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SHAKESPEARE AND CHAUCER:
INFLUENCE AND AUTHORITY ON THE RENAISSANCE STAGE

A dissertation presented
by
Misha Teramura
to
The Department of English
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
English

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Abstract

Over the course of Shakespeare's career, plays written for the commercial theatre were increasingly being published and read as literary works. This dissertation argues that Shakespeare's own complex response to the changing status of dramatic texts can best be discerned in his engagements with the figure who represented vernacular literary authority itself, Geoffrey Chaucer. Renaissance readers venerated Chaucer as a prodigious polymath, a proto-Protestant, and, above all, the authoritative founding father of English literature. Whereas ambitious early modern poets like Edmund Spenser were eager to claim their own place in a Chaucerian tradition, Shakespeare's adaptations and appropriations of Chaucer's works reveal not only an acute awareness of the precarious position of plays within this literary tradition but also a deep ambivalence about the incommensurability of stage and page as media of dramatic representation.

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the most explicitly Chaucerian play of the period, Shakespeare and Fletcher treat *The Knight's Tale* with a mixture of reverence and hostility, thematizing the challenge of adapting a culturally authoritative poem for the commercial stage. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the two parts of *Henry IV*, Shakespeare adopts framing techniques from Chaucer's works in order to explore the literary possibilities of drama, even as the deployment of these techniques on stage reveals a tension between poetic ambition and theatrical pragmatism. The iconoclastic *Troilus and Cressida*, by emphasizing an antagonism between *auctor* and actor, vandalizes the poetic authority of its Chaucerian and Homeric sources; yet, in doing so, the play posits its own vision of a distinctly

theatrical longevity. This dissertation argues that Shakespeare throughout his career found Chaucer most valuable not as a model to be imitated, but as an interlocutor to think with (and against) at a critical cultural moment when theatrical scripts were becoming "literature."

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Introduction

Sometime in the early 1640s, not long after a newly emboldened Puritan parliament signed the death warrant for the Shakespearean stage, an amateur antiquarian was strolling through Southwark and came upon the Tabard Inn. He was collecting material for his "Perambulation in and round ye Citye of London," a compilation of observations to supplement works like John Stow's *Survey of London*.[1] Arriving at the Tabard, he immediately recognized it as one of English literature's most famous locations, the starting point for the pilgrimage immortalized in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. When John Stow's *Survey* arrives at Southwark, the author (a sometime editor of Chaucer) could not resist quoting eleven lines from the General Prologue to remind his readers that "*Geffrey Chauser*, Esquire, the most famous Poet of *England*," had sung the Tabard's praises.[2] But one hardly needed to be a Chaucer scholar to recognize the building. When our anonymous Caroline *flâneur* entered the Tabard, he found it "fast ruining" and thought it pertinent to record details so that his notes "may be useful to searchers of Antiquitye in time to come." One of these observations, preserved by our antiquarian for posterity, may serve as our starting point:

> Ye Tabard I find to have been ye resort Mastere Will Shakspear Sir Sander Duncombe Lawrence Fletcher Richard Burbage Ben Jonson and ye rest of their roystering associates in King Jameses time as in ye lange room they have cut their names on ye Pannels.[3]

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[1] Edinburgh University Library, MS La. II 422/211, f. 4r. See Appendix A ("Shakespeare at the Tabard Inn").

[2] John Stow, *A Svrvay of London* (London, 1598), sig. Z1v.

[3] Edinburgh University Library, MS La. II 422/211, f. 8r.

This act of graffiti captures one of the precious few glimpses we have of Shakespeare among his professional colleagues, roistering with his fellow King's Men while not performing together on the stage of the Globe.[4] But this record also constitutes evidence of the group's literary enthusiasms. Martha Carlin, who discovered this record, notes that the Tabard was not directly situated en route from the Bankside theaters to the London Bridge: visiting it would have required a somewhat inconvenient detour.[5] It seems entirely plausible that Shakespeare and his fellow King's Men chose the Tabard for its Chaucerian associations.

To roister at the Tabard was a kind of literary pilgrimage, an act of homage to "the most famous Poet of *England*," and to scrawl one's name on the wall was a particularly forceful way of ratifying that homage.[6] When the poets George Gascoigne and Thomas Churchyard, both Chaucer enthusiasts, encountered a fifteenth-century manuscript of *The Canterbury Tales*, they signed their names on its parchment pages, as if to make some kind of textual contact with their beloved literary forefather and to leave a trace of themselves, as if to partake of Chaucer's fame.[7] To carve one's name into the wall of the famous Tabard Inn was arguably a comparable act, and since no book owned by Shakespeare has been traced today, his signature on the wall of the Tabard is the closest example we have to Shakespearean marginalia.

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[4] The name of Sander Duncombe, not likely an acquaintance of Shakespeare, must have been a later inscription. See Appendix A.

[5] Martha Carlin, "Shakespeare at the Tabard," *TLS* (24 September 2014): 15

[6] On architectural and textual graffiti, see Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001); Jason Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010): 363–81.

[7] Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 739, ff. 218v–19r; John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, 8 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1940), 1:320 (see also 1:624); Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti," 367. The signatures appear at the prologue to *The Pardoner's Tale*. On Turberville, see Appendix D ("Troilus and the English Onomasticon, 1564–1616").

As the most famous poet of England, Chaucer was required reading for ambitious authors in the Renaissance. Perhaps the most celebrated reader and admirer of Chaucer was Edmund Spenser, who made his Chaucerian inheritance central to his own literary identity. Borrowing the medieval poet's antiquated language and transforming his narratives, Spenser also articulated some of the most moving gestures of homage to "Father Chaucer." In *The Faerie Queene*, as Spenser is about to undertake his fulfillment of the unfinished *Squire's Tale*, the poet invokes the memory of "Dan *Chaucer*, well of English vndefyled, / On Fames eternall beadroll worthie to be fyled," and prays directly to his illustrious predecessor "[t]hat I thy labours lost may thus reuiue, […] through infusion sweete / Of thine owne spirit, which doth in me surviue."[8] In this fantasy of metempsychosis, Spenser prays that he might become Chaucer *redivivus*. Appropriately, Spenser followed Chaucer even in death when his body was buried next to the tomb of the medieval poet in Westminster Abbey with an epitaph that consecrated the comparison for posterity: "*illi / Proximus ingenio, proximus vt tumulo*."[9]

How did Shakespeare regard Chaucer? And, more importantly, how did he understand his own relationship to the father of English poetry? In the prologue to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, a play Shakespeare co-authored with John Fletcher, Chaucer is praised in similarly grand terms, as noble, pure, famous, universally admired, eternal. And yet Shakespeare's relationship to Chaucer is more opaque than a poet like Spenser's. When Shakespeare scrawled his name on the wall of the Tabard, he did so in the company of Ben Jonson, Richard Burbage, and Lawrence Fletcher—his colleagues from the world of the theatre. Shakespeare was, for the majority of his career, a professional playwright. Whereas Spenser was able to imagine himself following in the footsteps of the pioneer

[8] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Qveene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton, rev. 2nd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), IV.ii.33–34.

[9] William Camden, *Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alij in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti* (London, 1600), sig. I2v.

of English poetry, Shakespeare was writing in a medium that had no tradition. At the outset of Shakespeare's career, the professional theatre as a commercial institution was less than a generation old; more consequentially, it was unclear whether the plays written for this institution would even have a literary afterlife at all. Spenser imagined his poetry as a permanent contribution to English literature: his invocations of Chaucer, the figure who more than any other represented the enduring potential of English poetry, are both gestures of homage and a strategy to interpolate himself within an unfolding English literary tradition. Could Shakespeare have even contemplated his works of theatre participating in this tradition? This dissertation argues that Shakespeare's adaptations and transformations of Chaucerian sources provided him with an opportunity to explore precisely this question. And yet whereas Spenser's engagements with Chaucer triumphantly appropriate the Chaucerian mantle, Shakespeare's are more complex, revealing a deep ambivalence about the playwright's own potential role within the literary tradition that Chaucer represents. It is out of this ambivalence that Shakespeare defines a new role for himself and for the fate of theatrical writing.

I. Shakespeare Reading Chaucer

Did Shakespeare read Chaucer? An affirmative answer to that question seems to be something of a *donnée* in the modern popular imagination. The Victorian Charles Knight indulged in a speculative biographical fantasy about Shakespeare as a "pupil of Chaucer," whose collected works were "the closest companion of the young poet," and "that in his solitary walks unbidden tears came into his eyes when he recollected some passages of matchless pathos, or irrepressible laughter arose at those touches of genial humour which glance like sunbeams over the page."[10] When Ford Madox Brown painted his 1849 portrait of Shakespeare ("an attempt to supply the want of a credible likeness of

[10] Charles Knight, *William Shakspere: A Biography* (London, 1843), 248. Knight's biography is discussed in S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 273–82.

our national poet"), the mature subject stands before a bookshelf with volumes by Chaucer, Plutarch, and Montaigne.[11] In the twentieth century, Jorge Luis Borges imagined a German scholar, bequeathed the awesome gift of Shakespeare's memory, discovering that his first recollection is not a reminiscence of Anne Hathaway but an unbidden fragment of memorized poetry: a line from Chaucer's "A.B.C."[12] From one teleological perspective of English literary history, it would seem obvious that the most celebrated writer of the Renaissance must not only have read the most celebrated writer of the Middle Ages, but also admired and studied him, attentive to the lessons of the master and absorbing the tradition into his own individual talent. In 1843, Knight wrote: "it is impossible not to feel that the writings of Chaucer must have had an incalculable influence on the formation of the mind of Shakspere."[13] A century and a half later, the most famous theorist of literary influence would repeat the sentiment: "No writer, neither Ovid nor the 'English Ovid,' Christopher Marlowe, influenced Shakespeare as crucially as Chaucer did," who "alone had the strength to teach Shakespeare the secrets of representation."[14] Such claims reaffirm our sense of the English canon, and seem to vindicate William Basse's seventeenth-century elegy, in which Chaucer, Spenser, and Beaumont are petitioned to make a little room for the late Shakespeare to be buried with them at Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.[15]

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[11] Julian Treuherz, *Pre-Raphaelite Paintings from Manchester City Art Galleries*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester City Art Gallery, 1993), 15. The quotation comes from the catalogue for *The Exhibition of Work, and Other Paintings, by Ford Madox Brown* (London, 1865).

[12] Jorge Luis Borges, "Shakespeare's Memory," in *Collected Fictions*, trans. Andrew Hurley (New York: Penguin, 1998), 508–15, esp. 511–12.

[13] Knight, *William Shakspere*, 249.

[14] Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994), 107, 126. See also *Ruin the Sacred Truths: Poetry and Belief from the Bible to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1987/1991), 54–55.

[15] "Renowned *Spenser* lie a thought more nigh / To learned *Chauser*, and rare *Beaumount* lie / A little neerer *Spenser* to make roome, / For *Shakespeare*…" See *Poems: Written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent.* (London, 1640), sig. K8v. The versions of the poem that appear in Donne's *Poems* (1633) and two manuscript witnesses

And yet there is a longer tradition in scholarship of treating the idea with skepticism or neglect. From the salad days of Shakespearean *Quellenforschung* in the eighteenth century, many critics shared Samuel Johnson's judgment in the *Preface* that Shakespeare was simply "not much indebted" to Chaucer.[16] Those who did make the case for indebtedness often commented on their minority position. In 1748, John Upton described Chaucer as "an English author, which was much studied by Shakespeare, but very superficially by Shakespeare's editors."[17] Even *Troilus and Cressida* was so rarely considered against *Troilus and Criseyde* that the anarchist and utilitarian William Godwin fumed in his biography of Chaucer that it was "a sort of conspiracy in the commentators upon Shakespear, against the glory of our old English bard."[18] The same negligence was noted in 1873 by John W. Hales, who argued that Shakespeare critics' neglect of Chaucer was less a conspiracy than "a mere concord of ignorance."[19] While several other critical forays to address the question were made, it was not until comparatively recently, and within the span of a decade, that a triptych of three complementary books by Alice S. Miskimin (1975), Ann Thompson (1978), and E. Talbot Donaldson (1985) provided scholars with a survey of Chaucer's reception in the Renaissance, a case

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begin by apostrophizing Chaucer: see Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, with John Jowett and William Montgomery, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 164. Of course naming Spenser first makes more sense for the poem's image, in which all the interned poets shuffle over to accommodate Shakespeare beside Beaumont as the latest in line. For a recent argument in favor of Donne's authorship of the poem, see Brandon S. Centerwall, "Who Wrote William Basse's 'Elegy on Shakespeare'?: Rediscovering a Poem Lost from the Donne Canon," *Shakespeare Survey* 59 (2006): 267–84.

[16] Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London, 1765), 1:sig.C4r.

[17] Upton, *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (London, 1748), xvi–xxvii. The quote appears on pp. xvi–xvii.

[18] William Godwin, *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2 vols. (London, 1803), 1:315. Theobald, for example, had said that Shakespeare was more indebted to *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* than to "*Lollius* or *Chaucer*" (*The Works of Shakespeare*, 7 vols. [London, 1733], 7:114) and Johnson did not even mention Chaucer (*Plays*, 7:547); however, Charlotte Lennox gave a full comparison (discussed below in Chapter 4).

[19] [John W. Hales,] "Chaucer and Shakespeare," *The Quarterly Review* 134 (1873): 225–55, at 240. Hales's essay was first published anonymously (was customary in the *Quarterly Review*) and then under his own name in his *Notes and Essays on Shakespeare* (London, 1884), 56–104.

for Shakespeare's familiarity with Chaucer, and a nuanced critical exploration of that influence, thereby consolidating Chaucer's place among Shakespeare's sources.[20]

While the critical blind spot may have been a function of the institutions of education, the reluctance to consider Chaucer as a source for Shakespeare comes just as organically from the canon itself. Plays treating English and Roman history naturally suggested Holinshed and Plutarch as their narrative sources, whereas the only unequivocal adaptation of Chaucerian material, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, was not accepted into the Shakespeare canon until the twentieth century.[21] Critics could not discern such direct borrowings from Chaucer comparable to Gonzalo's paraphrase of Florio's Montaigne or Prospero's recital of Golding's Ovid. And of course Chaucer, not himself a playwright, could not be looked to for dramatic analogues the way that one might look to Plautus, Terence, and Seneca. The nineteenth-century celebrants of the English literary tradition often based their dreams of influence on impressionistic arguments that Chaucer and Shakespeare were kindred spirits with the same humane outlook on life and penetrating insight into universal truths. But the abstract nature of their praise may have only drawn attention to the dearth of hard evidence that led Johnson to suppose that Shakespeare's debt to Chaucer was small if existent at all.

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[20] Alice S. Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1975); Ann Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer: A Study in Literary Origins* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1978); E. Talbot Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well: Shakespeare Reading Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985). See also Hales, "Chaucer and Shakespeare"; Otto Ballmann, "Chaucers einfluss auf das englische drama im zeitalter der königin Elisabeth und der beiden ersten Stuart-könige," *Anglia* 25 (1902): 1–85, esp. 4–14; Nevill Coghill, "Shakespeare's Reading in Chaucer," in Herbert David and Helen Gardner, eds., *Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to Frank Percy Wilson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), 86–99; Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 204–34. Thompson, who served as a general editor for the Arden Shakespeare Third Series, has nevertheless recently noticed that Chaucer still seems to be neglected by in the most moderns editions of the plays: see "Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Shakespeare's Editors," *Shakesplorations: Essays in Honour of Professor Marta Gibińska*, ed. Jerzy Limon, Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, and Jacek Fabiszak (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2012), 24–37.

[21] Alexander Pope was prophetic in his Shakespeare edition: "we may conclude him to be no less conversant with the Ancients of his own country from the use he has made of *Chaucer* in *Troilus* and *Cressida*, and in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, if that Play be his, as there goes a Tradition it was (and indeed it has little resemblance of *Fletcher*, and more of our Author than some of those which have been received as genuine.)": see *The Works of Shakespear*, 6 vols. (London, 1725), 1:xi.

From the perspective of early modern literary culture, however, it seems almost impossible to imagine that Shakespeare did not read Chaucer. Not only was Chaucer was a staple of the literary imagination of Renaissance readers, evident from the vast number of allusions that appear in print and manuscript sources, but Shakespeare's career overlapped with the high point of a longstanding tradition of Chaucerian publication.[22] In the incunabular days of English printing, *The Canterbury Tales* had been one of the very first books produced from the shop of William Caxton, located on the premises of Westminster Abbey.[23] Individual editions of Chaucerian works such as *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The House of Fame*, and *The Parliament of Fowls* were printed until the 1520s,[24] but these quarto-sized publications were soon eclipsed by folio volumes of his collected oeuvre. The first Chaucer folio was William Thynne's Henrician edition of 1532 (revised 1542 and reissued circa

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[22] Essential primary materials on the Renaissance reception of Chaucer can be found in Caroline F.E. Spurgeon, ed., *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357–1900*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1925); Derek Brewer, ed., *Chaucer: The Critical Heritage*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978); and, Jackson Campbell Boswell and Sylvia Wallace Holton, eds. *Chaucer's Fame in England: STC Chauceriana, 1475–1640* [hereafter *STC Chauceriana*] (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2004), supplemented by Boswell, "New References to Chaucer, 1641–1660," *The Chaucer Review* 45 (2011): 435–65. Boswell and Holton provide the most comprehensive anthology of Chaucer allusions in print materials, but the scope of their project necessarily omits the numerous manuscript materials located by Spurgeon. The bibliography of scholarship on the Renaissance reception of Chaucer is extensive. For some particularly helpful surveys, see Miskimin, *The Renaissance Chaucer*; Seth Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993); Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII: Literary Culture and the Arts of Deceit* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997); James Simpson, "Chaucer's Presence and Absence, 1400–1550," in Piero Boitani and Jill Mann, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 251–69; Glenn A. Steinberg, "Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* and the Elizabethan Reception of Chaucer," *ELR* 55 (2005): 31–51; Lerer, "Receptions: Medieval, Tudor, Modern," in Susanna Fein and David Raybin, eds., *Chaucer: Contemporary Approaches* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2010), 83–95. On the early editions, see also the essays in Paul G. Ruggiers, ed., *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim, 1984); Joseph A. Dane, *Who Is Buried in Chaucer's Tomb? Studies in the Reception of Chaucer's Book* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998); Greg Walker, *Writing under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), chapters 2, 4, and 5; Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books, 1473–1557* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).

[23] The dating of Caxton's first *Canterbury Tales* edition (STC 5082) has been debated, either 1576 or 1577. For a recent defense of Caxton's attentiveness in editing Chaucer, see Barbara Bordalejo, "Caxton's Editing of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America* 108 (2014): 41–60.

[24] *Troilus* appeared in 1483 (STC 5094), 1517 (STC 5095), c. 1526 (STC 5096); *Fame* in 1483 (STC 5087) and 1526 (STC 5088); *Fowls* in c. 1477 (STC 5091), c. 1525 (STC 5091.5), 1530 (STC 5092).

1555), a hallmark in English letters that canonized Chaucer as the first English writer to be compiled in an edition of his *Workes*.[25] Two subsequent editors updated Thynne's folio at generational intervals: John Stow, whose 1561 edition expanded the canon with substantial new additions, and Thomas Speght, whose 1598 edition (revised in 1602) bestowed on Chaucer's works a full editorial apparatus. An even more extravagantly annotated edition was planned by William Thynne's son Francis, "after the manner of the Italians, who have largelye comented Petrarche,"[26] but this was never realized and Speght's edition dominated the seventeenth century (it was reprinted in 1687), even remaining in use after the publication of Urry's 1721 edition.[27]

It was these folio editions through which most Renaissance readers encountered Chaucer. While they were not exactly ubiquitous in early modern libraries,[28] over three hundred copies survive

[25] The issue of Thynne's edition's relationship to the Reformation has been much debated. Recently, Greg Walker has argued that it was "not an incendiary contribution to the reforming campaign, but a subtly coded call for religious stability and consensus" (*Writing under Tyranny*, 56).

[26] Francis Thynne, *Animaduersions vppon the Annotacions and Corrections of Some Imperfections of Impressiones of Chaucers Workes… Reprinted in the Yere of Oure Lorde 1598*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London, 1876), 75. Speght gallantly publicized Thynne's intentions in his 1602 edition: "After this booke was last printed, I vnderstood, that M. *Francis Thynn* had a purpose, as indeed he hath when time shall serue, to set out *Chaucer* with a Coment in our tongue, as the Italians haue *Petrarke* and others in their language" (STC 5080, sig. [a]3v).

[27] Pearsall, "Speght," 91. The young Alexander Pope owned a copy of Speght's 1598 edition (now preserved in the Hurd Library at Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire) and it was likely in one of these editions that Chaucer first came to America. See Maynard Mack, "Pope's Copy of Chaucer," in René Wellek and Alvaro Ribeiro, eds., *Evidence in Literary Scholarship: Essays in Memory of James Marshall Osborn* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 105–21; Misha Teramura, "Chaucer Folios in Colonial America: A Correction," *The Chaucer Review* (forthcoming).

[28] The 316 inventories currently databased for *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* yield only two owners of Chaucer; however the same inventories collectively list only one copy of Lydgate, Gower, Sidney, and Spenser, and only two of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Eight additional copies of Chaucer's works can be found in the sixteenth-century Cambridge inventories compiled by E. S. Leedham-Green, and Caroline Spurgeon located records of a further four. See *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, ed. R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green <http://plre.folger.edu>; E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 2:200. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:71 (1509, will of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby), 82 (1540, library catalogue of William Cavendish), 94 (1556, catalogue of Sir William More of Losely), 102 (1568, will of Henry Payne of Bury St. Edmunds).

today, many of which contain annotations that give us a sense of the attention that early modern readers bestowed on their copies of Chaucer.[29] Ben Jonson's personal copy of the 1602 edition, emblazoned with his readerly motto *tanquam explorator*, bears witness to Jonson's Chaucerian explorations,[30] as does Gabriel Harvey's extensively annotated copy of the 1598 edition.[31] Some readers personalized their copies by inscribing memorial verses to Chaucer, composing their own poetic tributes, or re-fashioning title pages.[32] One particularly passionate Chaucer owner was Lady Anne Clifford. When Clifford commissioned a portrait of herself at fifteen years old (i.e. in 1605), a folio Chaucer was one of the formative books symbolically shelved above her head.[33] At fifty-nine, Clifford would later write, "if I hade nott exelent Chacor's booke heere to comfortt mee I wer in a pitifull case, having so manny trubles as I have, butt when I rede in that I scorne and make litte of

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[29] On marginalia, see Alison Wiggins, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Printed Copies of Chaucer?" *The Library*, 7th series, 9 (2008): 3–36; Wiggins, "Frances Wolfreston's *Chaucer*," in Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman, eds., *Women and Writing, c.1340–c.1650: The Domestication of Print Culture* (Woodbridge: York Medieval P, 2010), 77–89. The figure of surviving copies of the folios from 1532 to 1602 is a based on the copies listed in ESTC. Wiggins, who reports an approximate figure of 450 copies of all Chaucer works from Caxton to Speght's 1687 edition, offers a warning about discrepancies between ESTC listings and actual library holdings ("What Did," 8, 8n15).

[30] Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 5080 copy 3. The copy is discussed in Robert C. Evans, "Ben Jonson's Chaucer," *ELR* 19 (1989): 324–45; rpt. *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1995), 134–51, with facsimile reproductions on pp. 152–59.

[31] British Library, Add. MS 42518. Annotations transcribed in G.C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head, 1913), 225–34.

[32] Joseph A. Dane and Alexandra Gillespie, "Back at Chaucer's Tomb—Inscriptions in Two Early Copies of Chaucer's *Workes*," *Studies in Bibliography* 52 (1999): 89–96; Arnold Sanders, "Writing Fame: Epitaph Transcriptions in Renaissance Chaucer Editions and the Construction of Chaucer's Poetic Reputation," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 14 (2011): 145–78; Hope Johnston, "Readers' Memorials in Early Editions of Chaucer," *Studies in Bibliography* 59 (2015): 45–69.

[33] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993), 137. The portrait is the left panel of the famous triptych portrait of Clifford and her family, "The Great Picture," attributed to Jan van Belcamp, currently held at the Abbot Hall Art Gallery in Kendal, Cumbria. The other books in the left panel include Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Montaigne's *Essays*, Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's works.

tham alle, and a little partt of his devine sperett infusses itt selfe in mee."[34] Clifford thus seems to offer a real historical analogue to the Shakespearean fantasies of both Ford Madox Brown and Charles Knight.

While Shakespeare most likely read Chaucer in a folio volume, it should also be observed that one approach to the question of Chaucer's influence on Shakespeare would need to recognize that Chaucerian poetry and narratives could also circulate without authorial attribution. This is perhaps nowhere better evidenced in the fact that Chaucer's lyric *Truth* appeared, unattributed, in Tottel's *Miscellany* among the "Songes and Sonettes of Uncertain auctours" under the title "To leade a vertuous and honest life."[35] For the reader of the *Miscellany*, Chaucer's was simply one poem among many to be read for pleasure.[36] Shakespeare himself was an unwitting consumer of the circulation of "Chaucerian" material in obscured or transformed states. When he adapted Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde* into *As You Like It* in 1599, Shakespeare likely had no way of knowing that Lodge had found the basis for his story among *The Canterbury Tales*. The narrative set-up of Lodge's novella in which the two elder sons of the late Sir John of Bordeaux conspire against the youngest, who competes in a wrestling competition and flees into the forest with the faithful Adam was adapted by Lodge from the tale of the young Gamelyn (Lodge's Rosader and Shakespeare's Orlando), which survives in twenty-five extant manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*, as the Cook's contribution to the

[34] Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 140. Lewalski's quotation of Clifford comes from a letter to the Dowager Countess of Kent of 1649, citing BL, Add. MS 15232. On 26 April 1617, Clifford noted in her *Diary* an evening in which she "read much in the Turkish History and Chaucer": see Katherine O. Acheson, ed., *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616–1619: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1995), 81.

