

RENAISSANCE HERBALS IN SHAKESPEAREAN STUDIES: AN INVESTIGATION  
OF GERARD'S 1597 GENERALL HISTORIE OF PLANTS

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## PREFACE

Most large libraries contain volumes long since thought to have exhausted the topic of Shakespeare's herb lore. Nonetheless, the present writer believes that the standard publications are insufficient for the needs of modern literary scholars, who apparently still use them, either directly, or (more probably) through glosses. To be more specific, one finds that, although these works offer a good many illustrations of customs, recipes, and remedies, they do not conduct a thorough investigation of the possibility that Shakespeare had a first-hand acquaintance with Renaissance herbals, particularly with the handbook published in 1597 by John Gerard. At the same time, present scholars seriously underestimate the value of approaching Renaissance plant lore through the philosophy of an herbal tradition extending back to Dioscorides, Pliny, Theophrastus, and Aristotle. Certainly, the available publications fail to include many basic doctrines and facts about plants, which, one finds, can be gathered from the herbals and do illuminate pertinent references in Shakespeare's plays.

This investigation, then, grew out of a desire to place the modern understanding of Shakespeare's herb lore upon sound Renaissance foundations. While one cannot hope to explore all the avenues of a topic so long neglected, one can present

the case for including Renaissance herbals in studies of Shakespeare's sources. By way of two fully-documented appendices listing Shakespeare's plant names in chronological and in alphabetical order, one can also attempt to facilitate future scholarly research. Of great importance in this study was J. W. Lever's provocative article, "Three Notes on Shakespeare's Plants." Appreciation must also be expressed once again to Dr. Charles E. Walton for his invaluable guidance and support and to Dr. June Morgan for her kind understanding. This writer is further indebted to Miss Phoebe Peck for her assistance in locating early editions of Renaissance herbals.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PLAUSIBILITY OF RENAISSANCE HERBALS

#### AS SHAKESPEAREAN SOURCES

Few scholars seriously consider the possibility that Renaissance herbals may have served Shakespeare as sources, assuming that Shakespeare acquired almost all of his knowledge concerning nature directly from observation. Cook, for instance, claims that Shakespeare ". . . learned what he knew direct from outdoor observation and not from books."<sup>1</sup> Grindon is so certain about Shakespeare's personal experience that he devotes two paragraphs to the justification of "lady-smocks all silver-white," which are, "as a rule," lilac. (Love's Labour's Lost, V.ii.905)<sup>2</sup> "So it is always--Shakspeare's epithets are like prisms; let them tremble in the sunshine, and we discover that it is he who knows best."<sup>3</sup> In support of this belief, scholars have pointed out, for example, that he spent his early years ". . . in the ancient and glorious forest-shades

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<sup>1</sup>Phyllis Cook, "William Shakspeare, Botanist," SAB XV (1940), 158.

<sup>2</sup>Subsequent line references to the works of Shakespeare are taken from Hardin Craig (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare.

<sup>3</sup>L. H. Grindon, The Shakspeare Flora, p. 9; also, J. W. Lever, "Three Notes on Shakespeare's Plants," RES, III (1952), 117-129.

of Warwickshire."<sup>4</sup> As Thiselton Dyer explains, "Shakespeare was country-bred, and the atmosphere of his plays is reminiscent of the 'hedgerows and woods of Warwickshire.'"<sup>5</sup> Moreover, scholars have described the famous gardens in London and have found in the plays certain passages (i.e., the garden scene of Richard II, III.iv) that ". . . would almost tempt [one] to say that Shakespeare was a gardener by profession; . . . he was no mere 'prentice hand in the use of the pruning knife."<sup>6</sup> Bradford (considering The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.83) finds that Perdita's ". . . streak'd gillyvors, / Which some call nature's bastards," reveal Shakespeare to be a "horticultural prophet"; Perdita's reference ". . . could be to nothing else than sexually produced hybrids."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Grindon, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup>T. F. Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," in C. T. Onions (ed.), Shakespeare's England, I, 502; H. N. Ellacombe, The Plant-lore and Garden-craft of Shakespeare, pp. 335-336.

<sup>6</sup>Ellacombe, op. cit., p. 351; Esther Singleton, The Shakespeare Garden, p. 39; Caroline Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us, p. 86: "One occupation, one point of view, above all others [including the dramatist's?] is naturally his, that of a gardener . . . . This tendency to think of matters human as of growing plants and trees expresses itself in fullest detail in the central gardening scene in Richard II (3. 4)"; A. J. Wm. Myers, "Flowers in Shakespeare," The Dalhousie Review, XXXVI (1956), 369: ". . . pruning is necessary, to 'cut off the heads of fast growing sprays' . . . . The bard knew about cutting and caring for flowers."

<sup>7</sup>F. C. Bradford, "Shakespeare and Bacon as Horticultural Prophets," MLN, XLVIII (1933), 108.



Furthermore, the large number and variety of Shakespearean plant names have convinced scholars that this dramatist does not peruse nature through books. Grindon even maintains that ". . . the actual number of different species [over one hundred and eighty] . . . introduced . . . is by no means large, considering how many more must have been familiar to him."<sup>8</sup> Again, Rohde notes that Shakespeare names more herbs than any of his contemporaries, "save the herbalists."<sup>9</sup> To many readers, it seems evident that Shakespeare relies upon his outdoor observations, because his images reveal a sentimental love of flowers: "The Sweet Violet has ever been the favourite flower of the poets. All have sung its praises, but none has more pleasingly honoured it than our own Sweet Will."<sup>10</sup>

Above all, the majority of scholars compare Shakespeare's herb lore with the learned knowledge of Spenser, Milton, and

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<sup>8</sup> Grindon, op. cit., p. 9; cf. George Walton, "Bacon and Shakespeare from the Botanical Point of View," Proceedings of Charaka Club, IV (1916), 129. According to Walton, Grindon's remark ". . . shows how large a part assumption plays in the prevailing estimate of Shakespeare."

<sup>9</sup> Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, Shakespeare's Wild Flowers, Fairy Lore, Gardens, Herbs, Gatherers of Simples, and Bee Lore, p. 162, hereafter referred to as Wild Flowers; also Annie Burnham Carter, Shakespeare Gardens: Design, Plants and Flower Lore, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> F. G. Savage, The Flora and Folk Lore of Shakespeare, p. 80; Rohde, op. cit., p. 1; Winifred Walker, "Spring Flowers Which Shakespeare Loved and Cited," The Illustrated London News, CXXI (1952), 15-18; Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 87: "In moments of stress and emotion . . . he betrays how constantly he visualises human beings as the trees and plants he loved so well in orchard or garden."

Bacon, concluding, thereby, that Shakespeare uses "spontaneous" images and ". . . popular botany, which was not literary, but traditional."<sup>11</sup> The fact that Lyte's herbal (1578) probably supplies at least five of the flowers in Spenser's Aprill eclogue in The Shepheardes Calender seems to widen the distance between Shakespeare and the herbalists.<sup>12</sup> The same idea is repeated, time and again: "Shakespeare looked at wildflowers not as a botanist, but as a countryman"; "Shakspeare was not a botanist; not a man skilled . . . in the technical knowledge of plants"; "he was . . . a naturalist . . . but by no means a biologist."<sup>13</sup> This speculation has led to the belief that, in his plays, ". . . there is scarcely a trace of the later botanical literature of his time," a statement which, for most scholars, encompasses Renaissance herbals.<sup>14</sup> The aim, here,

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<sup>11</sup>Thiselton Dyer, op. cit., p. 501; Savage, op. cit., p. 78: "Bacon, although usually exact, goes out of his way to display his knowledge; Shakespeare never does." The comparisons with Bacon are curious, since Bacon's learned references certainly do not result from a lack of practical experience in gardening; Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>12</sup>Agnes Arber, "Edmund Spenser and Lyte's Nieuvve Herball," Notes and Queries, CLX (1931), 345-347; ibid., Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, pp. 126-127.

<sup>13</sup>Eleanor Sinclair Rohde, Wild Flowers, p. 1; Grindon, op. cit., p. 2; Cook, op. cit., p. 158; H. Littledale, "Folklore," in C. T. Onions (ed.), op. cit., I, 516; David I. Macht, "Calendula or Marigold in Medical History and in Shakespeare," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XXIX (1955), 498.

<sup>14</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 510. Thiselton Dyer is

is hardly to say that Shakespeare does not know a great deal about practical horticulture; far less that his concern for plants is not keen. Obviously, such widespread agreement on Shakespeare's vital interest in herbs, flowers, and trees can do nothing but make it seem all the more likely that he refers to the handbooks on plants. Actually, one means only to suggest that these conceptions rest more upon considerations of the early years spent in Warwickshire, than upon any meticulous investigations of the Renaissance dramatist, his attitudes, and his plays. One also detects, in distinctions between "popular" and "literary" botany, certain misunderstandings about the nature of the herbals.

In the process of writing a play, Shakespeare is a dramatist, of course, not a gardener (or doctor, or botanist, or anything else for that matter), and he, like other Renaissance authors living in an age of books, often turns to those works to support, to increase, or to objectify his own knowledge.<sup>15</sup> Shakespearean scholars (working with sources,

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(continued) outstanding in that he does notice certain similarities between Shakespeare and Lyte; however, he does not think it necessary to go on to Gerard.

<sup>15</sup> Many of the articles which mention the medicinal virtues of herbs come from members of the medical profession, ranging from those who nominate "Dr. William Shakespeare" as a candidate for the Tennessee State Medical Association, to those who speak of the herbal "doctrine of signatures" in terms of "psychic impressions left on naive minds," or as "the most absurd and preposterous hypothesis that has disgraced the



rather than herb lore) have, time and again, demonstrated this method to be true, particularly in the case of the garden imagery. Leon, for instance, provides classical sources for details of the garden scene in Richard II, the very passage which, perhaps because there is no counterpart in Holinshed, plant authorities believe to reflect (more than any other passage) inspiration which Shakespeare derived from first-hand experience. For example, Leon considers the following lines:

Go thou, and like an executioner,  
Cut off the heads of the too fast growing sprays  
That look too lofty in our commonwealth:  
All must be even in our government. (III.iv.33-36)

He finds ". . . the motif of the beheading of flowers" in Livy's History (which Shakespeare uses for The Rape of Lucrece)

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(continued) annals of medicine." Cf. W. H. Witt, "Some Medical References in Shakespeare," The Journal of the Tennessee State Medical Association, XXI (1938), 1-10; David I. Macht, "Calendula or Marigold in Medical History and in Shakespeare," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XXIX (1955), 498, [more "literary" than his others]; ibid., "A Physiological and Pharmacological Appreciation of Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5, Lines 59-73," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XIII (1949), 186-194; ibid., "Shakespeare's Allusions to Clotting and Blood Clotting Drugs," Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association, XII (1951); ibid., "A Pharmacological Appreciation of Shakespeare's Hamlet: On the Instillation of Poisons into the Ear," Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, XXVIII (1918), 165-170; L. Wolff, "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Medicine," Hygiea, XCIX (1937), 1-4; John Moyes, Medicine and the Kindred Arts in Shakespeare.

and in several other works perhaps known to the dramatist.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, both Dowden and Wilson, who deal with Perdita's "horticultural prophecy," demonstrate that, regardless of Shakespeare's personal knowledge of artificial breeding, his imagery belongs to conventions recorded, among other places, in the writings of Pliny and Puttenham: ". . . even the horticultural illustrations Shakspeare uses were familiar in Renaissance discussions of 'nature' and 'art' long before Shakspeare's time."<sup>17</sup>

Among the literary conventions that stimulate the Shakespearean "gardener's" imagination are those pertaining to roses, lillies, and oak. These are the flowers and the tree which he mentions most frequently, and they belong to the traditional language of poets. Emblems, proverbs, and parables also stir his creative powers and contribute to much of his plant imagery.<sup>18</sup> There are, in addition, certain of his plays in

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<sup>16</sup>H. J. Leon, "Classical Sources for the Garden Scene in Richard III," PQ, XXIX (1950), 65-70.

<sup>17</sup>Edward Dowden, "Shakespeare as a Man of Science," Essays Modern and Elizabethan, pp. 299-300; H. S. Wilson, "'Nature and Art' in Winter's Tale, IV, iv, 86ff," SAB, XVIII (1943), 114-120; quoting Wilson, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup>See Henry Green, Shakespeare and The Emblem Writers, pp. 531-542; also, Appendix A and B: elm and vine; oak and reed, or osier; rose and thorn; briars and brambles; olive branch and laurel crown; bur; camomile; cockle and corn; pine; elder; darnel; gooseberry; palm; grapes; ash; aspen; birch; blackberry; cypress; grass; raisins; rush; Flower-de-luce; among others; also William Burgess, The Bible in Shakespeare.

which it can hardly be said that he captured the atmosphere of Warwickshire.<sup>19</sup>

While Shakespeare's book lore seems more "spontaneous" than comparable references in other contemporary literatures, the theory which favors the method of direct observation assuredly is not the only explanation, for Smith shows that, when Shakespeare employs images or phrases from books, he

. . . plunges them into the solvent of his imagination  
. . . and he takes the stiffness and rigidity out of them . . . . He has transmuted so many of them that they are difficult to recognize.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, Smith finds that the plays often reveal the influence of not merely one source, but a "multiplicity of sources"; hence, it is not impossible for one to think that Shakespeare, upon finding plant lore in other sources, may have consulted or have recollected the descriptions contained in the herbals.<sup>21</sup> Significantly, Hankins in his study corroborates such a thesis. He makes an extensive inquiry into the "unweeded garden" images in Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Henry VIII, Hamlet, King Lear, Othello, Antony and Cleopatra, Macbeth, Measure for

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<sup>19</sup>See Appendix A: Richard II, Richard III, The Comedy of Errors, The Merchant of Venice, Two Gentlemen of Verona, King John, Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra, among others.

<sup>20</sup>C. Smith, Shakespeare's Proverb Lore, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 2.



Measure, and (again) Richard II. His results show not only that Shakespeare was in the "habit of recalling the same images from several sources" (for example, the Bible, Barnabe Googe's translation of The Zodiacke of Life, and The French Academie of Pierre de la Primaudaye), but also that his "familiarity with the details of gardening shows a personal interest, but his figurative uses were largely suggested by his reading."<sup>22</sup> There is no reason to believe that Shakespeare's reading should not have included handbooks on plants. Indeed, there is every reason to think that the herbals were among his "multiplicity of sources."

In the first place, Shakespeare lived during the "golden age" of herbals, a botanical Renaissance made possible by the printing and translating of both medieval and classical works on plants.<sup>23</sup> To understand the nature and the vast dimensions of a reawakening which produced a multitude of books in Germany, the low countries, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, France, and England, one needs only to glance at a selected

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<sup>22</sup>John Erskine Hankins, Shakespeare's Derived Imagery, pp. 16; 196; also, E. A. Honigsmann, "Secondary Sources of The Winter's Tale," PQ, XXXIV (1955), 27-38; J. D. Wilson, "A Note on Richard III: the Bishop of Ely's Strawberries," MLR, LII (1957), 563-564.

<sup>23</sup>Rosetta E. Clarkson, Green Enchantment, p. 31; Eleanor Sinclair Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 10ff.; Charles Singer, From Magic to Science, pp. 174-197, for the history of herbals; for herbals, see also, Warren R. Dawson (ed.), A Leechbook or Collection of Medical Recipes of the Fifteenth Century; W. H. S. Jones (ed.), Pliny: Natural History; Robert T. Gunther (ed.), The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides.

list of the principal botanical works published in London shortly before Shakespeare's arrival there:<sup>24</sup>

Herball. Here begynneth a newe mater, the whiche sheweth and treateth of ye vertues and propriytes of herbes, the which is called an Herball. London: Richard Banckes, 1525.

Herball. The grete herball whiche geveth parfyt knowledge and understanding of all maner of herbes and there gracysous vertues. London: Peter Treveris, 1526.

Hieronymus, Braunschweig. The vertuose boke of Distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of Herbes. London: Laurens Andrewe, 1527.

Herball. The grete herbal. Imprynted at London . . . by me Peter Treveris, 1529.

Herball. Macers Herbal Practysyd by Docter Lynacro. London: Robert Wyer, 1530?

