in entries in the "Second Table" at the back, the Geneva 1560 Bible reminds its readers: "Paul, the minister of the gentiles . . . laboreth with his hands. act. 18, 3 & 20, 34.1.thess.2.9.thes.3.8.1. Cor. 4.12. he was a tent maker, act. 18.3"). See, for example, 1 Corinthians 4:12 ("labour, working with our owne hands"); Acts 18 which is headed in the Geneva translation: "Paul laboreth with his hands, and preacheth at Corinthus"; 2 Thess. 2:9 and 3:8.

126. The story of Balaam's speaking ass from Numbers 23 (another biblical story of the wisdom of the lowly) is also recalled in 5.1.152-154 ("*Thes.* I wonder if the lion be to speak. / *Dem.* No wonder, my lord; one lion may, when many asses do"). Balaam's vision in Numbers 24: 16 may also be echoed in Bottom's words on his "rare vision" on awakening from his dream but the clearest biblical echo in that passage (in addition to 1 Corinthians 2:9) is Paul's description of his *raptus* to the highest "heaven" in 2 Corinthians 12, which includes inability to put his vision into words (Geneva 1560 version of 2 Cor. 12:4: "he was taken up into Paradise, & heard wordes which can not be spooken, which are not possible for man to utter"). For the "lion" who "walketh about" in the period before the Second Coming, see the Geneva (1560) Bible, where "The roaring lyon" appears at the top of the page for the text of 1 Peter 5:8 ("Be sober and watch, for your adversarie the devil as a roaring lyon walketh about, seking whome he may deuoure"). See also the "Lion of the tribe of iuda. revelat.5,5"

Thisbe's "I come without *delay*" (echoing the final apocalyptic union of Bridegroom and Bride), and the fact that when this "wall" is finally "down" the "morall" will give way to the anagogical, there may be in this departing "morall" (already pronounced "moorall" in the familiar shift between "mor-" and "mur-") precisely the punning on "moral" and "mural" that the Arden editor of *Timon of Athens* hears in the "moral paintings" of that play, summoning both "paintings pointing a *moral*" and allegorical hangings on a "*wall*."¹³¹ The lines themselves teem with the very puns already at work in the Ovidian story, its long-standing "moralizing" and its rich combination with other traditions— including the *moros* or "ninny" and *mora* or delay already associated with the mulberry, in Thisbe's "tarrying in mulberry shade." There may thus be no need to amend the Folio's notorious "morall" to Pope's "mural" (producing what Randall McLeod calls Shakespeare "Poped"), since the "morall downe" of these densely punning lines already suggests both

cited in the index at the back of the 1560 edition. Verse 13 of this same chapter of 1 Peter refers to the "Church" at "Babylon" (with the marginal gloss: "which was a famous cite in Assyria where Peter then was the Apostle of the circumcison"). The Bishops (1585) translation has "Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil, as a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." To bring biblical "walls" (and their removal at a marriage in which there is finally no *mora* or delay) to bear on the "Wall" of the Pyramus and Thisbe play of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is justified not just by the echoes of Apocalypse as this play approaches its end, looking forward to a final "day," but also by these long-acknowledged biblical echoes elsewhere in this play. The "partition" wall of Ephesians 2:14-15 (which must be down before the two can be made one) is also evoked by the Wall of the artisans' play, called a "partition" (V.i.166) by Demetrius, in lines that also evoke the partition of discourse (from the learned tradition of rhetoric and eloquence in tension with a lowlier inability to master the art of words by the paradoxically wiser "fool" of 1 Corinthians 1 and 2 and 1 Corinthians 12, the passages echoed by Bottom on awakening from his dream).

127. The rehearsal scene and final staging of the artisans' play comically echoes the Song of Song's "love" and "dove," white "lily" and red "rose," odorous "smells," and "let me see thy countenance, and heare thy voyce" in their "Dove" and "Love," "red rose," "Lilly white of hue," "Lilly lips" and "cherry nose," "odious (for "odorous") savors sweete," and the malaproping "I see a voyce" and "I can heare my Thisbie's face." As noted above, the Song of Songs appears for example in Taverner's English Bible of 1539 as "The Ballet of Balletes of Salomon: Called in Latyne, *Canticum Canticorum*," where it is allegorized in the heading to the whole as "A mysticall device of the spirituall and godly love betwene Chryste the spouse, and the churche or congregacion his spousesse"; in the Coverdale (1550) Bible as "Salomons Ballettes, called Cantica Canticorum"; and in the Bishops Bible of 1568 as "The Ballet of Balletes of Solomon, called in Latin, *Canticum Canticorum*," introduced as "The familier talke and mysticall communication of the spirituall love between Jesus Christ and his Churche."