[35] *Songes and Sonettes*, 2nd ed. (London, 1557; STC 13861), sig. X2r.

[36] As a testament to its readability, Stow's 1561 edition of Chaucer, in which the poem was titled "Good counsaile of Chaucer" (sigs. 3O5v–3O6r), the substantial and accidental variants give a slightly antiquated flavor to the poem but they are not significant. Both Tottel and Stow lack the envoy to Vache, which is witnessed only in BL, Add. MS 10340.

tale-telling contest.[37] Since *The Tale of Gamelyn* would not appear in print until the eighteenth century and since nowhere in Lodge's *Rosalynde* does he acknowledge his source, his appropriation of the Chaucerian narrative would have gone unnoticed by the vast majority of his readers.[38] For Lodge, Chaucer was simply a resource for narrative material subject to transformation into pastoral romance.[39] From one perspective attentive to the shifting, mutable, viral afterlives of stories and the complexities of provenance, *As You Like It* might be considered among Shakespeare's Chaucerian adaptations.

However, the assumption of the present study is that Chaucer's identity matters to Shakespeare's adaptations as much as do Chaucer's words, and perhaps even more. My focus is not

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[37] It is unclear which manuscript Lodge could have consulted, although since he claimed to have composed *Rosalynde* while tempest-tossed en route to the Terceira and Canary Islands he probably did not have one close at hand. As Walter W. Skeat observed, Lodge's use of the name Sir John of Bordeaux seems to reflect a textual variant: whereas the father's name appears as "Iohan of Boundys" in the majority of MSS, it appears as "Burdeuxs" in Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.3.26: see Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1894–97), 5:477. Later collations of all twenty-five extant witnesses reveal similar variants in only two other manuscripts, both at the Bodleian Library: "Burdus," occurring in MS Hatton Donat. 1, and "Boudeux," in MS Laud Misc. 739: see Neil Daniel, "The Tale of Gamelyn: A New Edition," Ph.D. diss. (Indiana University, 1967), 56 (line 3), 69 (line 226). Intriguingly, the latter manuscript is the same volume that was signed by Gascoigne and Churchyard.

[38] Other early readers of *Gamelyn* in manuscript include Sir Francis Kinnaston and John Selden, both of whom are discussed in Richard Beadle, "'I wol nat telle it yit': John Selden and a Lost Version of the *Cook's Tale*," in Toshiyuki Takamiya and Richard Beadle, eds., *Chaucer to Shakespeare: Essays in Honour of Shinsuke Ando* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992), 55–66. Kinnsaton referred to the tale indirectly in his commentary on *Troilus and Crisyede* in his description of a "Manuscript (thought to be Chaucers owne hand writing)" owned by Selden that included "the Cooks Take compleat, which is defectiue in the printed booke": Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional C.287, p. 36; qtd. Beadle, 56. The polymathic Selden offered his own theory about *Gamelyn*'s textual status in a digression within his massive study of ancient Jewish law: see *De Synedriis & Præfecturis Iuridicis Veterum Ebræorum Liber Secundus* (London, 1653), sig. 4F2v–4F3v. In a somewhat ironic twist, Shakespearean source hunters noticed *Gamelyn* as a source for *As You Like It* before Lodge's *Rosalynde*: see Theobald 1733, 2:187, who nevertheless recognized that it would not have been available in print in Shakespeare's lifetime. Richard Farmer, who located Lodge's printed book as a source for the play, stressed that Shakespeare "was no hunter of MSS": see *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1767), 24.

[39] Although Helen Cooper does not discuss the relationship between *Rosalynde* and *Gamelyn* at length, she does propose that Lodge's romance plot had its origin in the medieval prose *Brut*: see *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 264–65.

what lessons of literary representation Shakespeare learned from Chaucer. Rather, the argument undergirding my project is that the ways Shakespeare treated Chaucerian material bear witness to Shakespeare's changing relationship with what Chaucer *represented*. In order to undertake a more historicized account of this relationship, then, we will need to consider the Renaissance idea of Chaucer, including the nature of Chaucer's reputation, his dissemination in English culture more broadly, and the shape of the Chaucerian canon.

II. The Renaissance Chaucer

Chaucer's name and works were widely familiar to Renaissance readers, but in important respects the Renaissance idea of Chaucer was marked by some surprising characteristics. One of the most striking features of Chaucer's Renaissance reputation was his status as an erudite intellectual. For Caxton, Chaucer's first printer, he was a "noble & greate philosopher," while his first foliator William Thynne praised "his excellent learnyng in all kyndes of doctrynes and sciences."[40] When one Walter Stevins prepared an edition of *The Treatise of the Astrolabe* for the Earl of Devonshire in the mid sixteenth century, his careful emendations were predicated on an assumption that scribal errors had vitiated the work of "worthie Chaucer," which perfectly transmitted, "woolde haue merited wonderfull praise."[41] Gabriel Harvey found it "excellent, vnempeachable" and praised Chaucer (along with Lydgate) for his "Astronomie, philosophie, & other parts of profound or cunning art," adding: "It is not sufficient for poets, to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, & curious vniuersal schollers."[42] Apparently Chaucer was such a scholar. The antiquary Richard

[40] Brewer, *Heritage*, 76, 88.

[41] BL, Sloane MS 261, f. 4r; qtd. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:93. See also Sigmund Eisner, ed., *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, Variorum Edition (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2002), 76–78.

Carew, in his essay on "The Excellency of the English Tongue," compared Chaucer to Varro, whom Quintilian had called *vir Romanorum eruditissimus*, the most learned of the Romans.[43] Speght, whose 1602 edition provided a list of seventy-six authorities cited by Chaucer, thought it "no absurditie to thinke" that Chaucer specifically designed his coat of arms (which featured a vertical line bisecting two parallel diagonal lines) to illustrate propositions in Euclid's *Elements*.[44]

This is not to suggest that Chaucer was simply treated as an inert repository of erudition: Renaissance readers approached Chaucer's works both as a sententious authority and a source of readerly pleasure. Perhaps the one of the most lively testaments is *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, a pamphlet published in 1590. The framing narrative of *Cobbler* finds a group of travelers taking the barge from Billingsgate to Gravesend in Kent, a kind of aquatic parallel to the pilgrimage route from London to Canterbury. Seeing one of their fellow travellers reading a recent pamphlet called *Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie*, the eponymous cobbler declares that the book is unworthy of attribution to the famous clown and proposes instead that the group emulate Chaucer and "tell some tales to passe away the time till wee come off the water, and we will call them *Caunterburie* tales."[45] Each tale that follows is prefaced by a descriptive prologue in Chaucerian tetrameter that describes the various tellers: the Cobler, the Smith, the Gentleman, the Scholar, the Old Woman, the Summoner. This

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[42] Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 159, 161. Harvey's notes were written in an English translation of Dionysius Periegetes' *The Surveye of the World* (1572); Harvey's copy is Rosenbach Museum & Library, EL 1.A2e, item 1.

[43] British Library, Cotton MS Julius F.XI, f. 267v ("what soeuer grace any other Languadge carryeth, in Verse, or Prose […] they maye all be liuely and exactly repʳsented in ours, will you haue Platos vayne? reede Sʳ Thomas Smith […] Varro? Chaucer"); William Camden, *Remaines, concerning Britaine* (London, 1614), sig. G2. Quintilian's praise of Varro appears in *Institutio Oratoria* (10.1).

[44] Speght 1598 (STC 5077), sig. b2v. The technical description of the coats of arms, including tincture, is "parted *per Pale*, *Argent* and *Gules* a *Bend Counter-changed*": see John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610), p. 243. For the updated list of "Authors cited by G. Chaucer in his workes," see Speght's 1602 edition (STC 5080), sig. 3V7.

[45] *The Cobler of Caunterburie* (London, 1590; STC 4579), p. 2.

successful Chaucerian pastiche went through four editions in Shakespeare's lifetime.[46] For some readers, Chaucer could be too pleasant. Sir John Harington argued that Chaucer was not above the charge of "flat scurrilitie," were it not that "the decorum he keepes […] maketh it more tolerable." Most readers, however, apprehended the harmonious combination of *sentence* and *solaas*, as when William Webbe wrote:

> who coulde with greater wisedome, or more pithie skill, vnfold such pleasant and delightsome matters of mirth, as though they respected nothing, but the telling of a merry tale? so that this is the very grounde of right poetrie, to give profitable counsaile, yet so as it must be mingled with delight.[47]

It is a testament to the double reputation of Chaucer that the two most heavily annotated texts in the early folios are *The Tale of Melibee* and *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*.[48]

However, besides these qualities that readers found to admire, the most important facet of Chaucer's Renaissance reception was his status in literary history: if Chaucer was known for anything it was for his role as the founding father of the English literary tradition. Occasionally grouped together with other medieval poets like Gower and Lydgate, Chaucer was nevertheless the preeminent as the origin point of vernacular literature, the single creative force who authorized the English language. In a poetic paean, John Leland wrote that just as the most celebrated Homer will always be the foremost Greek poet (*Mæonides Græcæ linguæ clarissimus autor*) and Virgil the greatest glory of the Latin lyre (*lyræ … Latinæ / Gloria Virgilius maxima*), so will our Chaucer always be the greatest of the British (*noster Galfridus summa Britannæ / Chaucerus Musæ gratia semper erit*).[49] The

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[46] 1590 (STC 4579), 1600 (STC 4579.5), 1608 (STC 4580), 1614 (STC 4580.5).

[47] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London, 1586), sig. D3r.

[48] Wiggins, "What Did," 16–17.

[49] John Leland, *Principivm, Ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum, Encomia, Trophæa, Genethiaca, & Epithalamia* (London, 1589), p. 79; translation in *STC Chauceriana*, 126.

comparison of Chaucer with Homer was particularly resonant: Roger Ascham, William Camden, and Thomas Nashe, among others, all referred to Chaucer as the "English Homer."[50] In a very real way, Chaucer was, as Stow claimed in his *Survey of London*, the most famous poet in England.

Unlike Homer, Virgil, or Ovid, however, Chaucer's fame was registered with a particular intimacy for English readers. As an Englishman, the memory of Chaucer's presence was palimpsestically legible on spaces across England. This included not only the sites that Chaucer mentioned in his poetry—such as the Tabard Inn or the towns on the highway from London to Canterbury—but also locations that invoked memories of Chaucer's biography. In Oxfordshire, the town of Woodstock was believed to be Chaucer's residence: it was reported by Foxe in *Acts and Monuments*[51] and when William Camden arrives at Woodstock in his "chorographical description" of Britain, he reports that "The towne itselfe, having nothing in it at all to shewe, glorieth yet in this, that *Geffrey Chaucer*, our English *Homer* was there bred and brought up."[52] At Donnington Castle near the town of Newbury, Berkshire, a town that Shakespeare's company likely passed through while on tour,[53] a tree known as "Chaucer's Oak" stood as a testament to the medieval poet, who (as tradition

[50] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (London, 1545), f. 17v; William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1586), p. 199 ("Homerum nostrum Anglicum Galfredum Chaucerum"); Thomas Nashe, *Strange Newes, Of the Intercepting of certaine Letters* (London, 1592), sig. G3r ("*Chaucer*, and *Spencer* the *Homer* and *Virgil* of England")

[51] "This *Geffray Chauser* beinge borne (as is thought) in Oxfordshyre, & dwellyng in Wodstocke…" See Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes*, 2nd ed. (London, 1570; STC 11223), p. 965.

[52] Camden, *Britain* (London, 1610; STC 4509), p. 375. In the 1586 Latin edition of *Britannia* (STC 4503), see p. 199. An early reader of Thynne's c. 1550 edition (held at the State Library of South Australia) inscribed a poem in praise of Woodstock for its Chaucerian connection, whose final couplet is: "yet Chaucers life to Woodstocke gave more fame / Then all her Gyft*es*; or Kinges of greatest name." Qtd. Johnston, "Readers' Memorials," 55. The association would become a poetic convention: see E.G. Stanley, "Chaucer at Woodstock: A Theme in English Verse of the Eighteenth Century," *RES* 48 (1994): 157–67.

[53] Newbury was between London and Marlborough, which Shakespeare's company visited in 1593–94, 1596–97, 1606, and 1607–8. John Ogilby's 1675 map of the route from London to Bristol in *Itinerarium Angliae; or, A Book of Roads* (London, 1675), the site is marked "Denyton Ca[stle] Demolished," as indeed it had been in 1646.

would claim) wrote his poems under it.[54] For a Londoner, the most visible Chaucerian trace in the English world was his tomb at Westminster Abbey. In Shakespeare's time, the tomb was the work of Nicholas Brigham, who commissioned a marble altar for Chaucer on the south transept's east wall in 1556.[55] Brigham's monument became a well-known site within the Abbey. Gerard's *Herball* informs readers that Wall Pennywort (*Umbilicus rupestris*) "groweth vpon Westminster abbay, ouer the door that leadeth from *Chaucer* his tombe to the olde palace."[56] Richard Puttenham, brother of the poetry theorist George Puttenham, used the tomb as a familiar rendezvous for the collection of rent payments.[57] It was also used as a point of reference to locate graves of the less famous.[58] The

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[54] Speght 1598, sig. b5r ("Donnington Castle […] where to this day standeth an olde oke called Chaucers Oke"). Although Donnington Castle was in fact acquired by Geoffrey's son Thomas, Speght believed that it was Thomas's "owne inheritance" (i.e. that it was bequeathed by Geoffrey). Earlier, Camden had described Donnington as "quondam Chauceri, & postea Delapolorum" (i.e. William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and his progeny by Alice Chaucer): see *Britannia* (London, 1590), p. 208. Camden's later seventeenth-century translators add the detail that it was under this oak Chaucer "is said to have penn'd many of his famous Poems," which seems likely to have been a longstanding tradition by this time: see *Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated into English, with Large Additions and Improvements* (London, 1695), sig. I4r (column 142, footnote). An anonymous "Chauceri vita," perhaps from *c.* 1598–1602, mentions "an Oke still cauled Chaucers Oke where many tymes he toke delight to visite his boke and exercyse his memory": BL, Add. MS 5141, f. 1v; qtd. R.F. Yeager, "British Library Additional MS. 5141: An Unnoticed Chaucer *Vita*," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984): 261–81, at 262. Aubrey heard the story of "an Oake, under which Sir Jeoffrey was wont to sitt, called Chaucers-oake, which was cutt downe" during the reign of Charles I and the culprit fined after a hearing in Star Chamber; although Aubrey's source was "an able Attorney that was at the Hearing," there seems to be no further record of this. See John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Kate Bennett, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 573, 1518. Could the legend of Chaucer's oak have owed something to Donatus' account of the *arbor Vergilii*?

[55] Derek Pearsall, "Chaucer's Tomb: The Politics of Reburial," *Medium Ævum* 64 (1995): 51–73. For more on the religious complexities surrounding the Marian reburial and Protestant accounts thereof, see Thomas A. Prendergast, *Chaucer's Dead Body: From Corpse to Corpus* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 45–57.

[56] John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1597), sig. Dd4v.

[57] It is the location named for the payments to Puttenham ordered by the Court of Requests. See Sir Julius Caesar, *The Ancient State, Avthoritie, and Proceedings of the Covrt of Reqvests* ([London], 1597), p. 140 (9 May 1576: "*Chawcers* tombe within the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peter* in Westminster"); NA, SP 46/17, f. 171 (30 April 1584: "Chaucers tombe in S^{t} Peters church in Westm*inster*"); NA, SP 12/188, f. 170 (30 April 1586: "the tombe of Jeffery Chawcer beinge in the churche of saynte Peter in Wesmister [*sic*]"). The original record for the earliest memorandum was untraced by Lamar M. Hill in his edition of *The Ancient State, Authoritie, and Proceedings of the Court of Requests* (London: Cambridge UP, 1975), 197–98. See also Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:128 (3 November 1585: "the tombe of Jeffrey Chawcer, within the Church of St. Peter in Westm*inster*"). (Spurgeon mistakenly attribtes the entry in Caesar to 1577 rather than 1576 [*Five Hundred Years*, 1:143].)

tomb itself was striking, crowned with Chaucer's coat of arms, adorned with commemorative verses and, memorably, an image of Chaucer himself.[59] Although Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer was the first time an image of the poet was disseminated in print, the portrait that adorned the tomb was already familiar. When the Polish nobleman Olbracht Łaski (Albertus Alasco) arrived in England, after noting his famously long hair, observers noted his exotic clothing, including "his shooes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not altogither vnlike Chaucers," a reference to the curled-toed shoes Chaucer wore on his tomb portrait.[60] While the earliest visual depiction of the tomb dates from almost a century after its construction,[61] the visual tradition it represents is captured in Robert Greene's eight-couplet poem "The description of sir *Geffrey Chawcer*," presumably an ekphrasis of the

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[58] In William Vallans's *The Honourable Prentice* (London, 1615; STC 24588), Robert Hall's tomb in Westminster Abbey is described as "not far from *Chausers* Tombe" (p. 33). See *STC Chauceriana*, 245.

[59] On the difficulty of reconstructing the verse inscriptions, see Dane, *Who Is Buried*, 11–32; Dane and Gillespie, "Back at Chaucer's Tomb"; Sanders, "Writing Fame." The coat of arms is not often discussed, perhaps because it does not appear in the engravings of 1652 or 1721 (both of which depict only the canopy and the tomb itself) and was removed to make space for another monument in 1776; it does, however, appear in James Cole's engraving for John Dart's *Westmonasterium* (London, [1723?]), p. 85. The coat of arms would, thus, have been a prominent feature of the tomb, hovering above it and visually repeated five more times below. The coat of arms woodcut (dated "1560") that was used in one issue of John Stow's 1561 edition (STC 5076) and in Speght's editions of 1598 (STC 5077, sig. A6v) and 1602 (STC 5080, sig. a4r) seems to be a visual reproduction of that which once appeared above the Westminster Abbey tomb: it could be that the unicorn atop the printed coat of arms was the result of an artist mistaking the hand holding an arrow atop the tomb that we see in Dart's *Westmonasterium*.

[60] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III.1355. Sarah Knight offers a more ingenious gloss for the passage: "Łaski's shoes probably recall those worn by Absolon the parish clerk in Chaucer's 'Miller's Tale', who goes about 'With Poules wyndow corven on his shoos' (I. 3318)": Elizabeth Goldring et al., eds., *John Nichol's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014) 3:171n. I believe, however, a reference to the Westminster Abbey portrait is more likely. Comparison of Chaucer's curled-toed shoes in the extant portraits can be compared to those worn by Polish aristocrats of the time. See, for example, Johann Wilhelm Baur's "Polachi" (Poles) in *Trachten verschiedener Völker* (1636).

[61] The earliest explicit pictorial representation of the tomb is the engraving prepared by Robert Vaughan for Elias Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), p. 226. According to Ashmole's diary, the engravings were finished on 22 September 1651: Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1136, f. 25; qtd. C.H. Josten, ed., *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, His Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to His Life and Work*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966) 2:585–86. However, on Vaughan's engraving and its attendant complications, see Dane, *Who Is Buried*, 23–24; Dane notes that both the "imago Chauceri" and the verses themselves were affected by other sources, and do not indicate precisely how the tomb appeared in 1651.

Westminster Abbey portrait in which the father of English poetry holds a book as a symbol of his own literary achievements.[62]

Ironically, perhaps, what Renaissance readers understood those literary achievements to be differed significantly from the Chaucerian canon familiar to us today, given the inclusion of works we now attribute to non-Chaucerian writers.[63] In this respect, the folio editions of Thynne, Stow, and Speght played a crucial role in delineating the contours of the Chaucerian oeuvre, though the process by which these contours were drawn and redrawn was complex and mutable throughout the sixteenth century. Thynne's inaugural edition of the *Workes* in 1532 began with a sequence of major works such as *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Romaunt of the Rose*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The Legend of Good Women*, *Boece*, followed by generally shorter works (although length was hardly a consistent ordering principle), many of which were genuinely Chaucerian (almost the entirety of *The Riverside Chaucer* is represented) and many not.[64] Of course, the Chaucer folios were never meant to contain exclusively Chaucerian writing, containing as they did works explicitly attributed to non-Chaucerian authors, such as Gower and Scogan.[65] Jeffrey Knight has argued that the compilation of Thynne's book was

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[62] Robert Greene, *Greenes Vision* (London, [1592]), sig. C1r. I believe this is stronger evidence than the assumption that the Marian relocation of Chaucer would necessarily have had the poet holding the rosary beads that appear in the Hoccleve and Speght portraits. See, for example, Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 295; Pearsall, "Chaucer's Tomb," 72n72. It should also be noted that, despite Ashmole's claim that Vaughan used Hoccleve's portrait for his engraving, that portrait has Chaucer holding beads while the "imago Chauceri" in *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* has him holding a book. Moreover Ashmole claims that the image is only "somewhat decay'd," which presumably allows for the possibility that the basic elements of the original tomb portrait (book included) were still visible.

[63] See Appendix B ("The Chaucer Folio Canon"). On the apocryphal works in particular, see Kathleen Forni, *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Counterfeit Canon* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2001).

[64] Gillespie (*Print Culture*, 134) offers the estimate that 21,000 lines of apocryphal verse were added to the Thynne folio, however her source for this estimate is Alice Miskimin, who does not specify at which point in the ever-expanding folio tradition this amount of apocrypha was present (*Renaissance Chaucer*, 230).

[65] Thynne 1532 (STC 5068), sigs. 3T4v ("Iohan Gower/ vnto the worthy and noble kynge Henry the fourth") and 3V3r ("Scogan/ vnto the lordes and gentylmen of the kynges house").

undertaken more in the tradition of the medieval *Sammelband* than the humanist *Opera*.[66] Indeed, the title seemed to suggest as much: *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer… with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before*. However, the folio volumes were never indifferent to authorship. In his 1561 edition, Stow expanded the canon by proudly appending a substantial new section of "woorkes of Geffray Chauser, which hath not here tofore been printed, and are gathered and added to this booke by Ihon Stowe."[67] Stow's additions included several more poems that we attribute to Chaucer today ("Gentilnesse," "Proverbs," "A Complaint to His Lady") alongside much now considered apocryphal. For Walter W. Skeat, Stow is something of a villain in attribution studies, given his change of title to *The workes of Geffrey Chaucer… with diuers addicions*: "the authorship of Chaucer was, *for the first time*, practically claimed for the whole of Thynne's volume."[68] This is not quite true. Stow's major addition *The Siege of Thebes* was, even on the title page, attributed squarely to Lydgate. More tellingly, even among the inherited Thynne folio, Stow was conscientious about discerning authorship: two works that Thynne had printed among genuine Chaucerian poems with no attribution, "Consider well with every circumstance" and *The Flower of Courtesy*, Stow made a point of attributing to Lydgate.[69]

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[66] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013), 159–66.

[67] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), sig. 3P2r.

[68] Walter W. Skeat, ed., *Chaucerian and Other Pieces… Being a Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1897), x.

[69] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), sigs. 3P1r, Z2r. Stow's concern with distinguishing Chaucerian from non-Chaucerian can also be seen in his explicitly labeling some poems, "A balade made by Chaucer…" or "A balade whiche Chaucer made…" (Sig. 3P2r). In some respects, the tradition of editing the Chaucer folios was deeply conservative. When Stow located verses that he thought were Chaucer's own extension to *The Complaint unto Pity*, he nevertheless added them to his own section of additions with an explanatory headnote, rather than append them to Chaucer's *Complaint* (sig. 3Q1r). While Speght represented a major shift in the tradition with his voluminous paratextual additions, the text itself remained basically unchanged, even when it contradicted Speght's philological arguments: in the front matter *The Letter of Cupid* attributed to Hoccleve and the title of *The Book of the Duchess* was changed, but neither of these objections appeared in the text itself. This

Many, however, remained attributed to Chaucer and the apocrypha as a whole had major implications on the Renaissance understanding of Chaucer as a poet. Perhaps the most characteristic was the idea that Chaucer was a proto-Protestant.[70] This was the image put forth in John Foxe's ubiquitous 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, which offered the famous assessment that Chaucer "saw in Religion as much almost, as euen we do now, and vttereth in his workes no lesse, and semeth to bee a right Wicleuian."[71] Foxe's interpretation was based on three texts—*Jack Upland*, *The Testament of Love*, and *The Plowman's Tale*—all of which we consider apocryphal today. The least conspicuously partisan was *The Testament of Love* (which will be discussed in Chapter 2), included in Thynne's 1532 edition and all subsequent folios in the Renaissance. The allegorical polemic *The Plowman's Tale* was published first in a standalone edition (ca. 1535), and incorporated into the next folio of 1542, where it follows *The Parson's Tale* as the conclusion to the *Tales* as a whole.[72] *Jack Upland*, a prose tirade against friars, was published independently before Foxe reprinted the work in

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was most likely a function of Speght's late involvement in the edition after presswork had begun: see Appendix B "The Chaucer Folio Canon").

