
By A Phoenix
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1. AN UNRECOGNISED FRANCIS BACON MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED GIARDINO COSOMOGRAFICO COLLIVATO

His first, and childish, years, were not without some Mark of Eminency; At which Time, he was endued, with that Pregnancy and towardness, of Wit; As they were Presages, of that Deep, and Universall, Apprehension, which was manifest in him, afterward.

[William Rawley, ed., Resuscitatio, Or, Bringing into Publick Light Several Pieces, Of The Works, Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological, Hitherto Sleeping; Of the Right Honourabl Francis Bacon (London: printed by Sarah Griffin for William Lee, 1657), B2]

He had a large mind from his father, and great abilities from his mother; his parts improved more than his years: his great, fixed, and methodical memory, his solid judgment, his quick fancy, his ready expression, gave high assurance of that profound and universal knowledge and comprehension of things which then rendered him the observation of great and wise men, and afterwards the wonder of all…At twelve, his industry was above the capacity, and his mind above the reach of his contemporaries.


And those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Veralum, [Lord Bacon] like great Masters in Painting, can tell by the Design, the Strength, the way of Colouring, whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his Name be not to it.


These writings can be classified into four categories: first, texts that Bacon wrote but not for public consumption; second, texts Bacon wrote to be circulated with his name; third, texts Bacon intended to circulate anonymously; and fourth, texts that were intended to circulate under another’s name.


From the late 1560s through to the early 1570s and beyond the Bacon family country estate at Gorhambury headed by Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon was a refuge and hotbed for radical Protestant and Puritan dissidents. They included the likes of Church of England preacher Robert Johnson, who served as a private chaplain to Sir Nicholas Bacon, his fellow Church of England clergyman Percival Wiburn, much favoured by Lady Bacon, Thomas Wilcox, chaplain and pensioner of Lady Bacon, and the Puritan clergyman John Field, the two of whom together wrote and published An Admonition to the Parliament in 1572. Later the Puritan archives published as A Part of a Register and the larger manuscript collection known as The Second Part of a Register funded by Lady Bacon, begun by Field, were assembled by Wilcox, at Gorhambury.¹ This radical group also included the Cambridge evangelical preacher Edward Dering who
on 25 February 1570 preached at court before Elizabeth attacking the corrupt church hierarchy holding her directly responsible ‘while that all these whordoms are committed’, you sit idly by and let it happen.\(^2\) Needless to say his personal tirade directed at Queen Elizabeth caused grievous offence and Dering was suspended from preaching and was further compromised when he visited Field and Wilcox in prison in the wake of the publication the *Admonition to the Parliament*. Whilst Dering was deeply unpopular with Elizabeth he enjoyed the support of several powerful patrons such as Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as well as Henry Killigrew and his wife Katherine Cooke Killigrew, together with the rest of the Cooke sisters, Lady Mildred Cecil, Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby, and Lady Anne Cooke Bacon.

The Cooke sisters were all deeply religious and puritanical in their mindset which revealed itself in their lives and personalities and was emphatically reflected in their known extant writings, translations and poetry. The eldest Cooke sister Mildred translated from the Greek A *Homily or Sermon of Basil the Great* (BL Royal MS 17 B xviii) and her epitaph also states she translated Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen. The youngest of the Cooke sisters Katherine Killigrew, fluent in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, was also celebrated for her ability to write poetry. One such example was a Latin verse she wrote to her sister Lady Mildred Cecil, wife of Principal Secretary of State Sir William Cecil, the model for Polonius in *Hamlet*, asking Mildred to use her influence with Sir William to excuse her own husband diplomat Sir Henry Killigrew from overseas duty. The other renowned Cooke sister Elizabeth, first married the courtier and diplomat Sir Thomas Hoby, translator of Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* into English as *The Courtier* a well-known source for a large number of Shakespeare plays (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*, *I and 2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*, etc).\(^3\) In this period, she shortly afterwards married John, Lord Russell eldest son and heir to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford (Bacon’s godfather and political patron) who appears as a character in the *Henry IV* plays as one of Falstaff’s crew,\(^4\) with she herself (brilliantly identified by Dr Chris Laoutaris of the Shakespeare Institute) as the model for the Dowager Countess of Roussillon in *All’s Well That Ends Well*.\(^5\) Her modern editor Professor Phillippy writes of Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell that she expressed herself ‘in a myriad of registers in multiple media’, with her voice conveyed through unpublished letters, manuscript poems, monumental inscriptions and elegies, ceremonial performances, and masques or dramatic devices,\(^6\) with her religious and zealously puritanical sentiments also heard through a printed translation of A *Way of Reconciliation of a Good and Learned Man Touching the Truth*, *Nature, and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*. The Grand Dame of Gorhambury Lady Anne Cooke Bacon was fluent in Greek, Latin, French and Italian, translating from the Latin Bishop Jewel’s *Apology of the Church of England* making her the official voice of the newly established Elizabethan Protestant church,\(^7\) with Lady Bacon also translating from the Italian into English the *Sermons* of the Sienese preacher Bernardino Ochino printed in a series of editions over two decades by the Protestant printer John Day.\(^8\) During these years at Gorhambury Lady Bacon surrounded by radical Protestant and Puritan ministers and preachers, raised and directed the godly education of her son Francis, whom she also taught the classical languages of Greek and Latin, as well as French and Italian, the latter of which Francis was to put to good use in an unrecognised Bacon manuscript, partly written in the service of the radical Puritan preacher Edward Dering.

With Edward Dering still out in the royal cold through 1571 and 1572 Lady Bacon and her sisters Lady Mildred Cecil, Lady Elizabeth Hoby and Katherine Killigrew set in motion a plan to restore Dering to favour with Elizabeth by offering as a present via
its dedicatee her favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester a scientific-philosophical treatise written in Italian entitled *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* attributed to one Bartholo Sylva (CUL MS li.5.37). Without any trumpet call or fanfare this previously unknown manuscript hidden away in the vaults of Cambridge University was first discovered by Professor Schleiner sometime prior to the publication of her *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* by the Indiana University Press in 1994.9 This still relatively unknown manuscript has not yet given up its true authorship or its hidden connection to Bacon’s Shakespeare play *The Taming of the Shrew*.

The manuscript is prefaced by a four page dedication written in Italian addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester falsely signed ‘*Bartholo Sylua da Turino Medico*’. It includes prefatory poems in Greek, Latin, and other languages, by Dering himself, his recent bride, the translator and religious activist Anne Vaughan Locke Dering, and the four Cooke sisters Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby, Lady Katherine Cooke Killigrew and Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, who all insist Dering was responsible for converting Dr Bartholo Sylva to the Protestant faith. This all being part of a clandestine religious and political strategy to rehabilitate and restore Dering back to royal favour.

The two Greek poems by Edward Dering, one addressed to Dr Bartholo Sylva, and the other ‘On Himself’, both play on the closeness between the Latin word silva, meaning wood or forest, and Bartholo’s surname Sylva:

The Romans call you Silva, Greeks the ‘woods,’
And you take the name as yours, this way and that;
So with deed and word equally you clothed the woods;
The name and your mind signify this fact,
Thus in both ways here: your mind comprises that ‘Silva,’
and the fair-breathing ‘woods’ your pledge, a book;
For Silva, when being a book, is full of logical thought,
And alone it easily clothed the mind and voice.

On himself

He who has opened for us the shaded, bushy dense, leafy
And wooded thicket has not opened up favoring grace,
Albeit as one either sharp in mind or swift of foot he saw
The earth, the air, the ether, and the sea.10

The manuscript written in a professional hand in fine italic script is the work of a calligraphist who signs himself D.M. Pettrucho, a Florentine (with the exception of a single page written in another hand). Dr Allen draws attention to the separation of the pages containing the Greek poems by Edward Dering, Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil and Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby, and another page containing the dedicatory poems in Latin by Dering’s wife Anne Locke and Lady Katherine Cooke Killigrew and Lady Anne Cooke Bacon. Its Italian scribe D. M. Pettrucho, Dr Allen writes, ‘possessed a fine italic script, and capitals throughout the text were painted in gold, within florid purple boxes.’ The page containing the Greek poems is, she observes, ‘highlighted through its strikingly different presentation from the rest of the work’, whereas the earlier page containing the Latin poems is ‘written in an entirely different, far rougher hand’.11 The key to this, she writes, is that the date following Sylva’s dedicatory epistle has been altered from what was February 1571 to 24 May 1572:
Fig. 1 The title page of the Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
Fig. 2 The dedication of the Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
It therefore seems likely that the page of verses by Dering, Mildred and Elizabeth was contributed to the volume at a later stage, after the rest of the work had been completed by Pettruco. The verses were either unfinished or uncommissioned when the work was copied together by Pettruco, so they were inserted on a blank page between Sylva’s declaration to his readers and the first anonymous verse, ‘Carmen incerti Auctoris benevolo’ (A poem of an undetermined author to a friendly reader). Therefore the context in which Anne and Katherine had previously offered support to a member of the Italian Stranger Church seeking patronage was radically changed when Elizabeth and Mildred contributed their verses, alongside those of Dering, in an additional page in the volume.

The changed date highlights the significance of these additional poems. By May 1572 Dering had attempted to counteract the disfavour he had brought upon himself in 1570…

On 24 May 1572 Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby contributed her Greek poem wherein she described Sylva as a friend, and praised Leicester, his patron, as a hero, who had brought forth this gift:

Who, from where among men, has designated for Sylva
   The place of this garden, which he clearly knows, O friend?
In any case his discovery and choice of lovely flowers
   Seem to me honorable things, the first shoot
Through the fragrant, harmonious garden a boon
   To the hero, of things his gifts has brought forth.

In her short verse Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil also extensively plays on the ‘silva’ metaphor, with specific mention of the forest, the woods, woodland, and the garden:

When foolish men first dwelt on the much-nourishing earth, the whole world-order was unordered:
When sensible men arose, the much branching forest gave a woodland for the blossoming garden;
Now a wise man has made from vast forest a lovely garden,
   In the woods arranging a garden that you see.

The three Latin verses by Anne Dering Locke, Lady Cooke Killigrew and Lady Anne Cooke Bacon are presented in their original language with English translations by Connie McQuillen:

Anna Dering in Barth: Sylvam Medicum Taurinensem
Ut iuuat umbriferum liuibus nemus omne susurris
Luminaque in viridi cuncta colorem tenet
   Sic exculta tuis tua mens iuuat artibus omnes
O SYLVA, omnigenis SYLVA repleta bonis.