Herball. A Newe Herball of Macer, Translated out of Laten in to Englysshe. London: Robert Wyer . . . in seynt Martyns Parysshe . . . besyde Charringe Cross, 1535?

William Turner. The names of herbes in Greke, Latin, Englishe, Duche, and Frenche wyth commune names that Herbaries and Apotecaries use. London: John Day and Wyllyam Seres, 1548.

Herball. A boke of the properties of Herbes called an herball, wherunto is added the tyme of ye herbes, Floures and Sedes shoulde be gathered . . . by W. C. London: Wyllyam Copland, 1550?

Herball. A litle Herball of the properties of Herbes . . . wyth certayne Additions at the ende of the boke, declaring what Herbes hath influence of certain Sterres. London: Anthony Askham, Physycyon. Jhon Kynge, 1555?

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<sup>24</sup> Agnes Arber, Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, pp. 271-285. The following titles are selected from the long appendix supplied by Arber which contains the principal botanical works in England and in other countries.



Albertus Magnus. The boke of secretes of Albartus Magnus, of the vertues of Herbes, stones and certain beastes. London: Wylliam Copland, 1560?

Nicolas Monardes. Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde wherein is declared the rare and singular vertues of diverse . . . Hearbes . . . Englished by Jhon Frampton Marchaunt. London: W. Norton, 1577.

A great many more works properly belong in such a list, but the catalogue should convey that the Renaissance was the time, and London was the place, for an English author (with more than a passing interest in plants) to consult an herbal.

When Shakespeare arrived in London (c. 1587-1588), Lyte's 1578 herbal, a translation of Dodoens' Cruydeboeck (1554), was a standard authority.<sup>25</sup> It had, in fact, just gone through a second edition in 1586, followed by a third in 1595, and a fourth in 1619.<sup>26</sup> Considering these dates, one

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<sup>25</sup>A Nieëve Herball, or Historie of Plantes . . . First set foorth in the Doutche or Almaigne tongue, by that learned D. Rembert Dodoens, Physition to the Emperour: And nowe first translated out of French [Charles de l'Ecluse, Histoire des Plantes, 1557] into English, by Henry Lyte Esquyer. Lyte's translation was first "imprinted at Antwerpe" in 1578 but was to be "solde at London in Povvels Churchyarde by Gerard Devves." Rembert Dodoens (1517-1582) was a world-famous Belgian botanist, who became the court physician of Maximilian II in Vienna and held a professorship at Leyden. Charles de l'Ecluse (Clusius), his friend, was also employed at the court in Vienna. Subsequent page references are to the "Corrected and amended" 1595 edition, Newe Herball, "Imprinted by Edm. Bollifant, in London"; see Arber, Herbals, pp. 124-127; T. P. Harrison, "Flower Lore in Spenser and Shakespeare: Two Notes," MLQ, VII (1946), 175.

<sup>26</sup>Harrison, op. cit., p. 175.

finds it not difficult to comprehend Thiselton Dyer's observation, "If Shakespeare looked into any botanical book at all it was probably Lyte's book."<sup>27</sup> Certainly, Lyte and his book were worthy of attention. The first edition appeared in black letter, with descriptions of 1,050 plants, foreign blocks, additional material from Dodoens himself, epigrams (including lines evidently by William Bullein), and a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, "From my poore house at Lytes-carie within your Maiesties Countie of Somerset." Poore house is an overly-modest term, of course; Lyte was an aristocrat "of an ancient family of Lytes-Cary in Somersetshire."<sup>28</sup> Obviously Thiselton Dyer is most just in his estimate of this book, but at the same time, one finds little reason for limiting Shakespeare's use of herbals to a single volume, especially since Thiselton Dyer himself paradoxically states that, by 1597, "Lyte's Herball had become wholly inadequate."<sup>29</sup>

In 1597, John Gerard (1545-1612), a barber-surgeon and former superintendent of Lord Burleigh's gardens, published his Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes. Rohde declares

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<sup>27</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 508.

<sup>28</sup>See Arber, Herbals, pp. 124-126; Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 508.

<sup>29</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 513. Apparently, he does not see that he is providing a good reason for Shakespeare's use of Gerard as well as Lyte.

that the book ". . . gripped the imagination of the English garden-loving world."<sup>30</sup> Thiselton Dyer notes that it was ". . . more comprehensive than anything existing. It was also the most copiously illustrated."<sup>31</sup> Krutch glosses, ". . . the handsomest--a folio, some copies of which have hand-colored illustrations."<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Arber considers Gerard the ". . . best known of all the English herbalists," and Stevenson concurs, stating, "The most popular of all the herbalists is John Gerard."<sup>33</sup> Clearly, Gerard's herbal was "an event in the book world."<sup>34</sup>

There can be no doubt that printers and publishers, courtiers and gentlewomen, barber-surgeons and apothecaries, as well as gardeners of diverse ranks had heard of this 1597 herbal, for the impressive folio had 1,630 pages, over 1,800 German woodcuts gathered by the Queen's printer, clear Roman type, prefatory letters, and a dedication to Burleigh, Lord

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<sup>30</sup>Eleanor Sinclair Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 98.

<sup>31</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 513.

<sup>32</sup>J. W. Krutch, Herbal, p. 249.

<sup>33</sup>Arber, Herbals, p. 129; Hazel Allison Stevenson, "The Major Elizabethan Poets and the Doctrine of Signatures," Florida State University Studies, V (1952), 13.

<sup>34</sup>Lever, op. cit., p. 119.



High Treasurer of England.<sup>35</sup> However, this is only half the story. The herbal also caused a scandal which probably carried its reputation farther than Gerard had anticipated. As the story is pieced together, John Norton, the Queen's printer, employed one Dr. Priest, a member of the College of Physicians, to translate Dodoens' final work (Pemptades, 1583) from Latin into English. However, Priest died before he had finished the work. Gerard, then, somehow obtained the translation, made his own additions and corrections, but experienced trouble when he tried to attach the 1800 involved woodcuts to the appropriate descriptions. Woodward clearly explains Gerard's problems:

Gerard misapplied many of the figures, and caused so much confusion in the early chapters of the Herbal, that James Garret, a London Apothecary, directed the printer's attention to the point, and l'Obel was invited to correct the work, and by his own account did so in a thousand places, until stopped by Gerard, who declared that the work was sufficiently accurate, and that his censor had forgotten the English language.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>See Arber, Herbals, pp. 129-130; Marcus Woodward (ed.), Gerard's Herball: The Essence thereof distilled by Marcus Woodward from the Edition of Th. Johnson, 1636, pp. xv-xviii. Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 513, points out that Gerard praises Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's first cousin, for his efforts in collecting strange plants from the "farthest parts of the world." Another piece of evidence that Gerard was known in the court perhaps lies in the fact that one copy of the 1597 herbal belonged to a Mary Howard, who may be the young woman in Queen Elizabeth's court, mentioned by Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, VI, 45, fn. 3.

<sup>36</sup>Woodward, op. cit., xv; also, Clarkson, op. cit., p. 42; Arber, Herbals, p. 129.

Gerard had a prose style of his own, but a concern for language was probably not his only reason for curtailing l'Obel's corrections. Apparently, he was in a great hurry to publish his herbal. Certainly, the work contains evidence of such haste, particularly in its introductory paraphernalia.<sup>37</sup> Arber points out that in the address to the reader, there is a statement ". . . which can only have been a deliberate lie":

Master Lyte a worshipfull Gentleman translated Dodonaeus out of the French into English; and since that, Doctor Priest one of our London Colledge hath (as I heard) translated the last edition of Dodonaeus, and meant to publish the same; but being prevented by death, his translation likewise perished.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, as far as Gerard was concerned, he saw no reason for acknowledging the actual sources of the herbal, but curiously enough, in the laudatory remarks, one discovers Stephen Bredwell, Phisition, remarking that Gerard has "accommodated" Priest's translation.<sup>39</sup> Clarkson believes that ". . . Gerard, in the fifteen years that followed, must have stared frequently

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<sup>37</sup>See Lever, op. cit., pp. 117-120. Among the marks of Gerard's haste or his incompetence is the description of lady-smocks, an error which has great significance for Shakespearean studies.

<sup>38</sup>Arber, Herbals, p. 129; Woodward, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>39</sup>John Gerard, The Herball or Generall Historie of Plants, p. 25.

at these words."<sup>40</sup> In any event, the publication in 1597 of the herbal was the occasion for much talk leading to the belief that there was a connection between Shakespeare and the herbals.

The 1909 discovery of papers concerned with a lawsuit (1612) against Christopher Mountjoy, French Huguenot wigmaker, proves that Shakespeare had lived close to John Gerard during the time when both men were at the peak of fame. Shakespeare, as a witness in this suit, testified that he was lodging in Mountjoy's house at the corner of Muggle and Silver Street, London, in 1604, and one suspects that he probably had lodged there ". . . for some time before, since he states . . . that he had known Mountjoy for more than ten years."<sup>41</sup> Craig points to the specific year, 1602 (subtracting exactly ten years), as the earlier date.<sup>42</sup> However, Woodward, Rohde, and Lever claim that Shakespeare was living on Silver Street between 1598 and 1604, apparently basing their dates on the evidence of the phrase, "more than ten years."<sup>43</sup> Hence, Mountjoy's residence

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<sup>40</sup> Clarkson, op. cit., p. 43; Clarkson is probably correct; however, because of the Elizabethan passion for authority, the fact that the book was plagiarized from Dodoens' probably increased, rather than decreased, its value in the long run.

<sup>41</sup> Craig, op. cit., p. 1150.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Woodward, op. cit., p. xiv; Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 118; Lever, op. cit., p. 119; also, Rohde, Wild Flowers, p. 59.



is significant, because the corner of Muggle and Silver Streets was not far from Holborn where Gerard was living, and Fetter Lane was the probable site of his celebrated "physic" garden. Furthermore, the location was "almost opposite" the Barber-Surgeons' Hall.<sup>44</sup> Gerard is known to have been there in 1598, examining candidates for admission. In 1602 a committee had met, apparently to locate a garden for him; and in 1608, he became Master of the Company.<sup>45</sup> Presumably, he was at the Hall sometime between these recorded dates, so that it is not impossible to think that Shakespeare may have encountered him upon occasions in the vicinity of the Hall. Rohde is convinced that Shakespeare came to know Gerard because of the garden:

Is it even unlikely that Shakespeare, whose own writings are so full of herb-lore, was unacquainted with the garden of the greatest herbalist of the day, when for six years they were near neighbours? . . . The city was not above two miles across and in many respects must have looked like a large village . . . Holborn was a village . . . . The population of London was comparatively small and two such distinguished gentlemen could scarcely have failed to know each other.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 118; Woodward, op. cit., p. xiv; Lever, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>45</sup>Woodward, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>46</sup>Rohde, Wild Flowers, pp. 59-61; also, Carter, op. cit., p. 6: Shakespeare "undoubtedly knew the great herbalists, John Gerard and John Parkinson." Shakespeare also could have known Parkinson (1567-1650), but his works are too late for consideration--Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris (1629) and Theatrum Botanicum (1640).

That Shakespeare was familiar with Gerard's garden is, indeed, very probable, regardless of where the dramatist may have been living at the time, for, among the upper classes, ". . . the cultivation of flowers [had become] a regular fad."<sup>47</sup> It was a time when distinguished gardeners and herbalists invited stylish visitors to their nurseries.<sup>48</sup> Merchants and noblemen sent agents throughout the world to seek new and strange plants.<sup>49</sup> During this time, Gerard enjoyed a wide reputation as superintendent of gardens in which it was possible for one to see over a thousand plants and rare specimens included (e.g., the Crown Imperial from Constantinople, introduced in 1596, described in the 1597 herbal, desired by Perdita in 1611, The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.126)<sup>50</sup> In fact, the extent of Gerard's notoriety is suggested in a Royal document pertaining to a land transaction between the herbalist and Queen Anne:

Know Yee that for and in consideracon of the some of ffive shillings . . . payd by John Gerrard of London Surgeon

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<sup>47</sup> Singleton, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 31; also, Craig, op. cit., p. 499. Shakespeare's social status was rising at this time. In 1599, John Shakespeare was granted heraldic honors, giving Shakespeare "the rank and title of gentleman"; Arber, Herbals, p. 135: "Besides Gerard's in Holborn, and Parkinson's in Long Acre, other well-known gardens were John Tradescant's at Lambeth and Mistress Tuggy's at Westminster"; Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 507. Turner had a garden at Kew.

<sup>49</sup> R. E. Prothero, "Agriculture and Gardening," in C. T. Onions (ed.), op. cit., p. 369.

<sup>50</sup> Woodward, op. cit., p. 289.

and Herbarist to the Kings ma<sup>[jes]</sup>tie . . . as also for divers and sundry other causes and consideracons but especially of his singular and approved art skill and industrie in planting nursing and preserving plants hearbes flowers fruits of all kindes We are pleased to graunt unto said John Gerrard one garden plot . . . .<sup>51</sup>

Thus, it is possible that Shakespeare knew Gerard, either because they were neighbors, or simply because Gerard was a notable Barber-Surgeon and gardener. If he had met the man as early as 1598, it is all the more likely that he also knew of Gerard's 1597 herbal--but the case for Shakespeare's use of the herbals does not hinge on this point, alone.

Shakespeare need not have known a particular herbalist in order to have consulted any of the Renaissance handbooks on plants, for the herbals are not recondite botanical works. It is true that these herbalists were usually well-educated men--often practicing apothecaries or physicians--who dedicated their works to royalty or to high-ranking statesmen. Nonetheless, their volumes were designed primarily to teach the ordinary layman how to minister to his own medical needs in an age when medicine was still largely in the realm of the herbal.<sup>52</sup> Here, then, is another reason for suspecting a connection between Shakespeare's herb lore and the descriptions of herbs found in these handbooks.

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>52</sup>Krutch, op. cit., p. 30.



The herbalists clearly state their aims. For instance, The Grete Herball, printed by Treveris in 1526, begins with the following words:

. . . brotherly love compelleth me to wryte through ye gyftes of the holy ghost shewynge and enformynge how man may be holpen with grene herbes of the gardyn and wedys of ye feldys as well as by costly receptes of the potycarys prepayred.<sup>53</sup>

Again, in 1527, one finds these words:

The vertuose boke of Distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of Herbes. Fyrst made and compyled by the thyrte yeres study and labour of the most conynge and famous mayster of physyke Master Jherom bruynswyke And now newly Translated out of Duyche into Englysshe. Not only to the synguler helpe and profyte of the Surgyens; Physycyens; and Potheccaryes; But also of all maner of people.<sup>54</sup>

Lyte is similarly explicit in stating his intentions:

that even the meanest of my Countriemen (whose skill is not so profounde that they can fetche this knowledge out of strange tongues, nor their habilitie so wealthy as to entertain a learned Phisition) may yet in time of their necessitie, have some helpes in their owne, or in their neighbours fieldes and gardens at home.<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, the contents of these volumes measure up to the introductory promises. The herbals not only provide knowledge

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<sup>53</sup>Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 65.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>55</sup>Lyte, op. cit., p. 10.

of the medicinal virtues of plants, but also contain descriptions of plants, their properties, their times, their places, their sundry names, and their dangers. This information the herbalists have drawn from the classics:

Further Dioscorides and Pliny do report, that it is without floure or seed.

That with the blue or purple floure is thought to be that which is of Virgil called Flos Ammelus: of which he maketh mention. lib. 4 of his Georgicks: in English thus: [quotes Virgil] <sup>56</sup>

Or from the foreign botanists:

This rare and strange plant was sent to me from the French Kings Herbarist Robinus, dwelling in Paris at the signe of the blacke head, in the streete called Du bout du monde, in English, The end of the world . . . Lobel and Dodon, say, that the leaves are somewhat like Ivie. <sup>57</sup>

Or from hearsay:

This experiment was practised by a worshipfull Gentlewoman Mistresse Anne Wylbraham upon divers of her poore neighbours with good successe. <sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Woodward, op. cit., pp. 116-117; Dioscorides was a Greek physician (c. 40-70 A. D.) whose work, De Materia Medica, was the favorite authority of the herbalists throughout the seventeenth century. Mattioli published his Commentaries on the Six Books of Dioscorides in 1544, an herbal which was translated into various languages. See Krutch, op. cit., pp. 249-251.

<sup>57</sup>Woodward, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 101.