128. The traditional blending of Ovidian and biblical is evoked in the scene in which the artisan-players rehearse their play in the woods. In the tradition of Ovid "moralized," Pyramus is the "lovely" Bridegroom of Apocalypse and the Song of Songs (as well as the *iuventus* of Ovid's text); while Thisbe is the Spouse separated from her beloved behind a "wall," in the period of absence before he "comes again." In this familiar allegory (basis of the plot of Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the contemporary text that shares its Faeryland with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), Thisbe is also the *betrotted* Bride who, in the period of *mora* or delay, wanders in search of her intended. The artisans' rehearsal of their play of Pyramus and Thisbe evokes hilarious comic echoes of this moralizing tradition, as "Pyramus" is separated from his "Thisby" but promises (like Christ) to "come again":

Pir. . . . stay thou but here a while,
And by and by I will to thee appeare. [*Exit. Pir.*]
Puck. A stranger Piramus, then e'er plaid here.
This. Must I speake now?
Pet. Ay, marry, must you. For you must understand he goes but to

mores or morals and *murus* or Wall, at the moment when both morals and murals are abandoned by lovers who depart for their tryst in the woods. In the “morall” described as “downe” as Thisbe announces “I come without delay,” the “ripe” sexuality associated in *Two Noble Kinsmen* (4.1.68) with going to the “wood to gather mulberries,” in Martial’s Epigram with a “falling” mulberry, or in Guilpin’s “Nigrina” with the “morel” or “cherry” of other sexually suggestive fruit —already evoked

Thys. see a noyse that he heard, and is to *come againe*.
 Most radiant Piramus, most Lilly white of hue,
 Of colour like the red rose on triumphant bryer,
 Most brisky Iuvenall, and eke most lovely Iew. . . .

(Folio text, lines

899-908)

The Pyramus described here as “most lovely Jew,” in the familiar “lily-white” and “red” of the Song of Songs, is the Pyramus / Bottom who will also later perform a mock-resurrection on stage, when he rises from the dead in Act V to assure the audience of the artisans’ play that the dividing “wall” is finally “down.” Here, like Pyramus / Christ in the interim before that end, he disappears, promising to “come again,” leaving a space in which it is now Thisby’s turn to “speak.” The links in the moralized Ovidian tradition between Thisbe and the Bride of the *Song of Songs*, left to seek a Bridegroom who is hidden behind a “wall” but who will “come again,” after a period of delay, may also illuminate the curious earlier line in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, when Flute (chosen to play Thisby because he is still young enough to play female parts, even though, as he protests, he has “a beard coming”) strangely asks “What is Thisbie, a wandring Knight?” (line 307). For it is simultaneously as wandering knights and a seeking Bride that Spenser’s version of this allegory (in the text that shares its romance tradition as well as its Faery Queen with Shakespeare’s play) represents the questing or seeking that is part of this pre-apocalyptic period, before the “wall” that separates the lovers of the Song of Songs is finally removed. (It may even be that the cross-gendering of the “moralized” tradition that figures the Church, both male and female, as a seeking Bride linked traditionally with Thisbe, is reflected in this pointed reference to the play’s transvestite theatrical context.) On “Jew” and “juvenal” see also F. W. Clayton, “The Hole in the Wall: A New Look at Shakespeare’s Latin Base for ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream,’” *The Tenth Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture* (delivered at the University of East Exeter, 13 June 1977), 14. Clayton (26) also cites the “I am a wall” (*Ego murus*) of the Song of Songs (Vulgate 8:10) – together with Chaucer’s *Merchant’s Tale* (which “goes straight on from Pyramus and Thisbe to quote the Song of Songs) and the “Babilan Tisbee” of Chaucer’s *Man of Law*, “the only other reference in the *Tales*” – and on pp. 29-30 relates the *murus* of the Song of Songs to the “Wall” that is “down” (as well as Pope’s emendation of “mural down” discussed below), noting that “mural” suggests *murus* whereas the separating wall is a *paries* or party-wall. He also (p. 31) notes the similarity between the wall separating Pyramus-Thisbe and “the carpenters wal” through which Chaucer’s Alisoun and Nicholas let Absolon kiss them.