Anne Dering on Bartholo Sylva, Doctor of Turin
As a shady grove delights all with gentle murmuring,
   And holds all lights in the color green,
So your mind renewed delights all with your arts,
SYLVA, O SYLVA filled with all-bearing gifts.
Fig. 3 The page containing the verses from Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby and Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil in the *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
The Latin verse by Lady Katherine Cooke Killigrew reminds us that the work points to the mysteries of the universe, the mystical course of the heavens and the stars, the changing climate of the world, the mysterious movement of its waters and the miracle of all those that inhabit her (translated by Connie McQuillen):

Cathelina Chillingrea in D. B. Sylua

Qui cupis assiduos coeli cognoscere cursus,
   Et quas observent astra superba vices.
Qui vaga scrutinis sinuos cliamata mundi,
   Quam varios habeat patria quaeque situs.
Siste gradum, totus intret tua cymbula portus,
   In nostro properum littore siste gradum.
Huc, citus huc properes, simul hoc versatur in horto
   Quicquid habet mundus sidera quicquid habent.
At modo SYLVA fuit spinosis ob sita dumis,
   Crevit in inculta sentis acutus humo,
Iam pellunt hirtos argentae lilia sentes.
   Dumorum subeunt alba ligustra locum.
Iam cedit violae siluestris spina intenti,
   Praestat odoratas terra reculta rosas.
Quae modo montanis concessit pascua bobus,
   Coecaque carnivoris praestitit antra feris,
Serta Palatini producit laurea Phoebi,
   Et Parnassiacis terra rigatur aquis.
Ergo frondiferae sit gratia plurima SYLVAE,
   Nam parit auricomas SYLVA reculta rosas.

Katherine Killegrew on D. B. Sylva

You wish to know the heavens’ eternal course,
   And the vagaries that lofty stars observe
You who track the shifting climates of sinuous earth,
   How diversely each country holds its quarters;
Stay your step, let your skiff come into harbors
   On our shore, stay your hastening step.
Hither, hasten here, in this garden dwells together
   Whatever belongs to the world or to the stars.
The SYLVAN WOOD was lately full of sharp briars,
   The prickly thorn controlled the untilled earth,
Now silver lilies push away rough thorns.
   The white privet takes the bramble’s place
The thorn now yields the violet to an eager woodland,
   The renewed land presents its fragrant roses.
The pastures it lately left to mountain cattle
   And dark caves it kept for carnivorous beasts,
Produce the laurel garlands of Palatine Phoebus,
   And land watered by Parnassian streams.
So let there be many thanks to the leaf bearing SYLVA
   For the WOOD recultivated bears gold-petaled roses.
The Latin verse by Lady Anne Cooke Bacon highlights that the very title of the work *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* (*Cultivated Cosmographical Garden*) points to the vastness of its philosophical-scientific ambition incorporated in the microcosm of man and macrocosm of the universe (translated by Connie McQuillen):

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Se titulo prodit liber hic, quantasque recondat,
Ipso suo fidens nomine monstrat, opes.
Promittit mundum, promittit sidera, sed quem
Ad se non rapient nomin a tanta virum?
Nec coelum tenebris, nec mundus sentibus horret.
Scilicet artificem sentit uterque manum.
SYLVA prius, sed nunc est hortus amoenior, ut tu,
Quisquis es, in mediis ex patiere rosis.
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By the title this book declares itself, its wealth of aids
Stored up it shows, on its own name relying.
It offers the world, offers the stars, but what man
Will not such names themselves enrapture?
Heaven does not shudder at darkness, nor earth at thorns.
For each perceives the crafting hand.
What first was a SYLVAN wood is a more amenable garden, so
Whoever you are, you may stroll off your path into roses.  

The prefatory material to the *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* contains only a single verse in English (with the rest written in Greek, Latin and various different languages) which is presented in the name of George Stanley:

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George Stanley, in the com mendation of the Woorke,
compiled by master Barth: Sylva.

Who so desires, the secrete cause of natures skille
to leere
Of thinges conteyneyd underneath, the highest Heuens
ley spheere.
On Sylvas Woorthye Woorkes, then lett, him fixe
his frindly eye
Where he the scope of his desire shall perfectly
deserye.
What so of fyre, of Ayre, or Yearthe, & Water,
there is wrought
The qualities that nature yeldes by Sylvas skill is
taught.
Whoso of serpentes, foule, or fishe, the properties
wold knowe
Of mettals, stones, herbes, trees, or plantes, this woorke
shall playnly show.
What woonders dothe the roringe seeas conteyne, or mountaynes
wyldre
By studdie of dame lerninges lore, his pen hath fynely
filde
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Fig. 4 The page containing the verses from Lady Anne Cooke Bacon and Lady Katherine Cooke Killigrew in the *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
Of diuers other hidden thinges he doth intreate aswell 
Which seuerally to show them all wold be to longe 
to tell 
What ere thou arte that readst this worke, if reaso[n] 
may intreate 
Think Syvlas woorthy to be plaast in Lady, 
Science seate.18

The manuscript is itself a curious and remarkable mixture of ancient philosophical wisdom and the emerging sciences surrounding man and his place in the universe, the microcosm and macrocosm (the central theme of the Rosicrucian manifestos founded according to the German Rosicrucian Michael Maier in 1570-1 around the time of this manuscript), containing complex diagrams and cosmographical illustrations tracing the journey of chaos to universal harmony. The Rosicrucian pamphlet containing their first manifesto *Fama Fraternitatis* entitled *The Universal Reformation of the Whole World* conveys that with philosophy and science as its guiding lights the Rosicrucian Brotherhood would through the ages work for the future benefit of humankind. It was about this time or shortly after (during his residence at Cambridge which commenced in 1573) his great standard biographer Spedding enigmatically reveals that the idea of a universal reformation and the future fortunes of the human race occurred to the young Francis Bacon:

It was then that a thought struck him, the date of which deserves to be recorded, not for anything extraordinary in the thought itself, which had probably occurred to others before him, but for its influence upon his after-life. If our study of nature be thus barren, he thought, our method of study must be wrong: might not a better method be found? The suggestion was simple and obvious. The singularity was in the way it took hold of him. With most men such a thought would have come and gone in a passing regret; a few might have matured it into a wish; one or two might perhaps have followed it out so far as to attain a distinct conception of the better method, and hazard a distant indication of the direction in which it lay. But in him the gift of seeing in prophetic vision what might be and ought to be was united with the practical talent of devising means and handling minute details. He could at once imagine like a poet and execute like a clerk of the works. Upon the conviction This may be done, followed at once the question How may it be done. Upon that question answered, followed the resolution to try and do it.

...I believe it ought to be regarded as the most important event of his life; the event which had a greater influence than any other upon his character and future course. From that moment there was awakened within his breast the appetite which cannot be satiated, and the passion which cannot commit excess. From that moment he had a vocation which employed and stimulated all the energies of his mind...an object to live for as wide as humanity, as immortal as the human race; an idea to live in vast and lofty enough to fill the soul forever with religious and heroic aspirations....

...He could not have been bred under such a mother without imbibing some portion of her zeal in the cause of the reformed religion; he could not have been educated in the house of such a father, surrounded by such a court, in the middle of such agitations, without feeling loyal aspirations for the cause of his Queen and country; he could not have entertained the idea that the fortunes of the human race might by a better application of human industry be redeemed and put into a course of continual improvement, without conceiving an eager desire to see the process begun.

Assuming then that a deep interest in these three great causes-the cause of reformed religion, of his native country, of the human race through all their generations-was thus early implanted in that vigorous and virgin soil, we must to leave it to struggle up as it may…19
Fig. 5 Illustrations from *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
Fig. 6 Illustrations from *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden, CUL MS li.5.37)
The Cambridge manuscript also presents recent discoveries of new worlds: Peruvian Cuzco, Aztec Temistitan, the Straits of Magellan, the Caribbean, Canada, Florida, and South America as well as other parts of the globe, impressively described in some detail by Professor Schleiner:

The manuscript (C.U.L. li. 5.37) has strikingly well executed color illustrations, for example chaos with swirling, interweaving storm shapes in various colors shading into one each other, and of two new world cities, Peruvian Cuzco and Aztec Temistitan, the latter shown spread around its pale lakeful of islands, with fiery volcanos lining the southern shore. On geography it is up to date: the straits of Magellan and the discoveries of Menendez’s 1566 voyage are included; it notes the French colonies in Canada and Florida, the Spanish ones around the Caribbean and South America up to the bay of Baja California, and the island of Japan bounding the Pacific Ocean. A color diagram shows the global lines of latitude and longitude. Yet around this up-to-date earth, in another chart in gold ink and elegant, subdued colors, glitters an armillary sphere of the Ptolemaic universe with all eleven “heavens,” out to the primum mobile, the habitation of God, and the most elevated angels. Chapters on what we would call chemistry and biology taxonomize the things of the sublunary world, consisting of earth, air, fire, and water, and many poems or excerpts of verse on natural philosophy (i.e., science) by Petrarch, Alciato, Ariosto, and others are included.20

From an early age the idea and vision of new worlds fascinated the mind of the young Francis Bacon and he took a deep and prolonged interest in all human discovery and knowledge of the world and the cosmos. Bacon with his Rosicrucian Brotherhood was responsible for establishing the first permanent English settlement in North America in Jamestown, Virginia, which eventually evolved into the United States of America. His utopia New Atlantis (Land of the Rosicrucians) which was a blueprint and set out his vision for the United States of America first saw the light of day appended to his natural history the Sylva Sylvarum (sylva means wood or forest and Sylva Sylvarum a collection of materials for building the new science), the very running theme of the manuscript-book the Cultivated Cosmographical Garden written behind the literary mask of Dr Bartholo Syla. In her book Tudor and Stuart Women Writers issued in 1994 which publicly revealed for the first time the existence of the Cultivated Cosmographical Garden Professor Schleiner knew nothing about its supposed author Dr Bartholo Syla:

Reference works on sixteenth-century Italian doctors and Italian Protestants do not show any information about Dr. Bartholo Syla of Turin, presumably an obscure young man when he left home to serve as a surgeon in the Low Countries.21

It apparently did not occur to Professor Schleiner to question the authorship of Dr Bartholo Syla (a doctor of medicine) of the manuscript book Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato (Cultivated Cosmographical Garden), a treatise self-evidently written by someone with a profound and wide interest in ancient and modern philosophy and the various branches of the sciences, as well as ancient and Renaissance poets. Following Professor Schleiner, the Cambridge manuscript has been examined and discussed by Dr Chris Laoutaris in The History of British Women’s Writing (2010) and Performing Pedagogy in Early Modern England Gender, Instruction, and Performance (2011), as well as in his full-length work on Lady Elizabeth Cooke Russell Shakespeare and the Countess: The Battle that Gave Birth to the Globe (2015); by Professor Phillippy in The Writings of an English Sappho With Translations from Greek and Latin by Jaime Goodrich (2011); and Dr Gemma Allen in the first published full-length work on the four Cooke siblings The Cooke sisters: Education, piety and politics in early modern
England (2013), and in her edition of The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon (2014). Like Schleiner none of these authoritative scholars has ever once questioned the authorship of Dr Bartholo Sylva even though in the fullness of his lifetime in both Italy and in England he is not known to have written any other published or unpublished work on any subject whatsoever.22

The dates of publication of the above works by Dr Gemma Allen (a lecturer at Pembroke College, Oxford), Professor Patricia Phillippy from Kingston University (a lecturer on Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama and author of Shaping Remembrance from Shakespeare to Milton, Cambridge University Press, 2018) and the Shakespeare scholar and historian Dr Chris Laoutaris (lecturer at the Shakespeare Institute and author of Shakespearean Maternities Crises of Conception in Early Modern England (Edinburgh University Press, 2008), are of some importance because they are all post 2003-4. This is the date when crucial information about Bartholo Sylva was made known for the first time by Margaret Pelling with Frances White in Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London Patronage, Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners 1550-1640 (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2003) further augmented by Pelling and White in Physicians, and Irregular Practitioners 1550-1640 Database (originally published by the Centre for Metropolitan History, London, 2004).