Or from their own personal experience:

My selfe did plant some shoots thereof in my garden, and some in Flanders did the like: but the coldnesse of our clymat made an end of mine, and I think the Flemmings will have the like profit of their labour.<sup>59</sup>

No doubt these herbalists attempted to be accurate, but with their great variety of sources, they often incorporated into their works a vast amount of myth. Thus, on the one hand, they speak out against the magical attributes of fern, while, on the other hand, they entitle a chapter as follows: "Of Goose tree, Barnacle tree, or the tree bearing Geese." Moreover, in their lists of names, they often combine the learned with the logical, or as Gerard points out, their names are ". . . gathered out of ancient written and printed copies and from the mouthes of plaine and simple countrie people."<sup>60</sup> Again, in their material they provide remarkable indexes to the symptoms, juxtaposing science with superstition: "Against melancholy," "For witching vide Enchantments," "Wild Fire," "Bodily Lust vide Fleshly Desire," "The Lethargie," "For them that are Lean and Unlustie," "Against Madnesse."<sup>61</sup> Far from being abstruse

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>60</sup>Gerard, op. cit., "A Supplement or Appendix unto the generall Table."

<sup>61</sup>These indexes are extremely convenient; hence, Woodward is not quite fair when he says that it ". . . is a formidable task merely to turn the pages" of Gerard's folio (p. xviii). Gerard makes his indexes according to Latin names, local

or coldly botanical, these herbals ". . . reflect and contribute to the knowledge of the common people."<sup>62</sup> (Shakespeare, it will be recalled, is often praised for staying close to the basic elements of life.)

"That the herbals were read by the mass of people," writes Stevenson, "is indicated by the general character of the material and by the many editions of certain popular works."<sup>63</sup> For example, Lyte's herbal appeared in four editions; Gerard's in three:

In many instances a small book was reprinted every year . . . . The great number of translations [not only of books, but of phrases within the text, as in the preceding examples, "in English thus"] indicates an adaptation to the needs of the less educated classes. The style of the herbals is clear and simple, comment sometimes being made by the author on his avoidance of language above the comprehension of the housewife . . . . Large books, too expensive to be within the reach of the common people, are republished in condensed form, as Rams Little Dodoens . . . . Many thinly veiled imitations and plagiarisms, from pamphlet size to folio, answered the popular demand for simple medical knowledge.<sup>64</sup>

The occasions for the demand of these editions are not difficult

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(continued) names, and symptoms. Furthermore, he breaks the text into sections under such headings as "The Description," "The Temperature," "The Time," and so forth. All such paraphernalia seem to be his attempt to accommodate the layman.

<sup>62</sup> Stevenson, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 14; see Nicolas Culpeper, Culpeper's Complete Herbal, pp. 400-416.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

to pinpoint, since medicine was almost entirely home-made, and, since every woman needed to know how to prepare, distill, and administer herbal remedies.<sup>65</sup> Apparently, men were not excluded, for one notes that Lord Herbert of Cherbury believed that it suited a gentleman to ". . . know how to make medicine [vegetable, not "chemic medicines"] . . . and afterwards to prepare them with his own hands."<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the age was plagued with charlatans who sold diluted and impure ingredients for "miraculous" cures, and the herbalists enthusiastically devoted themselves to the task of protecting their gentle readers from all such malpractices ". . . at the hands of some runnagat physick-monger, quack salver, old women-leaches, and such like abusers of phisick, and deceivers of people."<sup>67</sup>

For these and other reasons, therefore, one concludes that Shakespeare, like any other intelligent layman, should have been quite familiar with Renaissance herbals. Only those

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<sup>65</sup>Rohde, The Old English Herbals, p. 174; also, Irving I. Edgar, "Shakespeare's Medical Knowledge," Annals of Medical History, VII (1935), 522.

<sup>66</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 511.

<sup>67</sup>Woodward, op. cit., p. 207; see Moyes, op. cit., pp. 96-97, for an account of the contemporary quackery; Alban H. G. Doran, "Medicine," in C. T. Onions (ed.), op. cit., pp. 428-433, discusses the efforts of the College of Physicians and the Barber-Surgeons to check empirical practice. Queen Elizabeth "favored" an herbalist, Margaret Kenwix; and Walsingham's doctor was a quack; E. M. Watson, "Medical Lore in Shakespeare," Annals of Medical History, VIII (1936), 252-253.



who find in Shakespeare a sentimental love of plants, and those who do not understand the nature of the herbals, may refuse to see the possible relationship between the dramatist and these books which were ". . . utilitarian in their original intention."<sup>68</sup> Craig early noted that Shakespeare's ". . . love affairs are never soft, because he was not sentimental," and much earlier, Ruskin pointed out that Shakespeare's touching flower sequences are given to women and fairies: "Any thought of them in his mighty men, I do not find; it is usually not in the nature of men."<sup>69</sup> This Renaissance viewing of plants generally unites an appreciation of both their aesthetic and useful qualities. Here, it is important that one realizes that the flower garden was not divorced from the kitchen and physic garden until 1595--a separation which was observed only in the stately grounds of the upper classes. According to Singleton, John Parkinson (in his 1629 herbal) was the ". . . first person to insist that flowers were worthy of cultivation for their beauty quite apart from their value as medicinal herbs."<sup>70</sup> Grigson, also, reminds scholars that:

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<sup>68</sup>Krutch, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>69</sup>Craig, op. cit., p. 532; quoting Ruskin, H. H. Furness (ed.), Variorum: The Tragedie of Cymbeline, pp. 319-320.

<sup>70</sup>Singleton, op. cit., p. 31; also, Ernst and Johanna Lehner, Folklore and Odysseys of Food and Medicinal Plants, p. 113: "The confection box played the part that our medicine cabinet plays today. A well-stocked confection box contained twelve different kinds of sugary pastilles made from seeds,

A delight in plants, above all when their flowers are out . . . seems to us the most natural--and most innocent--and inevitable of emotions. In earlier centuries delight was an ingredient not always present by any means; it was one item in a more practical response. Plants were necessary to a degree that we are forgetting.<sup>71</sup>

It is not likely, then, that Shakespeare valued only the sentimental virtues of plants, nor is it true that the Renaissance herbalists saw merely the utilitarian aspects of plants, for their works contribute to the foundations of modern horticulture, as well as modern pharmacy. Indeed, Krutch (who has read a good many herbals) concludes:

Perhaps the chief charm of the Herbalists . . . is just that they are more likely than the modern scientist to impart a sense of beauty and wonder--both of which the scientist may feel, but considers it no part of his function to communicate.<sup>72</sup>

That an herbal combines instruction with delight, and that such a mixture stimulates the imagination of Renaissance authors is apparent in the use of herbal lore by Spenser,

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(continued) spices, and herbs mixed with honey and saffron"; Krutch, op. cit., p. 32: "When scholar Alcuin asked his pupil Charlemagne, 'What is an herb?' the Emperor replied, 'The friend of physicians and the praise of cooks'"; Carter, op. cit., p. 50: "The word herb was still used for all plants, and herbs as we know them now were planted indiscriminately with flowers"; Geoffrey Grigson, The Englishman's Flora, p. 190: "Indeed, many of the confections we eat for pleasure, our ancestors devised for medicine."

<sup>71</sup>Grigson, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>72</sup>Krutch, op. cit., p. 34.

Drayton, and perhaps Milton.<sup>73</sup> In light of Shakespeare's artistic methods, this kind of evidence from the works of contemporary authors clearly strengthens, rather than negates, the probability that the herbals are major Shakespearean sources. However, the proof itself must lie in the plays.

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<sup>73</sup>Cf. T. P. Harrison, "Flower Lore in Spenser and Shakespeare: Two Notes," MLQ, VII (1946), 175-178; ibid., "The 'Haemony' Passage in Comus Again," PQ, XXII (1943), 251-254; ibid., "Drayton's Herbals," Texas Studies in English, 1943, VII (1943), 15-25; Agnes Arber, "Edmund Spenser and Lyte's Nievve Herbal," Notes and Queries, CLX (1931), 345-347.

## CHAPTER II

### SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF GERARD'S HERBAL:

#### A SOURCE STUDY

Bearing in mind the popularity of Renaissance herbals, and recalling the methods of Renaissance authors, one looks for evidence of herbal lore in Shakespeare's plays. After Thiselton Dyer suggested Shakespeare's familiarity with the 1578 Nieuvve Herball, one other scholar pursued the thought.<sup>74</sup> In 1946, Harrison indicated that Lyte's book perhaps supplied one of the names given to Oberon's magic plant, known as Love-in-Idleness or Cupid's flower.<sup>75</sup> According to fairy legend, the bolt of Cupid:

. . . fell upon a little western flower  
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound  
And maidens call it Love-in-Idleness.  
(A Midsummer-Night's Dream, II.i.166-168)

Oberon squeezes the juice from this flower into Titania's eyes, thereby causing her to love Bottom. Later, the fairy king removes the spell with the properties of a second plant:

Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower  
Hath such force and blessed power. (IV.i.79-80)

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<sup>74</sup>Thiselton Dyer, "Plants," p. 508.

<sup>75</sup>T. P. Harrison, "Flower Lore in Spenser and Shakespeare: Two Notes," MLQ, VII (1946), 175-178.



Harrison finds that Cupid's flower is cited in the Nievve Herball as a name for the rose ". . . a name applied . . . by reason of two myths that relate its color change."<sup>76</sup> However, the conclusions to be drawn are rather tentative, for the following reasons: the name Love-in Idleness usually belongs to the pansy; the magic juice seems to owe much to the very famous St. John's Wort; and the idea of the color change may have come from a similar metamorphosis of the mulberry described in Ovid's version of the Pyramus-Thisbe play.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, no source has been found for the name, Dian's bud, the second plant, which combines the qualities attributed to Agnus Castus and Artemisia. It may very well be, then, that Cupid's flower and Dian's bud were devised to correspond to the two concepts of love madness and chastity, without the help of Lyte's herbal.

Although Lyte and Shakespeare possess much of the same knowledge (as Thiselton Dyer noted from the outset), neither Harrison nor any other scholar has published further evidence establishing that the Nievve Herball was a direct source for Shakespeare. Nonetheless, the case for Shakespeare's use of Renaissance herbals is not closed, since the lack of progress may be explained by Lever's recent discovery that two

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>77</sup>See Furness, Variorum, A Midsommer Nights Dreame, p. 74; L. A. Reynolds and P. Sawyer, "Folk Medicine and the Four Fairies of A Midsummer-Night's Dream," SQ, X (1959), 515.





place, and the time, ". . . Aprill and May, when the Cuckow begins to sing her pleasant notes without stammering."<sup>80</sup>

The conclusions to be drawn are (i) that the Cheshire name 'Lady-smocks' came into standard English through Gerarde's idiosyncrasy, and that Shakespeare took it straight from the Herball; (ii) that the 'milk-white' variety, catching his fancy, was transmuted for aesthetic and perhaps metrical reasons into 'silver-white'; (iii) that the 'fower leaues of a yellowish colour' (What Gerarde means here is not clear--probably he was thinking of the pale green calyx) became impossible cuckoo-buds of yellow hue; (iv) that the meadow habitat, the spring season, and the cuckoo allusion all wove themselves into his song. It seems clear from this that the 1598 Quarto of Love's Labour's Lost was indeed, as its title-page declares, newly revised and augmented: the songs at the end being perhaps not the only innovation.<sup>81</sup>

Insofar as scholarly investigation has discovered, Grigson offers the only authoritative comment upon Lever's findings, concluding that

Gerard, as late as 1597, was the first English botanist to record *Cardamine pratensis*. Shakespeare who seems to have gone to Gerard's Herbal for much of his knowledge of plants, probably lifted the famous 'lady-smocks all silver-white' in the Quarto of 1598 straight out of Gerard's

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<sup>80</sup> Woodward, op. cit., pp. 59-60; the description of the four yellow leaves is one of Gerard's errors. Indeed, Thomas Johnson (editor of the 1636 volume) points out that his predecessor's version appears to describe two flowers, a white and a yellow variety, rather than one: "This is no other than the first described, differing only therefrom in that the floures are milk-white, as our Author truly in the title of his figure made them. Yet forgetting himselfe in his description, he maketh them yellowish, contrary to himselfe and the truth."

<sup>81</sup> Lever, op. cit., p. 120.

volume, which was published the year before.<sup>82</sup>

His remark, "for much of his knowledge of plants," is most suggestive, leading one to suspect that Grigson knows whereof he speaks, since his expansive Englishman's Flora contains materials taken from all of the older herbals. One respects, also, his moderation: "Still that does not mean that Shakespeare was unfamiliar with lady-smocks before he explored the Herbal."<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, Grigson's topic is not primarily concerned with Shakespeare; hence, he does not elaborate, but merely touches his subject once again.<sup>84</sup>

Lever, however, supports his initial findings in a second convincing demonstration, this time tracing the source of Shakespeare's comparison of Shallow and a mandrake to Gerard's refutation of prevalent superstitions concerning the plant. Falstaff presents the Shakespearean version:

I do remember him at Clement's Inn like a man made after supper of a cheese-paring: when a 'was naked, he was, for all the world, like a forked radish, with a head fantastically carved upon it with a knife: a 'was so forlorn, that his dimensions to any thicke sight were invincible: a'was the very genius of famine; yet lecherous as a monkey, and the whores called him mandrake.

(2 Henry IV. III.ii.334-342)

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<sup>82</sup>Grigson, op. cit., p. 66; emphasis is supplied by the present author.

<sup>83</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 467.



In exposing popular beliefs, Gerard describes the root as being ". . . no otherwise than in the roots of carrots, parsenips, and such like, forked or divided into two or more parts." He also objects to the "many fables of loving matters" associated with the mandrake and concludes with a reference to carving fake mandrakes from the roots of Brionie, as follows:

But the idle drones that have little or nothing to do but eate and drinke, have bestowed some of their time in carving the roots of Brionie, forming them into the shape of men and women: which falsifying practise hath confirmed the errour amongst the simple and unlearned people, who have taken them upon their report to be the true mandrakes.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to discussing the more obvious points of contact between Shakespeare and Gerard, Lever suggests that Gerard's final comment influences the Shakespearean picture of the tavern and the idle partons, carving after supper. Finally, he notes that Shakespeare's early references to the mandrake follow the tradition of popular folk-lore; whereas, the later passages refer to the fake mandrake and to the reputable narcotic virtues of mandragora.<sup>86</sup> In short, "after the appearances of Gerarde's

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<sup>85</sup>Woodward, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

<sup>86</sup>(1) "Would curses kill, as doth the mandrake's groan" (2 Henry VI, III.ii.310); (2) "And shrieks like mandrakes torn out of the earth" (Romeo and Juliet, IV.iii.47); (3) "Thou whoreson mandrake, thou art fitter to be worn in my cap than to wait at my heels. I was never manned with an agate till now" (2 Henry IV, I.ii.18-20); Lever overlooks this reference; however, the omission does not negate his statement. See Craig,

Herball (1597) his references become botanically correct."<sup>87</sup>

Thus, Lever establishes that Lyte's book is not the only herbal to be considered as being among the Shakespearean sources, and, significantly, one's own findings corroborate Lever's. First, curious changes occur in Shakespeare's references to honeysuckle and woodbine during the interval between the time of composition of A Midsummer-Night's Dream and Much Ado about Nothing. In the former, Titania woos Bottom with the following words:

Sleep thou, and I will wind thee in my armes,  
Fairies, be gone, and be all ways away.  
So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle  
Gentle entwist; the female ivy so  
Enrings the barky fingers of the elm.  
(A Midsummer-Night's Dream, IV.1.43-47)

Titania's lines, here, have long worried scholars. In fact, the dispute over a botanical identification of the plants balloons to such immense and confusing proportions in the Variorum edition of this play that Furness, at last, feels the need to declare a truce for the purpose of clarifying the issue:

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(continued) op. cit., p. 708, fn. 20; an agate is a "small figure cut in agate for jewelry"; hence, the image is apparently that of the carved figure in Act III; (4) 2 Henry IV, III.ii.339, quoted above; (5) "Not poppy, nor mandragora, / nor all the drowsy syrups of the world" (Othello, III.iii.330-331); (6) "Give me to drink mandragora." (Antony and Cleopatra, I.v.4)

<sup>87</sup>Lever, op. cit., p. 123.