[70] Linda Georgianna, "The Protestant Chaucer," *Chaucer's Religious Tales*, ed. C. David Benson and Elizabeth Robertson (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 55–69, tracks the endurance of this protesting Chaucer into twentieth-century scholarship. Mike Rodman Jones, "Chaucer the Puritan," *Chaucer and Fame: Reputation and Reception*, ed. Isabel Davis and Catherine Nall (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 165–84, argues for a more nuanced understanding Chaucer's varied proto-Protestantism(s) for Renaissance readers. For a subtle attempt to take seriously Chaucer's role as a prophet of the Reformation, see James Simpson, "Not Yet: Chaucer and Anagogy," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 37 (2015): 31–54. Focusing on *The Pardoner's Tale*, Simpson argues that Chaucer not only foresees the grounds of the Reformation, but also its devastating human cost (50–53).

[71] Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes*, p. 965. The privy council order that required the 1570 edition to be held in parish churches is discussed at length in Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, "Print, Profit and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'," *English Historical Review* 119 (2004): 1288–1307.

[72] The only known copy of the *Plowman's Tale* (STC 5099.5), currently held at the Huntington Library, lacks the title page and therefore dating must be conjectural although the colophon identifies the printer as Thomas Godfray. At least one copy of Thynne's 1532 edition (Henry Ransom Center, -q- PR 1850 1532) inserted a copy of *The Plowman's Tale* in manuscript, perhaps from an earlier independent witness: see Annie S. Irvine, "A Manuscript Copy of *The Plowman's Tale*," *Studies in English* 12 (1932): 27–56, but see also Joseph A. Dane, "Bibliographical History versus Bibliographical Evidence: *The Plowman's Tale* and Early Chaucer Editions," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 (1996): 47–61, at 60–61.

its entirety in his 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*; it was not until Speght's 1602 edition that the work appeared in a Chaucer folio.[73] Foxe's image of a militant Protestant Chaucer, gleaned from these works, continued to be influential even across the Atlantic in American religious writers like Roger Williams and Cotton Mather.[74] One of the most vivid imaginations of this theme, William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece* (1626), features a prolonged debate between Chaucer and Duns Scotus on whether the Pope is the Antichrist, instigated by a recital of over two hundred lines of *The Plowman's Tale*; the judge Apollo rules in Chaucer's favor.[75]

Besides illuminating Chaucer's confessional affiliations, the apocryphal texts could be mined as a source for Chaucerian biography. Speght drew freely on (Usk's) *The Testament of Love*, the most substantial of the apocryphal works, for his claims that Chaucer was born in London and involved in political turmoil in the reign of Richard II. When Hakluyt anthologized the General Prologue's description of the Knight in his *Principal Navigations* (1598) as an early example of Englishmen voyaging to the East, he confidently drew on (Hoccleve's) *The Letter of Cupid* for evidence that Chaucer was writing in 1402, going so far as to append a stanza from the *Letter* to fix a date for the passage on the Knight.[76] The apocrypha could also shape more casual readers' encounters with Chaucer. In the case of Ben Jonson, the two most heavily annotated poems in his copy of Chaucer's

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[73] The early *Jack Upland* octavo (STC 5098) is undated but scholars have proposed a date of 1536: see P.L. Heyworth, "The Earliest Black-Letter Editions of *Jack Upland*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 30 (1967): 307–14, esp. 310.

[74] On Williams, see *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* (London, 1652), p. 252. On Mather, see Nancy Bradley Warren, "'Flying from the depravities of *Europe*, to the *American Strand*': Chaucer and the Chaucer Tradition in Early America," *ELH* 82 (2015): 589–613, esp. 590–97. See also Misha Teramura, "Chaucer Folios in Colonial America: A Correction," *The Chaucer Review* (forthcoming).

[75] William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece* (London, 1626), pp. 110–32; *STC Chauceriana*, 283–87.

[76] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation… The first Volume* (London, 1598; STC 12626), p. 124 ("The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus mentioned in the end of his letter of Cupide"). Ironically, Speght's edition, published the same year, would explicitly set the record straight by attributing that poem to Hoccleve (sig. c6r).

Workes were "The Remedy of Love" and "Of the Cuckoo and the Nightingale."[77] Francis Thynne never realized his ambition to create a Chaucer edition after the Italian folios of Petrarch; the only comprehensively annotated text of any "Chaucer" work to appear in Shakespeare's lifetime was *The Plough-mans Tale. Shewing by the doctrine and liues of the Romish Clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist and they his Ministers. Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer, amongst his Canterburie tales* (London, 1606), prepared by the religious controversialist Anthony Wotton, another testament to the importance of the Protestant valorization of Chaucer as a right Wyclifian.[78]

Recognizing the expansive purview of the Chaucer folios, especially as it would have been encountered by Shakespeare in the second half of the century, is important not just because its definition of Chaucer's works, but also because it embodied the *influence* of those works. Even before the lavish introductory material of Speght's 1598 edition, Stow's 1561 folio included "A balade in the Praise and commendaction of master Geffray Chauser for his golden eloquence" and concluded the

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[77] Evans, "Ben Jonson's Chaucer," 327.

[78] *The Plough-mans Tale. Shewing by the doctrine and liues of the Romish Clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist and they his ministers. Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer, Knight, amongst his Canterburie tales: and now set out apart from the rest, with a short exposition of the words and matters, for the capacitie and vnderstanding of the simpler sort of Readers* (London, 1606; STC 5101). Wotton's name does not appear in the edition, but a copy at Harvard University's Houghton Library has the words "By Antony Wotton" written in an apparently seventeenth-century hand on the title page above the printer's device (STC 5101 [B]), and a wealth of circumstantial evidence can be adduced in support of this attribution: the 1606 edition of the *Tale* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 17 January of that year by Samuel Macham and Matthew Cooke, the former of whom would later publish Wotton's *Sermons vpon a Part of the First Chap. of the Gospell of S. Iohn* (London, 1609); a day earlier, we find the entrance for Wotton's *A Defence of M. Perkins Booke, Called a Reformed Catholike* (London, 1606), a book that includes a marginal note "See the Ploughmans tale in Chawcer" (p. 496); and twenty years later, in his translation of Ramus' *Dialectica*, Wotton offers glossarial paraphrases of two passages from *Troilus and Criseyde* as a substitution for Ramus' classical examples (*The Art of Logick* [London, 1626], pp. 186–87). See Franklin B. Williams, Jr., "Unnoted Chaucer Allusions, 1550–1650," *Philological Quarterly* 16 (1937): 67–71, at 70–71; Mary Rhinelander McCarl, ed., *The Plowman's Tale: The c. 1532 and 1606 Editions of a Spurious Canterbury Tale* (New York: Garland, 1997), 55–62; Paul J. Patterson, "Reforming Chaucer: Margins and Religion in an Apocryphal *Canterbury Tale*," *Book History* 8 (2005): 11–36, esp. 27–31. To my knowledge, no one has commented on the other annotations in the Harvard copy, which include linguistic observations as well as some phrases in Arabic, such as the Basmala (بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ), *truth* (الحق), and *heavens* (السماوات), perhaps indicating a mid-seventeenth-century reader at Oxford or Cambridge. See G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

Chaucerian works with the monumentalizing Latin epitaph by Stephano Surigone.[79] In this respect, the inclusion of non-Chaucerian writers seems at once an effort to place Chaucer in a cultural moment but also to present evidence of his cultural impact. The grandest piece of evidence was Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* that concluded folio volumes from 1561 on. As a continuation of *The Canterbury Tales*, Lydgate's poem at once framed the volume (which began with the *Tales*) and presented a writer aspiring to follow in Chaucer's footsteps.

For Renaissance writers, this raised the question of how they were to be so influenced. As the first author to be canonized in an edition of his *Workes*, Chaucer was the "English Homer," but it was his English identity that made his status as "classic" was somewhat vexed. Much excellent work has been done on the reception of classical antiquity by literary writers in the Renaissance, whose acts of *translatio*, *imitatio*, and *aemulatio* transformed the precedents of Greek and Roman authors into powerful new works.[80] Chaucer, however, was a different case, at once far removed and immediately proximate: he could not be absorbed into any larger project of *translatio studii* since he wrote and lived in the same language and place as his English Renaissance readers. And yet the language of Chaucer was becoming increasingly antiquated.[81] Speght attempted to remedy the linguistic distance in 1598 with an appendix of "old and obscure words of Chaucer, explained," greatly expanded in 1602.[82] (At least one early reader studiously copied out Speght's glossary by hand.[83]) But before the modernizations of Dryden, the poetry itself was legibly antiquated. Spenser,

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[79] Sigs. 3P1v, 3R3v.

[80] For only the most seminal work among many, see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982).

[81] See, recently, Lucy Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1674* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 69–104.

[82] The implications of this are discussed in Chapter 1.

[83] Longleat House, Thynne Papers, Vol. LI, ff. 110–133r. The Longleat list, titled "Chaucer's wordes explained," appears to have been copied from Speght's 1602 edition in February 1622 (f. 133r). According to

by adopting the diction of father Chaucer, may have successfully interpolated himself into the literary tradition but this choice was not without its costs. For Jonson, Spenser was a cautionary tale: "beware of letting them taste Gower or Chaucer at first, lest falling too much in love with antiquity, and not apprehending the weight, they grow rough and barren in language only. […] Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language."[84]

In some respects, Shakespeare's relationship with Chaucer would have been conditioned by similar concerns, and even exacerbated by his position as a playwright: for a commercial dramatist like Shakespeare, inhabiting a linguistic fairyland of medieval diction was simply impossible. One of the few characters to speak Chaucerian language on the stage is the antiquary in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary* (c. 1635), appropriately named Moth, whose dusty language is the butt of the joke.[85] Traces of Chaucerian language do appear fleetingly in Shakespeare's writing. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the expression "Her eyes are grey as glass," which has struck the play's editors as peculiar,[86] can best be explained as an allusion to *The Canterbury Tales*, in which the Prioress is so described: "hir eyen greye as glas."[87] Scholars have identified numerous other parallels in Shakespeare's plays, but it

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a note dated September 1875, the list was removed from a commonplace book in the Longleat House Muniment Room, likely one of the "great number of note books" observed there in 1872 (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Third Report* [London, 1872], 202).

[84] Lorna Hutson, ed., *Discoveries*, in David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, gen. eds., *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* [*CWBJ*], 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 7:559.

[85] Munro, *Archaic Style*, 98–102.

[86] William C. Carroll, ed., *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), 4.4.190n; Roger Warren, ed., *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 4.4.189n. Kurt Schlueter, ed., *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 4.4.183n.

[87] *The Canterbury Tales*, I.152, in Larry D. Benson, gen. ed., *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); all subsequent quotations of Chaucer will refer to this edition, however frequent exceptions will be indicated in the footnotes. This parallel was noticed first by Theobald. The expression "eyen greye as glas" is also used to describe Symyk's daughter in *The Reeve's Tale* (I.3974). Acoustically similar but semantically different is the description of Absolon in *The Miller's Tale*: "hise eyen greye as goos" (I.3317). A search of EEBO-TCP locates a few other sixteenth-century instances of "gray as glass" but it is revealing that one of those is in *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (1590), in a poem of explicit Chaucerian pastiche: "For the Lownes eies were as gray as glasse" (STC 4579; p. 3).

is precisely the relatively covert nature of these parallels that signals the difficulty of importing Chaucerian language into professional drama.[88] However, Shakespeare's role as a dramatist raises the separate question of how he might have imagined, at a more fundamental level, his relationship to the great English author.

Beginning his comparative survey of English poetry in *Palladis Tamia* (1598), Francis Meres wrote: "As *Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets; and *Petrarch* of Italian Poets: so *Chaucer* is accounted the God of English Poets."[89] The force of Meres's word captures, if with a perhaps unique intensity, a sense of Chaucer's reputation in the Renaissance as England's originary *auctor*—a word that combined connotations of literary production, paternal generation, and political authority.[90] The construction of Chaucer's *auctoritas*, which will be detailed at length in Chapter 1, was a process that arguably reached its peak in Thomas Speght's 1598 edition of the *Workes*, in which Chaucer was presented with the full scholarly accouterments of a vernacular classic. However, Speght was simply the consolidation of a long tradition by which Chaucer was revered as the wellspring of the English literature and the father of all English authors who followed him. For Renaissance poets, Chaucer was an authorizing figure, representing the ur-moment of English literary creation and, synecdochically, the fame of all those who came after. There is no better example of this than Edmund Spenser, whose grand gestures of filiation at once assisted his own self-canonization and ultimately reinforced Chaucer's status: if Spenser was the Prince of Poets in His Time, Father Chaucer was King.

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[88] In addition to the criticism cited above, some fascinating proposals are made in Seth Lerer and Deanne Williams, "What Chaucer Did to Shakespeare: Books and Bodkins in *Hamlet* and *The Tempest*," *Shakespeare* 8 (2012): 398–410.

[89] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London, 1598), f. 279r.

[90] For elaborations on these senses of author/ity in Renaissance literature, see Jacqueline T. Miller, *Poetic License: Authority and Authorship in Medieval and Renaissance Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986) and Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 63–75.

More than any other aspect of Chaucer's reputation, it is his status as the foundational *auctor* of English literature that conditions Shakespeare's engagements with Chaucerian material. The nineteenth-century encomiasts who imagined the young Shakespeare delighting in Chaucer neglected that, when Shakespeare became a playwright, Chaucer would have made a difficult model to follow. Not only was Chaucer not a dramatist, but the Chaucerian canon seemed to reinforce the sense that there was simply no tradition of professional playwriting being treated as literature. While the institutionalization of commercial theatre in Shakespeare's England occurred within living memory, it was well known that there were earlier traditions of dramatic performance—many of which had a deep influence on Shakespearean dramaturgy[91]—and the allusions to these traditions within Chaucer's writings[92] could only have flagged the basic fact that Chaucer himself had chosen not to be a playwright. The case of Chaucer's veneration highlights this absence in the English tradition: drama was not a medium associated with literary *auctoritas*.

It was certainly not the case that Chaucer had never been adapted into performance. As early as 1516, a dramatization of *Troilus and Criseyde* was staged before King Henry VIII by the Children of the Chapel under the direction of William Cornish as part of the Twelfth Night celebrations at Eltham.[93] A two-part adaptation of *The Knight's Tale* by Richard Edwards was performed at Oxford

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[91] Emrys Jones, *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 31–84; Rowland Wymer, "Shakespeare and the Mystery Cycles," *ELR* 34 (2004): 265–85; Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, 42–138; Kurt A. Schreyer, *Shakespeare's Medieval Craft: Remnants of the Mysteries on the London Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2014).

[92] On the evidentiary importance of Chaucer's references to performance traditions of biblical drama in the fourteenth century, see Alexandra F. Johnston, "Chaucer's Records of Early English Drama," *REED Newsletter* 13.2 (1988): 13–20. However, on the difficulty of interpreting the Wife of Bath's reference to "pleyes of myracles," see Alexandra F. Johnston, "Pleyes of Myracles," *English* 64 (2015): 5–26.

[93] J.S. Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Volume II (London, 1864), 1505–6; Charles William Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 48–49; Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, 2 vols., University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 11 (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1926), 54–55, 324–25; Lerer, *Courtly Letters*, 34–35.

for Queen Elizabeth over the course of two evenings, 2 and 4 September 1566.[94] However, these two examples predate the beginnings of the commercial theatre and, in all likelihood, Shakespeare would have been unaware of their existence.[95] They also suggest that Chaucer's literary authority was most dramatically viable less to consolidate poetic ambitions of the playwright than to celebrate royal political authority. During Shakespeare's career, then, it would seem appropriate that some of most conspicuous dramatic appropriations of Chaucer took place in the masquing hall rather than the playhouse. Perhaps the most glamorous example occurred on 2 February 1609 during *The Masque of Queens*, written by Ben Jonson and designed by Inigo Jones. As an antimasque featuring the grotesque dancing of twelve witches reached its climax, a loud blast of music heralded the appearance of twelve masquers (including the young Chaucer enthusiast Anne Clifford) seated upon "*a glorious and magnificent building figuring the House of Fame.*"[96] Jones's sumptuous design for the House of Fame suggests, and Jonson's description confirms, that the model for this structure was Chaucerian:

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[94] For three accounts of the performance, further evidence and discussion, see W.Y. Durand, "*Palæmon and Arcyte*, *Progne*, *Marcus Geminus*, and the Theatre in Which They Were Acted, as Described by John Bereblock (1566)," *PMLA* 20 (1905): 502–28; John R. Elliott, Jr., "Queen Elizabeth at Oxford: New Light on the Royal Plays of 1566," *English Literary Renaissance* 18 (1988): 218–29; Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001) 63–87; John R. Elliott, Jr. et al., eds., *REED: Oxford* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004) 1:128–43 *passim.*, esp. 138–43. According to the extant documentation, the play appears to have adhered very closely to its Chaucerian source; however, it is worth mentioning that, of the three accounts, only one mentions that the play was based on Chaucer (Durand, 512). While the text is no longer extant, a song from the play survives, a lament by Emelye: see King, 225–26; *REED: Oxford*, 1:142–43, citing BL, Add. MS 26737.

[95] The performance of the *Troilus* story before Henry VIII did not appear in chronicle accounts of the evening: see, for example, Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies* (London, 1548; STC 12722), sig. 3K3v. Shakespeare certainly knew the work of Richard Edwards: beyond his generally lauded posthumous reputation as a comic playwright (e.g., by Puttenham and Meres), some lines from Edwards's *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) are the subject of conversation in *Romeo and Juliet* and Hamlet's reference to "Damon" may allude to Edwards's extant play *Damon and Pithias* (published 1571): see Jill L. Levenson, ed., *Romeo and Juliet* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 4.4.148-63, and Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, eds., *Hamlet* (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 3.2.273n. But Edwards's *Palamon and Arcite* was never published nor does it seem to have been remembered later in the sixteenth century.

[96] David Lindley, ed., *The Masque of Queenes*, in *CWBJ*, 3:317 (lines 322–23).

> *First, for the lower columns, he chose the statues of the most excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, etc. as being the substantial supporters of Fame. For the upper, Achilles, Aeneas, Caesar, and those great heroes which these poets had celebrated.* […] *In which, he professed to follow that noble description made by Chaucer of the place.*[97]

Whether or not Chaucer himself was represented on the lower columns of the House of Fame he had so nobly described, he certainly did appear in Jonson's later masque *The Golden Age Restored*, performed before King James on 1 January 1616.[98] When Pallas celebrates the arrival of Astraea and the Golden Age by summoning the "far-famed spirits of this happy isle," the four poets who descend in the stage machinery into the action of the masque are Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and Spenser.[99] This is perhaps the most emblematic symptom of Chaucerian *auctoritas*: not only does the famous medieval poet celebrate the assertion of political authority (Astraea and King James), he celebrates his own *auctoritas* as the poetic progenitor of the two later poets, Lydgate and Spenser. Ironically, if unsurprisingly, the most explicit depiction of Chaucer in Renaissance drama is a celebration of his *poetic* inheritors.

Shakespeare's attempts to import Chaucerian material from the pages of his *Workes* to the contemporary stage are all deeply conditioned by an acute awareness of his own medium's dubious authority. While the most famous modern theorist of literary inheritance held that "Shakespeare belongs to the giant age before the flood, before the anxiety of influence became central to poetic

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[97] Lindley, ed., *The Masque of Queenes*, 3:328–29 (lines 574–77, 579–80). Jones's sketch, frequently reproduced, is preserved in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. See also Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1973), 131, 138.

[98] Martin Butler, ed., *The Golden Age Restored*, in *CWBJ*, 4:451–61.

[99] Butler, ed., *The Golden Age Restored*, 4:456 (line 103). A comparable scene occurs in John Webster's extravagant Lord Mayor show *Monuments of Honor* (London, 1624), in which Chaucer appears with Gower, Lydgate, Sir Thomas More, and Sir Philip Sidney as fellow "Celebrators of honor" (sig. B1r). At a cost of nearly £1,100, Webster's was one of the most elaborate civic pageants staged. See David Carnegie, "Introduction" to *Monuments of Honour*, in David Gunby, David Carnegie, and MacDonald P. Jackson, eds., *The Works of John Webster: An Old-Spelling Critical Edition*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995–2007), 3:223–250, at 224.

consciousness,"[100] this dissertation will attempt to locate another kind of anxious relationship between the medieval poet and the Renaissance dramatist. For Harold Bloom, the "anxiety of influence" is a psychological condition that afflicts lyric poets rather than dramatists.[101] And yet it is this very difference that conditioned the anxiety of early modern drama's self-consciousness about its uncertain status in relation to the English literary tradition. It was an anxiety that was less *psychological* than *institutional*, an anxiety about the relationship of the commercial theatre to literature, between actor and *auctor*. And yet this anxiety is hardly a diagnosis, but rather a starting point, and the complexities of this anxiety can only be addressed in light of current scholarship on Shakespeare's status as an "author."

III. Shakespeare as Playwright and Author

Could Shakespeare the playwright have even imagined himself participating in this lineage of poetic creation as a permanent contribution to the English literary canon? For one Renaissance commentator, the very idea was a joke. In the anonymous Cambridge play *The Return from Parnassus* (c. 1600), the cynical university graduate Ingenioso has become a hack writer working for the foppish Gullio, who has commissioned Ingenioso to compose poems to woo his mistress.[102] From

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[100] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 11. Bloom has subsequently dealt at length with Shakespeare's responses to literary influence, especially with Marlowe: see, for example, the Preface to the second edition of *Anxiety* (xi–xlvii); *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead, 1998); *The Anatomy of Influence: Literature as a Way of Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2011), 48–61. For Bloom's thoughts on Chaucer and Shakespeare, see *The Western Canon*, 99–118.

[101] Bloom, *Anxiety*, 11.

[102] The play was performed as part of the Christmas festivities at St. John's College in either 1599/1600 or 1600/1601 (Alan H. Nelson, ed., *REED: Cambridge*, 2 vols. [Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1989], 913), but J.B. Leishman argued that the topicality of the play's allusions makes the earlier date preferable: see Leishman, ed., *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598–1601)* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1949), 25. For the present discussion, I use the title of the play as it appears in Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.398 (f. 207), although its sequel, the third installment of the trilogy known today as *The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus*, was confusingly published in 1606 simply as *The Returne From Pernassus* [*sic*]*: or The Scourge of Simony* (London, 1606; S.R. 16 October 1605).

his first appearance on stage, Gullio is ridiculed in Ingenio's asides to the audience as a braggart soldier and a delusional poetaster. It is in this well-known scene that Gullio amply demonstrates his affection for Shakespeare, quoting from memory no fewer than five passages.[103] Ingenioso recognizes the "theft" immediately, and correctly anticipates, "We shall haue nothinge but pure Shakspeare, and shreds of poetrie that he hath gathered at the theators."[104] When Gullio commissions Ingenioso to draft love verses "in two or three diuers vayns, in Chaucers, Gowers and Spencers, and M^{r} Shakspeares," it is clear which one is the closest to his heart: "O sweet Mr Shakspeare, Ile haue his picture in my study at the courte."[105] Indeed, later in the play, when Ingenioso presents his three imitations—Chaucerian, Spenserian, and Shakespearean—Gullio enthusiastically selects the last, a pastiche in the style of *Venus and Adonis*, proclaiming: "let this duncified worlde esteeme of Spe*n*cer and Chaucer, Ile worshipp sweet M^{r} Shakespeare."[106] What might seem to us today a plausible taste is mocked in the *Return from Parnassus* as a severely aberrant view of English literature. The *Parnassus* playwright's own respect for Chaucer is evident in Ingenio's Chaucerian pastiche: his two rhyme royal stanzas are an ingenious cento of lines from *Troilus and Criseyde*, at once likening his own situation to one in Chaucer's poem (Pandarus coaching Troilus on how to compose his own love letter to Criseyde), recognizing Chaucer's citation of Horace's *Ars poetica* (*TC* 2.1041–43), and slyly converting Chaucer's self-canonizing valediction "Go, litel bok"

[103] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, lines 932–33, 983–85, 989–91, 995–1000, 1030–31.

[104] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, lines 986–87.

[105] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, lines 1026–33.

[106] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, lines 1200–21. In a survey of contemporary responses to *Venus and Adonis*, Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests that "Ingenioso was trying to compress all the poem's style and subject-matter into a single stanza": "Much Ado with Red and White: The Earliest Readers of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593)," *RES* 44 (1993): 479–501, at 498. However, Duncan-Jones also notes that the stanza form is not that of Shakespeare's poem.

into the phrase "Go blessed scroule."[107] That the ignorant Gullio should dismiss these lines as "dull, harshe, and spiritless"[108] and instead worship sweet Master Shakespeare is clearly meant to be parodic: the popular Shakespeare simply did not belong in the tradition of Chaucer, Gower, and Spenser.

While the sixteenth-century academic author of *The Return from Parnassus* might represent a particularly elitist vision of English literary excellence, his position finds a kind of parallel in the work of modern academics who have argued in earnest that Shakespeare had—or, more accurately, would have thought he had—no place in this tradition. This emphasis, however, falls on medium: drama, they argue, was simply not the domain of the literary. The two signal monuments of drama's entrance into canon—the publication of Jonson's *Works* in 1616 and Shakespeare's First Folio in 1623—both occurred too late: Shakespeare spent his career working under the assumption that his plays would have no literary afterlife. The quartos that were printed during his lifetime were simply ephemera. The key evidentiary voice adduced to support this view is that of Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Writing to Thomas James, the library's first keeper, in January 1612, Bodley chastised him for including "Almanackes, plaies, & proclamacions," which he describes as "idle bookes, & riffe raffes" unfit for his collection.[109] Bodley reiterated his view two weeks later: "I can see no good reason to alter my opinion, for excluding suche bookes, as almanackes, plaies, & an infinit number, that are daily printed, of very vnworthy maters & handling."[110]

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[107] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, line 1157.