These publications made available excerpts from the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians relating to Dr Bartholo Sylva, a physician patronised by Bacon’s uncle Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley and the favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The first entry states Dr Bartholo Sylva an Italian from Turin whose period of medical practice was from 1550 to 1581 was ‘reprimanded 1560, accused 1569, 1571, fined & imprisoned. Nasty’. In 1576 Sylva was residing in the Vintry ward of the parish of St John the Baptist upon Walbrook in London.

He was summoned to a censorial hearing in ‘23? September 1570’:

Bartholus Sylva, an Italian of Turin, appeared on the charge of malpractice. Firstly, (as Dr. Ludford confirmed in his presence) he had procured an abortion. Secondly he had undertaken the treatment of a certain old woman by fumigation from which she died. Thirdly he had given to a certain man called Themmes living near the Royal Exchange, when he was suffering with his lungs, an emetic of stibium in a cordial, which had made him feel worse. These incidents seemed to the President and the Censors too important to be passed over in silence. But no decision was reached because it was necessary to go the next morning to the Earl of Bedford in connection with the settlement of matters arising from the business with surgeons: therefore he was sent away until twenty days after Michaelmas.

He made a further appearance before the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians on 10 January 1571, who after examining Dr Bartholo Sylva (the supposed author of the philosophical-scientific treatise Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato) declared him ignorant of medicine and philosophy:

Bartholus Sylva, an Italian, was examined and rejected by the agreement of all the Fellows, because he was as ignorant of medicine as of philosophy: he was also fined £20 because he had practised medicine for six months with great danger to the State.

Following his examination by the fellows he was rejected, prohibited, and fined £20 for his previous practice, and rejected as a college member.

The next entry for 21 December 1571[?] reports:
Bartholus Sylva was put into prison because he continued to practise medicine; he was released by the intervention of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester and when offered a further examination, did not wish to accept, nor when asked did he know how to reach Sparta, mentioned in his letter of application. For this reason he was rejected, and also because his behaviour was impudent, quarrelsome and noisy, lacking consideration and respect. On these grounds therefore the majority considered that he should be committed to the Fleet prison. He was however dismissed, his fine to the officer of the Fleet being assessed at 6s. 8d. and to the Beadle at 20d., and with the instruction to come to the President’s house near St. Bartholomew the Less in Smithfield on the Sunday after Christmas…”

The final entry we have is dated 30 Dec 1571:

..with the instruction to come to the President’s house near St. Bartholomew the Less in Smithfield on the Sunday after Christmas to see whether the College would give him a fine or imprisonment. But when according to instruction he came, it was announced that he might depart to await a further summons: the time and other circumstances of the matter dictated this course of action.23

This information fatally collapses the transparent fiction that Dr Bartholo Sylva was the author of the philosophical-scientific treatise Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato which was actually written by Francis Bacon when he was in his twelfth year, the age his near contemporary biographer David Lloyd (1635-92), who was clearly privy to the secret life and writings of Bacon, said about him:

…his industry was above the capacity, and his mind above the reach of his contemporaries.24

The way the manuscript-book Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato is set out with its dedication to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, its address to the reader, followed by an anonymous verse (all of them written by its true author concealed behind the mask of Dr Bartholo Sylva) and other prefatory verses in Greek, Latin and English etc, from Edward Dering and his wife Anne Locke Dering, the Cooke sisters, George Stanley and other unidentified individuals, suggest it was originally intended for publication. Initially, the original plan may have been to publish the work just after the first date on the dedicatory epistle of January 1572 which was delayed to 24 May 1572 around the date the verses by Edward Dering, and Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil and Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby were inserted on a page between the address to the reader and the first anonymous verse. For some reason in the end it was not published and there is no evidence confirming its dedicatee and intended recipient Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester actually ever received the manuscript and similarly there is no evidence it was ever seen or read by Queen Elizabeth. Nor was Dering restored to royal favour in the period leading up to his death which occurred some years later in June 1576.

It took another four centuries before the Cultivated Cosmographical Garden was discovered by Professor Schleiner in the vaults of Cambridge University during the 1990s, and now more than two decades into the New Millennium, before we finally found ourselves in a position to consider and comprehend that it was written by its favourite son, Francis Bacon.

Of all the Cooke sister scholars who examined the Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato Dr Allen is the only one to name the scribe responsible for the manuscript, but for some reason she does not attempt to identify him for her readers. The signature of the scribe D. M. Pettruchio, a Florentine (‘D. M. Pettruchio fiorentino’) responsible for copying out the entire philosophical-scientific treatise (with the exception of a single page) is found at the end of the manuscript. The reluctance by the likes of Dr Laoutaris (Shakespeare Institute) and Dr Allen (Oxford University) to attempt to identify the scribe is all the more curious because one does not have to look too hard to discover it. Similarly, any trace of the biographical and bibliographical details about our calligraphist and illuminator can scarcely be found in the works of any of the Shakespeare editors and scholars, an historical figure who is here for the first time placed in his true Baconian-Shakespearean context.

The full name of the scribe of the Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato written in fine Italic script is Petruccio Ubaldini (1524?-1600?) a calligraphist and illuminator who was very proud of his Florentine citizenship. His origins are obscure and the name of his parents and his date of birth remain unknown. It is possible he was born in Florence, and it is suggested his mother may have been a Petrucci and he was the illegitimate son of a prominent noble of the Ubaldini family. He came to England in the reign of Henry VIII sometime before 1545 and entered the service of the crown. After serving under Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford on the Scottish borders it is reported he was sent by royal order to Venice. He returned to England in the reign of Edward VI again seeing service in 1549 in the Scottish war at Haddington under Sir James Crofts. In 1550 Ubaldini translated into Italian Hector Boece’s Chronicle of Scotland and in the same year pitched for a royal position with his compilation of moral aphorisms copied in fine script for the use of the young Edward VI (BL Royal MS 17.A.xxiv) whose tutor was Anthony Cooke, supported by his royal governess daughter, Anne Cooke (afterwards Lady Bacon). It appears that he also tried to seek employment at the Court of Wards as a clerk through his ‘Una Libro d’esemplari scritto l’anno 1550’ (BL Royal MS 14.A.i), containing finely copied extracts of correspondence, which is dedicated to its senior attorney Nicholas Bacon, being the first recorded instance of his relationship with Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon, and thereafter with their son Francis, which was to last for some five decades.

With no official post forthcoming Ubaldini left for Venice where he wrote the first full version of his Relazione d’Inghilterra (National Library, Vienna, MS Foscarini 184.6626) most probably composed for the Venetian Senate providing, writes Wyatt, ‘the most extensive in situ Italian account of the reign of Edward VI’:

Ubaldini’s Italian at this stage in his career indeed often makes for difficult reading: despite his expertise as a copyist, it is unlikely that he had enjoyed a typical humanistic education, there being little trace in any of his work of wider linguistic or literary culture. Later redactions of the Relazione reflect a more courtly flair, but the relatively unstudied point of
view of the 1552 version, despite its frequent syntactical and rhetorical leaps, has much to recommend it.  

In Venice Ubaldini also prepared an annotated copy of *Celebetis thebani tabula* (Bibl. Laurenziana, Florence, MS Plut. Ixxvi.78) dedicated to Cosimo (1) de Medici, Duke of Florence in 1552 with nothing more known of him during the next decade until he arrived in England in 1562.

On his return to London in 1562 Ubaldini soon found a patron in Henry Fitzalan, the twelfth Earl of Arundel who presented him to the Elizabethan court where he attracted the attention of other patrons, including Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon, herself a fine Italian scholar, who had translated from the Italian Bernardino Ochino’s *Sermons* and was an active supporter of the Italian community in London. Initially, Ubaldini taught Italian and Sir Nicholas Bacon may well have employed him to assist Lady Bacon in her efforts to teach Francis Italian in the late 1560s in the years leading up to the production of *Giardino Cosmografico Cultivato* for which on behalf of her son Lady Bacon commissioned Ubaldini to copy it out in fine italic script through the latter part of 1571 and early months of 1572. As we have seen the date of the treatise composed by Bacon and written out in fine Italian script by Ubaldini was altered from February 1572 to May 1572. Around the period that Ubaldini was likely residing with the Bacon family at Gorhambury and York House he participated in an anonymous masque (one wonders whether it was written by a young Bacon who afterwards wrote numerous masques during the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns) that was performed at court:

On 15 June 1572 an elaborate mask was given in honour of another French embassy under the Duc de Montmorency. The theme evidently bore some resemblance to the abandoned devices of 1562. A vizard was made for Argus and a collar and shackles and curls of black silk for Discord. There were two pageants, a castle upon which Lady Peace was brought in, and a chariot measuring 14ft. by 8ft. with a rock and fountain for Apollo and the nine Muses. These were probably the dancers. The performance is called both a ‘mask’ and a ‘triumph’. The total cost was £409 3s 3d., exclusive of the value of stuffs supplied by the Wardrobe, and it is recorded that the chariot was broken and spoiled. Payments were made to a Mistress Swego, apparently for head-dressing, and to a ‘muzisian that towghte the ladies’; also to Haunce Eottes for ‘patternes’, and to Petrucio, for his travel and paynes’ taken in the preparations. This is doubtless Petrucio Ubaldini, and it may also be assumed that the ‘M° Alphonse’, who apparently had the general direction or ‘apoyntment’ of the proceedings, and wore a pair of cloth-of-gold buskins, was Alfonso Ferrabosca, the musician.