129. See Harold F. Brooks’ Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (London: Routledge, 1979) – which prints “Now is the mure rased between the two neighbours” (p. 115) – Appendix II, 159-162 (correcting “the nonsense ‘morall downe’”); R. A. Foakes’ New Cambridge edition of the play (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 125: “‘Moon used’ (Qq) makes no sense, and ‘morall downe’ (F) is at first sight little better, but Pope’s emendation ‘mural down’ (or emendations like ‘mure all down’) have been widely accepted.” Peter Holland’s Oxford edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) prints neither the Folio’s “moral” (or Pope’s “mural”) nor the Quarto’s “moon used,” but instead the “wall down” proposed by Collier (1853), commenting (243) that “This is a famous textual crux and I offer no solution. Q’s ‘Moon used’ is obviously nonsense and F’s ‘morall downe’, is not much better. . . . F’s ‘morall’ could conceivably be a misreading of a bungled attempt to delete ‘Moon’ and write in ‘Wall’. . . . However no emendation is entirely convincing and ‘wall’ seems rather weak in context.”

in the punning “moral” (or “more-elle”) of *Love’s Labor’s Lost* and linked with the phallic-shaped “morel” or nightshade long associated with the mulberry or *mora nigra*— gives to this departing “Wall” even more hints of the hymeneal wall with which it has “obscenely” been connected (“I kiss the wall’s hole, not your lips at all,” 5.1.201), as well as the corresponding comic phallicism associated with the Pyramus / Bottom who enters the play counselling Peter Quince to “grow to a point.”¹³² The Folio’s “morall” —rejected because it makes no sense at all— may, in other words, convey just the opposite: a polysemic and overdetermined “pun now lost,” as the Variorum and earliest Arden editor suspected.

There is still more to be said of the link with “dark” women in this play. Babylonian Thisbe was already conflated in the “moralized” tradition, as we have seen, with the Song of Songs’ “black” Bride. Commentators on the artisans’ play of Pyramus and Thisbe note that the turning of the mulberry from white to dark is curiously missing from their dramatic “interlude” in Act V. But when it does appear earlier in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, it is precisely in relation to the network we have traced, linking the mulberry associated elsewhere in the play with *mora* or tarrying and the feeding of Bottom the plot’s *Morus* or fool, with the origin of the “love-juice” itself, creation of Cupid or *Amor*, in the scene that contrasts a pregnant “Indian” votaress (mother of the Indian boy who “being mortal, of that boy did die,” 2.1.135) to a virginal “imperiall votaress” untouched by “young Cupids fiery shaft” (an amorous “fire” already part of the tradition of

130. See *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. Horace Howard Furness, vol. X, *A Midsummer Night’s Dreame* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1895), p. 221: “I am inclined to accept White’s explanation that in the old pronunciation lay a pun, now lost, and for a pun, as Johnson said, Shakespeare would lose the world, and be content to lose it.” Current Variorum editor of the play, Judith Kennedy, has suggested to me that White’s (1858) speculation on the possibility of a pun may have been indebted to Singer’s 1853 article ‘The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated’ (p. 31) which says of this Folio crux that “There may have been an equivocal intended. The Poet delights in such equivocal inuendoes.” Henry Cuninghame’s original Arden edition of 1905 glosses its choice of “Now is the mure all down” with “*mure all* Hanmer (Theobald conj), . . . mural Pope (ed. 2) wall Collier conj” but then adds (145): “I am inclined to think with Furness that ‘in the old pronunciation lay a pun now lost.’”