"The question, reduced to its simplest terms is: Are there here two plants, or only one?" He continues:

To me it makes little difference what specific flower Titania calls woodbine; she means herself by it, just as she designates the repulsive Bottom with two fairies busy scratching his head, under the name of that sweet, lovely flower, the honeysuckle; and as these two distinct vines entwist each other, so will she wind him in her arms.<sup>88</sup>

By now, most scholars agree with Furness that Shakespeare, in reference to two different plants, uses names which are usually synonymous. Furthermore, it is generally thought that, when Shakespeare uses woodbine, he alludes to a plant similar to Jonson's bindweed: "How the blue bindweed doth itself infold with honey-suckle and both these entwine Themselves."<sup>89</sup> If so, then Shakespeare accurately describes a botanical fact, as Krutch points out:

An old name [for bindweed] used in England (by Turner, for example) was Withwinde, and this is an indication that a curious fact had been noted, namely that all members of this family twine counterclockwise, the first syllable of the old popular name being the same as in "Withershins." All of the Honeysuckles, on the other hand, twine clockwise. Modern biology says that the necessity of turning one way or another is locked in the genes, but our ancestors, who were more poetical than scientific, were aware only of the fact that when a Bindweed and a Honeysuckle happen to twine about one

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<sup>88</sup>Furness, *Variorum*, A Midsummer Nights Dreame, p. 179.

<sup>89</sup>Loc. cit.; Gifford quotes from Jonson's "Visions of Delight."



another they are joined in a very tight embrace. Ben Jonson makes a metaphor out of this and so does Shakespeare . . . .<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps, Shakespeare confuses woodbine and withwinde, or perhaps woodbine was, indeed, a name for bindweed in certain Elizabethan localities.<sup>91</sup> At any rate, Shakespeare completely changes the relationship between these two names in Much Ado about Nothing wherein Leonato's garden contains woodbine identified with honeysuckles:

Hero: . . . say that thou overheard'st us;  
And bid her steal into the pleached bower,  
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun,  
Forbid the sun to enter, like favourites,  
Made proud by princes, that advance their pride  
Against that power that bred it . . . .

Ursula: So angle we for Beatrice; who even now  
is couched in the woodbine coverture. (III.1.6-11; 29-30)

Furness, noting this discrepancy, offers a most sensible solution:

When Shakespeare wrote Midsummer-Night's Dream, he thought that they were two plants, when a year or two later he wrote Much Ado About Nothing, he thought they were one . . . .<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Krutch, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>91</sup>Furness, Variorum, A Midsummer Nights Dreame, p. 178.

<sup>92</sup>Furness, Variorum, Much Adoe About Nothing, p. 134.

Such a change may at first seem puzzling, but a consideration of the dates involved suggests to one a plausible solution. Scholars generally assign the dates, 1594-1595, to A Midsummer-Night's Dream supporting their decision with Francis Meres' inclusion of the title in his list of plays which Shakespeare had written by 1598.<sup>93</sup> However, certain matters of style, as well as the fact that Meres does not mention Much Ado about Nothing, convince scholars that this play was not composed until 1598 or 1599.<sup>94</sup> Between the dates, 1594-1595 and 1598-1599, Gerard published his herbal in which he makes it very clear that woodbine and honeysuckle are two names used to refer to the same plant. He entitles this pertinent chapter, "Of Wood binde, or Honi suckle." Again, under Periclymenum, he cites "Wood binde or Honisuckles"; and in his description of the plant he writes: "Wood-binde or Hony-suckle climeth up aloft, having long slender woody stalkes, parted into divers branches . . . ." <sup>95</sup> Certainly, Gerard is not the only herbalist who uses these two names for the same plant; but the time in which Shakespeare changes his thinking points to Gerard's influence and seems to substantiate the previously cited evidence of a connection between Shakespeare, Gerard,

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<sup>93</sup>Craig, op. cit., p. 182.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 530.

<sup>95</sup>Gerard, op. cit., pp. 743-744.

and the 1597 herbal.

Additional support for the importance of the date, 1597, comes from a second passage in A Midsummer-Night's Dream. More specifically, Shakespeare alludes to a supposed plant virtue, an idea which he could not possibly have found in an existing herbal. In this relevant passage, Lysander is attempting to ward off Hermia:

Hermia: "Little" again! nothing but "low" and "little" why will you suffer her to flout me thus?

Lysander: Get you gone you dwarf; you minimus of hindering knot-grass made; you bead, you acorn. (III.ii.326-330)

At this point, Craig explains that knot-grass is a weed, ". . . an infusion of which was thought to stunt the growth."<sup>96</sup> Savage collects similar references taken from The Knight of the Burning Pestle and The Coxcomb, both plays by Beaumont and Fletcher.<sup>97</sup> However, none of these statements from the dramatists reflects the opinion expressed in the herbals, for such an idea is, as Stevenson has observed, ". . . unsupported by even the sensation-mongers in botany."<sup>98</sup> Far from warning that the qualities of this plant stunt human growth, the herbalists actually prescribe an infusion of knot-grass for ulcers and

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<sup>96</sup>Craig, op. cit., p. 197, fn. 329.

<sup>97</sup>Savage, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>98</sup>Stevenson, op. cit., p. 26.



sores.<sup>99</sup> Thus, one concludes that, in 1594-1595, Shakespeare either chose to disagree with the herbalists or was not yet aware of their opinions. Perhaps, as Lever has suggested in the case of mandrake, Shakespeare, here, ". . . follows popular folk-lore for lack of a better guide."<sup>100</sup>

Shakespeare's single reference to fern-seed also seems pertinent to this discussion, since in 1 Henry IV one finds:

Gadshill: We steal as in a castle, cocksure; we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible.

Chamberlain: Nay, by my faith, I think you are more beholding to the night than to fern-seed for your walking invisible. (II.1.95-96)

Generally, this passage is glossed to the effect that fern-seed ". . . was popularly supposed to render its possessor invisible," but of more significance, perhaps, is the Chamberlain's sceptical reply, which accords with the best opinions to be found in the Renaissance herbals.<sup>101</sup> The truth-seeking herbalists, vigorously opposing common views, point out that the fern does not have a seed. Thus, Gerard states

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<sup>99</sup>Grigson, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>100</sup>Lever, op. cit., p. 123; see Reynolds, op. cit., pp. 513-521, on the four fairies--Moth, Peaseblossom, Mustardseed, and Cobweb--who bear the names of "home remedies."

<sup>101</sup>Craig, op. cit., p. 683, fn. 96; Singleton, op. cit., pp. 175-177; Edmund Malone (ed.), The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, XVI, 243; The popular superstition persisted, at least, to the time of Addison.

that "Ferne and His Kind, . . . on the backside are sprinckled as it were with a verie fine earthie coloured dust or spots, which many rashly have taken for seede."<sup>102</sup> Elsewhere, he exposes the teachings of "Empericks or blinde practitioners of this age," and notes that there are many "old wives fables" about the ". . . gathering of fern in the night and other most vain things."<sup>103</sup> It was, of course, the "seed" which the superstitious folk gathered at night, a practice to which the Chamberlain may allude.<sup>104</sup> Obviously, the Chamberlain's remark could reflect the good sense of Shakespeare himself, or of the herbalists other than Gerard; but, once more, the date of the play (1597-1598) suggests an inspiration derived from a contact with Gerard or his herbal.<sup>105</sup> At the very least, the Shakespearean reference to fern-seed reveals that at around 1598 the dramatist was interested in, and in touch with, the most available scientific view.

In addition to these examples of the nature of Shakespeare's botanical knowledge with reference to particular

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<sup>102</sup> Gerard, op. cit., p. 969.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 979.

<sup>104</sup> Maude Grieve, A Modern Herbal, I, 305.

<sup>105</sup> Gerard's herbal was published in December, 1597; the address to the reader is dated December 1. 1 Henry IV was entered in the Stationer's Register on February 25, 1598; Woodward, op. cit., p. xii; Craig, op. cit., p. 674.

plants and at approximate dates on either side of the year, 1597, one may offer even further evidence of Shakespeare's use of Gerard by way of noting verbal similarities. To be specific, in Hamlet Shakespeare's description of Laertes' mysterious "unction" clearly resembles Gerard's account of the qualities of the following plant:

The first kind of Aconite, of some called Thora, others adde thereto the place where it groweth in great abundance, which is the Alps, and call it Thora Valdensium . . . . They are strangers in England.<sup>106</sup>

Because aconite, or wolfes-bane, was the deadliest poison commonly known to the Elizabethans, no scholar is very surprised to find the name, aconitum, in 2 Henry IV. On the contrary, in light of the ancient and widespread reputation of the plant--one involving Hades, Hecate, Medea, Cerberus, and the poisoned cup of Ceos--, scholars have searched for other allusions to aconite among Shakespeare's nameless poisons, but the only allusion found thus far occurs in his reference to the poison which Romeo requests of the Apothecary.<sup>107</sup> The generally accepted means of identification in this instance is the device of a gunpowder image which bears a striking resemblance

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<sup>106</sup>Gerard, op. cit., p. 816.

<sup>107</sup>Rohde, Wild Flowers, p. 125; Sidney Beisley, Shakspeare's Garden or the Plants and Flowers Named in His Works Described and Defined, p. 103.



to the explicit gunpowder-aconite comparison in 2 Henry IV, wherein King Henry gives the following advice:

Learn this, Thomas,  
And thou shalt prove a shelter to thy friends,  
A hoop of gold to bind thy brothers in,  
That the united vessel of their blood,  
Mingled with the venom of suggestion--  
As force perforce, the age will pour it in--  
Shall never leak, though it do work as strong  
As aconitum or rash gunpowder. (IV.iv.41-48)<sup>108</sup>

Similarly, Romeo commands:

Let me have  
A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear  
As will disperse itself through all the veins  
That the life-weary taker may fall dead  
And that the trunk may be discharged of breath  
As violently as hasty powder fired  
Doth hurry from the fatal cannon's womb.  
(Romeo and Juliet, V.ii.59-65)

The resemblance between "hasty powder fired" and "rash gunpowder" is the crucial support for the inclusion of Romeo's speech in the numerous discussions of Shakespeare's references to aconite--and yet, strangely enough, no one scholar seems to have noticed that this gunpowder image appears, again, in relation to the "unction" that Laertes has purchased from a mountebank. King Claudius employs this figure immediately after Laertes explains the remarkable power of the poison which he intends to use in the future sword play with Hamlet:

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<sup>108</sup>The italics here and in the next two quotations are the present author's.

Let's further think of this;  
 Weigh what convenience both of time and means  
 May fit us to our shape: if this should fail,  
 And that our drift look through our bad performance,  
 'Twere better not assayed: therefore this project  
 Should have a back or second, that might hold,  
If this should blast in proof. (Hamlet, IV.vii.149-155)

The immediate antecedent of this, in the clause, "If this should blast in proof," seems to be project, but the project at hand is the business of anointing a sword with poison; hence, the line suggests a subtle application of the poison-powder figure. Certainly, there can be little doubt that Claudius is alluding to the imagery associated with the machinery of war. The Furness Variorum quotes Steevens: "A metaphor taken from the trying or proving of fire-arms or cannon, which blast or burst in the proof"; and Craig observes: "Burst in the test (like a cannon)."<sup>109</sup> Obviously, if precedent is of any value, Laertes' poison could find a place in a list of Shakespeare's allusions to aconite, simply on the basis of this gunpowder image. However, in order to give support to this identification, one turns to Gerard, where there is ample evidence, not in Gerard's description of the common Aconitum napellus, but, as suggested earlier, in his account of an even more violent foreign variety. A mere paraphrase of Gerard's account will not convey the full import of

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<sup>109</sup>Furness, Variorum, Hamlet, I, 368; Craig, op. cit., p. 935, fn. 155.

this evidence. One needs to comprehend the entire passage alongside the relevant lines from Hamlet, which include not only Laertes' first description of the unction, but also his later remarks uttered during the episode of the swordplay in the final act:

Laertes: I'll anoint my sword,  
I bought an unction of a mountebank,  
So mortal that, but dip a knife in it,  
Where it draws blood no cataplasme so rare, 110  
Collected from all simples that have virtue  
Under the moon, can save the thing from death  
That is but scratched withal: I'll touch my point  
With this contagion, that, if I gall him slightly,  
It may be death. (IV.vii.141-149)

Laertes: Hamlet, thou art slain;  
No medicine in the world can do thee good;  
In thee there is not half an hour of life;  
The treacherous instrument is in thy hand,  
Unbated and envenom'd. (V.ii.324-328)

Of Wolfes-bane

Hamlet

"The Description"

The first kinde of Aconite,  
of some called Thora, others  
adde thereto the place where  
it groweth in great aboundance,  
which is the Alpes, and call  
it Thora Valdensium. This  
plant tooke his name of the  
Greeke word, signifying  
corruption, murther, poison,  
or death, which are the

I'll touch my point with  
this contagion

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110 Perhaps Shakespeare knew that Medea was said to have used aconite: "In such a night / Medea gathered the enchanted herbs / That did renew old AEson" (The Merchant of Venice, V.i.13-15); see Krutch, op. cit., p. 126, on Medea.



certaine effects of this  
 pernicious plant: for this  
 they use very much in poison,  
 and when they meane to infect  
 their arrowe heads, the more  
 speedily and deadly to dispatch  
 the wilde and savage, beasts  
 which do greatly annoy those  
 Mountaines of the Alpes: to  
 which purpose also it is  
 brought into the Mart townes  
 neere vnto those places, to be  
solde vnto the hunters, who  
 prepare the iuice thereof by  
 Pressing it forth in hornes and  
hoofes<sup>111</sup> of beasts reseruing  
 it for the most speedie of all  
 the Aconites; for an arrowe  
touched therewith, leaueth the  
wounde uncurable (if it fetch  
bloude where it entereth)<sup>112</sup>  
 except rounde about the wound  
 the flesh be cut away in great  
 quantitie: this plant there-  
 fore may rightly be accounted  
 as first and chiefe of those  
 that be called Sagittarie or  
 Aconites, by reason of the  
 malignant qualities aforesaid.  
 This that hath been sayd,  
 argueth also that Matthiolus  
 hath improperly called it Pseudo-  
 aconitum, that is false or  
 bastard Aconite; for without  
 question there is no worse or  
more speedie venome in the  
world, nor no Aconite or toxicall  
 plant comparable hereunto.

So mortal

envenom'd

I bought

I'll touch my point

So mortal that, but dip a  
 knife in it, / Where it draws  
blood no cataplasme . . . can  
 save the thing from death /  
 That is but scratched withal  
 gall him slightly

No medicine in the world can  
 do thee good

<sup>111</sup>See the following discussion.

<sup>112</sup>See Woodward, op. cit., p. 228; where Thomas Johnson  
 apparently understood guard to mean the following: ". . . if  
 it but fetch bloud where it entred in."

# "The Temperature and Vertues"

The force of these woolfes-banes  
are most pernicious and poison-  
some, and (as it is reported)  
exceedeth the malice of Napellus,  
or any of the other Woolfes-  
banes, as we have said.

They say that it is of such  
force, that if a man especially,  
and then next any fower footed  
beast or any other wilde beasts  
be wounded with an arrow or  
other instrument dipped in the  
juice heereof doth die within  
halfe an houre after remedi-  
lesse.<sup>113</sup>

The treacherous instrument  
but dip a knife in it  
death

In thee there is not halfe an  
hour of life

No medicine in the world can  
do thee good

Not only do the obvious similarities between Gerard's  
"stranger" aconite and Laertes' mysterious "unction" seem to  
preclude elaboration; they also clarify important connections  
between the plants in Hamlet and those in other passages  
thought to have been composed or revised by Shakespeare during,  
or soon after, 1598. For instance, in light of Gerard's  
herbal, Laertes' "unction" becomes more clearly related to the  
description of aconite found in 2 Henry IV (c. 1599-1600),  
since one notices that Gerard mentions the way in which the  
powerful poison is conveyed. Because it is the "most speedie"  
poison and can leak through ordinary containers, it is

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<sup>113</sup>Gerard, op. cit., pp. 816-817; emphasis is supplied  
by the present author.