Not long after the masque was performed at court sometime in the second half of 1572 and before October 1574 Sir Nicholas Bacon was in the process of constructing the long gallery at Gorhambury, closely watched by his son Francis, wherein he had depicted on its panels the *sententiae* of Seneca and Cicero. On a visit to Gorhambury the strikingly visual *sententiae* caught the attention and was much admired by Jane (nee Fitzalan), Lady Lumley, eldest child of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel. In late 1575 or early 1576 Sir Nicholas Bacon commissioned Ubaldini to produce an illuminated manuscript of the classical inscriptions on the wall of the long gallery as a present for Lady Lumley now held at the British Library (BL Royal MS 17.A XXIII) beautifully illustrated on expensive vellum. During this period Ubaldini was working for Sir Nicholas in producing the illuminated manuscript on 27 February 1576 a play
Fig. 7 Elizabeth McCutcheon, *Sir Nicholas Bacon's Great House Sententiae*, (published by the University of Hawaii, 1977), pp. 8-9.
was performed at court that may have been the one referred to (‘Comedia Italiana’) in an undated letter written by Ubaldini in Italian to Queen Elizabeth.32

In September 1576 Francis accompanied Sir Amias Paulet, English Ambassador to France, where he mainly resided at the English Embassy at Paris which lasted two and a half years before it was abruptly brought to an end with the news of the death of his father Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon in February 1579. He returned from France on 20 March and resumed his legal studies at Gray’s Inn and embarked on a semi-public career. He sought the help of his uncle Sir William Cecil and aunt Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil in September 1580 commending his earlier suit that Cecil had promised to present to the queen, in a letter in which Bacon described Cecil, as ‘my patron’.33

Behind the scenes Cecil and Bacon worked closely together in the arena of domestic and foreign policy and intelligence which involved secret relationships with some of the leading London printers and publishers for the printing and distributing of tracts and other publications, often written and overseen by Bacon, published anonymously or behind a literary mask.

Just before Bacon’s return from Paris, for a masque performed on 11 January 1579, Ubaldini was employed to translate speeches into his native Italian,34 and in addition to the patronage of Sir Nicholas and Lady Anne Bacon, and now in particular their son Francis, Ubaldini was benefiting from another powerful patron, Bacon’s uncle Sir William Cecil. It was probably decided by Cecil that Ubaldini’s Italian background recommended him for diplomatic missions and it appears Ubaldini visited Ireland in the autumn of 1580 and wrote an account of the Hispano-Italico invasion of Co. Kerry (BL Add. MS 48082, fols. 87-121).35 It was almost certainly through the agency of Cecil and Bacon that from 1581 Ubaldini began working closely with the printer and publisher John Wolf as a translator and consultant.

While Bacon was on the continent Wolfe had published religious poems at Florence, where he may well have worked with the important Giunta bookselling family. Like Bacon, Wolfe was back in London in 1579 when he published his first books in England and entered his titles in the Stationers’ Register. There is reason to believe Wolfe was abroad again between 1579 and 1581 as his name appears on the imprint of Jacobus Acontius’s Una essortatione al timor di Dio published abroad. During this time Wolfe is styled as a servant of Sir Philip Sidney who was then regularly meeting with Bacon at Leicester House (residence of the Earl of Leicester) for discussions about philosophy, poetry, drama, and literature.36 Wolfe recommenced entering works in the Stationers’ Register in early 1581 and for the next decade Ubaldini worked with Wolfe on several clandestine works published with false imprints and fictitious places of publication.

Unsurprisingly, given his arrangement with Petruccio Ubaldini whom he employed as reader, corrector of proofs and as an editor, Wolfe published a number of important Italian works including those by Pietro Aretino and the political philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli. His career as a printer of Italian works began in 1581 when he printed Ubaldini’s La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore the second book printed in England in Italian.37 His edition of Pietro Aretino’s notorious La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti and La Second Parte de Ragionamenti published as a single volume was issued without any imprint except for the date. The exotic work carries a preface in which the printer calls himself ‘Il Barbagrigia’ with a fictitious attribution ‘Di Bengodi ne la gia felice Italia, a xxi. d’Ottobre MDLXXXIIII’. No printer by the name of Barbagrigia is known to have existed and nor is there a city of Bengodi.38 Prompting Woodfield to observe in his Surreptitious Printing in England that ‘from a title-page with no imprint except for the date and a fictitious attribution in the preface, it was only a short step to the

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use of a fictitious imprint on the title-page itself, and Wolfe took it when *I Discorsi* and *Il Principe* by Niccolo Machiavelli were printed in London as another double volume in January 1584/5.[39] Wolfe’s surreptitious printing of works in the Italian language continued with Ubaldini’s historical essays *Descrittione del Regno di Scotia* and three more volumes by Machiavelli, *Historie Florentine, Libro dell’arte della Guerra* and the *Asino d’Oro*, all carrying fictitious imprints with false and misleading prefaces.[40]

The identity of the hidden author of the prefaces of Wolfe’s editions of Aretino and Machiavelli has never been determined. In his series of three articles on ‘All of the Five Fictitious Italian Editions of Writings of Machiavelli and those of Pietro Aretino printed by John Wolfe of London (1584-1588)’, Gerber after passing over the Italian writer Giacomo Castelvetro, ‘the editor of *Columbies* and the *Pastor Fido*’, who ‘was too distinguished’, he finally concluded that Ubaldini wrote them:

there are a number of stylistic peculiarities in which Petruccio Ubaldini and the writer of the prefaces to the editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino resemble each other, such as the frequent use of the parenthesis, the inclination to assume an air of modesty by inserting *s’io non erro* or *s’io non m’inganno*, and a pronounced didactic tendency.[41]

For very similar reasons Woodfield arrived at the same conclusion in his *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640*:

The prefaces to Wolfe’s editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino were all written by the same person. They have an exceptionally pronounced didactic tendency, and contain a number of stylistic peculiarities such as the frequent use of parenthesis and the habit of assuming an air of modesty by continually inserting *s’io non erro* or *s’io nom m’inganno,* which are also found in the texts of the books written by Wolfe’s proof-reader, Petruccio Ubaldini. His style varies so markedly from the Italian normally written at that time that it is quite unmistakable, even in small amounts of text.[42]

Whereas the Italian scholar Mariagrazia Bellorini and English scholar Michael Wyatt reject the idea that Ubaldini was responsible, and replace him with the other Italian who collaborated with John Wolfe in the production of the Aretino and Machiavelli volumes, Giacomo Castelvetro:

The image of Ubaldini already formed by this study, and particularly the character of his written Italian, confirms Bellorini’s suggestion that he must have worked primarily as Wolfe’s proof-reader, Castelvetro being thus identified with Barbagrigia’s wide-ranging interventions.[43]

To which Wyatt adds the following footnote:

A simple comparison of the language of Ubaldini’s *Relazione*, or that of any of his three texts Wolfe published during this period—the *Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore* (1581), the *Descrittione del Regno di Scotia* (1588), and *Le vite delle donne Illustri del Regno d’Inghilterra* (1590)—is enough to establish that the same author could not have been responsible for the lively, clear, rhetorically sophisticated, and frequently ironic style adopted by Barbagrigia.[44]

While Wyatt is rightly certain Ubaldini was not responsible for the prefaces written in the name of Barbagrigia (with Gerber and Woodfield also correct in stating that all the Aretino and Machiavelli prefaces were written by the same person) it appears Wyatt
is not altogether convinced that Castelvetro was responsible for them. He informs his readership that the *nom de plume* has a curious background to it which involves in the telling a theatrical and Shakespearean dimension:

Wolfe’s engagement with Italian print culture bears a distinctly theatrical imprint: encompassing its collaborative nature, Barbagrigia’s prefatory fictions (his name taken from Annibale Caro’s 1543 *Straccioni*, where he represents a kind of Boccaccian/Falstaffian excess in contrast with the high moral tone of the comedy’s principals, a figure patterned after a friend of Caro’s, the Roman printer Antonio Blado d’Asola), the shifting tableaux of the Machiavelli and Aretino title pages; and the actual theatre pieces represented in his catalogue.

To which Wyatt again adds the following footnote:

Though even here there is a mystery, if Wolfe’s Barbagrigia is indeed to be identified as Giacomo Castelvetro: Lodovic Castelvetro had been engaged from 1553 until his death in 1571 in an acrimonious fight with Caro, launched initially by the circulation of what was intended to be Castelvetro’s private but sharp criticism of an encomiastic poem Caro had written in honor of the French royal family; the substance of the disagreement was linguistic-Castelvetro highly critical of Caro’s non-Petrarchist usage—but through its numerous circumambulations led eventually to Caro’s technically unrelated denunciation of Castelvetro to the Inquisition for heresy, a charge that stuck and led to his flight from Italy.....As the feud was unresolved at the time of Lodovico’s death, the choice of Caro’s Barbagrigia as Giacomo’s *nom de plume* must be read as either deeply ironic or simply inexplicable.

It is well documented and widely known to Baconian scholars that Bacon regularly wrote anonymous and pseudonymous prose prefaces, introductions, addresses to the reader, dedications and other prefatory material in works written in various languages including English, Latin and Italian. His mother Lady Anne Bacon was a celebrated translator who translated the sermons of the Siennese preacher Bernardino Ochino into English from the Italian a language she began teaching Francis from a very early age. Behind the name of Bartholo Sylva he wrote the Italian *Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato* with Ubaldini producing the beautifully illustrated manuscript written in a fine Italian script. The invisible guiding hand behind the Aretino and Machiavelli editions printed by Wolfe was Francis Bacon and the characteristics of the style of the concealed author of their prefaces some of which are mentioned above-the frequent use of parenthesis, the real or feigned air of modesty, and the pronounced didactic tendency, have also been used to describe his brilliant rhetorically sophisticated and frequently ironic, highly distinguishable English prose.

The title pages of *Discorsi* and *Il Principe (The Prince)* printed by John Wolfe in London (bearing the fictitious imprint of ‘In Palermo’) bear the date 1584 that taken together with other information, indicates it was published towards the end of 1584, or early in 1585. It was just at this very time that Bacon, when working covertly with Wolfe and Ubaldini in producing the Italian language editions of these two works by Machiavelli, penned a treatise with the title of *A Letter of Advice to the Queen* directly concerning matters of religion, politics and state, which was written in or during the winter of 1584-5. With his mind saturated with reading the *Discorsi* and *Il Principe* it is hardly surprising the *Letter of Advice* is infused with some of the ideas, themes and language of Machiavelli’s two major works. The political tract *A Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth* writes the Italian scholar Vincent Luciani in his paper ‘Bacon and Machiavelli’ printed in the *Italica* ‘reads like a discourse from Machiavelli’s pen’.