[108] Leishman, ed., *First Part of the Return*, line 1167.

[109] G.W. Wheeler, ed., *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, First Keeper of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 219.

[110] Wheeler, ed., *Letters*, 221. Bodley's qualification on English plays, however, are worth quoting at length: "Happely some plaies may be worthy the keeping: but hardly one in fortie. For it not alike in Englishe plaies, & others of other nations: because they are most esteemed, for learning the languages & many of them

The idea that Shakespeare did not consider his plays to be literature has found support from a number of scholarly perspectives. Textual critics who grappled with the apparently poor and unreliable quality of Shakespeare's early quartos had every reason to believe that Shakespeare took no interest in the preservation of his plays the way that someone like Ben Jonson did. Thus Fredson Bowers, one of the key New Bibliographers, wrote:

> First, plays were not regarded as "literature" but as relatively ephemeral entertainment reading on no higher plane than, say, a novel made from the script of a popular moving picture. Then, since the author himself seldom sold the copy to the bookseller, he had no personal or financial interest in his play's aftercareer except on the stage, the more especially since *he did not believe that in a play he was writing in a medium that would bring him literary fame.* [¶] Shakespeare is a perfectly normal example. He supervised the printing of his "literary" works *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*; however, there is no evidence that he ever lifted a finger to see that his plays were published during his lifetime or when they got into print to correct or revise them or to provide another manuscript for a better text.[111]

Similarly, a new scholarly emphasis on performance, in part a reaction to the hyper-poetic predilections of New Criticism, encouraged a shifting emphasis away from Shakespeare as a literary writer to Shakespeare as a theater professional: from this standpoint, it was intuitive to argue that not only would Shakespeare have been indifferent to the publication of his plays but, as a shareholder of the Chamberlain's Men and King's Men, he and his fellows would have had a professional interest to restrict their circulation. These textual and theatrical considerations served as validating evidence for the theoretical challenges to the very idea of authorship by Roland Barthes

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compiled, by men of great fame, for wisedome & learning, which is seeldom or neuer seene among vs. Were it so againe, that some litle profit might be reaped (which God knowes is very litle) out of some of our playbookes, the benefit therof will nothing neere conteruaile, the harme that the scandal will bring vnto the Librarie, when it shalbe giuen out, that we stuffe it full of baggage bookes" (222). As in the earlier letter, Bodley's warning seems less a categorical rejection of the quality of English drama than an extreme caution for the reputation of his library: namely, that inflating the catalogue with cheap ephemera will be considered dishonest by outside observers.

[111] Fredson Bowers, "The Publication of English Renaissance Plays," in Bowers, ed., *Elizabethan Dramatists*, Dictionary of Literary Biography 62 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1987), 406–16, at 414; emphasis added. See also David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).

and Michel Foucault, as scholars in the late twentieth century argued that Shakespeare's plays were produced in a milieu in which any claims to authorial control were negated by the fundamentally collaborative nature of dramatic writing,[112] by a theatrical milieu in which play scripts were simply considered one component part of a performance,[113] and by the chaotic materiality of manuscript and print.[114] There seemed to be a scholarly consensus that Shakespeare would have had no sense that he was writing literature at all.

It was not until the twenty-first century that the idea of a literary Shakespeare was vigorously championed in the work of Lukas Erne.[115] While not attempting to overturn the image of Shakespeare as a man of the theatre, Erne argued that Shakespeare had every reason to understand his works living double lives, on the stage *and* on the page. English drama did not become literary only with the Jonson folio of 1616; rather, at the very outset of Shakespeare's career, Erne argues, the publication of two quarto play books in particular—Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* published in 1590 by Richard Jones and Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* published in 1592 by Abel Jeffes (and pirated by Edward White)—effectively invented the market for scripts of commercially produced drama.[116] After these precedents, the "legitimation of printed playbooks" as literature gradually became consolidated over the course of Shakespeare's career for both publishers and their customers. Many readers treated their playbooks as literature, carefully annotating their copies and transcribing

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[112] Masten, *Textual Intercourse*; Jeffrey Masten, "Playwrighting: Authorship and Collaboration," in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), 357–82.

[113] Stephen Orgel, "What Is a Text?" *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 24 (1981): 3–6; *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–5.

[114] Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44 (1993): 255–83, esp. 273–79.

[115] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013); *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013).

[116] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 71–79.

quotations from them into commonplace books.[117] Despite modern assumptions that early modern readers treated playbooks as if they were only of temporary use, even during Shakespeare's lifetime quartos of his plays were added to the libraries of prominent figures like William Drummond of Hawthornden, Sir John Harington, and Frances Egerton, countess of Bridgewater.[118] (Bodley's opinion, it would seem, did not reflect a consensus.) Some bound their quartos,[119] while those who merely stab-stitched their playbooks did so not out of disrespect but simply as a matter of practicality.[120] The apparently low survival rate of Shakespeare quartos today is in fact comparable to certain works by Sidney, Spenser, and Milton that no one would mistake for ephemera.[121]

For Erne, Shakespeare would have been fully aware not only of the legitimation of dramatic literature but of his own privileged role.[122] After 1598, in which Francis Meres praised Shakespeare as the best playwright for both tragedy and comedy, Shakespeare's name appeared with increasing regularity on the title pages of play books: his literary reputation had become a selling point. In 1600, the same year that the Cambridge playwright of *The Return from Parnassus* was mocking Shakespeare enthusiasts, Robert Allott's publication of *England's Parnassus* enshrined Shakespeare (along with

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[117] See, especially, Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2015).

[118] Heidi Brayman Hackel, "'Rowme' of Its Own: Printed Drama in Early Libraries," in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), 113–30; Alan H. Nelson, "Shakespeare and the Bibliophiles: From the Earliest Years to 1616," in Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2005), 49–73. On Drummond, see also Dermot Cavanagh, "William Drummond of Hawthornden as Reader of Renaissance Drama," *RES* n.s. 66 (2015): 676–97. Erne makes the special case that Frances Egerton's bound volume of Shakespeare plays (prepared in 1602) is the earliest Shakespeare collection (*Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, 205).

[119] Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, 215–23.

[120] Aaron T. Pratt, "Stab-Stitching and the Status of Early English Playbooks as Literature," *The Library*, 7th series, 16 (2015): 304–28.

[121] Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, 193.

[122] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 80–101.

seven other playwrights) alongside Spenser and Sidney as having written "The choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets."[123] Erne shows that, as Shakespeare wrote, his theatrical company seems to have undertaken a consistent strategy of publishing his plays within two years of their performance, and that, in light of this consistent practice, the decline of Shakespeare publications after 1600 may perhaps indicate that a Folio volume was already being planned.[124]

Critics building on Erne's work have recently reread Shakespeare's works with special attention to the ways they participate in this self-consciously literary status. Patrick Cheney, in particular, has offered an affirmative model that Shakespeare was indeed aware of the direction of his oeuvre and pursued a "counter-laureate" career by redefining authorship to accommodate his roles as both poet *and* playwright.[125] For Cheney, this self-fashioning occurs within the plays themselves: unlike the explicit self-representation of poets like Spenser, Shakespeare's "counter-authorship" constitutes "an oblique literary form of self-representation that allows the author to hide behind the veil of his fictions, while allowing us to follow him, through the tracks he himself leaves."[126] For Cheney, the most salient way in which Shakespeare's reflects on his own authorship occurs in his use of literary antecedents. Building on Gordon Teskey's concept of "improvisation" as a mode of poetic refashioning, Cheney adopts "extemporal intertextuality": "In passages such as Prospero's Ovidian farewell to magic or Ulysses' speech on the 'author's drift', we can see the author

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[123] Robert Allott, ed., *Englands Parnassus: Or The choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets, with their Poeticall comparisons* (London, 1600; STC 378).

[124] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 102–38.

[125] Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare, National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004); *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008); "Did Shakespeare Have a Literary Career?" in Philip Hardie and Helen Moore, eds., *Classical Literary Careers and Their Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 160–78. See also Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007); Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare Only* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009).

[126] Cheney, *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*, 14. Later, Cheney gives a broader definition of counter-authorship as "a form of authorship that exists not in isolation as the stroke of 'genius' but also in reaction to the dominant 1590s model of authorship" (63).

at work, crafting his text out of the texts of other authors, reading those authors and rewriting them through pressures from his own literary environment."[127]

Following Cheney's provocation, this dissertation argues that some of Shakespeare's most vivid explorations of his own status as an author can be discerned in his intertextual engagements with the figure who represented English literary authority itself: Geoffrey Chaucer. However, contra Cheney, the picture that emerges is not that of an author confidently self-fashioning a pioneering role as national poet-playwright. Rather what we find is a resistance to the pressures of the kind of canonical literary authorship that Chaucer represented to Renaissance readers, a resistance that is deeply rooted in the theatrical provenance of Shakespeare's works. Erne's findings show conclusively that dramatic works were being read as literature and that Shakespeare himself had every reason to be aware that his own works in particular were being so read. His conclusion that "Shakespeare *wanted* to become a successful literary dramatist,"[128] however, is more difficult to prove. In dramatic quartos published during Shakespeare's career, prefatory material specially written by playwrights for readers could be found in many theatrical publications, their involvement in the printed product evincing their active participation in the print life of their dramatic writing. During Shakespeare's career, Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, John Marston, George Chapman, Thomas Heywood, John Webster, Thomas Middleton, Nathan Field, Robert Daborne, and King's Men actor Robert Armin all wrote prefatory material for their printed plays.[129] Shakespeare himself

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[127] Cheney, *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*, 15–17 (quote at 15). On "improvisation," see Gordon Teskey, *Delirious Milton: The Fate of the Poet in Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006), 116–17.

[128] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 20 (Erne's emphasis).

[129] Chronologically, Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1602; STC 17473); Dekker's *Satiro-mastix* (1602; STC 6521); Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604; STC 17479); Jonson's *Sejanus His Fall* (1605; STC 14782); Jonson's *Volpone* (1607; STC 14783); Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608; STC 13360); Chapman's *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron* (1608; STC 4968); Armin's *The Two Maids of Moreclacke* (1609; STC 773); Heywood's *The Golden Age* (1611; STC 13325); Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (1611; STC 17908); Jonson's *Catiline His Conspiracy* (1611; STC 14759); Field's *A Woman Is a Weather Cock* (1612; STC 10854); Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612; STC 6184); Dekker's *If It Be Not Good The Devil Is in It* (1612; STC

did not. In Cheney's account, Shakespeare's invisibility is in fact the major innovation of his authorial identity: "Shakespeare is the first major author in the Western tradition who conspicuously avoids presenting himself."[130] The circularity of this articulation quickly reveals itself: it is only once we consider Shakespeare to be an *auctor* that his silence sounds like a statement.

The present study does not claim that Shakespeare could not or did not see himself as a literary dramatist. What it does argue is that Shakespeare was keenly aware of the double-edged nature of that identity. One of these was an ambivalence about the status of his own plays as literature. As Erne acknowledges, the idea that commercially produced drama could be literature established itself only gradually throughout Shakespeare's career.[131] Neither John Harington nor Thomas Bodley were unique. Certainly, even if the publication of Jonson's *Workes* represented a culmination point of this process, it hardly reflected a consensus.[132] Thus the famous sneer at Jonson's pretension: "Pray tell me *Ben*, where doth the mistery lurke, / What others call a play you call a worke."[133] If we are to read Shakespeare's absence from his play books at all, perhaps it can be most safely understood as a sign of his ambivalence—both about his own status as a literary author, but also about the very idea of print as a medium for drama. Indeed, what proponents of "both/and" models of Shakespeare's career (as "literary dramatist," as "national poet-playwright")

6507); Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1612; STC 14755); Chapman's *The Widow's Tears* (1612; STC 4994); Webster's *The White Devil* (1612; STC 25178); Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1613; STC 4989). For more examples, see Thomas L. Berger and Sonia Massai, with Tania Demetriou, eds., *Paratexts in English Printed Drama to 1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014), esp. 961–1009.

[130] Cheney, *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*, 14.

[131] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 58, 68, 71.

[132] Jeffrey Knapp clarifies the precise "innovativeness" of Jonson's 1616 *Workes* as follows: "Jonson was the first commercial English dramatist to publish a collected edition of his works, a collection of his plays, and a collection in folio." See "What Is a Co-Author?" *Representations* 89 (2005): 1–29, at 20.

[133] *Witts Recreations* (London, 1640), sig. G3v. The riposte is just as famous: "The authors friend thus for the author sayes, / *Bens* plays are works, when others works are plaies."

neglect is an awareness about what might be *lost* in the transition from stage to page. As a consummate man of the theater whose works were demonstrably shaped by dramatic venues, reportorial dynamics, and especially the particular talents, personalities, and even body types of his fellow actors,[134] Shakespeare would have acutely aware of the limitations of print to capture the materiality and electricity of performance. Robert Weimann has argued that the Shakespearean stage involved a tension between the competing authorities of the "author's pen" and the "actor's voice" (borrowing the phrase from *Troilus and Cressida*): I argue that these two poles competed within the playwright himself.[135]

Jonson again provides a useful comparison. I have suggested above that the appearance of Chaucer in the performance of *The Golden Age Restored* celebrated the authoritative laureate tradition in poetry for which he represented the fountainhead. Yet as Jonson wrote this masque in the latter half of 1615, he was already aware of the preparations underway for the publication of his *Workes*,[136] and when the grand folio volume did appear at the end of 1616, the concluding "work" therein was *The Golden Age Restored*. Jonson's folio thus ends with an assertion of the laureate tradition and the promise that in the Jacobean age "buried arts shall flourish." Chaucer, appropriately, could stand for the *literary* potential of drama, and in the context of the *Workes*, the masque serves as an envoy that declares Jonson's arrival into the literary canon with the appearance of his collected writings in print.

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[134] See, recently, Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).

[135] Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000).

[136] Mark Bland, "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, 1615–16," *The Library*, 6th series, 20 (1998): 1–33. While the printing of the *Workes* could have been underway as early as 20 January 1615, when "Certayne Masques" were entered by Stansby in the Stationers' Register, Bland establishes that it was certainly underway by 21 August 1615, when Walter Burre took legal action against Stansby (14–15). Ian Donaldson also notes that Jonson may have been aware that was about to receive an annual royal patent for his services, a version of laureateship: see *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 322. For a transcription of the patent, dated 1 February 1616, see Edmund Kemper Broadus, *The Laureateship: A Study of the Office of Poet Laureate in England with Some Account of the Poets* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1921), 222.

If Shakespeare's silence in print evinces his reluctance to embrace the literary afterlife of his theatrical writing, so too do his engagements with Chaucer demonstrate a more complex stance than Jonson's laureated appropriation. The present study does not seek to overturn the idea that Shakespeare could have, or even did, conceive of himself as a playwright self-consciously working in two media—one attentive to the particular immediate commercial demands and pressures of the theater and one looking forward to his status as a poet to be read alongside the canonical English literature and aspiring to an afterlife so long as men can breathe and eyes can see. What it does argue is that Shakespeare considered the prospect with ambivalence, and nowhere is this ambivalence more legible than in his engagement with the poet who represented English literary canonicity itself.

In the chapters that follow, Chaucerian "adaptation" works at a variety of levels and reveals different stances on these issues. Chapter 1 addresses the most explicit dramatic adaptation of Chaucerian poetry in all of extant Renaissance drama, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by Shakespeare and John Fletcher. As the only play that names Chaucer as its source, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play is uniquely self-conscious about what it means to adapt Chaucerian narrative for the stage, especially the pressures of Chaucer's literary authority upon the playwrights who would undertake an adaptation. Chronologically the latest of the plays discussed, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play nevertheless serves as the most direct engagement of what Chaucer meant to playwrights and thus sets the terms for the more oblique adaptations that antedated it. Chapter 2 discusses three plays from the 1590s in which Chaucerian sources serve as a more subtle intertexts: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Henry IV*, *Parts One* and *Two*. Written at a nascent period of the legitimation of drama as literature, these plays look to Chaucer's works to adopt literary ideas of form to shape their narrative sources. However, the very act of appropriating these Chaucerian models for the stage reveals the incompatibilities of theatrical drama to model itself on literary texts. Chapters 3 and 4 develop a twofold reading of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, one destructive and one constructive. Written

at a time when questions of dramatic authority were being raised by Jonson and debated in the so-called Poets' War, *Troilus* constitutes Shakespeare's most polemical stance on the question of drama's literary status. Stressing the adversarial tension between *auctor* and actor, Shakespeare's play functions as an iconoclastic travesty of poetic *auctoritas*. However, out of the ruins of literary authority, Shakespeare builds a new vision for the interrelationship of literature and theatre, one that looks forward to a preservation not on the page but a continuing life on the stage.

Chapter 1

The Anxiety of *Auctoritas*: *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

In 1598, the London book market saw the publication of the Renaissance's greatest monument to the father of English poetry: Thomas Speght's folio edition of *The Workes of our Antient and lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer*.[137] At once squarely within the tradition of editions of Chaucer by Thynne and Stow, Speght's volume was nevertheless unprecedented in its representation of the Chaucerian canon. Not only did the book include previously unpublished material (as had the 1542 and 1561 editions), but, perhaps more importantly, Speght's edition added extravagant paratextual materials, advertised on the book's title page: "1. His Portraiture and Progenie shewed. 2. His Life collected. 3. Arguments to euery Book gathered. 4. Old and obscure Words explained. 5. Authors by him cited, declared. 6. Difficulties opened. 7. Two Bookes of his neuer before printed." Speght's edition constituted the definitive moment in the Renaissance canonization of Chaucer as a national vernacular literary authority parallel to the role of Homer and Virgil for antiquity.[138] In a prefatory epistle addressed to the editor, Speght's fellow Cambridge alumnus Francis Beaumont[139] posed the rhetorical question:

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[137] This chapter will quote from STC 5077.

[138] For a survey of this argument, see Tim William Machan, "Speght's *Works* and the Invention of Chaucer," *Text* 8 (1995): 145–70. For a recent reconsideration of Speght's editorial project in relation to his own social standing, see David Matthews, "Public Ambition, Private Desire and the Last Tudor Chaucer," in Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, eds., *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 74-88. On the printing of the edition, see Appendix B ("The Chaucer Folio Canon").

[139] On Beaumont, see T.W. Baldwin, "The Three Francis Beaumonts," *Modern Language Notes* 39 (1924): 505–7; Stephen Porter, "Francis Beaumont's Monument in Charterhouse Chapel and Elizabeth,

> Now (M. *Speght*) tell mee, seeing not onely all Greeke and Latine Poets haue had their interpretours, and the most of them translated into our tongue, but the French also and Italian, as *Guillaume de Saluste seigneur du Bartas*, that most diuine French poet, *Petrarke*, and *Ariosto*, […] shall onely *Chaucer* our Poet, no lesse worthy than the best of them amongst all the Poets of the world lie always neglected and neuer be so well vnderstood of his owne countriemen as strangers are? (sigs. a3v–a4r)

The elaborate presentation of the Chaucerian canon in Speght's edition was part of a project to restore the medieval English poet to his rightful place in the international pantheon of literary achievement, "no lesse worthy" than the best Continental poets, ancient and modern, finally fulfilling the longstanding promise of the tradition that Chaucer was in fact the "*English Homer*" (sig. c3r). Indeed, in the same year that Speght's folio was published, Francis Meres's comparative survey of English poetry in his *Palladis Tamia* began: "As *Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets; and *Petrarch* of Italian Poets: so *Chaucer* is accounted the God of English Poets."[140]

Speght, as I have argued, represented the culmination of the Renaissance idea of Chaucer as an English *auctor*, a word charged with imbricated senses of canonical, political and paternal authority, in addition to literary authorship. No work is a better testament to drama's engagement with this legacy of Chaucer's *auctoritas* than *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, John Fletcher and William Shakespeare's dramatic adaptation of the first of *The Canterbury Tales*.[141] The play begins with a

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Baroness Cramond as Patroness of Memorials in Early Stuart London," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 54 (2003): 111–19, at 112. Speght and Beaumont were exact contemporaries at Cambridge (both taking their BAs and MAs in 1569 and 1573), where they overlapped with Spenser. They remained lifelong friends: Beaumont appears in Speght's will as "M^{r} ffranc*es* Beamont M^{r} of Suttons Hospitall wth in the Charterhowse London," receiving a gold ring with a skull (NA, PROB 11/137, f. 467r).

[140] Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, f. 279r.

[141] For evidence that Fletcher (at least) was working from Speght's 1602 edition of Chaucer, see Robert K. Turner, Jr., "*The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Speght's Chaucer," *N&Q* 27 (1980): 175–76. Shakespeare may have been working from Speght's 1598 edition. In 1.1, attributed by most scholars to Shakespeare, Theseus refers to the First Queen's husband as "Capaneus" (1.1.59; STC 11075, p. 3). The name appears in every early modern edition of Chaucer as "Campaneus," however Speght's 1598 editorial paratext includes the comment "Campaneus, *read*, Capaneus" (sig. 4B3v); Francis Thynne argued against Speght's emendation

Prologue that proudly names its source from the wellspring of English poetry: "Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives; / There, constant to eternity, it lives" (Prol. 13–14).[142] As we will see, compared to other Chaucerian dramatic adaptations of the period, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play is unusually engaged with its source. However, the play's very proximity to the figure styled as the originary poet of the language produces a complex series of responses registered within the text about how a new work can be created out of the monuments of a literary *auctor*.

In contradistinction to Harold Bloom's model of the "anxiety of influence," wherein a young poet believes "that he has failed to create himself" through the dominating influence of another,[143] *The Two Noble Kinsmen* expresses a "fear" of inadequacy about its own adaptation, failing to honor the laureated *auctor* Chaucer. Ostensibly, it is less an anxiety of influence than an anxiety about the lack thereof.[144] However, within this model of literary hierarchy, the playwrights find ways to thematize the problem of creating an original dramatic work under the anxiety of *auctoritas*, at times upholding, at times resisting the pressures of their source's cultural authority. In effect, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* can be read as an exploration of the very idea of the vernacular literary canon and the status of drama therein.

(*Animaduersions*, 43–44) and the text of the 1602 edition was left unchanged. The correction in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* may have come from a close consultation of Speght's apparatus, or from separate classical sources.

142 Quotations refer to Lois Potter, ed., *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Arden3 (London: Thomson Learning, 1997). Zachary Lesser suggests that "the actor may well have carried a recent edition of Chaucer onstage with him": see "Shakespeare's Flop: John Waterson and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," in Marta Straznicky, ed., *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013), 177–96, at 192.

143 Bloom, *Anxiety*, 5.

144 My reading of the play overlaps with Kathryn L. Lynch's richly illuminating discussion of Shakespeare's "anxious" intertextual relationship with Chaucer: see "The Three Noble Kinsmen: Chaucer, Shakespeare, Fletcher," in Yvonne Bruce, ed., *Images of Matter: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2005), 72–91. My subject is the same as Lynch's, but we differ in our contextualizations of the subject, our approaches, and our readings of key moments.

I. The Birth and Death of the *Auctor*

The early modern construction of Chaucer as an English *auctor* was the inheritance of two centuries of reception and evaluation beginning, however ambivalently, with Chaucer himself. *The House of Fame* is emblematic of the complex stance Chaucer took to his own authorial reputation. The poem is characteristically ironic about the fickle nature of *fama* as both canonical celebrity and slanderous rumor. After witnessing a parade of petitioners to Fame, Chaucer himself is asked whether he too seeks celebrity from the goddess, an idea the poet vehemently denies:

> "Artow come hider to han [*have*] fame?"
> "Nay, for sothe, frend," quod y.
> "I cam nought hyder, graunt mercy,
> For no such cause, by my hed!
> Sufficeth me, as I were dede,
> That no wight have my name in honde.["] (*HF* 1872–77)

Chaucer's colorful disclaimer notwithstanding, the very fact that the dream vision centers on a visit to the pantheon of great poets could not but suggest an irruption of the self into the literary canon.

Chaucer's complex stance towards his own role as a literary figure is closely related to the nature of one dominant model of medieval authorship. As the important anthology *The Idea of the Vernacular* summarized: "Authorship in the Middle Ages was more likely to be understood as participation in an intellectually and morally authoritative tradition, within which […] a writer might fill one of several roles, copying, modifying, or translating, as well as composing."[145] The paradigmatic instance of this, in the Prologue of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, performs this kind of participation, whereby the authority of the poet's work is bestowed upon it not by original invention, but by virtue of its "contribution to an ongoing tradition."[146] *Auctoritas* in the vernacular

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[145] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999), 4–5.