". . . kept in hornes and hoofes of beasts." It is, of course, this notorious property of aconite which supplies the foundation for King Henry's comparison, in which he also alludes to the container:<sup>114</sup>

Learn this, Thomas,  
And thou shalt prove a shelter to thy friends,  
A hoop of gold to bind thy brothers in,  
That the united vessel of their blood,  
Mingled with the venom of suggestion--  
As, force perforce, the age will pour it in--  
Shall never leak, though it do work as strong  
As aconitum or rash gunpowder. (IV.iv.41-48)

Through Henry's allusion to the container, which Gerard notes was the horn or hoof of a beast, one can, perhaps, understand how Shakespeare arrived at his description of aconitum as a "rash gunpowder," since such a container could very easily be associated with a powderhorn. Significantly, in the 1599 quarto of Romeo and Juliet, the image of a powderhorn is linked with Romeo's youthful rashness before the gunpowder image appears in connection with the poison which Romeo purchases from the apothecary.<sup>115</sup> The first image occurs in Act III of Romeo and Juliet, where Friar Laurence warns Romeo as follows:

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<sup>114</sup>Craig, op. cit., p. 728, fn. 47: ". . . an allusion to the belief that aconitum, or wolfsbane, was so powerful in its action that it could make its way through the strongest vessel"; see Oswald Cockayne (ed.), Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England, III, 233, for the notoriety of aconite.

<sup>115</sup>T. P. Harrison, "Hang up Philosophy," SAB, XXIII (1948), 203-209.



Thy wit, that ornament to shape and love,  
 Mis-shapen in a conduct of them both,  
 Like powder in a skilless soldier's flask  
 Is set a-fire by thine own ignorance,  
 And thou dismember'd with thine own defense.  
 (III.iii.130-134)

Bearing in mind this passage, one can have insight into the workings of Shakespeare's imagination in his three references to poisons with the properties of aconite. In Romeo and Juliet, Shakespeare portrays the "rude will" of Romeo in terms of gunpowder accidentally fired because of the ignorance of an inexperienced soldier.<sup>116</sup> The purchase of the poison is one of the actions resulting from Romeo's youthful passion; hence, the gunpowder image describing the poison may be associated with Romeo's emotion, with the flask of the skilless soldier, and with the horn vessel commonly used to contain aconite. In 2 Henry IV, Shakespeare evidently combines again the thoughts of youthful emotion, violent poison, powder, and horns, thus devising King Henry's explicit gunpowder-aconite comparison to suit a discussion of Prince Hal. Although Shakespeare seems to modernize the description of Hal ("... being incensed, he's flint" IV.iv.33), King Henry's comparison may still owe something to the similarity between the horn containers for powder and aconite.<sup>117</sup> That Gerard was a source of inspiration

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<sup>116</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>117</sup> See Furness, Variorum, Romeo and Juliet, p. 185, for an account of match-locks and flint-locks.

in this latter context seems especially probable in light of Lever's note on the comparison of Shallow and the mandrake in the preceding act of the same play. (III.ii.339) Moreover, since the comparison of Romeo and the powder flask does not occur in the 1597 quarto, and since the 1599 quarto claims to be Newly corrected, augmented, and amended, it is not impossible that the herbal contributed to the 1599-1600 descriptions of both Romeo and Hal.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, even if the comparison of Romeo and the powder flask were in Shakespeare's own manuscript before the publication of the 1597 herbal, Shakespeare, having already written the description of Romeo, might have come upon Gerard's account of aconite, recalled his own earlier thoughts, and created the description of Hal in 1599-1600. In either event, the influence of the herbal is plausible. Furthermore, the linking of gun powder, Laertes' "unction," and Gerard's aconite has already been demonstrated. The conclusions to be drawn seem to be that not only was Shakespeare composing or revising the fourth act of 2 Henry IV, the fourth and fifth acts of Hamlet, and, perhaps, the third act of Romeo and Juliet at approximately the same time, but that he was also familiar with the 1597 herbal. Such conclusions

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<sup>118</sup> Craig, op. cit., p. 393; Charles Praetorius, Facsimile, Romeo and Juliet, The First Quarto, 1597, p. 48. Significantly the title-page of the 1597 quarto describes the theatrical company as the servants of Lord Hunsdon. See p. 14, fn. 35, of the present study.

agree both with the present dating of the plays and with Lever's findings.

There is further evidence of Shakespeare's access to the 1597 herbal to be found within the lines immediately following Laertes' first reference to the nameless unction. Here, the passage, containing the famous narration of Ophelia's drowning, may be related to the Spring Song which occurs at the end of Love's Labour's Lost and which may have been a part of the revisions claimed for that play on the title-page of the 1598 Quarto.<sup>119</sup> The relevant lines from Hamlet are the following:

Queen: There is a willow aslant a brook,  
That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream;  
There with fantastic garlands did she make  
Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples  
That liberal shepherds give a grosser name,  
But our cold maids do dead men's fingers call them:  
(IV.vii.167-172)

The crow-flowers in Ophelia's fantastic garlands have always been a moot point.<sup>120</sup> Scholars have suggested various identifications, including Turner's crowtoes and Lyte's crowfoot.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> See Craig, op. cit., p. 100: "Newly corrected and augmented By W. Shakspere. Imprinted at London by W. W. for Cutbert Burby. 1598."

<sup>120</sup> Singleton, op. cit., pp. 207-208; Ellacombe, op. cit., p. 66; Savage, op. cit., p. 18; Rohde, op. cit., p. 13; Thiselton Dyer, The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare, p. 201.

<sup>121</sup> Grigson, op. cit., p. 406; Lyte, op. cit., p. 55.



Gerard, however, gives the exact name, Crowe flowers:

Of Crowe flowers, or Wilde Williams, which of some have been inserted among the wild campions and of others the Flos Cuculi . . . .<sup>122</sup>

Strangely enough, in the same passage, Gerard refers to his own previous discussion of Ladie-smocks or Cuckowe flower:

The Cuckowe flower I have comprehended under the title of Sifonbrium, Englished Ladie smocks which hath been generally taken for Flos Cuculi.<sup>123</sup>

In short, within the space of two pages in the 1597 herbal, one finds three names that contribute to three of the most vexing problems in the botanical identification of Shakespeare's plants.<sup>124</sup> Perhaps, Shakespeare noted the names Ladie-smocks

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<sup>122</sup>Gerard, op. cit., p. 480.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>124</sup>See Singleton, op. cit., p. 208. As in the case of the silver-white lady-smocks and the improbable cuckoo-buds, scholars generally spend a good deal of time puzzling over the exact botanical identifications of Ophelia's flowers with reference to compatible seasons and habitats. However, upon investigating Gerard's herbal, one thinks it is fairly evident that quibbling of this sort may result from failing to consider the possibility that the Shakespearean references draw upon both direct observation and books, in which case the imaginative quality of the names given to plants may sometimes be more important than the precise times and places of their growth in natural surroundings. See W. P. Mustard, "Shakespeare's Broom Groves," MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 79-81, for another discussion of exact botanical identifications.

and Cuckowe flower, in Gerard's discussion of Crowe flowers, and then turned to Gerard's section on Cuckowe flower, using the latter information as a basis for his Spring Song in Love's Labour's Lost, but recalling the former in the process of writing his description of Ophelia's fantastic garlands. Certainly, the following two stanzas of "The Deceased Maiden Lover" suggest that there was a second source which might bring Gerard's crowe flowers to mind:

#### The Deceased Maiden Lover

Then round the meddowes did she walke,  
 Catching each flower by the stalke,  
 Such as within the meddowes grew,  
 As dead mans thumbe, and hare-bell blew;  
 And as she pluckt them, still cried she,<sup>125</sup>  
 'Alas! there's none 'ere loved like me!'

The pretty Daisy which doth show  
 Her love to Phoebus, bred her woe;  
 (Who joys to see his cheareful face,  
 And mournes when he is not in place)  
 'Alacke! alacke! alacke! quoth she,  
 There's none that ever loves like me.'<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Quoted in Ellacombe, op. cit., p. 149; Edmund Malone, op. cit., VII, 459; Grindon, op. cit., p. 129; Singleton, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

<sup>126</sup> Quoted in Ellacombe, op. cit., p. 368. It seems incomprehensible that these two stanzas are nowhere cited together and that, consequently, no scholar fully sees the connection between the flowers of the deceased maiden and Ophelia's flowers. Furness, Variorum, Hamlet, I, 371, does not give any part of the Roxburghe Ballads at this point. Malone, op. cit., p. 429, quotes Steevens on the first stanza, without the refrain and with reference only to dead mans thumbe. Grindon, op. cit., p. 129, offers the first stanza plus the refrain, for the same plant. Singleton, op. cit., pp. 207-208, quoting the first

In addition to dead Mans thumbe and daisy, both obviously similar to Ophelia's flowers, the ballad contains hare-bell or hyacinth, commonly called crow-toes.<sup>127</sup> Hence, if Shakespeare knew this version, or a similar version of the ballad, he might have recalled the name, crowtoes and, then, for aesthetic reasons, have converted it to Gerard's crowe flower; thus, Ophelia's garlands would reflect a combination of sources, among them the 1597 herbal.<sup>128</sup>

There are other passages which contain further convincing evidence to show that, during the years 1598-1600, Shakespeare was frequently consulting Gerard's herbal. For instance, Shakespeare's only references to columbines are in the fourth act of Hamlet (along with Laertes' "unction" and Ophelia's

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(continued) stanza and refrain, points to a possible relationship between Ophelia's crow-flowers and the hare-bell, but she does not cite the second stanza. Most surprising is the fact that Ellacombe, op. cit., p. 149, gives both stanzas and both refrains, separated by 219 pages in the 1884 edition. He cites the first stanza under long purples and includes the second stanza in Appendix I, which consists of a paper on the daisy read before a natural history group in 1874. He does not expound upon any relationship between the two stanzas.

<sup>127</sup> Grigson, op. cit., p. 406; Singleton, op. cit., pp. 207-208. Both Turner and Lyte cite crowtoes.

<sup>128</sup> Singleton, op. cit., pp. 207-208, states on the basis of the first stanza, that Shakespeare knew the ballad; Steevens, in Malone, op. cit., VII, 459, states merely that "The deceased Maiden Lover" is an "ancient" ballad. If Shakespeare did know the ballad, perhaps he found here the azur'd harebell in Cymbeline, IV.ii.222. If not, he could find it in Gerard, op. cit., p. 99; see Grigson, op. cit., p. 407.



crowflowers, IV.v.180) and in the fifth act of Love's Labour's Lost (with lady-smocks and cuckoo-buds, V.11.663). Significantly, in 1597, Gerard writes that columbines are not yet very well known:

Columbines are thought to be temperate between heate and moisture . . . . Notwithstanding, what temperature or virtues Colombines have, is not yet sufficiently known. They are used especially to decke the gardens of the curious, garlands and houses.<sup>129</sup>

Again, in Much Ado about Nothing (where the references to honeysuckle and woodbine become correct), Shakespeare names the second watch, George Seacole, and draws attention to the name:

Verges: Well, give them their charge, neighbour Dogberry.

Dogberry: First, who think you the most desartless man to be constable?

First Watch: Hugh Otecake, sir, or George Seacole; for they can write and read.

Dogberry: Come hither, neighbour Seacole. God hath blessed you with a good name . . . .  
(III.111.7-14)

Curiously enough, in his index, Gerard lists Sea Coale, with a page number for a discussion of sea bindweed, in which he complains at great length that authors are using the name Sea Coale incorrectly.<sup>130</sup> That Shakespeare probably means for

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<sup>129</sup> Gerard, op. cit., pp. 935-936.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-54.

George Seacole's name to allude to a plant, among other things, seems apparent from the fact that Verges (crab-apple juice), Dogberry, and Otecake, all bear names derived from plants. There are still other strange parallels between the lore of Shakespeare and Gerard. However, one wishes to consider, here, a much later play, Macbeth (1606), in which one finds Banquo's insane root, evidence which shows that Shakespeare's use of the herbal was not confined to any one period of time. When the witches suddenly disappear, Banquo exclaims:

Were such things here as we do speak about?  
Or have we eaten of the insane root  
That takes the reason prisoner? (I.iii.83-85)

The Elizabethans believed that several plants could "take the reason prisoner," causing men to imagine strange apparitions; consequently, some scholars suggest nightshade, mandrake, hemlock, and even one nameless herb, mentioned in Plutarch's Life of Antony, for the insane root.<sup>131</sup> However, a majority of scholars favor the black henbane, because it is the only one of the likely plants which actually bears the name insana, and significantly, the two extant volumes which cite the name are Bartholomaeus de Proprietatibus rerum and the 1597 herbal.<sup>132</sup> All scholars suggest that the former book was Shakespeare's

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<sup>131</sup>Savage, op. cit., p. 407.

<sup>132</sup>Loc. cit.

source, but in view of the preceding findings, it now seems more probable that Shakespeare either recalled the name from both sources, or else encountered it only in the 1597 herbal.<sup>133</sup>

While the evidence presented in this investigation is far from being exhaustive, it provides one with more than sufficient grounds for concluding that Shakespeare knew Gerard's 1597 herbal. First, the date of publication offers a plausible explanation for certain curious changes that occur in Shakespeare's botanical knowledge. Second, Gerard's accounts of Ladie-smocks, Cuckowe Flower, mandrake, and aconite clearly inspire similar Shakespearean versions. Third, names peculiar to Gerard readily explain the Shakespearean names which have long puzzled the earlier scholars; among these are lady-smocks, cuckoo-buds, crow-flowers, and insane root. Fourth, the realization that Shakespeare used Gerard's herbal suggests a reason for the lack of further progress in the few studies which attempt to demonstrate that Lyte's Nievue Herball is Shakespeare's source. It may very well be that additional herbals influenced Shakespeare's lore; nonetheless, future

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<sup>133</sup>See Woodward, op. cit., p. 99; support for the modern reading, "rhubarb and senna" (Macbeth, V.iii.55) may lie in Gerard's recipe, ". . . take the roots of Monks Rubarb and red madder . . . sena foure ounces." Also A. R. Dunlap, "What Purgative Drug? (Macbeth, V.iii.55-56)," MLN, LIV (1939), 92-94; Norman E. Eliason, "Shakespeare's Purgative Drug Cyne," MLN, LVII (1942), 663-665; R. M. Smith, "Macbeth's Cyme Once More," MLN, IX (1945), 33-38; Frank Sullivan, "Cyme, a Purgative Drug," MLN, LVI (1941), 263-264.



investigations should be conducted with a full comprehension of the information contained in the preceding discussions, not only those dealing with the specific lore which Shakespeare took from Gerard, but also those demonstrating the manner in which Shakespeare views his personal experience through the knowledge embodied in more than one source. The need for future studies cannot be doubted, for, as Hankins states, ". . . if a phrase is demonstrably indebted to a literary original, this fact may well modify the kind of interpretation we should give it."<sup>134</sup> The abundant evidence which shows that both Shakespeare and his audience knew the herbals clearly demands that scholars re-approach this herb lore with a more sound Renaissance attitude, including a familiarity with the metaphysical assumptions of herbals. Until scholars attain this background, the present understanding of Shakespeare's herb lore will continue to rest upon inadequate foundations.

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<sup>134</sup> Hankins, op. cit., p. 11.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### DISTRIBUTION OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLANT NAMES

This listing shows the distribution of Shakespeare's plant names throughout the plays, according to the chronology established in the Craig edition.<sup>135</sup> Beyond explicit plant names, the documentation includes botanical puns and allusions found in the names of persons, products, medicines, foods, colors, games, and dances. With an understanding of this distribution, one can more readily determine the nature of Shakespeare's herb lore at approximate dates, thus discovering in the references to plants any curious changes or significant groupings which may illuminate Shakespeare's sources, meanings, and methods.

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<sup>135</sup>Ellacombe, op. cit., pp. 422-426, provides a partial listing.