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It has the same stringent logic, the same, weighing of pros and cons, the same cold calculation of political and religious forces, and the same condemnation of half measures. Both Abbot and Orsini were particularly impressed with this Letter, and Orsini finds in it the statement of the famous Machiavellian principle: “mai le ingiurie vecchie furono cancellate da’ benefici nuovi” (Discorsi, III, 4; Principe, VII). Immediately after stating this precept, Bacon also notes that “the Romans would rather abide the uttermost extremities than by their subjects to be brought to any conditions.” This forms the subject of a chapter of the Discorsi (II, 23): viz., “Quanto i Romani nel giudicare i sudditi per alcuno accidente che necessitasse tale giudizio, fuggivano la via del mezzo.” Orsini neglects to refer to this instance as well as to the celebrated maxim “beneficare (carezzare, vezzeggiare) o spegnere” (Discorsi, II, 23; Principe, III), which is found in this form in the Letter: “But the course of the most wise, most politic, and best governed estates hath ever been either to make an assuredness of friendship or to take away all power of enmity.” Moreover, the whole tenor of the discourse—which advises the Queen to compose the religious differences between Anglicans and Puritans so as to make use of the latter in the struggle against the Papists and Spain—is reminiscent of Machiavelli’s recommendation in the Discorsi (I, 11, 12) that religion be an instrument of government pure and simple.48

Here, in the Letter of Advice to the Queen, writes Abbot ‘as throughout the whole of Bacon’s political writings, the influence of Machiavelli is manifest.’49 And while the majority of ideas that Bacon drew from Machiavelli have been identified by scholars in the three major works of The Advancement of Learning, the De Augmentis and the Essays, and traces of Machiavellian thought in the minor works Of the True Greatness of Britain, A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of England and Scotland and A Speech Concerning the Article of Naturalization Luciani also traced the influence of the Florentine in many other Bacon writings: ‘A great number of Bacon’s occasional works (see Letters, I-VII), whether entitled Letter, Advice, Advertisement, Discourse, Observations, Considerations, Speech, and even some of the Essays themselves are more or less in the nature and form of Machiavelli’s Discorsi.’50

Following the clandestine publication of Discorsi and Il Principe in 1584-5 and the circulation in manuscript of Bacon’s Machiavellian influenced Letter of Advice to the Queen his secret confederates Wolfe and the editor and corrector of proofs Petruccio Ubaldini prepared and published three more works by Machiavelli Historie Florentine (1587) Libro dell’arte della Guerra (1587) and the Asino d’Oro (1588) with fictitious imprints and prefaces which subsequently fooled scholars and the rest of the world for centuries.

With the last of these Machiavellian works secretly published in London by Wolfe (carrying the false imprint ‘In Roma’) likely printed on one of his two secret presses he kept hidden in a vault, other secret presses were being put to use in the war of the pamphlets known as Marprelate controversy that was raged between 1588 and 1589 by the bishops and the non-conformists. In a response to the controversy sometime in the latter half of 1589 Bacon wrote for circulation in manuscript An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England copies of which he probably sent to Queen Elizabeth, his uncle Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley and spymaster Sir Francis Walsingham. In the work Bacon maintains that the schisms and divisions in church government arise when the virtues in the church leaders have lost their light and wax worldly. ‘And therefore’, he continues ‘it is truly noted by one that writeth as a natural man [Machiavelli], that the hypocrisy of freres did for a great time maintain and bear out the irreligion of bishops and prelates.’51
In the midst of the last of the Italian Machiavelli editions proof-read by Ubaldini and printed by Wolfe, and the Marprelate controversy, Bacon directed Wolfe to print the trilingual edition of *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio* in 1588 which formats in parallel columns Castiglione’s original Italian, the French translation of Chapuis (Paris, 1585) and the 1561 English translation by his uncle Sir Thomas Hoby. The Wolfe edition reprints from the 1561 volume the commendatory sonnet by Thomas Sackville and Sir Thomas Hoby’s original dedication to Lord Henry Hastings. Across the top of the first page of the trilingual text stands Bacon’s AA headpiece. His aunt Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby younger sister of Lady Anne Cooke Bacon who oversaw with her husband Sir Thomas Hoby the publication of *The Courtier* in 1561 would no doubt have been pleased with this new triangular edition proof-read by Ubaldini and printed by Wolfe, which Bacon drew upon for one of his early Shakespeare plays *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1589-90), co-starring an Italian man with the name Petruccio and Katherine, blessed with the same name as their sister, Katherine Cooke Killigrew.

The precise dating of *The Taming of the Shrew* is complicated by the existence of the anonymous play with the title *The Taming of a Shrew*. The exact relationship between the two plays is still hotly disputed with the main theories advocated by Shakespeare scholars given here below:

1] *A Shrew* is the original play and a direct source for *The Shrew*

2] *The Shrew* was written first and *A Shrew* is an anonymous imitation

3] *The Shrew* is the original play and *A Shrew* is a memorial reconstruction by one or more actors, i.e., a so-called bad quarto

4] Both *Shrews* derive independently from an earlier play now lost.

5] Both *Shrews* derive from a lost original which was Shakespeare’s first version of the play

6] Shakespeare wrote both *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Taming of the Shrew*.

It has also been noted by some Shakespeare scholars that,

7] The difference between the titles could no more significant than the fact *The Winter’s Tale* is often referred to as *A Winter’s Tale*, or, *The Comedy of Errors* as *A Comedy of Errors*.

8] The publishers of the Shakespeare First Folio also regarded *A Shrew* as a previously published version of *The Shrew* and thus did not include the latter in their entries of previously unpublished plays.

It is now widely assumed by modern Shakespeare scholars that a version of the play was written c.1589-90, with some scholars suggesting an even earlier date, and others opting for a range of dates from 1589 to 1594. The play was entered on the Stationers’ Register in May 1594 and anonymously published thereafter as *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew. As it was sundry times acted by the Right honourable the Earle of Pembrook his servants*. Only one copy of this 1594 edition
survives which is now held in Huntington Library, California. Both the anonymous *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Taming of the Shrew* first printed in the First Folio were written by Shakespeare, i.e., Bacon. In his *Advancement of Learning* Bacon sets out a series of the cipher systems which he later secretly incorporated into his acknowledged writings and the Quarto and Folio editions of his Shakespeare plays:

For CYPHARS; they are commonly in Letters and Alphabets, but may bee in Wordes. The kindes of CYPHARS, (besides the SIMPLE CYPHARS with Changes, and intermixtures of NVLLES, and NONSIGNIFCANTS) are many, according to the Nature or Rule of the infoulding; WHEELE-CYPHARS, KAY-CYPHARS, DOVBLES, &c. But the vertues of them, whereby they are to be preferred, are three; that they be not laborious to write and reade; that they bee impossible to discypher; and in some cases, that they bee without suspition. The highest Degree whereof, is to write OMNIA PER OMNIA; which is undoubtedly possible, with a proportion Quintuple at most, of the writing infoulding, to the writing infoulded, and no other restrainte whatsoeuer. This Arte of Cypheringe, hath for Relatiue, an Art of Discypheringe; by supposition vnprofitable; but, as thinges are, of great vse. For suppose that Cyphars were well managed, there bee Multitudes of them which exclude the Discypherer. But in regarde of the rawnesse and vnskilfulnesse of the handes, through which they passe, the greatest Matter, are many times carried in the weakest Cyphars.

The Simple Cipher referred to by Bacon is a substitution cipher based upon the twenty four letter Elizabethan alphabet (I and J and U and V were interchangeable) in which each letter is given a numerical value:

| A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | K | L | M | N | O | P | Q | R | S | T | U | W | X | Y | Z |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10| 11| 12| 13| 14| 15| 16| 17| 18| 19| 20| 21| 22| 23| 24|

Examples:  
   | F | R | A | N | C | I | S | B | A | C | O | N |
   | 6 | 17| 1  | 3  | 9 | 18|=67   | 2  | 1  | 3  | 14| 13|=33
   | S | H | A | K | E | S | P | E | A | R | E | F | R | A | R | O | S | I | C | R | O | S | E |
   | 18| 8 | 1  | 10 | 5 | 18| 15 | 5  | 17 | 5 |=103  | 6 | 17 | 1  | 17 | 14| 18 | 9  | 3  | 17 | 14 | 18 | 18 | 5 |=157

The title page of *A Pleasant Conceited Historie called The taming of a Shrew* contains a number of Baconian-Rosicrucian ciphers. The top section contains 10 words and 49 letters: 49-10=39 F. Bacon in simple cipher. The 14 italic words found in the middle and bottom section plus the addition of the date (1+5+9+4)14+19=33 Bacon in simple cipher. In the bottom section there are 84 letters which when added to the addition of the date 84+19=103 Shakespeare in simple cipher. The whole page contains a total of 33 roman words Bacon in simple cipher and 204 letters which minus a single woodcut 204-1=203, a double simple cipher for Francis Bacon (100)/Shakespeare(103). The 47 words 204 letters and the 6 words around the emblem in the woodcut: 47+204+6=257 a double simple cipher for Francis Bacon (100)/Fra Rosicrosse (157). Across the top of the first page of the text appears the Baconian-Rosicrucian AA headpiece.

A second edition of *A Pleasant Conceited Historie called The taming of a Shrew* was printed by Peter Short for Cuthbert Burby in 1596. Over a decade later on 22 January 1607 (the date of Bacon’s birthday) an entry on the Stationers’ Register transferred the rights of *A Shrew* at the same time as two other Shakespeare plays *Romeo and
Fig. 8 The deciphered page of the title page of *The Taming of A Shrew* 1594
A Pleasant conceited Historie, called:

The Taming of a Shrew.

Enter a Tapster, beating out of his doores.

Slie Droonken.

Tapster.

You whorson droonken slave, you had best be gone,
And empty your droonken panch some where else.
For in this house thou shalt not rest to night.

Exit Tapster.

Slie. Tilly vally, by criese Tapster lle seye you anon.

Fils the tother pot and alls paid for, looke you.
I doo drinke it of mine owne Instigation. Omne bene.

Heere ile lie a while, why Tapster I say,
Fils a fresh cuestion heere.
Heigh ho, heers good warme lying.

He falls asleep.

Enter a Noble man and his men from hunting.

Lord. Now that the gloomie shaddow of the night,
Longing to view Orions drifing lookes,
Leapes from th’antarcticke World vnto the skie.
And dims the Welkin with her pitchie breath,
And darkesome night ore hades the christall heavenes,
Here breake we off our hunting for to night.