[146] Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 5.

was defined by the pedigree of its *matere*, its matter. Although *The Knight's Tale* does not explicitly name its source,[147] it begins with a metaphor in which the great *matere* of the Theban story is compared to the poet's feeble technique: "I have, God woot, a large feeld to ere [*plow*], / And wayke [*weak*] been the oxen in my plough" (I.886–87). The poet's task is the versification of an ancient subject, plowing the Theban plot into furrows of verse. Even great near-contemporary *auctores* like Petrarch could be cited as aligning the vernacular poet in a lineage of *auctoritas*, such as at the beginning of *The Clerk's Tale*, which cites "Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete, / Highte this clerk, whos rethorik sweete / Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie" (IV.31–33). For Chaucer's Clerk (and, necessarily, Chaucer himself) self-avowed translation is the mode of authorship; yet, as Rita Copeland and Nicholas Watson have demonstrated, the very act of translation was an important assertion of vernacular authority, exegetical and national.[148]

Indeed, despite Chaucer's apparent indifference to fame and his deferrals of authorship, his texts do elsewhere demonstrate precisely this desire to join into the tradition of *auctoritas*. The hallmark moment occurs at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, when Chaucer compares his work to the poets of antiquity:

> Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye,
> […] But litel book, no makyng thow n'envie,
> But subgit be to alle poesye;
> And kis the steppes where as thow seest pace

[147] As such, Dryden in the seventeenth century was unaware that *The Knight's Tale* was based on Boccaccio's *Teseida*, and supposed it to be Chaucer's own invention. It is not, however, clear whether Fletcher and Shakespeare would have been aware of Chaucer's source in Boccaccio. Certainly the *Teseida* was known to some early modern Chaucerians. Francis Thynne (the son of the Chaucer editor) inscribed in his edition of Speght that *The Knight's Tale* "is taken oute of the theseide of Bocas": see Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng 1221, sig. c4r. Although Thynne repeated the observation in his *Animadversions* (1599) on Speght's edition (that Chaucer took "his knightes tale out of the Thesayde of Bocas"), the 1602 edition did not revise its "Argument" to include this information: see *Animaduersions*, 43.

[148] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), esp. 179–202; Nicholas Watson, "The Politics of Middle English Writing," *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 331–52.

Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace. (V.1786, 1789–92)

Ostensibly a concession of inferiority, the lines bring Chaucer into proximity with the great classical *auctores* in such a way that he fashions himself as an *auctor*, performing deference as an act of conspicuous acknowledgment and consequently alignment within a tradition of poetic authority.[149] Immediately following this complex self-positioning, Chaucer voices concern for the integrity of his text: "So prey I God that non myswrite the, / Ne the mysmetre for defaute of tonge" (5.1795–96). It is not simply the gesture of following the tradition of classical literature, but the poet imagines a textual afterlife for his own work, one that might preserve his authorial intention despite the vagaries of manuscript transmission. The same desire is expressed more forcefully in Chaucer's short poem to his scribe Adam Pinkhurst, exhorting him with a severity, half in earnest and half in game, to "wryte more trewe" the next time he copies works of "my makyng," specifically naming *Troilus and Criseyde* and his translation of Boethius ("Adam," 4). Chaucer's command that his authorial will be observed took on an emblematic significance in the Renaissance Chaucer folios from 1561 and after, in which the poem appears as the final Chaucerian work, a stern imperative from the poet punctuating his textual corpus.[150]

The aura of Chaucer's vernacular *auctoritas* began to form shortly after his death.[151] Despite the elaborate performance by Chaucer the Pilgrim deferring authorial responsibility, manuscript copies of *The Canterbury Tales*, including the Ellesmere MS, frequently gloss the text with the

[149] Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 14.

[150] On the conclusion to Renaissance Chaucer editions, see Megan L. Cook, "'Here taketh the makere of this book his leve': The *Retraction* and Chaucer's Works in Tudor England," *Studies in Philology* 113 (2016): 32–54. Happily, the printer to whom was entrusted the textual integrity of Chaucer's works in the 1598 and 1602 editions was named Adam: see Appendix B ("The Chaucer Folio Canon").

[151] The following discussion draws on Brewer, *Heritage*. For an informative survey of Chaucer reception (to Speght and beyond) in relation to the formation of the modern idea of poetic authorship and life narratives, see Kevin Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author: Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 9–52.

marginal annotation "*auctor*" to flag the presence of Chaucer's own voice in the poem as a fragment of authority. Even though *The Clerk's Tale* heralded its Petrarchan *matere*, the manuscripts foregrounded Chaucer's authorial voice by subtitling the last six stanzas of that tale "L'envoy de Chaucer." More substantially, the Renaissance image of Chaucer was shaped by poets of the early fifteenth century, writing in the wake of the figure who became styled as the father of English letters. The prefatory material to Speght's 1598 edition reproduced many samples of the effusive encomia praising the recently deceased Chaucer as a new vernacular *auctor*.[152] Quoted at the end of Speght's "Life" of Chaucer, Thomas Hoccleve's lines from *The Regiment of Princes* (*c.* 1411) are representative of this new appreciation of the late poet:

> O master dere and fadre reuerent,
> My maister Chaucer floure of Eloquence,
> Mirror of fructuous entendement [*understanding*],
> O vniuersal fadre of Science…(sig. c1v)[153]

Both "master" and "father," Chaucer's excellence transfigured him into a metonym for the literary potential of England itself: "O death thou didest not harme singler in slaughter of him / But all the land it smerteth." Similarly, Lydgate's encomia branded Chaucer the "chiefe Poet of Britaine" and the cynosure of English poetry: "of our language he was the Loadsterre" (sig. c2r).[154] Fulfilling the desire for canonicity encoded in *Troilus*, Hoccleve positioned Chaucer as the inheritor of classical *auctoritas*:

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[152] To recall A.J. Minnis's rule of thumb, "it would seem that the only good *auctor* was a dead one": see *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 12.

[153] Compare to the text, taken from British Museum MS Harleian 4866, reproduced in Brewer, *Heritage*, 1:62–63.

[154] Cf. Brewer, *Heritage*, 1:63. The latter epithet had already been quoted by Francis Beaumont in his prefatory letter to Speght (sig. a2v).

…who was heire in philosophy
To Aristotle in our tongue but thou[?]
The steppes of Virgill in Poese
Thou suedest [*followed*] eke[ ]… (sig. c2r)

Comparisons to Virgil became a common *topos* of praise as the first generation of post-Chaucerians took it upon themselves to perform the act of laureation for the language: "poet of Britaine / That worthy was the laurel to haue / Of poetry" (sig. c2v). If in *The Clerk's Tale* Petrarch had been "the lauriat poet" of Italy, Chaucer had, with his death, assumed the role for Britain. Indeed, Lydgate elsewhere makes the comparison to Petrarch explicit:

To Petrak fraunceis was ȝouen in Ytaille [...]
To be registred in Þe house of fame
Amonge oÞer in Þe hiȝeste sete
My maister Galfride as for chefe poete
Þat euere was ȝit in our langage
Þe name of whom shal passen in noon age
But euer ylyche with-oute eclipsinge shyne.[155]

The ambivalence that had dominated Chaucer's own *House of Fame* is subsumed by the triumphalism of Lydgate's unproblematic version of the same trope. As Nicholas Watson has observed, "What made Chaucer so important to English literary history may have had less to do with any belief he had in himself as the founder of a self-conscious vernacular poetic tradition than with his *invention* as a founding figure."[156]

The praise of Chaucer as a laureated English poet followed his works from manuscript to print. As William Caxton wrote in his "Proemy" to his second edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, "Gefferey chaucer the whiche for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue may wel haue the name of a laureate poete / For to fore that he by hys labour enbelysshyd / ornated / and made faire our

[155] In the *Troy Book*, lines 4551, 4554–59; qtd. in Brewer, *Heritage*, 1:48.

[156] Watson, "Politics of Middle English Writing," 347. Emphasis in original.

englisshe / in thys Royame [*realm*] was had rude speche & Incongrue."[157] However, despite the consistency of identifying Chaucer as the father of the literary vernacular, in the centuries after his death Chaucer's much praised English was becoming increasingly distant to most readers. More and more, part of the experience of reading Chaucer was shaped by the changes about which Chaucer himself had expressed an anxiety in *Troilus*:

> that in forme of speche is chaunge
> Withinne a thousand yeer, and wordes tho
> That hadden pris [*value*], now wonder nyce and straunge
> Us thinketh hem. (2.22–25)

As Seth Lerer has described, the transition of Chaucerian works from manuscript to print was accompanied by a sense of Chaucer's remoteness from the present. If poets like Lydgate and Hoccleve could draw parallels with Virgil and Aristotle, Caxton fulfilled the trajectory by presenting his Chaucer "not of the remembered legacy of English coterie making but of the dead *auctores* of the Continental humanist tradition."[158] Newly inscribed as a canonical *auctor*, Renaissance re-presentations Chaucer's works were governed not by a sense of "the open-endedness of medieval imitation or rescription" but by "the teleologies of humanist discovery."[159] James Simpson, generalizing this model, describes the transition of modes of Chaucer reception from one of "remembered presence" to one of "philological absence."[160] Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer is paradigmatic of this transition, with its voluminous prefatory material, copious historical evidence

[157] Brewer, *Heritage*, 1:76.

[158] Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers*, 148.

[159] Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers*, 150.

[160] Simpson, "Chaucer's Presence and Absence," 254–55.

and a glossary of "old and obscure" words (substantially augmented in the 1602 edition),[161] essentially classicizing the vernacular poet in a humanist edition.[162] Yet, the result of this scholarly apparatus is that the image of Chaucer in Speght's edition occupies a weirdly liminal space between presence and absence, life and death. Lerer describes Caxton's edition as depicting "the buried body of the poet and the monumentality of his tomb to distance present readers from the past and to maintain that in the reproduction of his works his fame should live perpetually."[163] However, in Speght's edition, Chaucer himself seems to come alive. Certainly the philological project of glossing obscure words emphasizes the distance between the dead Chaucer's ancient language and that of the reader; yet this project is explicitly figured as a kind of resurrection. Indeed, one of the prefatory poems to the edition, entitled "The Reader to Geffrey Chaucer," ventriloquizes the voice of the dead poet, who has been revived by editorial labor:

> *Rea.* Where hast thou dwelt, good Geoffrey all this while,
> Vnknown to vs, saue only by thy books?
> *Chau.* *In haulks, and hernes*, God wot, and in exile,
> Where none vouchsafed to yield me words or looks:
> Till one which saw me there, and knew my friends,
> Did bring me forth. Such grace sometime God sends. (sig. a4v, emphasis added)

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[161] Derek Pearsall makes the fascinating observation that E.K.'s glossary to *The Shepheardes Calender* predates both this edition as well as the first glossary for Chaucer, the short "Vocabvla Chauceriana" appended to P[aul] G[reaves], *Grammatica Anglicana* (Cambridge, 1594): see "Thomas Speght," in Paul G. Ruggiers, ed., *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim, 1984) 71–92, esp. 81. See also William L. Alderson and Arnold C. Henderson, *Chaucer and Augustan Scholarship* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1970), 15–39; Megan L. Cook, "Making and Managing the Past: Lexical Commentary in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) and Chaucer's *Workes* (1598/1602)," *Spenser Studies* 25 (2011): 179–222.

[162] The copy of Speght's edition owned by Abraham Hartwell (1553/54–1606), a member of the Society of Antiquaries along with Chaucerians John Stow and Francis Thynne, contains marginalia demonstrating Hartwell's careful reading of the book, the first pages of *The Knight's Tale* richly annotated in Latin with paraphrases and biblical/classical citations to Virgil, Statius, and Theocritus: see Houghton Library, Harvard University, STC 5077, copy C. For example, beside Palamon's lines "I not wher she be woman or goddesse, / But Venus it is, sothly as I gesse" (Speght's orthography, cf. I.1101–2), Hartwell annotates "*O Dea certè!*" (sig. B2r). Many of Hartwell's longer Latin annotations have been partly trimmed off, apparently when the book was rebound in its present state.

[163] Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers*, 148.

This "Chaucer" appropriately speaks in antiquated English: the expression "haulks, and hernes" is taken directly from *The Franklin's Tale* (V.1121). But, just as these archaic words appear in the book's glossary,[164] the poem is about the recovery of Chaucer as a living presence by Speght, whom the poet praises and excuses for any errors that might have slipped by. Indeed, this poem appears opposite a full-length portrait of Chaucer by John Speed, based on the "lyknesse" in Hoccleve, surrounded by his family tree.[165] At the base of the image is the elaborate tomb of his son Thomas Chaucer at Ewelme. The connotations of this arrangement are worth remarking upon: although Chaucer's likeness here could be represented as a painting within the image, the fact that the full body of the living poet looms over the tomb of his son suggests both the sepulchral associations of the dead and absent poet but also his resurrected triumph over death, including that of his son. Speed's portrait depicts Chaucer as a compounded synthesis of *auctoritas*: although the head of the genealogical network is in fact Sir Payne Roet, the famed author is visually represented as presiding over generations of his progeny (*auctor* as father), which included his family relation (through marriage) to kings of England, the embodiments of national political *auctoritas*.

Indeed, as Chaucer's marriage to Philippa Roet made him, by 1396, brother-in-law to John of Gaunt, who was the father of Henry IV and ancestor to the subsequent line of Lancastrian Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, and beyond.[166] (The illustrious family tree in Speght's edition made this genealogy manifest to readers, but the same information could have been reconstructed by

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[164] "halke or herne, (*angulus*) a corner" (sig. 4A3v).

[165] For other visual sources of Speed's portrait, see Martha W. Driver, "Mapping Chaucer: John Speed and the Later Portraits," *The Chaucer Review* 36 (2002): 228–249, esp. 241.

[166] The first Tudor king, Henry VII, was descended, through his mother, from John of Gaunt and Chaucer's sister-in-law Katherine Swynford (*née* Roet); the first English Stuart, James VI and I, was of course descended from the same line through Henry VII's daughter Margaret Tudor, who married James IV of Scotland.

careful readers of the chronicle histories earlier that decade.[167]) Beyond family connections, the reception of Chaucer's work would seem to reinforce the relationship between literary and political authority. A 1542/3 act of Parliament passed under Henry "for thadvauncement of true Religion and for thabbolisshment of the contrarie" explicitly named *The Canterbury Tales* (along with "Chaucers bokes" and "Gowers bokes") among the titles excepted from censorship.[168] The exceptional status granted to Chaucer by this statute was remembered well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[169] During that time, one might have gleaned a special royal affinity for Chaucer from occasional anecdotes. As Elizabeth was on her deathbed, a Catholic informant writing to Venice reported that the Queen "cannot abide discourses of gouerm*en*t and state, but delighteth to heare old Canterbery tales, to w*hi*ch she is very attentiue."[170] While this may simply have been fabricated or the idiomatic use of the term, it is worth remembering that Elizabeth's tutor Roger Ascham praised Chaucer in his *Toxophilus* as "our *English Homer*" and that Elizabeth herself followed in Chaucer's footsteps by translating Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* into English. Chaucer seems

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[167] John Stow's *The Annales of England* (London, 1592) notes that "The famous Poet *Geffrey Chaucer* esquire, the first illuminer of our English language, […] had to wife the daughter of *Paine Roete aliâs Gwine* king at armes" (p. 517). The relationship between John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford (described as daughter of Paon de Roet) was discussed in Holinshed 1587 (STC 13569), III, pp. 485-486, 498, and Stow, *Annales*, p. 493.

[168] *The Statutes of the Realm*, 9 vols. (London, 1810–22), III, 894. The full text of the act lists: "the King*es* Hieghnes proclamac*i*ons injunctions, translac*i*ons of the Pater noster, the Ave Maria and the Crede, the psalters prymers prayer statutes and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles Canterburye tales Chaucers bokes Gowers bokes and stories of mennes lieves."

[169] Henry Barrow, *A petition directed to Her Most Excellent Maiestie* ([London], 1591; STC 1522a), p. 35. Francis Thynne wrote in 1599: "in one open parliamente (as I haue herde S*i*r John Thynne reporte, beinge then a member of the howse,) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden, Chaucer had there for euer byn condempned, had yt not byn that his woorkes had byn counted but fables" (*Animadversions*, 10). William Prynne cites the specific act of parliament in referring to *The Plowman's Tale* ("*This Booke of* Chaucer *was authorized to be printed by* Act of Parliament *in the* 34. and 35. H. 8 c.1"). See *A Breviate of the Prelates intollerable usurpations* (London, 1637), p. 27; it was also incorporated into Henry Walker's pamphlet distillation of Prynne, *A Terrible Out-cry against the Loytering Exalted Prelates* (London, 1641), pp. 5-6.

[170] "Anthony Rivers" to Giacomo Creleto, 9 March 1603, National Archives, SP 12/287, f. 74. Patrick Martin and John Finnis have argued that "Rivers" was the pseudonym of William Sterrell: see "The Identity of 'Anthony Rivers'," *Recusant History* 26 (2002): 39–74.

certainly to have played a role in the education of the Stuarts. King James, himself a poet, referred to rhyme royal as "*Troilus* verse" in his teenaged poetry collection *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesy*,[171] and must have considered Chaucer suitable reading material for his own son and heir apparent Henry, Prince of Wales, whose copy of Speght's 1602 edition was specially bound with the Prince's arms in gilt on the cover.[172] Perhaps most conspicuously, the association of Chaucer's works with royalty was made evident for every early modern reader in the prefatory epistle to King Henry VIII, included in the front matter of William Thynne's 1532 edition and every subsequent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century edition, in which Chaucer's excellence is put forward to the monarch as a symbol of English excellence in the service of the sovereign's interests.[173]

Perhaps a longer and more salient tradition of Chaucer's *auctoritas* made visible in Speed's portrait is the paternal dimension that attended Chaucer's reputation as the wellspring of English literary tradition. Lydgate was certainly not alone among fifteenth-century poets to call Chaucer "fadre,"[174] a *topos* repeated in the Renaissance by figures like Gascoigne and Puttenham.[175] The

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[171] [James VI,] *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. M4r.

[172] Library Company of Philadelphia, STC 5080 Log.327.F. The book moved to America sometime in the mid eighteenth century when the bibliophile James Logan requested a copy of "Chaucers Works of some Old Edit." from the English bookseller Thomas Osborne: see Edwin Wolf, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1751* (Philadelphia, 1974), 98.

[173] The epistle appears in each of these editions attributed to Thynne, however the nineteenth-century scholar Henry Bradshaw discovered a copy of the 1532 edition containing a manuscript note in the hand of Sir Brian Tuke in which Tuke claimed authorship for the preface (*Animadversions*, p. xxvi). The copy, currently held at Clare College, Cambridge, has been reproduced in facsimile (Menston: Scolar, 1969). Bradshaw's discovery corroborated the report of John Leland that Tuke had contributed a *praefatio elimata, luculenta, elegans* to Thynne's edition. Joseph Dane, however, argued that the evidence may not be independent and that Leland's report may have simply been derived from the marginalia in the Clare College copy (*Who's Buried*, 41). Alexandra Gillespie's proposed solution is that Tuke might have written the first half (discussed below in Chapter 2) while Thynne composed the epistle from the point he names himself as the writer (140–41). See also Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, chapter 2.

[174] See Lerer, *Chaucer and His Readers*, 57–84. For another recent account of Chaucer as a poetic father figure, see Helen Cooper, "Choosing Poetic Fathers: The English Problem," in Guillemette Bolens and Lukas Erne, eds., *Medieval and Early Modern Authorship* (Tübingen: Narr, 2011), 29–50, esp. 35ff. Conversely, Lynch argues that Chaucer only fully assumed his paternal role in Dryden's preface to his *Fables* (1700) ("Three Noble Kinsmen," 73).

vividness of the paternal dimension could take extraordinarily personal forms for some readers. Perhaps the most vociferously possessive Chaucerian in the Renaissance was Francis Thynne, whose extensive animadversions on Speght's 1598 edition were apparently intended as a prelude to his own even more extravagantly annotated edition "after the manner of the Italians, who have largelye comented Petrarche."[176] For Thynne the stakes were personal, since his own father was the Chaucer editor William Thynne, whose labors are defended at length in his son's animadversions against Speght. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Thynne's pedantic defensiveness (so unappealing to modern readers like Derek Pearsall[177]) takes on a certain poignancy in light of the fact that Thynne never knew his father, who died when his son was an infant.[178] The Henrician Chaucer folio then perhaps served as a kind of monument to two dead father figures, known only through their *Workes*—or, as the "Reader" of Speght's poem says, "Vnknowne to vs, saue only by thy bookes." Even for those without such direct connections, the paternal associations of Chaucer could manifest itself in personal ways. A manuscript collection of poems by Daniel Rogers, diplomat[179] and friend of Sidney, compiled in the 1580s, includes a series of epigrams by Rogers: while most are addressed

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[175] For Gascoigne, see Brewer, *Heritage*, 1:110; for Puttenham's description of "*Geffrey Chaucer* father of our English Poets," not included in Brewer, see *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), sig. D2v.

[176] Thynne, *Animaduersions*, 75.

[177] "He is, in fact, the perfect pattern of a pedant, and the tone of his letter, which ranges from the patronizing to the irascible, is in accord. […] It is his zeal here for his father's reputation that is his undoing" (Pearsall, "Thomas Speght," 84).

[178] Francis Thynne had not apparently been born when William Thynne wrote his will, dated 16 November 1540; it was proved on 7 September 1546 (NA, PROB 11/31/263, f. 130v; *Animadversions*, xl). His year of birth is unknown but estimated to be 1545: see Louis A. Knafla, "Thynne, Francis (1545?–1608)," *ODNB*.

[179] Rogers has attracted the attention of Shakespeareans for his 1588 trip to Denmark, from which he sent back a list of Danish councilors that included the names "Rosenkrantz" and "Guldenstern" (SP 75/1, f. 274; Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. [London: Routledge, 1957–75], 7:184).

to his contemporaries and heroes, two are on the subject of Chaucer.[180] His first epitaph ("Tumulus of Geoffrey Chaucer") praises the poet in familiarly laudatory terms as the glory of the Muses, Apollo, and the nation ("*Musarum Phœbique decus, patriæque larisque*"); however, yet the resonance between fatherland and father Chaucer become overwhelmingly salient, when the root appears four times (*patriæque*, *patriis*, *patriam*, *patriæ*) in a mere eight-line poem. Just as revealing as the poem's content is its placement in Roger's collection, where it appears as the third in a miniature family mausoleum, immediately following *tumuli* for his two brothers Bernard and Augustus. Even more redolent of these associations, Rogers's second poem on Chaucer appears immediately following two epitaphs for his own father, the martyred Bible editor John Rogers.

Contrasting these private appropriations of "father Chaucer" were the conspicuous public appropriations by his early modern "sons," of whom there was none more assertive than Edmund Spenser. Spenser's poetic debut in *The Shepheardes Calender* of 1579 begins with two conspicuous references to Chaucer: the poet's verses "To His Booke" open with an allusion to Chaucer's own act of self-canonization in *Troilus* ("Goe little booke") and, even more obviously, the dedicatory epistle by E.K. begins by quoting "the olde famous Poete Chaucer: whom for his excellencie and wonderfull skil in making, his scholler Lidgate […] calleth the Loadstarre of our Language: and whom our Colin clout in his Æglogue calleth Tityrus the God of shepheards, comparing hym to the worthines of the Roman Tityrus Virgile."[181] In the *June* eclogue, Colin bemoans the death of his fellow shepherd:

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[180] Huntington Library, MS 31188, described in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourth Report* (London, 1874), 252–54. The MS, once in the possession of the Marquess of Hertford at Ragley Hall, Alcester, was acquired by the Huntington Library in 1969. On the likelihood of a date in the 1580s, one of the poems is dated from Ghent, January 1579; Rogers died in 1591. Might we assume a date in the first half of that decade given the absence of an epitaph on Philip Sidney?

[181] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, in *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1989), 12–13.

> The God of shepheards *Tityrus* is dead,
> Who taught me homely, as I can, to make.
> He, whilst he lived, was the soveraigne head
> Of shepheards all, that bene with love ytake: […]
> […] And all hys passing skil with him is fledde,
> The fame whereof doth dayly greater growe.
> But if on me some little drops would flowe
> Of that the spring was in his learned hedde,
> I soone would learne these woods, to wayle me woe,
> And teache the trees, their trickling teares to shedde.[182]

The process described is an explicit act of self-laureation whereby Spenser's avatar is anointed to succeed Tityrus, the English Virgil. Spenser repeats this claim on a larger scale in his continuation of *The Squire's Tale* in the fourth Book of *The Faerie Queene*, asking for "infusion sweete / Of thine owne spirit," so that the sweet witty soul of Chaucer might live in him.[183] So successful was Spenser's attempt to inherit the mantle of Chaucer that Speght's edition repeatedly recognizes the lineage, thereby integrating Spenser into the philological apparatus surrounding the Chaucerian corpus itself.[184] In 1599, corpus would become corpse, as Spenser, who died in that year, was buried with much public fanfare in Westminster Abbey next to the tomb of the medieval poet. Jonson's *The Golden Age Restored* (1616), then, in which Spenser appears in the company of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate (the last of whom he postdated by over a century) was a spectacular display of Spenser's success at writing himself into the age of *auctoritas*.

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[182] Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, 112–13 (lines 81–84, 91–96).

[183] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Hamilton, IV.ii.34.6-7.

[184] In Francis Beaumont's letter to Speght: "In his Faerie Queene in his discourse of friendship, as thinking himselfe most worthy to be Chaucers friend, for his like naturall disposition that Chaucer had, [Master *Spenser*] sheweth that none that liued with him, nor none that came after him, durst presume to reuiue Chaucers lost labours in that vnperfite tale of the Squire, but only himselfe: which he had not done, had he not felt (as he saith) the infusion of Chaucers owne sweete spirite, suruiuing within him" (sig. c3r).