131. See *Timon of Athens*, ed. H. J. Oliver. London: Methuen & Co. 1959.1.92, 10. Emphasis mine. Thisby’s “I come without delay” recalls the concluding lines of the Book of Revelation, which ends with a repeated “come” and “come quickly,” at the final consummation when there is no *mora* or delay. In the links with this tradition of Ovid “moralized,” in which a “wall” is associated with the pre-apocalyptic period of *mora* or delay, the “moral” is also replaced by the apocalyptic or anagogical, when the “wall” is finally down. The Douay Bible, cited by the *OED* under *morall* (9a), repeats the familiar assumption of biblical typology that there are “three spiritual senses beside the literal. . . Allegorical . . . Moral . . . and Anagogical” (emphasis mine). And “morall,” in the sense of “moral meaning,” already appears earlier in this scene (Folio line 1918), as we have noted, close enough to resonate both with the Folio’s “morall downe,” as the artisanal “Wall” departs, and with Thisby’s comic echoing of this apocalyptic conclusion in “I come without delay.” For “moral” as dramatic “interlude,” see Cotgrave, under *Moralité* (“Morality; a morall sence, or subiect; also, a Morall, an Enterlude or Play of manners”) and *Moraliser* (“To morallize, to expound morally, to give a morall sence unto; also, to act a Morall, or Enterlude of manners”) as well as *Moral* (“Morall, belonging unto civilitie, or manners”), *Moralement* (“Morally, in a morall sence, or fashion”), and *Moralisé* (“Moralized, morally expounded”).

“Pyr-amus,” as we have seen):

That very time I saw (but thou couldst not),
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
 Cupid all arm'd. A certain aim he took
 At a fair vestal throned by the west,
 And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,
 And the imperial vot'ress passed on,
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
 Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell.
 It fell upon a little western flower,
 Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound,
 And maidens call it love-in-idleness... (II.i.155-169)¹³³

The mulberry of Pyramus's passion is here transformed into the “milk-white” flower whose color is turned to “purple with loves wound,” source of the love-juice that inspires Puck's “what *fools* these *mortals* be!” and enables Oberon to wrest the “changeling” Indian boy from Titania. The color of the mulberry (“somewhat lighter than black”) was itself linked both with the *morus* / *maurus* of inhabitants of “Inde” as well as Moors and with the “tawny” of “sod quinces” (as the color of “West Indians”) in Eden's account of contemporary voyages to other lands.¹³⁴ The passage on this “maiden” untouched by *Amor* follows the description of the “Indian” votaress whose pregnancy or increase links her with the pregnant female “Moor” (or “More”) of *The Merchant of Venice*, in a passage evocative of “the spiced Indian air” and of contemporary voyages (vessels “rich with merchandise”). The staining of this “milk-white” flower is thus part of a larger scene that contrasts

132. I am alluding here to Bottom's “there we may rehearse most obscenely and courageously” (1.2.107-108), which introduces the “obscene” manifested in the doubles entendres of their production as well as a malapropism suggesting “off stage.” The “cherry” also appears in the “kissing cherries” of *MND* 3.2.140; the “double cherry” of Helena's “union in partition” speech (3.2.209); “my cherry lips have often kiss'd thy stones” (5.1.190) and “these lily lips, / This cherry nose” (5.1.331). “Quince” was also a love potion and aphrodisiac, as well as a traditional symbol of love and marriage. Minsheu cites it as corresponding to the Gallic “Coing” and Spanish “Membrillo, a membrum, ut affirmat Cobart: ob similitudinem quamdam quam habet cum prima pue virorum vel mulierum.” Alciati's *Emblematum Libellus* presents the quince (in Emblem 201) as the fruit offered to brides. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (published in 1593 and 1603) allows makes clear the link between the quince and marriage, a link suggested in Shakespeare by the fact that “quince” appears only one other place in the canon in addition to this “marriage” play – in the scene of Juliet's wedding preparations in *Romeo and Juliet* (along with another “Peter”). The range of spellings for the “coigns” (wedge-shaped blocks used by carpenters, at corners) usually cited as a resonance for the name of Peter “Quince” – including “quines,” “quoyns,” “coynes,” “coins,” and “coigns” – also makes clear the link of the *cuneus* with the *cunnius*. On the “morel,” see the “Morel” of W. Davenant, *The Unfortunate Lovers*” and *Much Ado* 3.4.73-80, with Ellis 1973: 1641-65. Interlingual punning in Shakespeare is already apparent in the same scene of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as the Folio's “moral,” in the lines that render Ninus (from Ovid's *ad busta Nini*) as English “ninnny” or fool.

an “Indian” votaress with an “imperial votaress,” traditionally assumed to be Elizabeth the English Virgin Queen, celebrated in one of the play’s acknowledged sources as “Gallathea,” the name that already evokes the “milk-white.” The underlying image of this passage is the transformed mulberry from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, located in the East or “Inde” of Babylonian Semiramis (another “dark” woman), adjacent to the Fairyland of Oberon associated with empire in the influential romance from which his name comes.¹³⁵ The mulberry thus appears in a scene already associated with the contrasts of light and dark that pervade its evocations elsewhere of “Ethiop” and “tawny Tartar” (3.2.257, 263), a scene whose extended description of an Indian votaress evokes the contemporary (or “imperial”) counterpart of ancient Athens and its exoticized, conquered Amazons, as well as the new worlds for which a growing lexicon of color or racial terms was developing as part of the network associated with the mulberry itself.