A 2

Cuppel
... Juliet and Love’s Labour’s Lost to Nicholas Ling (who had previously published the two Hamlet quartos) and in the same year Valentine Simmes published for Nicholas Ling a third edition of A Shrew. Not long after Ling died, on 19 November 1607 a further entry on the Stationers’ Register transferred to John Smethwick A Shrew with Romeo and Juliet and Love’s Labour’s Lost. The was no other entry in the Stationers’ Register before the publication of The Taming of the Shrew in the 1623 First Folio, most probably because they were correctly seen as different versions of the same play. The two plays share a similar main plot and both have a subplot of romantic intrigue though in A Shew Kate has two sisters and in The Shrew just one. The shrew is tamed in both versions of the play by the same means and in both plays the husband behaves scandalously at the wedding, starves his wife, and badly treats his household servants. In some places the dialogue corresponds closely and in a few instances some of the verbal parallels are verbatim. There are also some very curious differences. A Shrew is situated in Athens rather than Padua and most strikingly only Christopher Sly and Kate are used for the names of characters in A Shrew and The Shrew; otherwise all the other characters are given different names, including the central male protagonist who is named Ferando in A Shrew. In other words from the date of the third 1607 edition of A Shew sometime before its publication in the 1623 First Folio Bacon subjected the play to a comprehensive revision most likely immediately before it came to be printed in the First Folio by the Jaggards, the same family firm who had printed and published several previous editions of Bacon’s Essays, and not long after the Shakespeare Folio, another edition of his Essays was printed for Elizabet Jaggard. The most notable change of names was made for its central character who is known to the Shakespeare world as Petruccio, the name given to him in the version of the play printed in the First Folio, the version of the play familiar to scholars, students and theatre goers in virtually every corner of the globe.

As all Shakespeare scholars know, the names of the characters in the Shakespeare plays are often of great significance and importance and that the names he gives them can be clues pointing to historical and contemporary real-life models. The subject of names in the Shakespeare plays are of such importance that whole books have been written on the theme, and it variants, including encyclopaedias and dictionaries, and simply countless works, that give over a great deal of space attempting to identify the real-life person behind a Shakespeare name and/or character. The readers of these are assured in the prefaces and introductions that every effort has been taken to collate and record all relevant and important information about the characters and dramatis personae in the Shakespeare poems and plays. For example, in A Dictionary of the Characters & Proper Names in the Works Of Shakespeare Francis Griffin Stokes assures his scholarly readers ‘This dictionary is designed to treat the proper names in Shakespeare’s plays and poems on a plan as comprehensive as that adopted for his general vocabulary in Alexander Schmidt’s well-known Shakespeare Lexicon...suffice it to say that every effort has been made to consult all promising sources of relevant information’. J. Madison Davis and A. Daniel Frankforter in The Shakespeare Name Dictionary say ‘This dictionary attempts, by cataloguing the names and collecting the accumulated facts and speculations regarding Shakespeare’s use of them, to define the context of the times’ he ‘created his magnificent body of plays and poems’ for which ‘we have attempted to be as thorough and as inclusive as possible.’ In a similar vein Professor Oscar James Campbell in his still standard A Shakespeare Encyclopaedia opens his preface with the following statement:
A Shakespeare Encyclopaedia was compiled in the hope of offering in a single volume all the essential information available about every feature of Shakespeare’s life and works. Its compact form permits convenient reference to persons, places, literary works, and other subjects relevant to Shakespeare. It thus becomes a compendium of the results of studies made by scholars and biographers, by historians, literary, political, and social, and by editors and critics form the poet’s own time to the present day.59

The above and many more of these name dictionaries and encyclopaedias have entries for the character of Petruccio in *The Taming of the Shrew* in which not one of them makes any mention of Petruccio Ubaldini as a possible real-life model whatsoever.60 This is also the case in countless orthodox biographies of Shakespeare, anthologies discussing the Shakespeare plays, and nor does the name of Petruccio Ubaldini appear in any of the indices of standard editions of *The Taming of the Shrew*. Let us then start with a small clue for the schoolmen regarding the contemporary model for Petruccio in *The Taming of the Shrew* that requires not even a scintilla of academic prowess, or intellectual subtlety or sophistication-Petruccio and Petruccio Ubaldini share the same name. And moreover to remove any reasonable uncertainty as to the possibility of any other contemporary candidates we can do no better than quote the words of the editor Professor Barbara Hodgson of the modern Bloomsbury Arden edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* (in which the name of Petruccio Ubaldini does not appear in its detailed thirteen page index):

**PETRUCCIO**….There was one prominent Petruccio in London, Petruccio Ubaldini, two of whose works are plausibly associated with *Edward III* (RP). In AS Petruccio=Ferando.61

For reasons best known to herself Professor Hodgson in this 448 page edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the gold standard Bible edition of the play, did not apparently deem it appropriate to provide her learned readership with a comprehensive summary of the life and works of Petruccio Ubaldini and any possible links to Shakespeare.

Understandably, even though there is an entry for him in the *DNB* and *ODNB*, the name of Petruccio Ubaldini remains virtually unknown to the non-specialist scholar or casual student but he has for centuries been known to Elizabethan historians and at least some Shakespeare editors, critics and commentators. So why the avoiding of any discussion of the contemporary figure Petruccio Ubaldini in relation to the central protagonist Petruccio in *The Taming of the Shrew*? Is it in some instances just plain ignorance or in others deliberate systematic suppression? What can be said with some confidence is that when all the relevant information about Petruccio Ubaldini and his links and relationships with the Bacons, and in particular Francis Bacon, is presented in a single narrative (as it is here for the first time) it illuminates the true authorship of the Shakespeare play *The Taming of the Shrew* which is reinforced and confirmed by other evidence presented in this paper.

Francis Bacon had known Petruccio Ubaldini from when he was child for a period of four decades and had observed him at first hand up close and personal in the Bacon family homes at Gorhambury and York House, as well as at court, and in various circumstances and situations with men and woman, and witnessed his responses and reactions, in every conceivable private and public situation. While Bacon knew him intimately, posterity has bequeathed few hard details about his personal character and private life and when we realise that Petruccio Ubaldini is the model for the central character Petruccio in *The Taming of the Shrew* we are still only able to partially see him through a transmuted lens. Like his Shakespeare character Petruccio the real-life model Petruccio Ubaldini was a fortune hunter and for all we know he could have
fancied himself as a ladies man and in the play Bacon may have intended to lampoon him or present a comical distorted caricature of his attitudes and behaviour toward women. Perhaps Katherine also represents a historical person and it is very tempting to suggest that some aspects of her character and personality may well have been a distorted refraction of the nature and temperament of Bacon’s aunt Katherine Cooke Killigrew, the sister of Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, who was well-known to Petruccio Ubaldini, whom he may have conceivably had designs on in real life.

In addition to the principle plot of The Taming of the Shrew in which the shrewish Katherine is wooed, won and tamed by Petruccio there is an interconnected subplot involving Lucentio, Gremio and Hortensio, as rival suitors for the hand of Katherine’s sister named Bianca. In his Arden edition of Twelfth Night Professor Keir Elam points to ‘the extraordinary number of anagrammatic names within the List of Roles, suggesting that the borders between one role and the next are uncertain and unstable, their identities overlapping, ‘Viola’ and ‘Olivia’ are virtual anagrams, and this in turn reflects a complex network of parallels and reciprocal identifications between the two female co-protagonists.’ In the case of Katherine and Katherine Cooke Killigrew the there is no need to unravel an anagram as they share the same Christian name. In real life Katherine Cooke Killigrew was a younger sister of Lady Anne Cooke Bacon and in the play the sister of Katherine is named Bianca. The name of Bianca may have been adopted by Bacon for the purposes of an anagram, as it yields I BACAN, which is of course a near anagram of I BACON, or alternatively AN BAC, an anagrammatic contraction of the name Anne Bacon.

In The Taming of the Shrew Bacon provides the character of Petruccio with a father whom he makes Petruccio refer to on three separate occasions. Our poet can of course select any name he chooses from literally hundreds of different names. From this enormous range of possibilities, for the name of Petruccio’s father, he chooses Antonio, the Italian form of Anthony, the name of his much beloved brother Anthony Bacon:

PETRUCCIO

Such wind as scatters young men through the world
To seek their fortunes farther than at home,
Where small experience grows. But in a few,
Signor Hortensio, thus it stands with me:
Antonio, my father, is deceased,
And I have thrust myself into this maze
Happily to wive and thrive as best I may.
Crows in my purse I have, and goods at home,
And so am come abroad to see the world.

[The Taming of the Shrew: 1: 2: 49-57]

PETRUCCIO

Born in Verona, old Antonio’s son.
My father dead, his fortune lives for me,
And I do hope good days and long to see.

[The Taming of the Shrew: 1: 2: 189-91]

PETRUCCIO

Petruccio is my name, Antonio’s son,
A man well known throughout all Italy.

[The Taming of the Shrew: 2: 1: 68-9]
Perhaps given Bacon’s well-known use of ciphers, anagrams and masterful wordplay, we may be allowed to read or interpret the line ‘Petruccio is my name, Antonio’s son’ somewhat differently. In the First Folio the line is printed as follows:

*Pet. Petruchio is my name, Antonio’s sonne.*

In keeping with the definition of an anagram (a word, phrase or name, formed by transposing or rearranging the letters of another), if we rearrange the words in the line to read ‘Antonio is my name’, as well as count the number of letters in the line as it is printed in the First Folio which happens to be 33, Bacon in simple cipher, it transmits a disguised message insinuating the name Anthony Bacon.

There has also been a very curious pattern in the way the dramatis personae of *The Taming of the Shrew* has been presented down the centuries in both complete editions of the Shakespeare works and in single editions of the play. To illustrate this repeated practice I here below provide a number of representative examples covering a period of the last two hundred years carried over from the first editions of the Shakespeare plays. To begin with when printing the customary list of dramatis personae before *The Taming of the Shrew* in the almost endless editions of the complete works the servants of Petruccio are not named:

*Taylor, Haberdasher, with Servants attending on Baptista and Petruchio.*


Tailor, Haberdasher; and Servants attending on Baptista and Petruchio.


Tailor, Haberdasher; and Servants.


Tailor, Haberdasher; and Servants attending on Baptista and Petruchio.


As can be seen from the above (examples of which can be added to *ad infinitum*) this pattern continued to repeat itself well into the second half of the twentieth century. Then there was an almost seismic development when two of the Arden editors of *The Taming of the Shrew* named Curtis as Petruccio’s chief or personal servant, and it will be observed, they also state that Petruccio has FIVE other servants:

CURTIS, Petruchio’s chief servant at his country house
A Tailor
A Haberdasher
Five other servants of Petruchio.

Just as these glacial developments were gathering some incremental momentum there was an abrupt volte-face when the Cambridge editor of The Taming of the Shew fell back into the unnumbered description of servants attending on Petruchio:

CURTIS Petruccio’s personal servant at his country house
TAILOR
HABERDASHER


Then as we were approaching the new millennium matters took another very curious turn. In the most widely read modern edition of The Complete Works of Shakespeare its editors Professor Stanley Wells, honorary President of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust widely seen as the world’s foremost orthodox expert on Shakespeare and his co-editor Professor Gary Taylor actually put names to Petruccio’s servants:

A TAILOR
A HABERDASHER
AN OFFICER
SERVINGMEN, including NATHANIEL, PHILIP, JOSEPH, and PETER
Other servants of Baptista and Petruccio.