The Comedy of Errors

- II.11.176 elm, vine  
 II.11.180 ivy, brier, moss  
 II.11.202 grass  
 IV.1.89 balsamum  
 IV.111.73 rush  
 IV.111.74 nut, cherry-stone  
 IV.1v.64 saffron face

Love's Labour's Lost

Dramatis Personae: Costard, Rosaline

Names: Pompion the great

- I.1.96 corn  
 I.1.105 rose  
 I.1.246 ebon-coloured  
 III.1.71 costard  
 III.1.74 plantain  
 III.1.146 carnation ribbon  
 IV.11.4 pomewater  
 IV.11.6 crab  
 IV.11.112 oaks, osiers  
 IV.111.27 rose  
 IV.111.89 cedar  
 IV.111.112 thorn  
 IV.111.247 ebony

- IV.111.383 cockle, corn
- V.1.75 gingerbread
- V.1.161 the hay
- V.11.89 sycamore
- V.11.185 grass
- V.11.231 sugar
- V.11.293 roses
- V.11.315 pease
- V.11.352 lily
- V.11.475 apple of her eye
- V.11.610 elder
- V.11.652 nutmeg
- V.11.653 lemon
- V.11.654 cloves
- V.11.662 mint
- V.11.663 columbine
- V.11.857 wormwood
- V.11.904 daisies, violets
- V.11.905 lady-smocks
- V.11.906 cuckoo-buds
- V.11.913 oaten straws
- V.11.935 crabs

Two Gentlemen of Verona

Dramatis Persona: Crab

I.11.70 gingerly

II.111.20 lily  
 II.vii.29 sedge  
 IV.iv.159 roses  
 IV.iv.160 lily-tincture

The Taming of the Shrew

Ind. 1.48 blam  
 Ind. 1.56 rose-water  
 Ind. 1.126 onion  
 Ind. 11.53 sedges  
 Ind. 11.59 thorny wood  
 I.1.139 apples  
 I.1.156 love in idleness  
 I.1.174 roses  
 I.11.210 chestnut  
 II.1.230 crab  
 II.1.255 hazel-twigg  
 II.1.257 hazel nuts  
 II.1.353 cypress chests  
 III.11.207 oats  
 IV.1.48 rushes  
 IV.1.92 sugarsop  
 IV.11.101 apple  
 IV.111.23 mustard  
 IV.111.66 walnut-shell  
 IV.111.82 costard



IV.111.89 apple-tart

IV.iv.100 parsley

IV.v.14 rush-candle

V.11.173 straws

A Midsummer-Night's Dream

Dramatis Personae: Quince, Peaseblossom, Mustardseed

Names: Mistress Squash, Master Peascod

I.1.76 rose

I.1.77 thorn

I.1.129 roses

I.1.185 wheat, hawthorn buds

I.1.211 grass

I.1.215 primrose-beds

I.11.95 straw-colour beard

I.11.96 orange-tawny beard

I.11.113 duke's oak

II.1.3 brier

II.1.9 orbs

II.1.10 cowslips

II.1.31 acorn-cups

II.1.45 bean-fed horse

II.1.48 crab

II.1.67 pipes of corn

II.1.84 rushy brook

II.1.86 ringlets

- II.1.94 green corn
- II.1.108 crimson rose
- II.1.168 love-in-idleness
- II.1.249 wild thyme
- II.1.250 oxlips, violet
- II.1.251 woodbine
- II.1.252 musk-roses, eglantine
- II.11.3 musk-rose buds
- III.1.4 hawthorn-brake
- III.1.61 bush of thorns
- III.1.79 hempen home-spuns
- III.1.95 lily-white
- III.1.96 red rose, brier
- III.1.110 brier
- III.1.129 orange-tawny bill
- III.1.169 apricocks, dewberries
- III.1.170 purple grapes, green figs, mulberries
- III.11.29 briers, thorns
- III.11.104 apple of his eye
- III.11.140 kissing cherries
- III.11.209 double cherry
- III.11.260 burr
- III.11.329 knot-grass
- III.11.330 acorn
- III.11.443 briers

- IV.1.3 musk-roses
- IV.1.12 thistle
- IV.1.36 oats
- IV.1.37 hay
- IV.1.39 nuts
- IV.1.41 peas
- IV.1.45 woodbine, honeysuckle
- IV.1.46 ivy
- IV.1.47 elm
- IV.1.76 Dian's bud, Cupid's flower
- IV.11.42 onions, garlic
- V.1.136 bush of thorn
- V.1.149 mulberry
- V.1.192 cherry lips
- V.1.263 thorn-bush
- V.1.337 lily lips
- V.1.338 cherry nose
- V.1.339 cowslip cheeks
- V.1.342 leeks
- V.1.396 broom
- V.1.401 brier

King Henry the Sixth, Part One

Dramatis Persona: Richard Plantagenet

- I.1.80 flower-de-luces
- I.11.99 flower-de-luces



I.vi.6 Adonis Gardens  
 II.iv.30 brier, white rose  
 II.iv.33 red rose, thorn  
 II.iv.41 roses  
 II.iv.69 thorn  
 II.v.11 vine  
 III.ii.5 corn  
 III.ii.44 darnel  
 III.iii.18 sugar'd words  
 IV.i.91 red rose

The Second Part of King Henry the Sixth

Dramatis Persona: Richard Plantagenet

I.i.254 white rose  
 I.ii.1 corn  
 II.i.97 plum-tree  
 II.i.101 plums  
 II.i.102 damsons  
 II.iii.45 pine  
 II.iii.67 fig  
 III.i.67 thorns  
 III.ii.45 sugar'd words  
 III.ii.63 primrose  
 III.ii.176 corn  
 III.ii.214 crab-tree  
 III.ii.310 mandrake

III.ii.323 cypress trees  
 III.ii.337 grass  
 IV.ii.74 grass  
 IV.vii.95 hempen caudle  
 IV.x.8 grass  
 V.i.11 flower-de-luce of France  
 V.i.205 cedar  
 V.ii.55 flax

The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth

Dramatis Persona: Richard Plantagenet

I.ii.33 white rose  
 II.i.55 oak  
 II.ii.144 straw  
 II.v.42 hawthorn-bush  
 II.v.97 red rose, white rose  
 III.i.17 balm  
 III.ii.174 thorny wood  
 III.ii.175 thorns  
 III.iii.169 nettled  
 III.iii.228 willow garland  
 IV.i.100 willow garland  
 IV.vi.34 olive branch, laurel crown  
 IV.viii.41 balm  
 IV.viii.61 hay  
 V.ii.11 cedar

V.ii.14 Jove's tree

V.iv.67 thorny wood

V.v.13 thorn

V.vii.3 corn

The Tragedy of King Richard the Third

I.i.94 cherry lip

I.ii.13 balm

I.iii.242 sugar

I.iii.264 cedar

I.iv.159 costard

III.i.13 sugar'd words

III.iv.34 strawberries

III.v.7 straw

IV.iii.12 red roses

V.ii.8 vines

V.iii.19 white rose, red rose

The Life and Death of King John

Dramatis Persona: Arthur Plantagenet

I.i.142 rose

II.i.162 plum, cherry, fig

III.i.53 lillies

III.i.54 rose

III.iv.128 straw

IV.ii.11 lily



- IV.ii.12 violet
- IV.iii.129 rush
- IV.iii.141 thorns

Titus Andronicus

- I.i.74 laurel boughs
- II.iii.95 moss, mistletoe
- II.iii.107 yew
- II.iii.123 corn, straw
- II.iii.199 briars
- II.iii.272 nettles, elder-tree
- II.iv.24 rosed lips
- II.iv.44 lily hands
- II.iv.45 aspen-leaves
- III.i.113 lily
- IV.iii.45 cedars
- IV.iv.71 grass
- IV.iv.91 honey-stalks
- V.i.133 hay-stacks
- V.iii.71 corn

Romeo and Juliet

- I.i.128 grove of sycamore
- I.ii.52 plantain-leaf
- I.iii.26 wormwood
- I.iv.26 thorn

- I.iv.36 rushes
- I.iv.67 hazel-nut
- II.1.34 medlar tree
- II.1.36 medlars
- II.1.38 open et caetera, poperin pear
- II.11.43 rose
- II.111.7 osier cage
- II.1v.62 pink
- II.1v.83 bitter-sweeting
- II.1v.219 rosemary
- III.1.20 nuts
- III.1.21 hazel eyes
- III.1.102 peppered
- III.v.4 pomegranate-tree
- IV.1.99 roses
- IV.111.47 mandrakes
- IV.1v.2 dates, quinces
- IV.v.79 rosemary
- V.1.47 cakes of roses
- V.111.3 yew-trees

The Merchant of Venice

- I.1.18 grass
- I.1.89 green scum
- I.1.116 wheat
- I.111.102 apple

III.1.10 ginger

III.11.120 sugar breath

III.1v.67 reed voice

IV.1.75 pines

V.1.10 willow

Much Ado about Nothing

Dramatis Personae: Dogberry, Verges, George Seacole

Names: Hugh Otecake, Count Comfect

I.111.28 canker rose

I.111.29 rose

II.1.194 willow

II.1.209 sedges

II.1.225 willow-tree

II.1.247 oak

II.1.305 Seville orange

III.1.8 honeysuckles

III.1.30 woodbine

III.1v.73 Carduus Benedictus

III.1v.76 thistle

III.1v.80 holy-thistle

IV.1.33 orange

V.1.211 raisins

The Merry Wives of Windsor

I.1.124 cabbage



- I.i.171 nut-hook
- I.i.296 stewed prunes
- I.ii.12 pippins
- I.iii.33 fico
- I.iii.94 gourd
- II.ii.70 sugar
- II.iii.30 heart of elder
- III.i.14 costard
- III.i.19 roses
- III.ii.71 bachelor's buttons
- III.iii.41 pumpion
- III.iii.76 hawthornbuds
- III.iv.91 turnips
- III.v.147 pepper-box
- IV.i.55 carrot
- IV.ii.169 hollow walnut
- IV.iv.31 Herne's oak
- IV.v.103 dried pear
- IV.vi.19 Herne's oak
- V.i.12 Herne's oak
- V.iii.15 Herne's oak
- V.v.22 potatoes
- V.v.23 eringoes
- V.v.49 bilberry
- V.v.66 juice of balm

V.v.79 Herne's oak

V.v.111 oaks

V.v.159 bag of flax

As You Like It

Dramatis Persona: Rosalind

I.ii.69 mustard

I.iii.12 briars

I.iii.13 burs

II.i.31 oak

II.iv.51 peascod

II.vii.94 thorny point

II.vii.180 holly

III.ii.115 nut

III.ii.117 rose

III.ii.124 medlar

III.ii.185 palm-tree

III.ii.213 cork

III.ii.248 acorn

III.ii.249 Jove's tree

III.ii.379 hawthorns

III.ii.380 brambles

III.ii.390 cage of rushes

III.iii.31 sugar

III.iv.12 chestnut

III.iv.27 nut

III.v.22 rush  
 III.v.75 tuft of olives  
 IV.iii.78 olives  
 IV.iii.80 osiers  
 IV.iii.105 oak, moss  
 V.i.37 grape  
 V.iii.19 corn-field  
 V.iii.23 rye

Twelfth Night; or, What You Will

Dramatis Personae: Viola, Olivia

I.i.6 violets  
 I.iii.108 flax  
 I.v.166 squash, peascod  
 I.v.167 codling, apple  
 I.v.226 olive  
 I.v.287 willow cabin  
 II.iii.126 ginger  
 II.iv.39 roses  
 II.iv.53 cypress  
 II.iv.56 yew  
 II.v.18 box-tree  
 III.i.161 roses  
 III.iv.129 cherry-pit  
 III.iv.158 pepper  
 IV.ii.42 ebony

V.i.230 apple

The Tragedy of King Richard the Second

I.i.172 balm

I.iii.289 grass

II.iii.6 sugar

II.iv.8 bay-tree

III.ii.18 nettles

III.ii.42 pines

III.ii.55 balm

III.ii.117 yew

III.iii.50 grassy carpet

III.iii.162 corn

III.iv.29 apricocks

III.iv.105 rue, herb of grace

IV.i.207 balm

IV.i.323 thorn

V.i.8 rose

V.ii.46 violets

The First Part of King Henry the Fourth

Name: Sir John Sack and Sugar

1.iii.98 sedgy bank

I.iii.105 reeds

I.iii.175 rose

I.iii.176 thorn, canker rose



- I.iii.240 nettled
- II.1.9 peas, beans
- II.1.14 oats
- II.1.28 ginger
- II.1.96 fern-seed
- II.ii.47 peach
- II.iii.9 nettle
- II.iv.25 sugar
- II.iv.42 the Pomgarnet
- II.iv.69 thorn
- II.iv.206 radish
- II.iv.211 peppered
- II.iv.264 raisins, blackberries
- II.iv.340 spear-grass
- II.iv.441 camomile
- II.iv.450 blackberries
- II.iv.517 sugar
- III.i.33 moss-grown
- III.i.162 garlic
- III.i.214 rushes
- III.i.260 pepper-gingerbread
- III.iii.5 apple-john
- III.iii.10 pepper-corn
- III.iii.128 prune
- III.iii.180 sugar-candy

V.iii.37 peppered

The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth

I.ii.18 mandrake

I.ii.196 gooseberry

II.i.56 honey-suckle

II.i.58 honey-seed

II.i.64 hemp-seed

II.ii.18 peach-coloured

II.iv.2 apple-john

II.iv.28 rose

II.iv.117 aspen-leaf

II.iv.159 prunes

II.iv.262 Tewksbury mustard

II.iv.267 fennel

II.iv.281 withered-elder

II.iv.359 elm

II.iv.413 peascod time

III.ii.334 radish

III.ii.339 mandrake

IV.i.195 corn

IV.iv.48 aconitum

IV.iv.87 olive

IV.v.115 balm

V.i.16 wheat

V.i.17 red wheat

V.iii.2 pippin  
 V.iii.3 caraways  
 V.iii.44 leather-coats  
 V.iii.124 fig  
 V.iv.8 nut-hook  
 V.v.1 rushes  
 V.v.39 ebon den  
 V.v.87 straw

The Life of King Henry the Fifth

I.i.60 strawberry, nettle  
 I.i.65 grass  
 II.iii.35 carnation  
 II.iii.53 straws  
 III. Pro. 8 hempen tackle  
 III.iii.13 grass  
 III.v.4 vineyards  
 III.v.19 barley-broth  
 III.vi.45 hemp  
 III.vi.60 figo  
 III.vi.62 fig of Spain  
 III.vii.20 nutmeg  
 III.vii.21 ginger  
 IV.i.54 leek  
 IV.i.60 figo  
 IV.i.106 violet

IV.1.210 elder-gun

IV.1.277 balm

IV.11.50 grass

IV.vii.103 leeks

V.i.2 leek

V.11.41 vine

V.11.45 darnel, hemlock, fumitory

V.11.49 cowslip, burnet, clover

V.11.52 docks, thistles, kecksies, burs

V.11.54 vineyards

V.11.224 flower-de-luce

V.11.303 sugar

V.11.323 rosed

### Julius Caesar

I.11.131 palm

I.111.6 oaks

I.111.108 straws

### All's Well That Ends Well

I.1.172 date

I.1.175 pears

I.111.135 thorn

I.111.136 rose

II.1.73 grapes

II.11.24 Tib's rush



II.ii.105 grape  
 II.iii.276 pomegranate  
 II.v.48 nut  
 IV.ii.18 roses  
 IV.ii.19 thorns  
 IV.iii.289 straw  
 IV.iv.32 briars, thorns  
 IV.v.2 saffron  
 IV.v.17 sweet-marjoram  
 IV.v.18 herb of grace  
 IV.v.22 grass  
 V.iii.321 onions

Measure for Measure

I.iii.24 twigs of birch  
 I.iv.16 cheek-roses  
 II.i.92 prunes  
 II.i.133 the Bunch of Grapes  
 II.ii.116 oak  
 II.ii.117 myrtle  
 II.ii.166 violet  
 III.ii.195 garlic  
 IV.i.29 vineyards  
 IV.i.76 corn  
 IV.iii.6 ginger  
 IV.iii.12 peach-coloured

IV.iii.38 straw  
 IV.iii.184 medlar  
 IV.iii.189 bur

Troilus and Cressida

I.i.15 wheat  
 I.i.61 balm  
 I.ii.191 nettle  
 I.ii.281 date  
 I.iii.8 pine  
 I.iii.50 oaks  
 I.iii.107 laurels  
 II.i.22 toadstool  
 II.i.112 nut  
 II.ii.33 raisins  
 II.iii.201 palm  
 III.i.170 palm  
 III.ii.13 lily-beds  
 III.ii.119 burs  
 V.ii.56 potato-finger  
 V.ii.194 almond  
 V.iv.13 blackberry  
 V.v.24 strawy Greeks