It might, then, be appropriate in conclusion to return to Florio’s *World of Wordes*, that compendium (along with other contemporary language manuals) of so much of this interlocking network, including the interchangeability of “Mora” and “Mur” already illustrated from Lope de Vega’s epitaph on the “Moro” or “More” who evokes “Moor” as well as “Muro” or “Wall”:

Mora, a demur, a stay, a delay. Also a Moore-woman. Also a black-berie. Also a Mulberie. Also a kind of game much used in Italy with casting of the fingers of the right hand, and speaking of certain numbers. Used also for a wall or walles, as the plural of Muro, or as some take it, a great heape of stones, or stone wall without mortar. ...

Mora, in this richly cumulative listing, links “stay” or “delay” with “a wall or walles,” “a great heape of stones, or stone wall without mortar,” a “Mulberie” with a “black-berie” and “Moore-woman,” and a game involving fingers, the latter intriguing when we recall that the hole or “chink” through which the artisans’ Pyramus and Thisbe are to speak is created by a Wall ambiguously instructed to “hold his fingers thus” (3.1.69). Equally suggestive for the rich interlinking of *amor* and the folly of the *morus* or fool, a punning “morall” or “wall,” and a mulberry associated with tarrying or delay as well as blackness, Moors, and inhabitants of “Inde” is the already cited entry that connects “murrrian” as a pestilent “mortalitie”

133. On Bottom as a substitute for the Indian boy, see, inter alia, Paster1993: esp. 125-43.

134. See The First Decade, Book II of Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as “The Decades of the New World” (1555), on the color of “West Indians,” cited above.

135. Oberon the Fairy King is the son of Julius Caesar in the popular romance *Huon of Bordeaux*, translated into English by Lord Berners in 1534 and source of the name in Shakespeare’s play (as well as of the Fairyland of both the *Dream* and Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*), while his Fairy kingdom is in the near East or “Inde,” adjacent to Babylon, the location of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in Ovid. See Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* II.ix and x; Michael Murrin’s entries under “fairies” and “fairyland” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (which also cite the redoing of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in John Metham’s *Amoryus and Cleopes* [1448-9]); John Bouchier, Lord Berners, *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, ed. S. L. Lee (London: Early English Text Society, 1887); and Margo Hendricks, “...Obscured by dreams: Race, Empire, and Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* vol. 47, no. 1 (Spring

with folly itself (“*Moria*, an infection, a pestilence, a murrian, a rot or mortalitie that comes among sheepe. Also used for follie and taken from the Greeke”). For this “murrion” linked with *Moria*, mortality and the “Moor” for which it was also an alternate spelling appears just lines before the Indian votaress, “imperial