Yet remarkably in only naming these servants they very deliberately omitted the name of another, whom when placed alongside one of those they did name, has enormous significance. A modus operandi they repeated in the second edition of The Complete Works of Shakespeare published by arguably the most prestigious press in the world, the Oxford Clarendon:

A TAILOR
A HABERDASHER
AN OFFICER
SERVINGMEN, including NATHANIEL, PHILIP, JOSEPH, and PETER
Other servants of Baptist and Petruccio.


It may have been worthwhile for the two trusted illustrious editors of the most widely printed and available modern edition of The Complete Works of Shakespeare to have consulted ‘The Characters Of The Play’ in the Oxford edition of The Taming of the Shrew (of which Professor Stanley Wells acted as General Editor) in which the name of the other servant is printed:
GRUMIO, his servant
CURTIS, NATHANIEL, PHILIP, JOSEPH, NICHOLAS, PETER, and others: Petruccio’s domestic servants


Similarly some four hundred years after the publication of *The Taming of the Shrew* in the First Folio where the names of these servants were introduced by its Oxford editor H. J. Oliver they were also named by professors Bate and Rasmussen in the complete edition of the works for the RSC and Professor Barbara Hodgson in the latest Arden edition of *The Taming of the Shrew*:

Servants and Messengers (Petruchio has servants named NATHANIEL, JOSEPH, NICHOLAS, PHILIP and PETER)


Following the wedding of Petruccio and Katherine we meet these characters or servants in Act 4 Scene I of the play at Petruccio’s country house. His servant Grumio arrives at Petruccio’s house complaining how cold it is and prepares to light a fire as they and the other servants prepare for the arrival of their master and new mistress. Grumio instructs Curtis to make sure that the servants all look smart and are correctly adorned in their uniforms. When the newly wedded couple arrive, Petruccio is angry his servants are not outside to meet him and immediately begins to insult and abuse them. He orders his servants to bring him supper and continues to act aggressively and rudely towards them. He kicks one of the servants and berates and rails at the others. He declares the dinner is burnt and furiously throws the food to the floor as he chases his servants away as he continues to verbally and physical abuse them:

CURTIS By this reckoning he is more shrew than she.
GRUMIO Ay, and that thou and the proudest of you all shall find when he comes home. But what talk I of this? Call forth Nathaniel, Joseph, Nicholas, Philip, Walter, Sugarsop, and the rest. Let their heads be sleekly combed, their blue coats brushed, and their garters of an indifferent knit. Let them curtsy with their left legs and not to presume to touch a hair of my master’s horse-tail till they kiss their hands. Are they all ready?

*The Taming of the Shrew: 4: 1: 76-84*
Enter four or five servingmen
GRUMIO Why, she comes to borrow nothing of them.
NATHENIEL Welcome home, Grumio!
PHILIP How now, Grumio?
JOSEPH What, Grumio?
NICHOLAS Fellow Grumio!
NATHANIEL How now, old lad!
GRUMIO Welcome you, how now you, what you, fellow you, and thus much for greetings. Now, my spruce companions, is all ready and all things neat?
NATHANIEL All things is ready. How near is our master?
GRUMIO E’en at hand, alighted by this, and therefore be not Cock’s passion, silence! I hear my master.

Enter Petruchio and Katherine

PETRUCCIO
Where be these knaves? What, no man at door
To hold my stirrup nor to take my horse?
Where is Nathaniel, Gregory, Philip?

ALL SERVANTS Here, here, sir, here sir!

PETRUCCIO
Here sir, here sir, here sir, here sir!
You logger-head and unpolished grooms,
What! No attendance! No regard! No duty!
Where is the foolish knave I sent before.

GRUMIO
Here, sir, as foolish as I was before.

PETRUCCIO
You peasant swain, you whoreson, malthorse drudge,
Did I not bid thee meet me in the park
And bring along these rascal knaves with thee?

GRUMIO
Nathaniel’s coat, sir, was not fully made,
And Gabriel’s pumps were all unpinked i’th heel.
There was no link to colour Peter’s hat,
And Walter’s dagger was not come from sheathing.
There was none fine but Adam, Ralph, and Gregory.
The rest were ragged, old, and beggarly.
Yet as they are, here they come to meet you.

PETRUCCIO
Go, rascals, go and fetch my supper in. Exeunt servants.

[The Taming of the Shrew: 4:1: 94-125]

Here we have in this scene a very special gathering of characters. The swaggering and ludicrous Petruchio, modelled on the calligrapher and illuminator Petruchio Ubaldini, who was commissioned by Sir Nicholas Bacon to produce a beautifully illustrated manuscript of the sententiae on the gallery walls at Gorhambury and commissioned by Lady Bacon to copy out in Italian script the Cultivated Cosmographical Garden composed by a young Francis Bacon prefaced by Greek and Latin verses by Lady Bacon and her other Cooke sisters, including her sister Katherine, refracted through the character of Katherine in The Taming of the Shrew. In the play Katherine also had a sister named Bianca, from which we can anagrammatically derive AN BAC,
contraction of Anne Bacon, and the Christian name of her son Anthony Bacon, is employed in the play for Petruccio’s father. And if all this was not enough, two of Petruccio’s servants are named Nicholas and Nathaniel, the Christian names of Bacon’s elder half-brothers Sir Nicholas and Sir Nathaniel Bacon, from Sir Nicholas Bacon’s first marriage, whose elite social standing as part of the self-important landed gentry is brilliantly subverted by our supreme poet presenting and portraying them as being from the lower classes depicted as lowly berated servants serving their master Petruccio at his country house.

The radically altered version of the play revised and amended for the publication of the First Folio when virtually all those persons alluded to in play were dead (with the exception of the ill and dying Sir Nicholas Bacon who died in 1624), was in part a humorous practical family joke by a philosopher-poet who could never pass by a jest. One lampooning the Bacon family scribe Petruccio Ubaldini and his real or imagined designs on Katherine Cooke Killigrew, with the part of Bianca modelled on her sister Lady Anne Bacon, with Petruccio’s father given the name of Antonio, after Anthony Bacon, two of whose servants had the same Christian names as his elder half-brothers Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon. Thus hidden in plain sight the controversial comedy The Taming of the Shrew seen for what it is, was a Bacon family affair, a humorous send-up, written by the supreme family poet, Francis Bacon.
REFERENCES


7. Anne Cooke Bacon, *trans., An Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Engelande, with a briefe and plaine declaration of the true Religion professed and vsed in the same* (London: Reginald Wolfe, 1564).


10. Ibid., pp. 255-6.


Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2011), pp. 52-3.
15. Ibid., p. 256.
16. Ibid., pp. 44-5
17. Ibid., p. 42.
munusculum hoc quae lecungue Dedit Iulii 19 Anno 1599’. The inscription records the gift of the manuscript to ‘the most illustrious Charles Mountjoy’ from his chaplain Richard Latewar on 19 July 1599 (CUL MS II. 5.37). Little is known of Richard Latewar; the brief entry for him in the DNB amounts to two paragraphs and in the ODNB (2004-21) to only three. For the detailed source about the man and his writings see K. J. Holtgen, ‘Richard Latewar, Elizabethan Poet and Divine’, Anglia, 89 (1971), pp. 417-38; none of the accounts refer to Bacon. The Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato with its inscription recording that it was a gift to Lord Mountjoy via his chaplain Richard Latewar had not been discovered at the time Holtgen compiled his detailed article and it would appear it was not known to Paul E. J. Hammer, and certainly not referred to by him, when he wrote the entry for Latewar in the ODNB (2004-21). More than four hundred years later the question still remains: just who did Latewar receive the manuscript-book from with a view to gifting it to Lord Mountjoy? The most probable answer is he received it from the actual author himself. The Church of England clergyman, and poet and dramatist Richard Latewar (c.1560-1601) was the son of one Thomas Latewar, a successful cloth worker of London. He entered Merchant Taylors’ School in 1571 and after being awarded a scholarship he proceeded to St John’s College in 1580. He soon gained a reputation as an orator and a poet and was praised as a ‘poet laureate’ in January 1582. He became a fellow of St John’s in 1583 and graduated BA on 28 November 1584. In 1586 he penned a Latin poem in commemoration of Sir Thomas White, the founder of St John’s College, and the following year contributed verses to Oxford’s Exequeiae for Sir Philip Sidney who had spent some previous years of his life with Bacon at Leicester House discussing religion, politics, moral philosophy and literature. He also contributed verses to three books of commentary on Aristotle by John Case and composed a play called Philotas which was performed at St John’s. On 23 May 1588 Latewar received his MA. When Elizabeth visited Oxford in September 1592 he was chosen as one of the disputants in a debate on the subject of moral philosophy. Having served as university proctor in 1593-4, and receiving his BD in July 1594, Latewar joined his friend John Buckeridge in departing from Oxford. By 1595 Buckeridge was chaplain to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (whose adviser was Bacon during which time his brother Anthony lived with the earl at Essex House) and for three years from 1596 to 1599 Latewar served as Rector of Hopton, Suffolk, a placement in the sway of the Bacon family, which was most likely directly secured for him by Bacon. By 1596 Latewar also became chaplain to Bacon’s close friend Lord Mountjoy spending much of his time in London moving in the Bacon-Essex-Mountjoy circle in and around Essex House on the Strand.

Prior to Latewar passing on the manuscript of Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato to his master Lord Mountjoy he had about two years earlier received another manuscript of Bacon’s then unpublished writings entitled Of the Colours of Good and Evil that was only meant for private circulation to which he prefixed the following dedication ‘Mr. FRANCIS BACON of the colours of good and evil, to THE LORD MOUNTJOYE (see Spedding, Works, VI., pp. 69-71). With its prefatory verses from Lady Anne Cooke Bacon, and her sisters, Lady Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Katherine Cooke Killigrew, & Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell prefixed to Giardino Cosmografico Coltivato its recipient Lord Mountjoy would have been fully appreciative of its provenance and the identity of its true author, whom he knew to be a concealed poet and writer.
25. Bartholo Sylva, *Giardino Cosmografico Cultivato*, CUL li.5. 37, CVI'.
31. For the Sir Nicholas Bacon-Lady Lumley MS see Elizabeth McCutcheon, *Sir Nicholas Bacon’s Great House Sententiae* (Published by the University of Hawaii and the Sir Francis Bacon Foundation and Library, Claremont, California, in conjunction with *English Literary Renaissance Supplements*, 1977), passim and Peter Dawkins, *Dedication To The Light* (The Francis Bacon Research Trust, 1984), pp. 84-90.
38. For a detailed overview see A Gerber, ‘All Of The Five Fictitious Italian Editions Of Writings Of Machiavelli And Those Of Pietro Aretino Printed By John Wolfe Of London (1584-1588)’, *Modern Language Notes*, 22 (January 1907), pp. 2-6; 22


44. Ibid., p. 321n89.

45. Ibid., p. 197.

46. Ibid., p. 323n114.


52. Sir Thomas Hoby, *trans.*, *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio, deuided into Foure Bookes. Verie necessarie and profitable for young Gentlemen and Gentlewomen abiding in Court, Pallace, or Place, done into English by Thomas Hoby* (London: printed by John Wolfe, 1588), first page of the text.