II. The *Auctor* Undead

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Renaissance Chaucerian tradition was the extent that Chaucer was *absent* from the drama of the period. This is not to say that Chaucer did not furnish playwrights with narrative material, but that these instances seem far removed from Spenser's explicit engagement Chaucer's cultural authority and originary canonicity: it appears that Chaucerian appropriations by dramatic writers could be almost wholly unconcerned with cultural capital and the politics of laureation. The composite drama *Four Plays, or Moral Representations, in One*, roughly contemporaneous with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and later published as a part of the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, contains one such complex example of Chaucerian adaptation.[185] The segment of *Four Plays* entitled "The Triumph of Honor," probably composed by Nathan Field, is clearly based *The Franklin's Tale*. A woman named Dorigen is wooed in her husband's absence by a lovesick suitor whom she rebuffs with a seemingly impossible proviso: "These rocks we see so fix'd, shall be removed, / Made champion field, ere I so impious prove, / To stain my Lords bed with adulterous love."[186] As in *The Franklin's Tale*, the suitor solicits a magician to perform the illusory disappearance of the rocks, thereby ostensibly licensed to claim Dorigen as his own. She contemplates suicide to preserve her honor but the suitor relents at last and her marriage is preserved intact. The source of "The Triumph of Honor" is today manifest to anyone who knows its Chaucerian original; however, the play does nothing to advertise this connection and its many alterations ultimately obscure its source. The setting of the story has been moved from *The Franklin Tale*'s Brittany to Athens;

[185] The play was first published in the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher folio, and has been edited by Cyrus Hoy in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 10 vols., gen. ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 8:223–344. For Nathan Field's authorship of "The Triumph of Honor" and a date of composition *circa* 1612-15, see Hoy, "Textual Introduction" to *Four Plays*, in *Dramatic Works*, 8:227–28, and "The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (IV)," *Studies in Bibliography* 12 (1959): 91–116, esp. 95–97. For a discussion of this play in relation to Chaucer's source, see Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 44–50. For implications on the authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, especially involving contributions by Nathan Field, see Potter, "Introduction," 32–33.

[186] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Four Plays*, in *Dramatic Works*, 8:260.

Dorigen's husband (named Sophocles, not Arveragus) is not absent on a voyage, but an Athenian duke held prisoner by the suitor (Martius, not Aurelius), here a Roman general. The pacing of the story is wholly different, with no sense of Dorigen's despair; indeed, the rocks, which in Chaucer's version accumulate a terrifying symbolic charge, become arbitrary props by which to swear. Crucially, the story does little to announce itself as an adaptation of Chaucer and contemporary audience members might as easily have gone without noticing its source, perhaps even having read Chaucer's version of the tale.

In this light, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is doubly exceptional: not only does it follow its Chaucerian source text with unusual fidelity, it is unique in explicitly foregrounding Chaucer himself with the language of *auctoritas*.[187]

> [Our play] has a noble breeder and a pure,
> A learned, and a poet never went
> More famous yet 'twixt Po and silver Trent.
> Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives;
> There, constant to eternity, it lives. (Prol. 10–14)

Clearly the image of Chaucer here is indebted to the medieval and Renaissance tradition of the laureated father of English poetry, tapping into the encomiastic traditions of learnedness, purity and fame. However, it would be wrong for the modern reader to assume the conventionality of this

[187] For more extensive discussions of the play's relationship with Chaucer, see Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 88–94; Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well*, 50–73; Piero Boitani, "The Genius to Improve an Invention: Transformations of the *Knight's Tale*," in Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt, eds., *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 185–98; Richard Hillman, *Intertextuality and Romance in Renaissance Drama: The Staging of Nostalgia* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), 136–54; Helen Cooper, "Jacobean Chaucer: *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Other Chaucerian Plays," in Theresa M. Krier, ed., *Refiguring Chaucer in the Renaissance* (Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 1998), 189–209; Kathryn L. Lynch, "The Three Noble Kinsmen," 72–91. The common general conclusion is that Shakespeare's version (and often it *is* Shakespeare whose overarching vision is discussed) is darker and more cynical than Chaucer's. Lois Potter, however, offers the compelling hypothesis that the play is more Fletcher's than Shakespeare's, perhaps consolidated in its final form after Shakespeare had left London ("Introduction," 24–34, esp. 32).

moment: not only is the naming of a source generally rare in Renaissance drama[188] (the only other Shakespearean example is the figure of Gower in *Pericles*) but, as Ann Thompson has noted, "there is no explicit acknowledgement of the source in any of the other extant Chaucerian plays of the period."[189] What appears at first to be a rehearsal of familiar *topoi* of praise is, in its dramatic context, a highly *un*usual and idiosyncratic assertion of the play's intertextual relationship with its own illustrious predecessor.

In fact, the very choice of *The Knight's Tale* as a source was already a powerful engagement with the Chaucerian tradition as a whole. Not only was it one of Chaucer's most popular poems, but its placement in printed editions of Chaucer's works gave it special primacy. Speght's 1598 edition (following Thynne and Stow) places *The Canterbury Tales*, out of chronological sequence of composition, as the first work in the book—an editorial tradition still followed in *The Riverside Chaucer*. Furthermore, despite the fact that the General Prologue (over 800 lines that would later be recognized as central to Chaucer's achievement) precedes the first story, the book's folio pagination starts only at *The Knight's Tale*, according it the aura of primacy as the formal (perhaps paradigmatic) beginning of Chaucer's corpus. Speght's 1598 edition also set a woodcut of the knight at the beginning of the *Tale* facing a page with an ornate Chaucer coat of arms: this grand statement of gentility, combined with the mirrored equine and armorial imagery across the opening, visually reinforced the erroneous early modern assumption that Geoffrey Chaucer had himself been

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[188] Timothy Murray observes that the "identification and glorification of sources was not a convention cherished by the players, who preferred disguised sources, collaboration, alterable texts": see *Theatrical Legitimation: Allegories of Genius in Seventeenth-Century England and France* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987), 70; qtd. in Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 74. To contextualize the "presenter" figure of Gower in *Pericles*, Walter F. Eggers, Jr. lists some of the other authorial figures who appear as presenters in Renaissance drama, including Lydgate (in the "platt" of *The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins*, discussed in Chapter 2), Skelton (in *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, by Chettle and Munday, 1598), Guicciardini (in *The Devil's Charter*, by Barnabe Barnes, 1607), and Homer (in *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Age*, and *The Brazen Age*, by Heywood, 1609–13): see "Shakespeare's Gower and the Role of the Authorial Presenter," *Philological Quarterly* 54 (1975): 434–43, esp. 435.

[189] Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 171.

knighted. In adapting a source text that seems to stand synecdochically for Chaucer himself, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* can be read as, in some ways, *about* the inheritance of Chaucer as a figure of literary canonicity.

However, whereas Spenser's invocations of Chaucer aspired to assert the later poet into the lineage of laureation, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s participation into the Chaucerian tradition is markedly anxious, acutely aware of its theatrical context. The Prologue is the site of the play's most explicit allusion to the Chaucer tradition; yet the relationship it articulates with its "noble breeder" is far from comfortable. After describing the privileged source of the playwrights' *matere*—"Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives"—the Prologue sharply changes tone:

> If we let fall the nobleness of this
> And the first sound this child hear be a hiss,
> How will it shake the bones of that good man
> And make him cry from under ground, 'O, fan
> From me the witless chaff of such a writer
> That blasts my bays and my famed works makes lighter
> Than Robin Hood!' This is the fear we bring;
> For, to say truth, it were an endless thing
> And too ambitious to aspire to him,
> Weak as we are, and, almost breathless, swim
> In this deep water. (Prol. 15–25)

The conventional Renaissance stage *topos* of wishing to please the audience is transformed into an acute awareness of the burden of the story's legacy. The ubiquitous 1570 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* reproduced an epitaph on Chaucer's tomb at Westminster Abbey in which the dead poet claims his status: "*Galfridius Chauser vates et fama poesis / Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo*" ("I, Geoffrey Chaucer, a poet and one who brought distinction to poetry in his mother tongue, have been buried in this hallowed soil").[190] In the Prologue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Chaucer speaks

[190] Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes*, p. 966; *STC Chauceriana*, 82. These were the final two lines of the elegy by Stefano Surigone that predated Brigham's 1556 monument. Foxe's source was likely Leland or Bale. See Pearsall, "Chaucer's Tomb," 58.

again, already decomposed yet able to cry out in disapproval at writers who compromise his noble laureateship, blasting his bays. The generous "father" figure who bequeathed his legacy of achievement to his English progeny here exercises the tyranny of guilt through his vocal disappointment about the handling of his "famed works," reminiscent of the voice who chastises his scrivener Adam for "negligence and rape," his canonized bones almost bursting their cerements in postmortem perturbation. In this respect, the tyrannically possessive Chaucer of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is worlds apart from the Gower of *Pericles*, a more genial and benignly paternal vision of a source. Crucially, *Pericles*'s Gower seems to represent not just a more humble, self-deprecating speaker, but a more humble mode of medieval authorship, as he cites his own *auctores* sources: "I tell you what mine authors say."[191] However, this difference underscores the divergent reputations of the two medieval poets. While both were acknowledged as early pioneers in English literary composition, only Chaucer exerted the singular, formidable, and intimidating influence as an originary *auctor*—author, father, and authority.

The Gower of *Pericles* works in tandem with the drama he presents; the Chaucer of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* threatens it. In the shadow of the father, the Prologue speaks for both the acting company and the playwrights in expressing the anxiety that accompanies their project ("This is the fear we bring") and admits to the sense of nearly drowning in the *matere* of source, an extreme reworking of Chaucer's own plough image. Indeed, if Chaucer had become an authoritative *auctor* over the course of the centuries following his death, his appearance at the beginning of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* generates less the sense of freedom to participate in a tradition of authorship that Gower seems to represent than what we might term the anxiety of *auctoritas*, the self-conscious angst

[191] Suzanne Gossett, ed., *Pericles* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), 1.0.20.

of engaging with the canonical author who came to represent the beginning of the vernacular literary tradition. This is art made tongue-tied by authority.[192]

To return to the model of Chaucer's "remembered presence" and "philological absence," the sepulchral complaints of the poet who haunts the beginning of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* seems to be both present and absent at the same time. If early fifteenth-century writers could engage in an open textual relationship with a Chaucer whose ink was still wet on the page, the "presence" of Chaucer imagined in the Prologue to *Kinsmen* seems much more oppressive. The stance is not dissimilar to Speed's portrait in Speght's edition, where father Chaucer hovers above the tomb of his dead son, made more "alive" than his children through canonicity. If Speght's is a humanist edition, the re-presentation of vernacular canonicity, unlike that of antiquity, is figured for some less as *renaissance* than *revenance*, less as a rebirth than a haunting.

This liminal state between life and death is not foreign to *The Knight's Tale*. Palamon and Arcite, the central protagonists of the story, are first introduced found among the corpses of battle "Nat fully quyke ne fully dede" (1015).[193] The presence of the figure of Perotheus is a living reminder of resurrection, of life past death by the intervention of Theseus: "So wel they lovede, as olde bookes sayn, / That whan that oon was deed, soothly to telle, / His felawe wente and soughte hym doun in helle" (1198–200). The same might be said of the story's denouement, ending with both a funeral (Arcite's) and a marriage (Palamon and Emelye). Condensing the timescale of *The Knight's Tale*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* collapses these two events into simultaneity, allowing the play to

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[192] A similar condition is suggested by Jonathan Bate, who wonderfully inverts Bloom's model by exploring the Erasmian *zelodulea*, the "style-addiction" of anxious Renaissance imitators: see "Ovid and the Sonnets; or, Did Shakespeare Feel the Anxiety of Influence?" *Shakespeare Survey* 42 (1989): 65–76, esp. 67–69.

[193] Exiled from Athens, Arcite's sadness takes the form of death in life: "Now is me shape eternally to dwelle / Nat in my Purgatorie but in Helle"; "Syn that I may nat seen you, Emelye. / I nam but deed" (1225–26, 1273–74). And, when Arcite actually does die, the process of vital disintegration is prolonged into a process rather than an event (2798–2806).

fulfill its generic dramatic classification of tragicomedy (as it was described in the Stationers' Register) with a rare literal-mindedness, ending with the promise of life but only in the immediate shadow of death.[194] This is also how the play begins, when the marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta is interrupted by the mourning Theban queens and their petition for Athenian intervention against Creon, who has forbidden the internment of their husbands' bones. Of course, the play shares this beginning with the poem; however, the scene takes on a special resonance following the Prologue in which the sepulchral disturbance of Chaucer was figured as a shaking of his bones. Even the Queens' petition for obsequies has been anticipated by the wish of the Prologue: "To his bones sweet sleep" (Prol. 29). The beginning of the play and the beginning of the play's story share an anxiety about disturbed dead bodies and the desire to bury them. But, for Fletcher and Shakespeare, the burial of Chaucer's bones, the exorcism of his haunting presence, figures one way of dealing with the anxiety of *auctoritas*, a concern that becomes thematized throughout *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

This anxiety was not unprecedented. John Lydgate, one of the most articulate and prolific of Chaucer's encomiasts, reveals in his poetry a more complex relationship with his great contemporary. Emblematic of this is Lydgate's *The Siege of Thebes*, an epic supplement to *The Knight's Tale*, printed at the end of Stow's and Speght's editions of Chaucer. Beyond extending the narrative scope of Theban history, Lydgate's Prologue to the *Siege* continues the frame of the incomplete *Canterbury Tales* as a whole: the pilgrims arrive at St. Thomas's shrine, encountering Lydgate himself who joins them on their the return journey back to the Tabard Inn, and begins the second round of tale-telling with his Theban epic. The end of *The Siege of Thebes* is carefully integrated with the beginning of *The Knight's Tale*,[195] yet the relationship is almost typological: Lydgate "fulfills" Chaucer,

[194] Compare with Shakespeare's other Chaucer adaptation, *Troilus and Cressida*, which ends in neither death nor marriage for the eponymous couple.

[195] John M. Bowers, "*The Tale of Beryn* and *The Siege of Thebes*: Alternative Ideas of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 7 (1985): 45–49.

inaugurating the new testament of the *Tales* with one that *precedes* Chaucer's own. If Chaucer was consistently imagined as a "father" figure to his near contemporaries in the early fifteenth century, the legacy was a commixture of gratitude, awe and anxiety about their own inadequacy. Commenting on the post-Chaucerian generation, A.C. Spearing notes: "As a father, he made possible their very existence as English poets, yet, as his successors, they inevitably came too late."[196] Traces of an almost Oedipal desire to usurp the father may be detected in the fact that Chaucer the Pilgrim is absent from the pilgrimage for Lydgate the Pilgrim to tell his story—a story that includes, coincidentally or not, a narrative of Oedipus himself.[197] The Chaucer editor John Stow thus aptly referred to the work as "the history of *Oedipus* and *Iocasta*, with the siege of *Thebes*, translated and made into English verse, by *Don Iohn Lidgate*, a disciple of the said *Chaucers*."[198]

On the other hand, Lydgate's kind of agonistic intertextual relationship seems to be one predicated on the "remembered presence" of Chaucer, less patricidal than a fraternal competition among (potential) equals.[199] And yet Renaissance writers could also perform similar gestures of Chaucerian rejection from their perspective of "philological absence." Indeed, the Renaissance, despite its nomination as the revival of the past, can easily be characterized by its burgeoning

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[196] A.C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 106.

[197] Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance*, 108–9.

[198] John Stow, *The Annales of England* (London, 1592), p. 518.

[199] Simpson, "Presence and Absence," 258–59. Elsewhere, James Simpson offers a reading of Lydgate's poem as an expansion of Chaucer's tale that emphasizes the destructive patterns of Theban history and undermines the possibility of prudential political action: see "'Dysemol daies and fatal houres': Lydgate's *Destruction of Thebes* and Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*," in Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone, eds., *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 15–33. Simpson takes issue with the characterization of Lydgate's relationship with Chaucer as "Oedipal": "Lydgate's address to the *Canterbury Tales* is anything but anxious, infantile, and unsophisticated; Lydgate confidently lays claim to the *Tales*, by harnessing their energy to his own project (and vice versa)" (21n). Similarly, Helen Cooper has recently speculated that Lydgate's exclusion of Chaucer is due rather to the "rhetorical awkwardness of including him": "Choosing Poetic Fathers," 36.

skepticism towards canonical authority, exemplified by thinkers like Montaigne and Bacon,[200] and while the teleology of natural philosophy is scarcely the same as literary achievement, the Renaissance does provide examples of writers rethinking and resisting their Chaucerian inheritance. A strong if simplistic iteration of this can be seen in Robert Greene's penitential dream vision, written in 1592 on his deathbed, from which he would (ostensibly) lambast Shakespeare as the "upstart Crow" of the London stage.[201] Following the model of a Chaucerian dream poem, Greene falls asleep and is approached by Chaucer and Gower, reminiscent of Scipio Africanus in *The House of Fame*. Greene hails them as "Graue Lawreats, the tipes of Englands excellence for Poetry, and the worlds wonders for your wits" and tries to align himself with "father *Chawcer*," whose *Canterbury Tales* provided the model for Greene's censured *Cobler of Caunterburie*.[202] Yet, by the end of the vision, the penitent Greene rejects Chaucer's influence ("now I perceiue Father *Chawcer*, that I followed too long your pleasant vaine") in favor of moral Gower.[203] Although Greene was writing before Speght's edition of Chaucer, he nevertheless proleptically challenges the construction of canonical linearity central to that edition by disowning his poetic "father."

Lydgate and Greene thus demonstrate two strategies for resisting the ghost of Chaucer's cultural authority, even as they acknowledge Chaucerian influence. In this light, it would be

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[200] Alice S. Miskimin makes this connection in her own discussion of canonical literary authority in the Renaissance (*Renaissance Chaucer*, 19).

[201] For Katherine Duncan-Jones's proposal of Nashe as the author of the "upstart Crow" passage of *Greene's Groats-worth of Wit*, see *Shakespeare: An Ungentle Life* (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), 48-55.

[202] Greene, *Greenes Vision*, sig. C2r–v. For a reconsideration of Greene's repudiation of *Cobler* based on internal linguistic evidence, see Donna N. Murphy, "*The Cobbler of Canterbury* and Robert Greene," *N&Q* 57 (2010): 349–52.

[203] Greene, *Greenes Vision*, sig. H1r. Greene's move is at first the substitution of one medieval authority for another, yet both are eventually replaced by the biblical *auctoritas* of Solomon. Barry Windeatt reads Chaucer's dialogue with Gower in the Vision as "an attempt to assert the moral worth of Chaucer's works while acknowledging his mirth and bawdy": see "Chaucer Traditions," in Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt, ed., *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 1–20, at 13. Windeatt, however, does not attempt to reconcile this with Greene's ultimate rejection of Chaucer.

disingenuous to accept the awe and fear articulated by the Prologue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* at face value. Rather, reading the speech as a whole, the context of the laudatory invocation of Chaucer and his imagined sepulchral complaint seems to undermine their earnestness. Indeed, the Prologue's first words are not encomia but a bawdy simile:

> New plays and maidenheads are near akin:
> Much followed both, for both much money gi'en,
> If they stand sound and well. And a good play,
> Whose modest scenes blush on his marriage day
> And shake to lose his honour, is like her
> That after holy tie and first night's stir
> Yet still is Modesty and still retains
> More of the maid, to sight, than husband's pains. (Prol. 1–8)

The ribald conceit compares the (male) play to a blushing bride on the evening of her marriage, thereby explaining the actors' nerves as wedding night jitters in anticipation of their new play's defloration. After recalling the kind of bride who after "first night's stir" still looks like a virgin, it is in hopes that "our play may be so" that the Prologue invokes Chaucer as its "noble breeder and a pure." While the lines of praise may be read in isolation as pure encomium, their timing in the Prologue renders them suggestively incongruous and potentially ironic. Furthermore, with this ironizing frame in mind, the complaint of the buried Chaucer could easily be performed or read as a cantankerous burlesque, an act of ventriloquism akin to the slanderous travesties of the Greek generals performed by Patroclus in *Troilus and Cressida*. Of course, this subversive potential does not discredit the Prologue's praise of Chaucer, which, as has been noted, is itself a singular act of citation, introducing a play characterized by an uncommonly scrupulous fidelity to the details of its source text. Nevertheless, the Prologue's combination of awe and audacity exhibits something of the ambivalence that characterizes the playwrights' anxiety of *auctoritas*.[204] Even within this strong

[204] Noticing another tactic of undermining Chaucer, Kathryn L. Lynch observes that the Prologue's earlier reference to the Po, recalling Chaucer's mention of the river at the beginning of *The Clerk's Tale*, "is

invocation of canonical heritage, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play thematizes a resistance against the idea of *auctoritas* as well as its own struggle as an adaptation to carve space within the constricting limitations set by its authoritative *matere*. Whereas the Prologue ventriloquizes the voice of Chaucer himself, the rest of the play treats this theme by substituting one form of authority for another.[205]

III. The *Auctor* Undermined

If *The Knight's Tale* is emblematic of Chaucer's achievement as a literary *auctor*, the tale's dominant figure of authority is an emblem of *auctoritas* in its other senses. From the beginning, Theseus is introduced as the living site of authority, presiding over the normative institutions that govern the world of *The Knight's Tale*, both its dominant political institution of Athens and its social institution of heterosexual marriage, in which the male is at once the controlling influence and the productive father (*auctor*, again, in its paternal sense). His triumphal approach to Athens at the tale's opening is emblematic of all of these, having conquered by force the Amazonian gynocracy of "Femenye" (I.877). Yet, *The Knight's Tale* as a whole is deeply concerned with the nature of authority, especially as a kind of limiting influence or process of containment. To focus on one of the senses, just behind the foreground of the poem's love dispute is a narrative of brilliant political consolidation, where Theseus's virtuosic control is manifested not merely in larger stable structures of which he happens to stand at the head, but perhaps more pointedly in his moments of improvisation. For example, in a passage that will be discussed again below, the Theban queens' petition at the beginning of the poem

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clearly meant to sabotage or at least to destabilize its own claim by reminding us of Chaucer's forebears and rivals, especially Petrarch": see "The Three Noble Kinsmen," 78.

[205] The relationship between these two senses of authority in Chaucer is explored in Andrew Galloway's insightful essay "Authority" in *A Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Peter Brown (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 23–39. The same connection is drawn in reference to Fletcher and Shakespeare's play by Michael D. Bristol in "*The Two Noble Kinsmen*: Shakespeare and the Problem of Authority," in Charles H. Frey, ed., *Shakespeare, Fletcher and "The Two Noble Kinsmen"* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1989), 78–92; however, Bristol's reading focuses exclusively on the way the play problematizes our understandings of Shakespeare's cultural authority and the late plays.

is immediately seized upon by Theseus, as if he recognizes at once the windfall of a military assault against Creon under the banner of a just cause. The same improvisatory thinking can be seen when he encounters Palamon and Arcite fighting in the woods and agrees to forgive their violations against him and moderate their dispute if "ye shul bothe anon unto me swere / That nevere mo ye shal my contree dere [*harm*] / Ne make werre upon me nyght ne day / But been my freendes in al that ye may" (1821–24). His solution of staging the tournament to resolve their conflict is a way of both containing the unruly violence of erotic passion, while displacing the more vital threat of international warfare. The two hundred knights that Palamon and Arcite assemble in the lists enact a simulacrum of war that literally contains the energies of Theban violence within a "noble theatre" (1885). Yet it is also a political theatre and the three temples that flank the sides of the lists, with their graphic depictions of the power of Mars, Diana and Venus, perform another kind of containment. If Theseus's political agency operates at a somewhat subterranean level within the world of the poem, the decorated temples enforce a cosmology by which human agency amounts to very little indeed compared to the awesome powers of the gods, constituting a doctrine of passivity engineered in the service of political ideology. Indeed, throughout *The Knight's Tale*, the political agency of Theseus is cunningly employed to restrict the agency of others.[206]

This theme of agency limited finds its most consistent external manifestation in the symbol of the prison, both a physical system of containment and, later in the poem, a metaphor of intellectual constriction. The setting of the prison, the first and most obvious of Theseus's enclosures, dominates the first formal section of the poem and serves as the locus of the romantic dispute, triggered by the loss of agency that erotic attraction entails: even after he is released, Arcite

[206] For a more philosophically engaged study of autonomy and agency in *The Knight's Tale* in relation to erotic attraction and deliberative rationality, see Mark Miller, *Philosophical Chaucer: Love, Sex, and Agency in the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 82–110. In Miller's account, Theseus emerges as the representative of a much more ambivalent understanding of agency than I pursue, one that exists in tension with the Knight's attraction to the erotic energies of the story.

complains that "Now is my prisoun worse than biforn!" (1224). Although three classical gods govern the devotional spaces of the lists, it is none of them but Saturn who proves to be the poem's patron saint of prisons: "Myn is the prison in the derke cote" (2457). This line appears during Saturn's declaration of his powers comes in a passage that formally mirrors the descriptions of the agency of Venus, Mars, and Diana yet, crucially, it is only announced off-stage, veiled from human knowledge. Saturn prefaces his speech with a similar point: "My cours that hath so wyde for to turne / Hath moore power than woot any man" (2454–55). This description of an obscured controlling agency might be read as the shrouded confession of Theseus, whose moderating influence over the human world parallels Saturn's adjudication of the gods, as when he is described presiding over the tournament "Arrayed right as he were a god in trone" (2529). Indeed, Theseus, who near the beginning of the poem manifests his political power of containment with the physical structure of a prison, uses at the poem's end the same image as a vehicle to enact his power of intellectual containment. In Theseus's First Mover speech, delivered to the mourning Palamon and Emelye, the brevity of our time in "this wrecched world" (2995) means that we should accept suffering and death with Stoic passivity:

> Thanne is it wysdom, as it thynketh me
> To maken vertu of necessitee
> And take it weel that we may nay eschue,
> And namely that to us alle is due. (3041–44)

As David Aers observes, Theseus's mobilization of the Boethian philosophy of worldly contempt becomes a means of constructing an ideology around the passive acceptance of, among other things, existing political power structures which operate governed by their own self-interest.[207] Indeed,

[207] David Aers, *Chaucer* (Sussex: Harvester, 1986), 29–31.

before the speech begins, the motives of Theseus's wedding of Palamon and Emelye are made explicit:

> ther was a parlement
> At Atthenes upon certein pointz yspoken was
> To have with certein contrees alliaunce,
> And have fully of Thebans obeisaunce.
> For which this noble Theseus anon
> Leet senden after gentil Palamon… (2970–74)

Tellingly, at the end of Theseus's great speech, "this wrecched world" becomes, in its final articulation, "this foule prisoun of this lyf" (3061): the physical prison of the first part of the poem has become an intellectual construction for the same political end of the containment of others' agency.