1996), pp. 37-60, including pp. 45-46: “*Huon of Bordenx* recounts the history of a young duke who unknowingly slays the son of Charlemagne and, for his crime, is sent to Babylon on a quest that Charlemagne believes will ensure Huon’s death. . . . Huon’s quest leads him to the East where he meets Oberon, king of the fairies. . . . Oberon says that his father was Caesar (who was on his way to Thessally to wage war with Pompey when Oberon was begotten) and his mother . . . the lady of the privey Isle.’ Oberon, chronology notwithstanding, also claims as an older brother Netanabus, king of Egypt, who is said to have . . . engendered Alexander the Great.” [Lee, ed. 72-73]. . . . After recounting his genealogy, Oberon informs Huon that he is also . . . king of Momur, the which is [about] . . . iii. C. leagues from hence’ (that is, from where they stand conversing, which is itself two days’ ride from Jerusalem). [Lee ed. 74]. . . . At the romance’s conclusion Huon comes to Momur, where a dying Oberon, having called together all his subjects, including Arthur, Morgan le Fay, and Merlin (who in this narrative is Morgan le Fay’s son), transfers the fairy kingship to Huon (despite Arthur’s vigorous objections). Not only is Huon made king of the fairies, but he also takes up residence in Momur, which is . . . in the far-reaching district that was known to medieval writers under the generic name of India.’ [Lee ed., p. 1].” Hendricks (p. 46) adds that “Lord Berners’s translation of this thirteenth-century *chanson de geste* went through at least three editions during the sixteenth century and, significantly, provided a source not only for Shakespeare but also for Edmund Spenser and Robert Greene. . . . The romance was also adapted in 1593 by the Earl of Essex’s Men and performed, according to Henslowe, as . . . hewen of burdoche.’ [See *Henslowe’s Diary*, ed. Walter W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), 16. Henslowe also lists the play under the titles . . . hewen of burdockes’ and ‘hewen.’”] Though this playtext is lost to us, Spenser’s and Greene’s texts survive; in their depiction of Oberon, they continue the associations begun in *Huon of Bordeaux* of the fairy king with the East in general and India in particular.” Hendricks also cites from Richard Eden, *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towards the fruitfull and ryche Moluccaes* (London, 1577), which contains a translation of Lewes Vertomannus’s account of his travels in India, for other developing color terms in the period; and (p. 51) Van Linschoten, “To the Reader,” in John Guighen van Linschoten, his *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies. Devided into Foure Bookes* (London, 1598), 62 and 60, on images of India as a region of “such treasure and rich Merchandize, as non other place of the whole world can afford”; Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1984); Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833*, published for The Institute of Race Relations (London: Oxford UP, 1977); and James Walvin, *The Black Presence in Britain* (London: Orbach and Chambers, 1971). Thomas Hahn, in “Indians East and West: primitivism and savagery in English discovery narratives of the sixteenth century,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978): 77-114, also argues for a broad-ranging conception of “India” in the period. Hendricks’ reading of the *Dream* stresses the ways in which the metamorphosed Bottom substitutes for Oberon as well as the Indian boy (thereby redefining “both sexual and racial parameters in fairyland,” pp. 54-55) and in which both Bottom and the Indian Boy exemplify hybridity within the play: “in Bottom we see the cruzamiento of two species – human and equine (literally, the *mulatto*) – and in the Indian boy the possibility of human and fairy mixedness (the *mestizo*).” See also Peter Erickson, “Profiles in Whiteness,” *Stanford Humanities Review* 3 (1993): 98-111, his “Representations of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance,” *Criticism* 35, no. 4 (1993): 499-528, and his *Rewriting Shakespeare, Rewriting Ourselves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Kim Hall’s rich reading of the play, including its evocation of racial mixing, starting from “Ethiop” and “tawny Tartar,” in *Things of Darkness* pp. 1ff, which in addition discusses (pp. 23ff.) the substitution of a “blackmoor” in the “entertainment at the christening of James I’s son, Prince Henry Frederick, which was planned to include a chariot . . . which should be drawn in by a lion” and contemporary descriptions of India and its rich “merchandise.”

votaress,” and “milk-white” flower whose color is darkened by the arrow of *Amor*, cited among the “progeny of evils” affecting “human mortals” because of the quarrel of Oberon and the rebellious Titania, another Ovidian “dark” woman:

The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
 And crows are fatted with the murrion flock;
 The nine men’s morris is fill’d up with mud. . .
 The human mortals want their winter here. . . (2.1.96-101)

“Nine men’s morris” (whose name already links it with the “morisco” or morris dance associated with Moors) was the game known alternately as “merells” or “morals.”¹³⁶ The *Variorum* records the view that “the morris or merrils . . . was afterwards corrupted into ‘nine mens *morals*,’” adding that “If this be true, the conversion of *morals* into *morris*, a term so very familiar to the country people, was extremely natural.”¹³⁷ The *OED* notes drawing a “merel” in the context of the “moral” in Gower (an author Shakespeare clearly knew) as well as the alternate “morals” for “morris.”¹³⁸ Once again, various paths come back to “mor-” and “moral” in various interlocking senses, linking multiple dimensions of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* through the metamorphic “mor-” that would ultimately be brought on stage in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, the play to which its plot of Theseus and his conquered Amazon is traditionally closest.