54. William Shakespeare, *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew. As it was sundrie times acted by the Right honourable the Earle of Pembrook his seruants* (London: printed by Peter Short for Cuthbert Burby, 1596).

56. For the editions of Bacon’s *Essays* printed and published by various members of the Jaggards see Gibson nos. 4, 5, 7-10, & 12 (dating from 1606 to 1624) and for a discussion see Michael Kiernan, ed., *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Moral* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. cix-cxii.


61. Barbara Hodgson, ed., *The Taming Of The Shrew* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2010, 2014), p. 136. In 1588, having interviewed Sir Francis Drake, Ubaldini wrote for Lord Effingham ‘Commentario del successo dell’Armata Spagnola nell’assalir l’Inghilterra l’anno 1588’ (BL Royal MS 14.A.x), yet the account of the Armada was not printed in Italian but in English published by Wolfe with engraved maps by Augustine Ryther (see Cecil H. Clough, Petruccio Ubaldini, (fl. 1545-1599), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-21). In the dedication (signed ‘A. Ryther’) its author sets out several of the reasons which moved him to address the work to its dedicatee Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, beginning with the subject of the book ‘which is your selfe especially, and the rest of the leaders, vnder whose happie conduction hir Maiesties nauie preuailed against the Spanish Fleete’. He reminds him it had ‘beene kept backe these two yeeres almost from our men in an vknownen toong, so (as I gesse) it had lien hid for euer, had not the good foresene giuen iust occasion of the publishing thereof.’ Which he says had been ‘translated and printed at my cost’.

[Anon., *trans.*. *A Discovrse concerninge the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by her Ma’tes Nauie under the conduction of the Right-honourable the Lorde Charles Howarde, highe Admirall of Englande*, written in Italian by Petruccio Ubaldini, citizen of Florence, and translated for A. Ryther: unto wth discouerse are annexed certaine tables expressinge the severall exploites and conflictes had with the said fleete. These bookes with the tables
belonging to them, are to be sold at the shoppe of A. Ryther, being from Leaden hall, next to the signe of the Tower (London: printed for John Wolf, 1590), A1v]

The title page of the work states that it had been ‘translated for A. Ryther’ and in the address to the reader ‘A. Ryther’ informs us it ‘being also by my friend translated faithfully, onely the Italian flourishes were here and there omitted’ (Ibid., A2v). Clearly, whoever translated it out from the Italian into English, wished to remain anonymous, which evidently was not Petruccio Ubaldini as there is no plausible reason why he, or ordinarily anyone else, would not put his name to it; with the obvious exception of Bacon, then covertly working with Ubaldini and Wolfe, who, as we have seen, was in the regular habit of writing, translating, and distributing works anonymously and pseudonymously. Bacon drew upon both the Italian manuscript version ‘Commentario del succcesso dell’Armata Spagnola nell’assalir l’Inghilterra l’anno 1588’ and its printed English translation version A Discovrse concerninge the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 for his Shakespeare play Edward III. The internal evidence, an allusion to the battle of the Armada, provides a terminus a quo for the play of 1588, that suggests a likely date of composition of c.1588-90, one argued for by J. Farner, ed., The Reign of King Edward III (Edinburgh and London: Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1910), t. p., Karl P. Wentersdorf in ‘The Date of Edward III’, Shakespeare Quarterly, 16 (1965), pp. 227-31 and Eric Sams in Shakespeare’s Edward III (Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 163, 72, 203, passim. Alternatively, Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery, eds., William Shakespeare The Complete Works Second Edition (Oxford Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 257 state ‘It could have been written at any time between the Armada of 1588 and 1595.’ See also Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds., William Shakespeare A Textual Companion (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997), pp. 136-7. It was entered on the Stationers’ Register on 1 December 1595 and published anonymously the following year by Cuthbert Busby under the title The Raigne Of King Edvard the third: As it hath bin sundrie times plaied about the Citie of London. Several details and echoes from A Discovrse concerninge the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 found in Edward III have been pointed out by Wentersdorf, the Cambridge and Arden editors of the play, and Eric Sams in his Shakespeare’s Edward III:

‘The proud Armado of King Edward’s ships’ and the imaginative descriptions of an invading navy (1111ff.) and a sea-fight (1192ff.), with its anachronistic use of artillery, together with the half-moon formation of the French army (1945-6), are no doubt intended to evoke the Armada of 1588. So perhaps is the reference to ‘tyrant fear’ (278), or the fate of being drowned or ‘hacked apieces’ before reaching the shore (1106), like many a Spanish mariner wrecked off the Irish and other coasts, while English ‘malcontents’ (1055) may well be an equally typical anachronistic allusion to Tudor times. The Quarto’s ‘Nom per illa [sic], that brave ship’ (1225) was no doubt a misreading for Nonpariglia, as in Ubaldini’s account of the Armada c. 1589 and its English translation of 1590; the Nonpareil fought with distinction in that encounter. The same pamphlet describes the Spanish fleet as ‘placed in Battle Aray after the Manner of a Moon crescent, being ready with her Horns and her inward Circumference, to receive either all, or so many of the English Navy, as should give her the Assault’; this may well have been in the dramatist’s mind in imagining the French land forces at Poitiers as arrayed on a hill which ‘like a half moon, opening one way…rounds us in’ (1945-6).


From 1591 no more Italian editions originated from the printing press of John Wolfe and before 1592 his editor/proof-reader Petruccio Ubaldini transferred his skills or was passed by Bacon to Richard Field who published six of his works in the following seven years.

The first work printed by Richard Field with Ubaldini’s name printed to it was *Parte Prima Delle Brevi Dimostrazioni, Et Precetti Vilissimi Ne I quai si trattano diuersi propositi Morali, Politici & Iconomici* (1592) which appeared without any
imprint save the date ‘MDXCII’. The title page depicts a bird very reminiscent of a phoenix rising from the ashes often associated with Bacon and one of the most sacred symbols of his Rosicrucian-Freemasonic Brotherhood. Above ‘A’I Lettori Di Animo Chiaro, Et Benevoli Dell’ Altrvi Lodevoli Fatiche Petrucio Vbaldini dica salute’ stands Bacon’s AA Headpiece (Petruccio Ubaldini, *Parte Prima Delle Brevi Dimostrazioni, Et Precetti Viìlissimi Ne I quai si trattano diversi propositi Morali, Politici & Iconomici* (London: printed by Richard Field, 1592), A2').

In 1593 his employer Richard Field printed *Venus and Adonis* the first published work to employ Bacon’s pseudonym William Shakespeare which appears at the end of the very intimate dedication to the Earl of Southampton who previously resided with Bacon at Gray’s Inn and was a prominent member of the Bacon-Essex circle primarily centred around Essex House sometime home of Francis and Anthony Bacon (William Shakespeare, *Venus And Adonis* (London: printed by Richard Field, 1593, A1')). In 1594 Field signed over the rights of *Venus and Adonis* to John Harrison, the elder. He subsequently employed Field to print the next three editions of *Venus and Adonis* (1594-6) and in the first of the editions above the dedication to the Earl of Southampton stands Bacon’s AA headpiece. (William Shakespeare, *Venus And Adonis* (London: printed by Richard Field, 1593, A1')). In 1594 Field printed for Harrison Bacon’s first edition of *The Rape of Lucrece* carrying an even more intimate dedication to the Earl of Southampton (William Shakespeare, *Lucrece* (London: printed by Richard Field, 1594), A2'). The Shakespeare play written by Bacon years earlier in which the leading role of Petruccio is modelled upon Petruccio Ubaldini appeared under the title *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The taming of a Shrew. As it was sundry times acted by the Right honourable the Earle of Pembrook is servaunts* (London: printed by Peter Short for Cuthbert Burby, 1594). The quarto edition printed by Peter Short for Cuthbert Burby incorporates Bacon’s AA headpiece above the first page of the text (A2'). We have now seen the appearance of Bacon’s AA headpiece in works printed by three different printers, John Wolfe, Richard Field and Peter Short, that also appears on several other Shakespeare quartos printed by other printers, as well as the Shakespeare First Folio, printed by the Jaggards, the printers of several editions of Bacon’s *Essays*.

While Field was printing Bacon’s narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* during 1594 he also printed Petruccio Ubaldini’s *Lo Stato Delle tre corti ...della Corte Romana, nel regno di Napoli, & nelli stati del gran Duca di Thoscano...Di Petruccio Vbaldino, Cittadin Fiorentino* published without any imprint or date on its title page which does however depict the phoenix-like bird rising form the flames and Bacon’s AA headpiece. It was followed the next year by *Scelti Di Alcvne Attioni, Et Di Varii Accidenti Occorsi Tra Alcvne Nationi Differenti del mondi; cauati della Selua de i casi diversi. Di Petruccio Vbaldino Fiorentino* this time with a date but no imprint, and as before, with Bacon’s AA headpiece (a different design from the previous one) and the phoenix rising from the ashes appearing on its title page.

All through the 1590s Bacon was composing his Shakespeare sonnets which are either addressed to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, dedicatee of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* printed by Field and/or to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, joint future dedicatee of the Shakespeare First Folio and Grand Master of England and in 1596 there appeared from Field’s printing press *Rime Di Petruccio Vbaldino, Cittadin Fiorentino* which is dated but is without any imprint.
In 1597 appeared Ubaldini’s *Militia Del Gran Dvca di Toscana*, a description of the military system of Tuscany, that is dated but without any imprint, bearing the phoenix emblem on its title page, with Bacon’s AA headpiece printed above the first page of its text (B1'). Ubaldini’s last work *La Vita Di Carlo Magno Imperadore* (1599) printed by Field again without an imprint with the same phoenix emblem on its title page was a reprint of his first work printed by Wolfe eighteen years earlier (Petruccio Ubaldini, *La Vita Di Carlo Magno Imperadore* (Londra Appresso Giouanni Wolfsio Inghilese, 1581) and Petruccio Ubaldini, *La Vita Di Carlo Magno Imperadore* (1599). The phoenix emblem is not recorded as a device by Mckerrow and was only used on the title pages of the five works referred to above. For the most extensive discussion of works issued in the name of Petruccio Ubaldini see Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), passim, esp. pp. 121-27, to which I am greatly indebted.