The constricting influence of Theseus's authority, so prevalent a feature of *The Knight's Tale*'s political and philosophical world, finds a curious parallel in the project of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, where the literary *auctoritas* of Chaucer restricts the agency of his Renaissance adapters. However, the ways that Fletcher and Shakespeare adapt the role of Theseus illuminate a general attitude towards both kinds of authority, in a conflation perhaps even suggested by Chaucer himself, who describes Theseus as a laureated war hero.[208] Indeed, this revision begins in the emblematic first scene.

In the opening of *The Knight's Tale*, the Theban queens' interruption of the wedding procession is met by Theseus initially as an affront ("Have ye so greet envye / Of my honour, that thus compleyne and crye?" [907–8]) but he soon grants them an audience: "Or who hath yow mysboden or offended? / And telleth me if it may been amended" (909–10). After hearing the queens' petition, he immediately expresses his sympathy and swears to redress their wrong. The event is a straightforward scene of supplication before a powerful monarch who exercises his

[208] Following the defeat of Creon, Theseus "took his hoost, and hoom he rit anon / With laurer crowned as a conquerour" (I.1026-27).

political agency to effect a unilateral military campaign: authority in action. In Fletcher and Shakespeare's version of the same scene, Theseus's paradigmatic display of authority becomes much less assertive. Despite the fact that the interruption is given a more acute theatrical charge, following as it does an epithalamium promising freedom from the discord of the "boding raven," Theseus responds not with anger but with a brief acknowledgement, "Sad lady, rise" (1.1.20, 35), echoed by Hippolyta, and then at greater length by Emilia. Giving voice to the women in the scene is perhaps chiefly a theatrically canny move on the part of the playwrights, one that diffuses Theseus's authority across three bodies. After Theseus hears her petition, his speech to the First Queen registers not the forward-looking confidence of political authority, but rather a nostalgic memory of her wedding day, at which Hercules himself was weakened by the queen's beauty: "He tumbled down upon his Nemean hide / And swore his sinews thawed" (68–69). Theseus's response articulates the pity felt by Chaucer's Theseus, yet it proves to be emotionally overwhelming: "Troubled I am. *Turns away*" (77, SD). What was in Chaucer a display of benevolent authority becomes, in Shakespeare and Fletcher, a display of weakness that resonates with Theseus's description of Hercules. His gendered authority is undermined further when the Second Queen begins her petition not to Theseus but to Hippolyta in an address that emphasizes her Amazonian military career, that "wast near to make the male / To thy sex captive" (80–81).[209] Although herself a trophy of Theseus's conquest, Hippolyta is described with reference to her new uxorious influence on her husband: "Whom now I know hast much more power on him / Than ever he had on thee" (87–88).[210] This pressure against Theseus culminates in the Second Queen's speech with a shocking image to exhort Hippolyta to join their suit:

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[209] The difference between *Kinsmen* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in their treatments of Hippolyta's Amazonian background is suggestive.

[210] This will also be an element of Palamon's prayer to Venus, who can "force the king / To be his subject's vassal" (5.1.83–84).

> But touch the ground for us no longer time
> Than a dove's motion, when the head's plucked off.
> Tell him, if he i'th' blood-sized field lay swollen,
> Showing the sun his teeth, grinning at the moon,
> What you would do. (97–101)

The language is almost treasonous in its gory fantasy of Theseus's corpse, and linguistically performs an insidious subversion of his authority, soon manifested in reality. When Theseus attempts to evade the queens' interruption of the process—"Forward to th' temple! Leave not out a jot / O'th' sacred ceremony" (130–31)—the queens renew their suit with equal force. Despite Theseus's concession to send his subordinate officer to Thebes, they retaliate rhetorically with the bluff of defeat, suggesting that his wedding night will soften his resolve, thereby completing the parallel with Hercules' erotic enervation. Moved by pity, Hippolyta herself and Emilia kneel alongside the queens in supplication before Theseus finally admits that "I am entreating of my self to do / That which you kneel to have me" (206–7). In his final and total capitulation to the Theban queens, Theseus's decision is figured not even as an act of will, but as an internal submission within the self. Critics, noting the elevated stakes of sacrificial violence in the play's final tournament, have observed that "*Kinsmen*'s Theseus is much more consistently tyrannical" than *The Knight's Tale*'s.[211] However, if this Theseus is a tyrant, he is nevertheless one who is, it would seem, only faintly in control of what transpires, as when this event repeats itself in 3.6. Rather, as the play's scenes of supplication suggest, the autonomy of *Kinsmen*'s Theseus is something of a castrated version of Chaucer's, one whose *auctoritas*, his gendered political autonomy, is frequently undermined.

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[211] Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, 228. Donaldson states the case more forcefully: "In almost every scene in which he appears, the play's Theseus surpasses his Chaucerian predecessor in expressing his power and ruthlessness" (*Swan at the Well*, 66). See also Lynch, "Three Noble Kinsmen," 80–81.

A similar resistance to gendered *auctoritas* is arguably one way of accounting for the play's characteristically dark treatment of heterosexuality and reproduction. If the "noble breeder" Father Chaucer represented the originary *auctor* in a patrilineal vision of the vernacular literary canon, then the play consistently presents us with a world in which the natural processes of reproduction and filiation are rendered sinister. The dangers of eros that are emblazoned on the walls of Venus' temple in Chaucer's version of the story are not just rewritten in Palamon's prayer (5.1.77-118), but permeate the entire play. One of the most frequently discussed elements of the play is its idealization of same-sex relationships, which constitutes one of its most significant alternations to its Chaucerian source. The two crucial scenes, which will be discussed in more detail below, are Emilia's astonishing recollection of her childhood friend Flavina (concluding with the speculation "That the true love 'tween maid and maid may be / More than in sex dividual" [1.3.59–82]) and the early dialogues between Palamon and Arcite (1.2, 2.2). As critics have noted, when read against Chaucer's original, the advent of heterosexual attraction in the play is clearly figured a kind of fall into the violent competitive world of experience and the necessities of marriage and reproduction.[212] The final scene of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* denies the audience Chaucer's optimistic parting shot of Palamon and Emelye and bleakly suggests a marriage celebration coldly furnished with the baked meats of Arcite's funeral. If the play is a tragicomedy, the proximity of death to the conclusion allows the tragic tone overwhelm to the comic promise of procreation.

The Jailer's Daughter, Fletcher and Shakespeare's most conspicuous addition to their source, is the unhappy barometer of the play's subterranean destructive eroticism. In four long soliloquies throughout the first half of the play, we see her obsession with Palamon turn to an erotic madness in

[212] For example, see Philip Edwards, "On the Design of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," *Review of English Literature* (1964): 89–105, esp. 103–4; and Donaldson, *Swan at the Well*, 50–73, esp. 62–63. Donaldson draws off Edwards to produce an even bleaker reading, in which the transition from innocent friendship to sexual marriage is not necessarily a process of maturation. See also Boitani, "The Genius to Improve an Invention," 187–90; and Cooper, "Jacobean Chaucer," 201.

a depiction of attraction *in extremis*, articulated in a more frank language of sexual desire than the courtly discourse of the main plot can accommodate. She is at once a casualty of the play's erotic plot and its subconscious. Furthermore, although the drive of the erotic plots is directed towards marriage and reproduction, resulting in the social structures of filiation associated with *auctoritas*, the Jailer's Daughter exemplifies how erotic ardor can destroy these structures in her willingness to sacrifice her own father for the sake of Palamon, thereby discrediting the only named identity she receives in the play. It is one of her more puzzling hallucinations, however, that she imagines a violent fantasy that implicates Father Chaucer. Her theme is Palamon's virile prolificacy:

> There is at least two hundred now with child by him—
> There must be four—yet I keep close for all this,
> Close as a cockle; and all these must be boys
> (He has a trick on't) and at ten years old
> They must be all gelt for musicians
> And sing the wars of Theseus. (4.1.128–33)

It is at once an image of reproduction gone wild and of the destructive pruning of the patrilineal family tree. Yet her fantasy has specific implications for literary production: Palamon's four hundred bastard sons are castrated *both* to prevent the spread of illegitimacy *and* to make them better singers. Reconfiguring the Oedipal impulse of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, the fantasy voiced here suggests an eradication of *literary* patrilineality where the poet who sings of Theseus is not a "noble breeder" at all but a eunuch. In the play's opening scene the Athenian figure of political *auctoritas* was undermined by feminine persuasive force; here, that figurative castration is imagined literally, with implications for poetic *auctoritas*.

IV. The *Auctor* Mined

If Chaucer's *auctoritas* as the imperious patriarch of national literary succession looms over the play, the specific details of Shakespeare and Fletcher's adaptation, with its subtle subversions of political

authority and spaces for dissent towards models of reproduction and patrilineality, provide moments of resistance towards *auctoritas*, even as the very nature of their project foregrounds literary authority. As the Prologue described: "Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives; / There, constant to eternity, it lives." When compared to "The Triumph of Honor," the degree to which *The Two Noble Kinsmen* adheres to the foundational Chaucerian *matere* suggests an intertextual relationship based on a deference with both negative and positive valences: the "nobleness" of the eternal story might be said to delimit the play's imaginative boundaries. The playwrights respond to the anxiety that comes with adapting such a source not merely by undermining the mechanisms of *auctoritas*, but by productively operating within its limits. The contours of the famous story restrict free invention in a way that, for example, the history of King Lear did not. Yet, if Theseus in *The Knight's Tale* represented its dominant *auctor*, the play thematizes the problem of engaging with the limitation on free creative agency that Chaucer's *auctoritas* effects through the symbol of the prison, Theseus's most salient emblem of confining political authority.

In *The Knight's Tale*, the prison represented the ultimate symbol of containment, most clearly and explicitly developed when Chaucer's Palamon and Arcite passively succumb to their imprisonment. Arcite's only advice to comfort Palamon after years of confinement is to suffer patiently:

> For Goddes love, taak al in pacience
> Oure prisoun, for it may noon oother be.
> Fortune hath yeven us this adversitee. […]
> We moste endure it; this is the short and playn (1084–86, 1091)

Theseus's physical structure of containment effects its intellectual project of stoic compliance with Fortune. The play's kinsmen, of course, suffer the same fate of imprisonment and seem to accept passively their fate of a future imprisoned: as Arcite says, "to that destiny [I] have patiently / Laid up my hour to come" (2.2.5–6). Their physical agency of mobility has been restricted within Theseus's

prison ("This is all our world" [40]), but, quite unlike Chaucer's cousins,[213] Arcite envisions the compensatory possibility of an expanded mental world: "Whilst Palamon is with me, let me perish / If I think this our prison!" (61–62). Whereas the imprisonment of Palamon and Arcite in *The Knight's Tale* also restricted the genre of discourse to the narrow imagination of the complaint, Fletcher and Shakespeare's adaptation of the scene opens up imaginative worlds within physical confines:

> What worthy blessing
> Can be but our imaginations
> May make it ours? And here being thus together,
> We are an endless mine to one another;
> We are one another's wife, ever begetting
> New births of love; we are father, friends, acquaintance,
> We are, in one another, families;
> I am your heir and you are mine. (76–83)

Palamon responds in kind to Arcite's ecstatic proposition: "You have made me […] almost wanton / With my captivity" (2.2.95–97). Crucially, the idea of Arcite's speech is unprecedented in Chaucer's original and embryonically represents that which it describes: the creation of new imaginative spaces *within* confinement, not just for this one moment but as an *ars poetica* of creating a new work of literature within the circumscriptions of an authoritative story. Of course, this famous passage is one of the play's most intense depictions of a same-sex relationship, and important work has been done on the resonances of this speech with the nature of collaborative playwriting, an imaginative fertility between two men.[214] The fantasy exists, if only for a moment, of circumventing the patrilineal canon with the "noble breeder" Chaucer at the head, in favor of a mutual inheritance

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[213] There is one potential analogue (albeit very different) in Chaucer's poem for reimagining captivity when Arcite, after his release, imagines Palamon as being "In prisoun certes, nay but in Paradys!" (1237). However, this is far from the expression of optimism voiced by Fletcher and Shakespeare's Arcite.

[214] Influentially, Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, esp. 53. The homoerotics of collaboration in the play has recently been explored in more detail by Stephen Guy-Bray: see *Against Reproduction: Where Renaissance Texts Come From* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2009), 74-90, esp. 83-86.

relationship between two peers, where reproduction is figurative not literal. Yet, in this way, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s treatment of *auctoritas* is not concerned merely with *undermining* Chaucer, but *mining* him as well, discovering opportunities for invention by following unexplored tracks and carving space within the authoritative *matere*. For example, characteristic of Shakespearean drama, the adaptation develops interior spaces of its characters. Chaucer's notoriously opaque Emelye gives the reader little to develop a sense of her perception of the events that transpire around and because of her; Shakespeare and Fletcher fill out the interior space of this character giving us access to the realms of articulated female subjectivity absent in their source.[215] The first astonishing showpiece of Emilia's subjectivity, her memory of girlhood friendship with Flavina, is, not insignificantly, also about same-sex aesthetic collaboration in ornament and music.[216] The Jailer's Daughter is similarly representative of the developed spaces of female interiority in the play. In fact, the creation of her subplot provides a widening of the narrative scope to include a register beyond the purview of the poem, the discovery of new social world behind the main plot.[217] Indeed, if the eternal story of *The Knight's Tale* can be figured as a prison of sorts for the playwrights, it is perhaps appropriate that the

[215] Some critics, however, have questioned the consistency of this interiority, treated as it is by two different authors. Brian Vickers notes that Fletcher's Emilia, capable of playful innuendo (2.2.152) and later torn between her two suitors (4.2.1–54), is incompatible with Shakespeare's virginal devotee of Flavinia and Diana: see *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 494–95. However, in her prayer to Diana, *unlike* Chaucer's Emelye, Shakespeare's Emilia does not pray for either of the rivals to stop loving her. Vickers is right that Fletcher's Emilia swoons more over them, but perhaps Shakespeare's Emilia's comments on their hyperbolic value (5.3.84ff) are indicative of something more than the objective juxtaposition Vickers reads in them.

[216] Donald K. Hedrick, "'Be Rough with Me': The Collaborative Arenas of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," in Charles H. Frey, ed., *Shakespeare, Fletcher and "The Two Noble Kinsmen"* (Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 1989), 45–77, esp. 63; Guy-Bray, *Against Reproduction*, 80-81.

[217] To compare with a modern example, Pier Paolo Pasolini's film *Medea* (1969) brilliantly imagines what the actual lived experience behind the Greek myth might have looked like. The technique is one of imagining reality behind the representation of the past that the present inherits. To some extent *The Two Noble Kinsmen* seems to treat the Greek *matere* of *The Knight's Tale* in a similar way, revealing the weaknesses and grittiness of real life that will then be reshaped by the Thesean metanarrative, uncovering the polyphony that will be streamlined into narrative monody. It is in some ways analogous to Lydgate's attempt to assert a *precedence* over *The Knight's Tale* by extending his scope chronologically; Fletcher and Shakespeare do so by making their representation appear to come closer to the reality that would *precede* Chaucer's version.

character who represents the play's most salient departure from the *Tale*'s delimitations is the same character who effects the escape of Palamon from his own imprisonment.[218]

Fletcher and Shakespeare's technique of adaptation recomposes its source by "begetting / New births" within the confines of literary authority; however, this project of internal invention constitutes not merely an acquiescence to Chaucer, but also a generative confrontation. Later in the play, at a crucial moment of Chaucerian engagement, the image of begetting returns to figure precisely this dynamic. In 4.2, the anticipation of the tournament is marked by paired descriptions of the suitors' two first knights, one delivered by a messenger (75–88), the other by Pirithous (91–111). These twin speeches constitute one of the play's most deliberate and careful homage to Chaucer's text, reworking the physical characteristics of *The Knight's Tale*'s sumptuous descriptions of Lygurge, the king of Thrace, and Emetreus, the king of India. Chaucer's description of Lygurge—"His longe heer was kembd bihynde his bak; / As any ravenes fethere it shoon for blak," "his brawnes harde and stronge, / His shuldres brode, his armes rounde and longe" (2143-44, 2135-36)—is explicitly followed in the messenger's description: "His hair hangs long behind him, black and shining / Like ravens' wings; his shoulders broad and strong; / Armed long and round" (83-85). The description of Emetrius—

> His crispe heer lyk rynges was [of yron],
> And that was yelow, and glytered as the sonne.
> His nose was heigh, […]
> His lippes rounde, his colour was sangwyn; […]
> His voys was as a trompe thonderynge… (2165-68, 2174)

—is similarly followed by Pirithous:

[218] Another interpretation is offered by Jeffrey Masten, who reads the Jailer's Daughter as "an escape from the very idea of constraining authorial attribution, for her discourse is a patch-work of songs and ballads" (*Textual Intercourse*, 60).

His head's yellow,
Hard-haired, and curled, […]
His nose stands high, a character of honour;
His red lips, after fights, are fit for ladies (103-4, 110-11).[219]

For Emilia, the descriptions are another reminder of the fatal price of her indecision; yet, in narrative terms, the sheer excess of these speeches makes the tribute to Chaucer's set pieces all the more salient.

One perhaps necessary change in the dramatic adaptation, however, is that the two descriptions are divided between two characters with interesting implications. After the messenger's description of Arcite's first knight, Pirithous makes the strange interjection before beginning his own: "Yet a great deal short, / Methinks, of him that's first with Palamon" (89–90). What was, in Chaucer, an opportunity for extended poetic description in the narrator's voice becomes a brief moment of confrontation, suggesting a kind of competition, both in the knight described and the description itself, a kind of literary sparring between the messenger and Pirithous. Indeed, Pirithous's description attempts to surpass the messenger's not merely in physical description but by opening the interior space of Palamon's knight: "he has felt / Without doubt what he fights for, and so is apter / To make this cause his own" (96–98). The process is repeated again when the messenger describes a third knight. This third passage briefly incorporates a detail taken from Chaucer ("freckle-faced"), before moving onto an unsourced description, Fletcher and Shakespeare's own contribution to the pattern of literary one-upmanship. Perhaps the most surprising lines in the passage describes the third knight's muscles:

…his arms are brawny,

[219] As Robert K. Turner, Jr. has noted, the strange epithet "Hard-haired" can be explained as a faithful adherence to the text in Speght's 1602 edition, which reads "His crispe haire like rings was of yron" (compared to the different sense of 1598's more accurate "His crispe hear like rings was yronne"): see "*The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Speght's Chaucer," 175–76.

> Lined with strong sinews. To the shoulder piece,
> Gently they swell, like women new-conceived,
> Which speaks him prone to labour, never fainting
> Under the weight of arms. (126–130)

Returning to the metaphor of conception that Arcite had used in prison, Fletcher and Shakespeare's intervention into the rhetorical competition re-invokes the trope of creating interior space to thematize their own imaginative adaptation.[220] Yet their addition of a third knight is crucial: by sending their own brawny knight into the tournament, one whose very marker of physical strength provides the opportunity for a virtuosic display of poetic strength, it is a kind of confrontation with Chaucer in the arena of his own authority, Theseus's "noble theater," the locus of *The Knight's Tale*'s decisive narrative event.

The comparison might usefully be made with Spenser. In Book IV of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser invokes Chaucer before his completion of *The Squire's Tale*, imagining the tournament in which Cambel fights for the honor of his sister. For Spenser, the tournament thematizes his direct filiation with Chaucer: not only does the nature of completion suggests a kind of inheritance,[221] but the "traduction" of life between Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond literalizes the "infusion sweete" that Spenser imagined as a poetic metempsychosis.[222] By contrast, Fletcher and Shakespeare do not complete a tale, but adapt one of the greatest monuments of Chaucer's literary *auctoritas*, and in their own tournament, even as they perform their most explicit act of homage, they are not merely inheritors, but challengers to Chaucer's authority.

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[220] The parallel between these two passages is also made in Hedrick, "Be Rough with Me," 70.

[221] Indeed, the Squire's own filiation with the Knight is resonant with Spenser's self-fashioning as a literary son of Chaucer. Applying a similar model to collaborative playwriting, Jeffrey Knapp reads Shakespeare's completion of *Pericles* as a kind of inheritance of Wilkins's first half: see *Shakespeare Only* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009), 134–38.

[222] See, for example, Patrick Cheney, "The Voice of the Author in 'The Phoenix and Turtle': Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser," in Curtis Perry and John Watkins, eds., *Shakespeare and the Middles Ages* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 103-25, esp. 114–15.

Read as a whole, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s intertextual relationship to its source is at once deferential and confrontational, obedient and subversive, admiring and anxious. By idiosyncratically foregrounding and celebrating its provenance, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play is uncommonly engaged with Chaucer's reputation as the originary poet of the language which, by the seventeenth century, had been inscribed into the presentation of his works. Yet the play is also a dramatization of its own struggle to create a new work of art out of a literary monument as it puts pressure on the different registers of *auctoritas*—canonical authorship, political authority, patrilineality—to make its own spaces for free invention within its eternal *matere*. But perhaps just as important as the play's strategies of confronting its Chaucerian source is the very fact that it does so in the first place. While Spenser could make central his claim to direct succession from Chaucer in his poetry, dramatic works like "The Triumph of Honor" borrowed very freely from Chaucer, but never attempted the same genealogy of laureation. As perhaps Shakespeare's last play, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* fittingly serves as an end point of what Erne identified as the gradual legitimation of drama as literature: Fletcher and Shakespeare's play represents a decisive confrontation of commercial drama with the literary canon. The perturbations and aggressions that lie under the surface of the adaptation are at once conditioned by an anxiety about the medium of representation but also deeply consistent with modes of engagement that characterized Renaissance poets' treatment of the classics through *aemulatio*.[223] Indeed Fletcher and Shakespeare's new emulative knight recalls Longinus' image of Plato entering into combat with Homer "like a young contestant entering the ring with a long-admired

[223] G.W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1–32, esp. 16–27; Greene, *Light in Troy*, 46.

champion."[224] In some respects, the anxiety of *auctoritas* functions doubly as an indicator of drama's ambivalence about its status as literature and the very operation that would ensure that status.

In the next chapters, we move to an earlier stage in Shakespeare's career, at moment when the question of drama's legitimation as literature was arguably less resolved, and to works that are less explicit in their engagement with Chaucer. In the plays that I will discuss—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Henry IV*, and *Troilus and Cressida*—Shakespeare's indebtedness to Chaucer operates at different levels—sometimes patent, sometimes concealed—and yet the force of what Chaucer represents utterly conditions the nature of Shakespeare's adaptation. In these plays, Shakespeare's use of Chaucer becomes a way of exploring drama's complex relationship both with the literary tradition and with the medium of print itself. If *The Two Noble Kinsmen* might be said to represent a kind of assertive statement about drama's legitimation as literature, these earlier plays represent more ambiguous episodes in that story.

[224] Longinus, *On the Sublime*, in T.S. Dorsch, trans., *Classical Literary Criticism* (London: Penguin, 1965), 120.

Chapter 2

The Translation Stage: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Henry IV*

For scholars of Shakespeare's sources, the most irresistible moment in the canon occurs in *Titus Andronicus* 4.1 when a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is brought on the stage by Lucius' young son. The book provides a voice to the tongueless Lavinia, who uses the story of Philomela to reveal her own brutal rape and mutilation. Shakespeare's decision to bring the *Metamorphoses* onstage in this early play is comparable to his choice of an Ovidian motto on the title page of his first published work, *Venus and Adonis*. In both cases, he conspicuously acknowledges his primary literary influence and narrative source. Indeed, Lavinia's gesture towards the *Metamorphoses* constitutes something of an embodied footnote given that her own story represents Shakespeare's variation on the theme of Ovid's Philomela. Even so, this local footnote to Ovid serves also to occlude the arguably deeper classical influence on *Titus Andronicus*: that of Seneca, as the appearance of the *Metamorphoses* occurs within a Senecan revenge tragedy, whose gruesome end recalls both the cannibalization of Itys from Ovid as well as its dramatic equivalent in Seneca's *Thyestes*.[225] Shakespeare's engagement with Ovid in *Titus* is crucially informed by, even filtered through Senecan precedent. Literary influences operate at different levels; sources inform other sources.

[225] *Titus* alludes to its generic predecessor with two Latin quotations lifted directly from Seneca's *Hippolytus*: see Jonathan Bate, ed., *Titus Andronicus* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.1.634, 4.1.81–82. On these quotations and further Senecan resonances in Shakespeare's play, see Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 13–32. On the confluence of Ovidian and Senecan preoccupations, see Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 165–66.

In this chapter, I consider three plays in which Shakespeare does not explicitly adapt a narrative source from Chaucer, as he does in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, but rather adopts distinctly Chaucerian forms with which to filter other sources, namely Ovid and Holinshed. First, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare's transformation of Ovid is informed by the Chaucerian genre of the dream vision as a model of idiosyncratic "translation." Second, in the two parts of *Henry IV*, Shakespeare contains the formless episodic narrative of the *Chronicles* within a frame that evokes *The Canterbury Tales*. In both cases, the Chaucerian models serve a kind of authorizing function, although one far removed from the explicit citations of Ovid in *Venus and Adonis* and *Titus Andronicus*.