It is precisely this network of linkages that James Joyce —both polyglot and attentive reader of Shakespeare— summons in the section of *Ulysses* where the “moor” of *Othello* is followed by the “mulberrytree” supposed to have been planted at Stratford, the “black” face of the “mummer,” a “Moorish hall,” and these lines on “the nine men’s morrice” from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.¹³⁹ Something seems to be at work in such linkages, both within and beyond the boundaries of an extraordinary range of different texts. Given the dense network of contemporary punning on the name of More —so much more extensive than simply the *Moria* or “Folly” familiar to most readers— dismissing such speculations would be unwise. For they lead into a rich texture of connections which —however foreign to post-Enlightenment modes of thinking— are undeniably important in the period prior to the eighteenth-century production (and editing) of Shakespeare or Johnson’s influential denigrating of his “fatal Cleopatra.” Interpreters of Shakespeare as well as multiple other texts and traditions ignore them at the risk of impoverishing our apprehension of much that matters in these earlier periods, including the words (or syllables) that provided even the most commonplace *materia*.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps editors faced with puzzling variants do too. For there is, as the Folio’s “morall” abundantly suggests, always “more.”

136. For “nine mens Morris” and “merils” see *OED* “morris” sb.2. As “morris,” it can easily be confused with the “morris” dance linked with midsummer (as in “a Morris for May-day” in *All’s Well that Ends Well* 2.247). For the association of the “morris dance” with May see 1589 Moryson Itin. IV.477 (“Setting vp maypooles daunsing the morris with hobby horses”). The Morris Dance also famously includes a Fool, as in *Two Noble Kinsmen*. Though there is no actual morris dance in *MND*, the recent Bedford edition of the play includes an illustration of morris dancing (legitimate, perhaps, because the “morris” is suggested by this line on “nine mens morris” as well as other aspects of the play).

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137. See *OED* “merel” which cites for the meaning “One of the counters or pieces used in the game of ‘merels’ the following from Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (I.18: “So that under the clerkes lawe Men sen the Merel al mysdrawe”; and III.201; “Wherof ensamples ben ynowhe / Of hem that thilke merel drowhe”); and for meaning 2 “A game played on a board between two players, each with an equal number of pebbles, disks of wood or metal, pegs, or ‘pins’. Called also *fivepenny morris*, and *ninepenny* or *nine men’s morris*, according to the number of pins or men used.” (for which it cites 1611 Cotgrave: “*Merelles. Le Jeu des merelles*. The boyish game called Merills, or five-pennie Morris; played here most commonly with stones, but in France with pawnes, or men made of purpose, and termed Merelles”). For the “nine mens Morris” of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, see *OED* “morris, sb.2 (“corruption of *merels*”). See also H. H. Furness, Variorum edition, p. 64. The *OED* (noting that “merel” was interchangeably spelled “moral”) links it as well to the game of fox and geese – one of the clues, perhaps, to the scene of wordplay on fox, goose, and “morall” in *Love’s Labor’s Lost* but also intriguing in relation to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, where still more puzzling references to “Fox” and “Goose” follow “Now is the morall downe” in the scene of the artisans’ play of Pyramus and Thisbe.

138. See *OED*, “merel,” citing John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* I.18 and III.201.

139. Joyce 1990: 212-216. Joyce knew the tradition of Shakespeare’s planting a mulberry tree at New Place from among other sources George Brandes, *William Shakespeare* (1898). Rose 1993: 123 and 128, elaborates on the tradition that associated Shakespeare with the mulberry from as early as pilgrimages to Stafford-on-Avon in the 1740’s, a tradition reflected in David Garrick’s toast to Shakespeare from a cup carved from the mulberry, at the great jubilee at Stratford in 1769.

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sure to engulf him in the mire. It has some malignant power over his mind, and its fascinations are irresistible. Whatever be the dignity or profundity of his disquisition... let but a quibble spring up before him, and he leaves his work unfinished. A quibble is the golden apple from which he will always turn aside from his career, or stoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight, that he was content to purchase it, by the sacrifice of reason, propriety and truth. A quibble was for him the fatal Cleopatra for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it." See *Johnson on Shakespeare*, Sherbo ed. 1966: VII, 74. For recent work on traditions of Shakespearean editing dating from the eighteenth century, see, among others, Grazia 1991; Jarvis 1995; Marcus, 1996, and the bibliography in Parker 1996: 327-28.

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