Hamlet. Prince of Denmark

Dramatis Persona: Rosencrantz

- I.1.113 palmy state
- I.111.7 violet
- I.111.48 thorny way
- I.111.50 primrose path
- I.v.62 helenon
- I.v.87 thorns
- II.11.201 plum-tree gum
- II.11.260 nutshell
- III.1.48 sugar o'er
- III.1.160 rose
- III.11.191 wormwood
- III.11.288 Provincial roses
- III.11.358 grass
- III.1v.42 rose
- III.1v.64 mildew
- IV.11.19 apple
- IV.1v.26 straw
- IV.v.6 straws
- IV.v.31 grass-green turf
- IV.v.157 rose of May
- IV.v.175 rosemary
- IV.v.176 pansies
- IV.v.180 fennel, columbines
- IV.v.181 rue
- IV.v.182 herb of grace

IV.v.183 daisy

IV.v.184 violets

IV.v.196 flaxen

IV.vii.167 willow

IV.vii.170 crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, long purples

IV.vii.172 dead men's fingers

V.i.263 violets

V.ii.40 palm

V.ii.41 wheaten garland

Othello, the Moor of Venice

I.iii.216 to sugar

I.iii.322 fig

I.iii.324 nettles

I.iii.325 lettuce, hyssop, thyme

I.iii.354 locusts

I.iii.355 coloquintida

II.1.8 ribs of oak

II.1.256 fig

II.1.257 grapes

II.iii.258 balmy slumbers

III.iii.210 oak

III.iii.330 poppy, mandragora

III.iii.435 strawberries

IV.ii.63 rose-lipp'd

IV.iii.28 willow



IV.iii.41 sycamore tree

V.ii.13 rose

V.ii.16 balmy breath

V.ii.248 willow

V.ii.270 rush

V.ii.350 Arabian trees

King Lear

I.i.86 vines

I.i.218 balm

I.iv.219 shealed peascod

I.v.15 crab

I.v.16 apple

II.ii.18 lily-livered

II.iii.16 rosemary

II.iv.128 hay

III.ii.5 oak-cleaving thunderbolts

III.ii.69 straw

III.iv.45 straw

III.iv.47 hawthorn

III.iv.123 white wheat

III.iv.138 green mantle

III.vi.44 corn

III.vi.105 balm'd

III.vii.29 corky arms

III.vii.106 flax

IV.iv.3 fumiter  
 IV.iv.4 bur-docks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers  
 IV.iv.5 darnel  
 IV.iv.6 corn  
 IV.vi.15 samphire  
 IV.vi.94 sweet marjoram  
 IV.vi.171 straw  
 IV.vi.247 costard  
 IV.vii.40 straw  
 V.iii.48 oats

Timon of Athens

III.v.110 balsam  
 IV.iii.40 embalms  
 IV.iii.86 rose-cheeked  
 IV.iii.193 vines  
 IV.iii.223 moss'd trees  
 IV.iii.259 sugar'd game  
 IV.iii.264 oak  
 IV.iii.305 medlar  
 IV.iii.422 oaks, mast, briers, hips  
 IV.iii.425 grass  
 IV.iii.432 blood o' the grape  
 V.i.12 palm  
 V.iv.16 balm  
 V.iv.82 olive

Macbeth

- I.iii.4 chestnuts
- I.iii.18 hay
- I.iii.84 insane root
- II.ii.39 balm
- II.iii.21 primrose way
- IV.1.25 hemlock
- IV.1.27 yew
- IV.1.55 corn
- V.iii.15 lily-liver'd
- V.iii.55 rhubarb, senna

Antony and Cleopatra

- I.ii.32 figs
- I.ii.176 onion
- I.iii.100 laurel
- I.iv.45 flag
- I.v.4 mandragora
- II.vi.37 wheat
- II.vii.13 reed
- II.vii.120 vine
- II.vii.123 grapes
- III.v.18 rush
- III.xi.9 myrtle-leaf
- III.xiii.20 rose
- IV.ii.35 onion-eyed

IV.ii.38 herb of grace

IV.vi.7 olive

IV.xii.1 pine

V.ii.235 figs

V.ii.285 grape

V.ii.314 balm

### Coriolanus

I.i.10 corn

I.i.185 oaks, rushes

I.iii.16 oak

I.iv.18 rushes

I.vi.64 balms

I.x.30 cypress grove

II.i.78 orange-wife

II.i.138 oaken garland

II.i.205 crab-trees

II.i.207 nettle

II.ii.102 oak

II.iii.17 corn

III.i.43 corn

III.i.70 cockle

III.ii.79 mulberry

III.iii.52 briars

IV.v.114 ash

IV.vi.98 garlic-eaters



V.ii.117 oak  
 V.iii.60 cedars  
 V.iii.117 palm  
 V.iii.153 oak  
 V.iv.18 grapes

### Pericles

I.iv.95 corn  
 III.ii.65 balm'd  
 III.iii.18 corn  
 IV.i.16 violets, marigolds  
 IV.vi.38 rose  
 IV.vi.153 thornier  
 IV.vi.160 rosemary, bays  
 V. Pro. 7 roses  
 V. Pro. 8 cherry

### Cymbeline

I.v.83 violets, cowslips, primroses  
 II.ii.13 rushes  
 II.ii.15 lily  
 II.ii.39 cowslip  
 II.iii.26 mary-buds  
 II.v.11 rosy  
 II.v.16 full-acorn'd  
 IV.ii.59 elder

IV.ii.60 vine  
 IV.ii.172 violet  
 IV.ii.175 pine  
 IV.ii.201 lily  
 IV.ii.221 primrose  
 IV.ii.222 harebell  
 IV.ii.223 leaf of eglantine  
 IV.ii.228 furr'd moss  
 IV.ii.267 reed, oak  
 IV.ii.398 daisied plot  
 IV.iv.141 cedar  
 V.v.121 rosy  
 V.v.438 cedar

The Winter's Tale

I.ii.160 squash  
 I.ii.277 flax-wench  
 I.ii.329 thorns, nettles  
 II.i.34 pines  
 II.iii.90 oak  
 III.ii.111 straw  
 III.iii.69 ivy  
 III.iii.95 cork  
 IV.iii.1 daffodils  
 IV.iii.40 sugar, currants, rice  
 IV.iii.48 saffron

- IV.iii.49 mace, dates
- IV.iii.50 nutmegs, ginger
- IV.iii.51 prunes
- IV.iii.52 raisins o' the sun
- IV.iv.74 rosemary, rue
- IV.iv.82 carnations, gillyvors
- IV.iv.104 lavender, mints, savory, marjoram
- IV.iv.105 marigold
- IV.iv.118 daffodils
- IV.iv.120 violets
- IV.iv.122 primroses
- IV.iv.125 oxlips
- IV.iv.126 crown imperial, lilies
- IV.iv.127 flower-de-luce
- IV.iv.162 garlic
- IV.iv.222 damask roses
- IV.iv.436 briars
- IV.iv.595 thorns

The Tempest

- I.i.51 nutshell
- I.i.70 long heath, brown furze
- I.ii.86 ivy
- I.ii.213 reeds
- I.ii.277 pine
- I.ii.294 oak

- I.11.464 acorn
- II.1.52 grass
- II.1.91 apple
- II.1.144 nettle-seed, docks, mallows
- II.1.152 vineyard
- II.1.153 corn
- II.11.171 crabs
- II.11.172 pig-nuts
- II.11.175 filberts
- III.111.23 Arabian tree
- IV.1.52 straw
- IV.1.61 wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, pease
- IV.1.63 stover
- IV.1.66 broom-groves
- IV.1.68 vineyard
- IV.1.73 grass-plot
- IV.1.78 saffron wings
- IV.1.112 vines
- IV.1.129 sedged crowns
- IV.1.136 rye-straw hats
- IV.1.180 briars, furzes, goss, thorns
- IV.1.182 filthy-mantled pool
- IV.1.193 line tree
- IV.1.249 barnacle tree
- V.1.10 line-grove



- V.1.17 eaves of reeds
- V.1.37 green sour ringlets
- V.1.39 mushrooms
- V.1.45 oak
- V.1.48 pine, cedar
- V.1.89 cowslip's bell

The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth

- I.ii.152 the Rose
- II.iv.224 thorny points
- III.i.151 lily
- IV.ii.82 bays, palm
- IV.ii.170 embalm
- V.i.111 corn
- V.i.169 cherry
- V.iv.8 crab-tree staves
- V.iv.57 broom-staff
- V.iv.64 apples
- V.v.32 corn
- V.v.35 vine
- V.v.54 cedar
- V.v.62 lily

## APPENDIX B

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLANT NAMES

This listing facilitates a scholarly investigation of Shakespeare's herb lore by providing the total references to each plant name in a convenient alphabetical arrangement. Variant plant names have been listed in the right-hand column. Titles of the plays have been abbreviated to obvious words or letters.

1. Aconitum 2HIV. IV.iv.48
2. Acorn Temp. I.ii.464; MND. II.i.31; MND. III.ii.330; As You. III.ii.248; Cym. II.v.16
3. Adonis Gardens 1HVI. I.vi.6
4. Almond Troil. V.ii.194
5. Apple Temp. II.i.91; Merch. I.iii.102; Shr. I.i.139; Shr. IV.ii.101; Twelfth. V.i.230; HV. III.vii.155; HVIII. V.iv.64; Lear. I.v.16; Ham. IV.ii.19; MND. III.ii.104; LLL. V.ii.475  
Apple-John: 1HIV. III.iii.5; 2HIV. II.iv.2  
Apple-tart: Shr. IV.ii.89  
Bitter-sweeting: Rom. II.iv.83  
Codlings: Twelfth. I.v.167  
Costards: Wives. III.i.14; LLL. III.1.71; RichIII. I.iv.159; Lear. IV.vi.247  
Crab-apples: Temp. II.ii.171; LLL. IV.ii.6; LLL. V.ii.935; MND. II.i.48; Shr. II.i.230; Lear. I.v.15; 2Gent. IV.iv.26  
Crab-tree: 2HVI. III.ii.214; HVIII. V.iv.8; Cor. II.i.205  
Leathercoats: 2HIV. V.iii.44  
Pippins: Wives. I.ii.12; 2HIV. V.iii.2  
Pomewaters: LLL. IV.ii.4
6. Apricot MND. III.i.169; RichII. III.iv.29
7. Arabian tree Oth. V.ii.350; Temp. III.iii.23
8. Ash Cor. IV.v.114
9. Aspen 2HIV. II.iv.117; Titus. II.iv.45
10. Balm Wives. V.v.66; RichII. I.i.172; 3HVI. IV.viii.41; Rich III. I.ii.13; Troil. I.i.61; Cor. I.vi.64; Tim. V.iv.16; Mac. II.ii.39; Lear. I.i.218; Ant. V.ii.314; RichII. III.ii.55; RichII. IV.1.207; 2HIV. IV.v.115; HV. IV.i.277; 3HVI. III.i.17; Shr. Ind. i.48; Per.

III.11.65; Lear. III.vi.105  
 Balsamum: Err. IV.1.89  
 Balmy: Oth. II.111.258; Oth. V.11.16  
 Balsam: Tim. III.v.110  
 Embalm: HVIII. IV.11.170; Tim. IV.111.  
 40

11. Barley Temp. IV.1.61  
 Barley-broth: HV. III.v.19
12. Barnacles Temp. IV.1.249
13. Bay Per. IV.vi.160  
 Bay-tree: RichII. II.iv.8
14. Bean 1HIV. II.1.9; MND. II.1.45
15. Bilberry Wives. V.v.49
16. Birch Meas. I.111.24
17. Blackberry 1HIV. II.iv.450; 1HIV. II.iv.264;  
Troil. V.iv.13
18. Box Twelfth. II.v.18
19. Bramble As You. III.11.380
20. Briers 3HVI. III.11.175; As You. I.111.12;  
Titus. II.111.199; Temp. IV.1.180;  
Err. II.11.180; MND. II.1.3; MND. III.  
 1.110; MND. III.1.96; MND. III.11.29;  
MND. III.11.443; MND. V.1.401; As You.  
 I.111.12; All's. IV.iv.32; Wint. IV.  
 iv.436; Cor. III.111.52; Titus. II.  
 111.199; Tim. IV.111.422; 1HVI. II.iv.  
 30  
 Thorn: All's. I.111.135; All's. IV.  
 11.19; All's. IV.iv.32; Wint. I.11.  
 329; RichII. IV.1.323; 1HVI. II.iv.69;  
3HVI. III.11.175; 3HVI. V.v.13; Rom.  
 I.iv.26; Ham. I.v.87; Wint. IV.iv.595;  
LLL. IV.111.112; Temp. IV.1.180; MND.  
 I.1.77; MND. III.1.61; MND. III.11.  
 29; MND. V.1.136; 1HIV. I.111.176;  
1HVI. II.iv.33; 2HVI. III.1.67; 3HVI.  
 III.11.175; John. IV.111.141  
 Thorn-bush: MND. V.1.263  
 Thorny: As You. II.vii.94; Shr. Ind.



- 11.59; 3HVI. III.11.174; 3HVI. V. 1v. 67; HVIII. II.1v.224; Ham. I.111.48; Per. IV.v1.153
21. Broom MND. V.1.396; Temp. IV.1.66; HVIII. V.1v.57
22. Burnet HV. V.11.49
23. Burr Meas. IV.111.189; MND. III.11.260; As You. I.111.13; HV. V.11.52; Troil. III. 11.119  
Burr-dock: Lear. IV.1v.4
24. Buttons Wives. III.11.71
25. Cabbage Wives. I.1.124
26. Camomile 1HIV. II.1v.441
27. Carnation HV. II.111.35; LLL. III.1.146; Wint. IV.1v.82  
Gillyvor: Wint. IV.1v.82
28. Carraway 2HIV. V.111.3
29. Carrot Wives. IV.1.55
30. Cedar Temp. V.1.48; LLL. IV.111.89; 2HVI. V.1.205; 3HVI. V.11.11; RichIII. I. 111.264; HVIII. V.v.54; Cor. V.111. 60; Titus. IV.111.45; Cym. V.1v.141; Cym. V.v.438
31. Cherry MND. III.11.209; John. II.1.162; Per. V. Prol. 8; HVIII. V.1.169; MND. III. 11.140; MND. V.1.192; RichIII. I.1. 94; MND. V.1.338  
Cherry-pit: Twelfth. III.1v.129  
Cherry-stone: Err. IV.111.74
32. Chestnut Shr. I.11.210; Mac. I.111.4; As You. III.1v.12
33. Clove LLL. V.11.654
34. Clover HV. V.11.49  
Honey-seed: 2HIV. II.1.56  
Honey-stalks: Titus. IV.1v.91

35. Cockle LLL. IV.iii.383; Cor. III.1.70
36. Coloquintida Oth. I.iii.355
37. Columbine LLL. V.ii.663; Ham. IV.v.180
38. Cork As You. III.ii.213; Wint. III.iii.95  
Corky: Lear. III.vii.29
39. Corn Meas. IV.1.76; LLL. I.1.96; MND. II.1.94; RichII. III.iii.162; 2HVI. I.ii.1; 2HVI. III.ii.176; 3HVI. V.vii.3; HVIII. V.v.32; Titus. II.iii.123; Titus. V.iii.71; Mac. IV.1.55; Lear. III.vi.44; Lear. IV.iv.6; MND. II.1.67; Temp. II.1.153; LLL. IV.iii.383; 2HIV. IV.1.195; 1HVI. III.ii.5; HVIII. V.1.111; Cor. I.1.10; Cor. II.iii.17; Cor. III.1.43; Per. I.iv.95; Per. III.iii.18  
Corn-field: As You. V.iii.19
40. Cowslip Temp. V.1.89; MND. II.1.10; MND. V.1.339; HV. V.ii.49; Cym. I.v.83; Cym. II.ii.39
41. Crow-flower Ham. IV.vii.170
42. Crown-imperial Wint. IV.iv.126
43. Cuckoo-buds LLL. V.ii.906
44. Cuckoo-flowers Lear. IV.iv.4
45. Cupid's-flower MND. IV.1.76
46. Currant Wint. IV.iii.40
47. Cypress Shr. II.1.353; Twelfth. II.iv.53; 2HVI. III.ii.323; Cor. I.x.30
48. Daffodil Wint. IV.iii.1; Wint. IV.iv.118
49. Daisy Cym. IV.ii.398; LLL. V.ii.904; Ham. IV.v.183; Ham. IV.vii.170
50. Darnel 1HVI. III.ii.44; HV. V.ii.45; Lear. IV.iv.5

51. Date All's. I.i.172; Wint. IV.iii.49;  
Troil. I.ii.281; Rom. IV.iv.2
52. Dewberry MND. III.i.169
53. Dian's Bud MND. IV.1.76
54. Dock Temp. II.1.144; HV. V.ii.52
55. Dogberry Ado. III.iii.8
56. Ebony LLL. IV.iii.247; Twelfth. IV.ii.42  
Ebon: 2HIV. V.v.39  
Ebon-colored: LLL. I.1.246
57. Eglantine MND. II.1.252; Cym. IV.ii.233
58. Elder Wives. II.iii.30; LLL. V.ii.610; HV.  
IV.1.210; Cym. IV.iii.59  
Elder-tree: Titus. II.iii.272,277  
Withered-elder: 2HIV. II.iv.281
59. Elm Err. II.ii.176; MND. IV.1.47; 2HIV.  
II.iv.359
60. Eringoe Wives. V.v.23
61. Fennel 2HIV. II.iv.267; Ham. IV.v.180
62. Fern 1HIV. II.1.96
63. Fig MND. III.1.170; John. II.1.162; Ant.  
V.ii.235; Ant. I.ii.32; 2HVI. II.iii.  
67; Oth. I.iii.322; Oth. II.1.256; HV.  
III.vi.62; 2HIV. V.iii.124  
Fico: Wives. I.iii.33  
Figo: HV. III.vi.60; HV. IV.1.60
64. Filbert Temp. II.ii.175
65. Flag Ant. I.iv.45
66. Flax Wives. V.v.159; Twelfth. I.iii.108;  
2HVI. V.ii.55; Lear. III.vii.106  
Flaxen: Ham. IV.v.196  
Flax-wench: Wint. I.ii.277
67. Flower-de-luce 1HVI. I.1.80; 1HVI. I.ii.99; 2HVI. V.  
1.11; HV. V.ii.224; Wint. IV.iv.127



68. Fumiter Lear. IV.iv.3; HV. V.11.45
69. Furze Temp. I.1.70; Temp. IV.1.180
70. Garlick Meas. III.11.195; MND. IV.11.42; Wint. IV.iv.162; 1HIV. III.1.162  
Garlic-eater: Cor. IV.vi.98
71. Ginger Meas. IV.111.6; Merch. III.1.10;  
Twelfth. II.111.126; Wint. IV.111.50;  
1HIV. II.1.28; HV. III.vii.21; 2Gent. I.11.70  
Gingerbread-cake: LLL. V.1.75  
Pepper-gingerbread: 1HIV. III.1.260
72. Gooseberry 2HIV. I.11.196
73. Goss Temp. IV.1.180
74. Gourd Wives. I.111.94
75. Grape-vine Meas. II.1.133; MND. III.1.170; As You. V.1.37, 39; All's. II.1.73; All's. II. 11.105; Cor. V.iv.18; Tim. IV.111.432; Oth. II.1.257; Ant. II.vii.120; Ant. II.vii.123; Ant. V.11.285; Temp. IV. 1.112; Err. II.11.176; HV. V.11.41; 1HVI. II.v.11; RichIII. V.11.8; HVIII V.v.35, 50; Tim. IV.111.193; Lear. I. 1.86; Cym. IV.11.60  
Vine-yard: Temp. II.1.152; Temp. IV. 1.68; Meas. IV.1.29; HV. III.v.4; HV. V.11.54
76. Grass Temp. II.1.52; Err. II.11.202; LLL. V.11.185; MND. I.1.211; Merch. I.1.18; All's. IV.v.22; RichII. I.111.289; HV. I.1.65; HV. III.111.13; HV. IV.11.50; 2HVI. III.11.337; 2HVI. IV.11.74; 2HVI. IV.x.8; Titus. IV.iv.71; Tim. IV.111.425; Ham. III.11.358  
Grass-green: Ham. IV.v.31  
Grass-plot: Temp. IV.1.73  
Grassy: RichII. III.111.50
77. Green-scum Lear. III.iv.138; Temp. IV.1.182;  
Merch. I.1.89
78. Harebell Cym. IV.11.222



79. Hawthorn As You. III.11.379; Lear. III.1v.47, 102; MND. III.1.4; Wives. III.111.76; MND. I.1.185; 3HVI. II.v.42
80. Hay LLL. V.1.161; MND. IV.1.37; 3HVI. IV.viii.61; Titus. V.1.133; Lear. II.1v.128; Mac. I.111.18
81. Hazel-nut MND. IV.1.39; Rom. I.1v.67; Rom. III.1.21; Shr. II.1.257; Shr. II.1.255; Troil. II.1.112; Err. IV.111.74
82. Heath Temp. I.1.70
83. Hebenon Ham. I.v.62
84. Hemlock HV. V.11.45; Mac. IV.1.25; Lear. IV.1v.4
85. Hemp HV. III.vi.45; HV. III. Pro. 8; 2HVI. IV.vii.95; MND. III.1.79; 2HIV. II.1.64
86. Herb-of-grace All's. IV.v.18; RichII. III.1v.105; Ham. IV.v.182; Ant. IV.11.38
87. Hips Tim. IV.111.422
88. Hoardocks Lear. IV.1v.4
89. Holly As You. II.vii.180, 182
90. Holy-thistle Ado. III.1v.73, 80
91. Honey-stalks Titus. IV.1v.91
92. Honeysuckle Ado. III.1.8; MND. IV.1.45; 2HIV. II.1.56; 2HIV. II.1.58
93. Hyssop Oth. I.111.325
94. Insane Root Mac. I.111.84
95. Ivy Temp. I.11.86; Err. II.11.180; MND. IV.1.46; Wint. III.111.69
96. Jove's-tree 3HVI. V.11.14; Temp. V.1.45; As You. III.11.249

97. Kecksies HV. V.11.52
98. Knot-grass MND. III.11.329
99. Lady-smocks LLL. V.11.905
100. Laurel Troil. I.111.107; 3HVI. IV.v1.34;  
Titus. I.1.74; Ant. I.111.100; HVIII.  
IV.11.82
101. Lavender Wint. IV.1v.104
102. Leek HV. IV.1.54; HV. IV.v11.103; HV. V.  
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103. Lemon LLL. V.11.653
104. Lettuce Oth. I.111.325
105. Lily 2Gent. II.111.20; LLL. V.11.352; Wint.  
IV.1v.126; John. III.1.53; John. IV.  
11.11; HVIII. III.1.151; HVIII. V.v.  
62; Titus. III.1.113; Cym. II.11.15;  
Cym. IV.11.201; Titus. II.1v.44; MND.  
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Lily-livered: Mac. V.111.15; Lear.  
II.11.18  
Lily-white: MND. III.1.95
106. Line Temp. V.1.10; Temp. IV.1.193
107. Long-heath Temp. I.1.70
108. Locusts Oth. I.111.354
109. Long-purples Ham. IV.v11.170  
Dead-men's fingers: Ham. IV.v11.172
110. Mace Wint. IV.111.49
111. Mallow Temp. II.1.144
112. Mandragora Oth. III.111.330; HIV. I.11.18; 2HIV.  
III.11.339; 2HVI. III.11.310; Rom. IV.  
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113. Marigold Wint. IV.1v.105; Per. IV.1.16

114. Marjoram Wint. IV.iv.104; All's. IV.v.17;  
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115. Mary-buds Cym. II.iii.26
116. Mast Tim. IV.iii.422
117. Medlar Meas. IV.iii.184; As You. III.ii.  
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118. Mildew Lear. III.iv.123; Ham. III.iv.64
119. Mint LLL. V.ii.662; Wint. IV.iv.104
120. Mistletoe Titus. II.iii.95
121. Moss Err. II.ii.180; Titus. II.iii.95;  
Cym. IV.ii.228; 1HIV. III.i.33; Tim.  
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122. Mulberry MND. V.i.149; MND. III.i.170; Cor. II.  
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123. Mushroom Temp. V.i.39; MND. II.i.9  
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124. Mustard As You. I.ii.69, 70, 85; Shr. IV. III.  
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125. Myrtle Meas. II.ii.117; Ant. III.xii.9
126. Nettle Wint. I.ii.329; RichII. III.ii.18;  
1HIV. II.iii.9; HV. I.i.60; Troil. I.  
ii.191; Cor. II.i.207; Titus. II.iii.  
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iii.169  
Nettle-seed: Temp. II.i.144
127. Nut All's. II.v.48; As You. III.iv.27;  
MND. IV.i.39; As You. III.ii.115; Troil.  
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128. Nutmeg Wint. IV.111.50; HV. III.v11.20; LLL. V.11.652
129. Oak LLL. IV.11.112; Temp. I.11.294; Temp. V.1.45; Wives. IV.iv.31, 40, 42; Wives. IV.vi.19; Wives. V.v.79; Wives. V.1.12; Meas. II.11.116; Wives. V.111.15; Wives. V.v.111; Ado. II.1.247; MND. I.11.113; As You. II.1.31; As You. IV.111.105; 3HVI. II.1.55; Troil. I.111.50; Cor. I.1.185; Cor. V.11.117; Tim. IV.111.264, 422; Cor. V.111.153; Caes. I.111.6; Oth. II.1.8; Cym. IV.11.267; Wint. II.111.90; Oth. III.111.210; Cor. I.111.16; Cor. II.11.102; Temp. V.1.45  
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130. Oats Temp. IV.1.61; MND. IV.1.36; Shr. III.11.207; 1HIV. II.1.14; Lear. V.111.38  
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131. Olive As You. III.v.75; Twelfth. I.v.226; 2HIV. IV.iv.87; 3HVI. IV.vi.34; Tim. V.iv.82; Ant. IV.vi.7  
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132. Onion MND. IV.11.42; Shr. Ind. 1.126; All's. V.111.321; Ant. I.11.176; Ant. IV.11.35
133. Orange Ado. II.1.305; Ado. IV.1.33  
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134. Osier LLL. IV.11.112; As You. IV.111.80; Rom. II.111.7
135. Oxlip MND. II.1.250; Wint. IV.iv.125
136. Palm Troil. II.111.201; Troil. III.1.170; Cor. V.111.117; Tim. V.1.12; Caes. I.11.131; Ham. V.11.40; HVIII. IV.11.82  
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137. Pansy Ham. IV.v.176; MND. II.i.168; Shr. I. 1.156
138. Parsley Shr. IV.iv.100
139. Peach Meas. IV.iii.12; 1HIV. II.ii.47; 2HIV. II.ii.18
140. Pear Wives. IV.v.103; All's. I.i.175, 176, 177; Rom. II.i.38  
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141. Pea Temp. IV.i.61; LLL. V.ii.315; MND. IV.i.41; 1HIV. II.i.9  
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143. Pig-nut Temp. II.ii.172
144. Pine Temp. I.ii.277; Temp. V.i.48; Merch. IV.i.75; Wint. II.i.34; RichII. III. ii.42; 2HVI. II.iii.45; Troil. I. iii.8; Ant. IV.xii.1, 23; Cym. IV.ii. 175
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147. Plum John. II.i.162; 2HVI. II.i.101  
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148. Pomegranate All's. II.iii.276  
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151. Primrose Wint. IV.iv.122; 2HVI. III.ii.63; Cym. I.v.83; Cym. IV.ii.221; MND. I.i.215; Mac. II.iii.21; Ham. I.iii.50
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160. Rosemary Lear. II.iii.16; Per. IV.vi.160; Wint. IV.iv.74; Rom. II.iv.219; Rom. IV.v.79; Ham. IV.v.175
161. Rose MND. II.i.252; MND. II.ii.3; MND. IV.i.3; MND. III.i.96; MND. I.i.76. MND. II.i.108; MND. I.i.129; 1HVI. II.iv.30; 1HVI. IV.i.91, 152; 2HVI. I.i.254; 3HVI. I.ii.33; 3HVI. II.v.97, 101; RichIII. V.iii.19; RichIII. IV.iii.12; As You. III.ii.117; As You. I.ii.24; Ham. III.ii.288; Ham. IV.v.157; Ham. III.i.160; Ham. III.iv.42; Wint. IV.iv.222; LLL. V.ii.293; 1HVI. II.iv.33; 1HVI. II.iv.41; LLL. I.i.105; LLL. IV.iii.27; LLL. V.ii.295, 297; Rom. V.i.47; Rom. II.ii.43; Rom. IV.i.99; Wives. III.i.19; Ado. I.iii.28; Shr. I.i.174; Shr. Ind. i.56; Cym. II.v.11; Cym. V.v.121; All's. I.iii.136; Twelfth. II.iv.39; Twelfth. III.i.161; John. III.i.54; RichII. V.i.8; 1HIV. I.iii.175; 2HIV. II.iv.28; Oth. V.ii.13; Oth. IV.

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162. Rue Wint. IV.iv.74; RichII. III.iv.105;  
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163. Rush As You. III.ii.390; Shr. IV.i.48;  
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164. Rye Temp. IV.i.61; As You. V.iii.23; Temp.  
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165. Saffron All's. IV.v.2; Wint. IV.iii.48; Temp.  
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166. Samphire Lear. IV.vi.15
167. Savory Wint. IV.iv.104
168. Sedge 2Gent. II.vii.29; Ado. II.i.209; Shr.  
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169. Senna Mac. V.iii.55
170. Speargrass 1HIV. II.iv.340
171. Stover Temp. IV.i.63
172. Straw LLL. V.ii.913; Caes. I.iii.108; Shr.  
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173. Strawberry HV. I.i.60; RichIII. III.iv.34, 49; Oth. III.iii.435
174. Sugar Wives. II.ii.70; LLL. V.ii.231; As You. III.iii.31; Wint. IV.iii.40; RichII. II.iii.6; 1HIV. II.iv.25; RichIII. I.iii.242; Merch. II.ii.120; HV. V.ii.303; Oth. I.iii.216; Ham. III.i.48; Tim. IV.iii.259; 1HVI. III.iii.18; 2HVI. III.ii.45; RichIII. III.1.13; 1HIV. III.iii.180; Shr. IV.i.92; 1HIV. II.iv.517
175. Sycamore LLL. V.ii.89; Rom. I.i.128; Oth. IV.iii.41
176. Thistle Ado. III.iv.76, 80; MND. IV.i.12; HV. V.ii.52
177. Thorn Shr. Ind. ii.59; All's. I.iii.135; All's. IV.ii.19; All's. IV.iv.32; Wint. I.ii.329; RichII. IV.i.323; 1HVI. II.iv.69; 3HVI. III.ii.175; 3HVI. V.v.13; Rom. I.iv.26; Ham. I.v.87; Wint. IV.iv.596; LLL. IV.iii.112
178. Thyme MND. II.i.249; Oth. I.iii.325
179. Toadstool Troil. II.i.22
180. Turnip Wives. III.iv.91
181. Vetches Temp. IV.i.61
182. Violet Meas. II.ii.166; LLL. V.ii.904; MND. II.i.250; Twelfth. I.i.6; Wint. IV.iv.120; John. IV.ii.12; RichII. V.ii.46; HV. IV.i.106; Ham. I.iii.7; Ham. IV.v.184; Ham. V.i.263; Cym. I.v.83; Cym. IV.ii.172; Per. IV.i.16
183. Walnut Wives. IV.ii.169; Shr. IV.iii.66
184. Wheat Temp. IV.i.61; MND. I.i.185; Merch. I.i.116; 2HIV. V.i.16, 17; Troil. I.i.15; Lear. III.iv.123; Ant. II.vi.37; Ham. V.ii.41
185. Willow Ham. IV.vii.167; Ado. II.i.194; Ado. II.i.225; Merch. V.i.10; Twelfth. I.v.



287; 3HVI. III.111.228; 3HVI. IV.1.  
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186. Woodbine

Ado. III.1.30; MND. II.1.251; MND.  
IV.1.45

187. Wormwood

LLL. V.11.857; Rom. I.111.26, 30; Ham.  
III.11.191

188. Yew

Twelfth. II.1v.56; RichII. III.11.  
117; Titus. II.111.107; Mac. IV.1.27;  
Rom. V.111.3