A Midsummer Night's Dream and the two parts of *Henry IV* were written in the 1590s at a formative moment for Shakespeare's career and for English dramatic literature more broadly. In 1593 and 1594, Shakespeare had published his two most self-conscious forays into the world of print poetry, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, books whose dedicatory epistles to the earl of Southampton declare Shakespeare's investment in the print life of these works. Yet these books would be the last so explicitly mediated by the author's voice. Significantly, 1594 was also the year that he became a sharer in the Lord Chamberlain's Men, in which company he would remain until the end of his career.[226] Even refraining from the teleological narrative that would imagine Shakespeare decisively choosing the career of a professional playwright above that of a poet, at a basic financial level he was now invested in a company whose hallmark source of revenue was performance rather than publication. And yet ironically, 1594 also proved pivotal for the publication

[226] On Shakespeare's professional life in 1594, see van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, 99–108. Roslyn L. Knutson offers the skeptical possibility that Shakespeare was not necessarily a member of the company from its original formation: see "What's So Special About 1594?" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61 (2010): 449–67, esp. 466–67. At the absolute latest, Shakespeare appears as a leading member of the company in a 15 March 1595 payment for performances that took place on 26 and 28 December 1594: National Archives, E 351/542, mb. 207d; Chambers, *ES*, 4:164; David Cook and F P. Wilson, eds., *Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1558–1642*, Malone Society Collections 6 (Oxford: Malone Society, 1961), 29. *Lucrece* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 9 May 1594.

of dramatic texts: in that year an unprecedented nineteen editions of plays were printed, including Shakespeare's own *Titus Andronicus* and *2 Henry VI*.[227] While Shakespeare's name did not appear on the title page of those edition, others' did, including Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nashe, Robert Greene, Thomas Lodge, and Robert Wilson.[228] While this "boomlet" proved to be exceptional,[229] Shakespeare would have been unable to ignore its implications: it was now possible to imagine that plays written for the commercial theater industry might live double lives, one on the stage and one on the page.

The argument of this chapter is that Shakespeare, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Henry IV, Parts One* and *Two*, uses Chaucer to explore certain literary possibilities of drama. Looking to English literature's signal vernacular *auctor*, Shakespeare found in Chaucer's works framing techniques to shape his own dramatic writing. But in exploring these literary possibilities for drama, Shakespeare also discovered what might be called its literary *impossibilities*: in both cases, the very act of translation from page to stage reveals the *limits* of this literary appropriation in the theatre by drawing attention to the ways that plays are not, and cannot be, books.

I. Chaucer's *Dream* on the Shakespearean Stage

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[227] For helpful charts and graphs, see Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 273–76; Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 1–32, at 8; Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, 253–56.

[228] The plays attributed to Marlowe were *Edward II* (STC 17437) and, with Nashe, *Dido Queen of Carthage* (STC 17441), as well as possibly *The Massacre at Paris* (STC 17423). Greene's were *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (STC 12267) and *A Looking Glass for England* (STC 16679), co-authored with Lodge, who also wrote *The Wounds of Civil War* (STC 16678). Wilson's was *The Cobbler's Prophecy* (STC 25781).

[229] Peter W.M. Blayney cites Pollard's conjecture that this peak was the result of companies selling manuscripts to offset revenue lost due to the closure of the theatres in time of plague; Blayney proposes the alternative theory that the appearance of the playbooks coincided with the reopening of the playhouses and thus constituted a form of advertising: see "Publication of Playbooks," 386. I borrow "boomlet" from Farmer and Lesser, "Popularity," 7.

It has become a critical commonplace to observe that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is Shakespeare's most Ovidian play.[230] While the burlesque finale of Pyramus and Thisbe constitutes its most explicit interpolation of the *Metamorphoses*, the play as a whole revels in the characteristic Ovidian preoccupations of eroticism and metamorphosis. In fact, when Peter Quince signals Bottom's metamorphosis by exclaiming, "Thou art translated" (3.1.113), he invokes the spectrum of literary *translatio* that includes both his own risible "Pyramus and Thisbe" and Shakespeare's play more broadly, against which Quince's bungled translation serves as a foil.[231] As Jonathan Bate writes:

> It is elsewhere in the play, not in 'Pyramus and Thisbe', that we find all the marks of true Ovidianism: a philosophy of love and of change, the operation of the gods, animal transformation, and symbolic vegetation. It is the translation of these elements out of the play-within and into the play itself that transforms *A Midsummer Night's Dream* into Shakespeare's most luminous *imitatio* of Ovid.[232]

Scholars of Shakespeare's sources are keen to observe that the jogging meters of the playlet suggests that its satirical quarry was translators like Arthur Golding—whose *Metamorphoses*, rendered in fourteener couplets, was published with a moralizing apparatus in 1567—or else a handful of minor Elizabethan poets who offered their own accounts of the story throughout the sixteenth century.[233] And yet all of these examples postdate the best-known Englishing of Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe story, that which appeared in Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*, a work that itself constituted a

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[230] Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis & the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986), 251; Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 130–44; A.B. Taylor, "Ovid's Myths and the Unsmooth Course of Love in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," in Charles Martindale and A.B. Taylor, eds., *Shakespeare and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 49–65, at 51.

[231] Quotations will refer to Peter Holland, ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994).

[232] Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, 132.

[233] On Quince's translation as a self-conscious reflection of Shakespeare's own translation skills, see Anthony Brian Taylor, "Golding's Ovid, Shakespeare's 'Small Latin', and the Real Object of Mockery in 'Pyramus and Thisbe'," *Shakespeare Survey* 42 (1989): 53–64.

kind of English *Heroides*. Shakespeare would likely have consulted Chaucer's poem, which contains "The legende of Lucrece of Rome," while writing his own *Lucrece*, for which he adopted the conspicuously Chaucerian form of rhyme royal or "*Troilus* verse."[234] Whether or not one might detect echoes of Chaucer's translation of "The legend of Tisbe of Babilone" in Peter Quince's play,[235] the juxtaposition serves to remind us that translation—and, as we shall see, Ovidian translation in particular—was a central concern throughout Chaucer's works.

Just as Francis Meres in 1598 would claim that "the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakespeare*," Chaucer too in his own lifetime was praised as "Ovides grans en ta poëterie."[236] This assessment came from the French poet Eustache Deschamps, whose paean to his English contemporary was occasioned by Chaucer's translation of *The Romaunt of the Rose*: Deschamps describes Chaucer in horticultural terms as a gardener who has transplanted French flowers to the English orchard, "Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier, / Aux ignorans de la langue pandras" (8–9).[237] Deschamps's refrain to his four-stanza paean is "Grant translateur, noble

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[234] [James VI,] *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. M4r.

[235] The two specific verbal parallels observed by Kenneth Muir ("Pyramus and Thisbe: A Study in Shakespeare's Method," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 5 [1954]: 141–53, at 146) are explained away, not unpersuasively, in A.B. Taylor, "Chaucer's Non-Involvement in 'Pyramus and Thisbe'," *Notes and Queries* 36 (1986): 317–20, at 317–18.

[236] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr.840, f. 62r–v; qtd. Gaston Raynaud and Henri Auguste Édouard, eds., *Œuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, 11 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878–1903), 2:138–40; Brewer, *Critical Heritage*, 1:39–40. The relevant pages of the Bibliothèque Nationale MS, the sole textual witness to the poem, are reproduced in Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 148–49, although the order of the images is reversed. For a succinct and penetrating account of Chaucer's Ovidianism, see James Simpson, "Chaucer as a European Writer," in Seth Lerer, ed., *The Yale Companion to Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2006), 55–86. A classic monograph on the subject is John M. Fyler, *Chaucer and Ovid* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), and a more recent assessment of subsequent scholarship can be found in Andrew Galloway, "Ovid in Chaucer and Gower: Readings of Ovid in Late Medieval England," in *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, ed. John F. Miller and Carole E. Newlands (Chichester: Wiley, 2014), 197–230. On the political implications of Ovidian elegy for Chaucer and others, see James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, Oxford English Literary History: Volume 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 121–90.

[237] The line's *pandras* is a longstanding crux, but I take the traditional view that Deschamps alludes to Pandrasus, and that *la langue pandras* denotes French: see Raynaud and Édouard, eds., *Œuvres complètes de*

Geffroy Chaucier." It was, the poem suggests, in the act of translation that Chaucer realizes his Ovidianism. Shakespeare could not have known Deschamps's poem directly, but Chaucer's role as a translator of European literature, classical and medieval, was integral to his reputation in the Renaissance as the father of English poets. In James Simpson's words: "Faced with a literary vacuum of sorts in his own language, Chaucer turned to these continental literatures for the matter and models of his work. In every sense, Chaucer's entire oeuvre can be described as a project of translation (literally, a 'carrying across')."[238] Renaissance readers would have come to very similar conclusions.

Even before Speght's 1598 edition, the epistle to Henry VIII by William Thynne that prefaced the earlier folio editions of Chaucer's *Workes* praised the ancient poet precisely for his linguistic primacy.[239] Thynne's epistle begins abstractly. Language, the faculty "wherein consisteth the similitude of man vnto aungeles," was riven by the punishment of God for man's pride in constructing the Tower of Babel; yet, "in processe of time, by diligence or polycie of people," mankind regained facility in linguistic communication, first orally and then in writing, first in "rudenesse and barbaritie of spech" before achieving "an eloquent and ordinate perfection" through

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Eustache Deschamps, 11:212n1 (citing "Bal[lade] 285"); Paget Toynbee, *Specimens of Old French (IX–XV Centuries)* (Oxford, 1892), 482; T. Atkinson Jenkins, "Deschamps' Ballade to Chaucer," *Modern Language Notes* 33 (1918): 268–78, at 272–73; Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, III, Part V, 16; Brewer, *Critical Tradition*, 41. The traditional reading, however, is not without its difficulties: see Gretchen Mieszkowski, "'Pandras' in Deschamps' Ballade for Chaucer," *The Chaucer Review* 9 (1975): 327–36, at 332–34. Mieszkowski's championing of Eugen Lerch's reading of *pandras* as an allusion to Chaucer's Pandarus was endorsed by Carolyn Dinshaw (*Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 63) and Lee Patterson (*Chaucer and the Subject of History*, 104), and others have proposed that *pandras* is a verb: for a recent suggestion that Deschamps uses a conspicuously *franco-anglais* form of *prendre*, see Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 146–50. My preference for understanding *pandras* as a Galfridian allusion despite these more recent proposals comes from my assumption that Deschamps simply confused Pandrasus, the king of Greece, with Goffar, the king of Poitiers, with whom the Trojans are at war shortly after leaving Greece in Wace's *Brut*.

[238] Simpson, "Chaucer as a European Writer," 61.

[239] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), sigs. ❧2r–[❧]3r. On the question of the epistle's authorship, see Introduction above.

the labors of "many great Poetes and Oratours." While the Greeks first attained perfection of language, so too "[t]he Latins by example of the Grekes, haue gotten or wonne to them no small glorye." In Thynne's potted linguistic history, the achievement of eloquence occurs through a process of *translatio studii*, and it is in this light that he introduces his own edition of Chaucer: "it is moche to be maruailed, howe in his time, whan doutlesse al good letters were laid a slepe through out the worlde, […] soch an excellente Poete in our tong, should as it were (nature repugninge) spring and arise," and "haue framed a tonge before so rude and imperfite, to soche a swete ornature and composicion."[240] This interpretation of Chaucer as the consolidator of the English vernacular became something of a historical fact, as when Holinshed in the *Chronicles* declares: "for reducing our English toong to a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all other."[241]

Prepared by Thynne's account of Chaucer as a linguistic pioneer, it would have been easy for the Renaissance reader to discern that the process by which Chaucer forged the eloquence of the English language was one of translation. Indeed, moments in Chaucer's poetry enact this very process of vernacularization. *Anelida and Arcite*, for example, begins with Chaucer's desire "in Englishe to endite / This olde storie, in Latine whiche I finde / Of Quene Annelida and false Arcite."[242] Beyond simply announcing the provenance of the text, the poem proceeds to depict the act of translation itself by providing lines of Statius' *Thebiad* (12.519–21) in the original Latin followed by Chaucer's own Englishing of those lines into rhyme royal:

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[240] It may have been Thynne's epistle that prompted Sidney to wonder at Chaucer's achievement: "I know not whether to marvel more, either that he in the misty time could see so clearly, or that we in this clear age go so stumblingly after him." See *The Major Works*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 242.

[241] Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles… The Third Volume of Chronicles*, 3 vols. (London, [1587]; STC 13569), III, 541. For an earlier version of this idea, see John Leland's *Principius, ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia virorum, encomia* (publ. 1589); *STC Chauceriana*, 126–27.

[242] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), f. 255r. Cf. *AA* 9–11. In STC 5076, the heroine's name in this passage is spelled "Innelida," which I take to be the result of a fouled case, given the visual similarity of the majuscule A and I in John Kingston's type.

Iamq[*ue*] *domos patrias Cithie post aspera*
ge[*n*]*tis. Prelea laurigero suburente The-*
sea curru Letifice plausus missusq[*ue*] *ad*
sidera vulgi.

When Theseus with warres long and great
The aspre folke of Cithie hath ouercome
The Laurer crouned in his chaire gold beate
Home to his countre houses is icome
For whiche the people blisfull all and some
So criden, that to the Sterres it went
And hym to honouren did all her entent.[243]

Throughout Chaucer's works, an intensely self-conscious (at times apologetic) relationship to the English language is emboldened through a translation of the great achievements of classical and continental literature: in the sixteenth-century Chaucer folios, readers would have witnessed the English language going through what we might call (in a Lacanian vein) its translation stage. However, in the case of *Anelida and Arcite*, what was clear is that "translation" was only the beginning: the ostensibly transparent process of rendering a Latin original into English belies the idiosyncratic swerve of the work, apparent to any reader of Statius, as Chaucer's poem moves from epic to erotic, from narrative to lyric, from rhyme royal to the even greater formal virtuosity of Anelida's complaint. The performance of translation at once authorizes the vernacular and serves as a pretense for more idiosyncratic performances.

The same flexible definition of translation could operate on a larger scale. The folio editions of Chaucer contained two of his most substantial contributions to English translation: *The Romaunt of the Rose* and *Boece*, the latter of which was represented in Stow's edition with its Latin title in monumental typography, "BOECIVS DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIE."[244] For

[243] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), f. 255r. Cf. *AA* 22–28.

[244] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), sig. Q6v.

Puttenham, the *Romaunt* served as an example that "many of his [Chaucer's] bookes be but bare translations out of the Latin & French, yet are they wel handled."[245] However, Renaissance readers would have encountered Chaucer's translations of Boethius and the *Romaunt* in light of a work excluded from the Chaucer canon today: *The Testament of Love*.[246] Included in all early modern folio editions as a genuinely Chaucerian work, the *Testament* takes the form of a philosophical dialogue, in which the imprisoned narrator is visited by Lady Love, who guides him through the intellectual entanglement of love, free will, and grace. Effectively the *Testament* functioned as the third installment of Chaucer's translation trilogy by effectively synthesizing the dramatic situation of Boethius' *Consolation* with the *Romaunt*'s analysis of love. As if in an explicit reflection on this synthetic role, the *Testament* began with an argument for authorship in the English vernacular rather than Latin or French:

> In latin and french hath many soueraine wittes had great delyte to endite, and haue many noble thi*n*ges fulfilde, but certes there ben some that speaken their poisye mater in Frenche, of whiche speche the Frenche men haue as good a fantasye as we haue in heryng of Frenche mens Englishe. And many termes ther ben in Englyshe, whiche vnneth we Englishe men

[245] [Puttenham,] *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), p. 49. This example, alongside which is named *Troilus and Criseyde*, is contrasted against *The Canterbury Tales*, "*Chaucers* owne inuention as I suppose" (p. 50). Puttenham's description of *Troilus* as a "bare" translation was surely a minority opinion given the widespread praise of that work, discussed in the next chapter. As Speght more judiciously described the poem: "Troilus and Creseid called *Throphe* in the Lumbard tongue, translated: not *verbatim*, but the Argument thence taken, and most cunningly amplified by Chaucer" (sig. c1r).

[246] While the work is today attributed to Thomas Usk, it was unambiguously believed to be the work of Chaucer by Renaissance readers after William Thynne's inclusion of the text in his 1532 edition, which also represents the earliest extant witness of the text. Besides the question of authorship, the problematic state of the text has proven the most discussed feature of the *Testament*. After Skeat's discovery of the acrostic (which ended, in Thynne's text, with the anagrammatic authorial signature "TSKNVI"), Henry Bradley posited that a dislocation of sheets during the printing process resulted in a scrambled text; Bradley's emendations revealed not only a clearer text but a clarified authorial acrostic ("THIN VSK"): "The 'Testament of Love'," *The Athenæum* (6 February 1897) 184; *The Collected Papers of Henry Bradley* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928) 229–32. (On Bradley's hypothesis as a textual justification of his prior intuition about authorship, see Dane, *The Book and the Text*, 90–91.) The most recent editor of the *Testament*, Gary W. Shawver (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2002), while duly reverent to Bradley's discovery, nevertheless proposed a simpler reconstruction based on the dislocation of two gatherings (197–206, esp. 205). In any event, Renaissance readers would have inherited the scrambled text as first printed by Thynne.

> connen declare the knowleginge: Howe should than a frenche man borne, soche termes conne iumpere in his matter, but as the Iay chatereth Englishe. Right so truely the vnderstandyng of Englishmen woll not stretche to the priuye termes in Frenche, what so euer we bosten of straunge langage. Let than clerkes enditen in latin, for they haue the propertie of science, and the knowinge in that facultie: and lette Frenchmen in their Frenche also enditen their queinte termes, for it is kyndely to their mouthes, and let vs shewe our fantasies in soche wordes as we lerneden of our dames tonge.[247]

Ostensibly a pragmatic argument against the potential embarrassments of composing in a non-native tongue, the passage implicitly upholds the virtues of vernacular composition in the mother tongue distinct from the learned Latin of "clerkes" and the "queinte termes" of the French. While the Prologue goes on to make explicit its debt to "the noble husbande Boece," the *Testament* itself, in which the narrator is infatuated with the pearl Margarite, implicitly declares its affinity with the allegorical method and erotic subject matter of the *Romaunt*.[248] Tellingly, it was this vernacular synthesis that proved for Renaissance readers to be Chaucer's most revealingly autobiographical work.[249]

Of course, within the Chaucerian canon, the appropriation of these particular sources extended far beyond *The Testament of Love*, as the *Romaunt* in particular provided the point of departure for one of the quintessential Chaucerian genres: the dream vision.[250] Indeed, while

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[247] Stow 1561 (STC 5075), sigs. 3F2v–3F3r. The text of the Prologue is helpfully glossed in Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 28–34.

[248] C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1936/1958), 223–24.

[249] Thomas Speght, for example, took at face value the biographical clues therein about Chaucer's birth in London and volatile political activity under Richard II (sigs. b2r, b6v, c6r). Francis Thynne's annotations in his copy of Speght's edition demonstrate how easily readers curious about Chaucer's life could have gleaned these autobiographical clues from the text of the *Testament* itself: see Houghton Library, MS Eng 1221, f. 295r, 302r–v, 306r, etc. Gabriel Harvey, another reader who took it seriously, described the *Testament* as "A philosophical discourse in the veine of Boetius, & sumtime of Seneca": BL, Add. MS 42518, sig. c6v; qtd. Smith, *Marginalia*, 229.

[250] On the medieval dream vision tradition, including Chaucer's poems, see A.C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980). Kathryn L. Lynch has treated both Chaucer's antecedents and his own essays in the genre in, respectively, *The High Medieval Dream Vision: Poetry, Philosophy, and Literary*

Chaucer's *Romaunt* constituted a conspicuous *translatio* of the dream vision from continental Europe to England, it was this genre that authorized Chaucer's most virtuosic and idiosyncratic experiments of *translatio* of classical texts. The nature of this conversion is most legible in *The Parliament of Fowls*. Whereas the *Romaunt* begins with the narrator's cursory allusion to Macrobius' account of the *somnium Scipionis* (6–10), Chaucer's *Parliament* begins with a much more substantial and original engagement with the Ciceronian source as the narrator describes himself reading "Tullius of the dreme of Scipioun" before night "Berafte me my book for lak of light, / And to my bedde I gan me for to dresse" (*PF* 31, 87–88). This act of reading becomes the crucial thematic and narrative impetus for the rest of the poem as Scipio Africanus himself appears to the dreaming narrator and conducts him to the avian convocation that the rest of the *Parliament* describes. If, as the opening lines of the poem state, "out of olde bookes, in good feith, / Cometh al this newe science that men lere" (24–25), the poem performs the process by which the act of reading generates new literary creations. Indeed, part of the process of transformation involves the act of translation, as the *Parliament*'s account of the *somnium Scipionis* is not simply a passing allusion (as in the *Romaunt*) but a highly condensed translation of Cicero's *De re publica* 6.9–26 into forty-nine lines of English verse (36–84). After the avian vision has come to an end, the conclusion of the poem ratifies the success of its own experiment in *translatio* when the awakened narrator hastens back to his books in the hope of dreaming again (695–99).

Arguably the paradigmatic Chaucerian example of this genre for Renaissance readers was *The Book of the Duchess*, a poem that Shakespeare would have encountered under the title *The Dream of*

Form (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988) and *Chaucer's Philosophical Visions* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000). Her philosophical approach to the medieval dream vision informs her essay on the influence of the genre on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "Baring Bottom: Shakespeare and the Chaucerian Dream Vision," in *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 99–124. My own reading of the play shares several points of contact with Lynch's, although I depart from her main objects of focus, namely, parallels with *The Legend of Good Women*, the mythography of Theseus, and the role of imagination.

Chaucer.[251] Crucially for the present discussion, the book that served as the basis for Chaucer's oneiric *translatio* in this poem was Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Chaucer's *Dream* begins with the narrator describing his eight-year affliction of insomnia, apathy, and melancholia before recounting one sleepless night when "Upon my bedde I sat upright / And bad oon recche me a booke, / A romaunce, and he it me tooke / To rede and dryve the night awey" (46–49).[252] While reading this book of secular "fables," the narrator encounters the story of the Thracinian king Ceyx and his queen Alcyone. Chaucer retells the narrative of Ceyx's death at sea and the ignorant Alcyone's prayers to Juno to send her a prophetic dream about her husband's fate. While Chaucer explicitly foregrounds the personal experience of reading by interpolating his own memories of extreme pity for Alcyone (95–100), his account of the story itself enacts a more idiosyncratic form of appropriation in his subtle transformation of the Ovidian source. Whereas Juno in the *Metamorphoses* summons a dream to appear to the sleeping Alcyone, the Juno of Chaucer's version orders the god of sleep to "crepe into the body" of Ceyx and ventriloquize the drowned corpse to deliver the message of his own death (144). The body of Ceyx begins its address to Alcyone with an imperative to "Awak!" (201–2), both fulfilling and, at the same time, gruesomely disappointing the prayers of Alcyone for "som certeyn sweven, / Wherthurgh that I may knowe even / Whether my lord be quik or ded" (119–21). Even more striking, the poignant lament of Ovid's Alcyone is reduced to a single word in Chaucer—"Allas!" (213)—before the narrator curtails his account: "what she seyde more in that sorwe / I may nat telle yow as nowe; / It were too longe for to dwelle" (215–17). On these two

[251] This title appears above the poem in every early modern Chaucer folio edition, however it was the subject of some dispute in 1598 and 1599: see Appendix B ("The Chaucer Folio Canon"). Since Shakespeare would have encountered the poem as *The Dream of Chaucer* before writing *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I adopt this title in my discussion of *The Book of the Duchess* that follows.

[252] Whether the book described by Chaucer is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a moralized translation thereof, or Guillaume de Machaut's dream poem *Dit de la fontaine amoureuse* is a matter of some debate; however, I assume that the Renaissance reader would have recognized the book as the *Metamorphoses*.

points, Chaucer's retelling of the Ovidian story cunningly disappoints our expectations (for a dream and for lamentation) precisely in order to fulfill them in the rest of his poem.

After perusing the tale, the Christian insomniac facetiously expresses his surprise at learning that there is a pagan deity of sleep ("For I ne knewe never God but oon" [237]) and playfully imagines a transaction with Morpheus, offering him extravagant bedroom furniture in exchange for "som reste" (245). The mock wager immediately performs its office:

> I hadde unnethe that word y-sayde
> Right thus as I have told it yow,
> That sodeynly, I niste how,
> Swich a lust anoon me tooke
> To slepe, that right upon my booke
> I fil aslepe, and therwith even
> Me mette so inly swete a sweven,
> So wonderful that never yit
> I trow no man had the wit
> To conne wel my sweven rede… (270–79)

The image is emblematic: Chaucer asleep on his copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and dreaming a dream so wonderful that it defies interpretation.[253] When Chaucer "awakes" within his dreamscape, it is in a space that allegorically represents his mind as a chamber of literary memory: stained glass windows depict scenes from the matter of Troy while the walls are "peynted, both texte and glose, / Of al the Romaunce of the Rose" (333–34), the very text that enabled the dream vision as a genre. But the diegetic world of the dream itself is deeply Ovidian. Not only does the vernal setting of evoke the *loci amoeni* of the *Metamorphoses*, but the long description of the birdsong that wakes the narrator (291–320) seems specifically to constitute an imaginative extrapolation of the avian imagery that ends Ovid's story, in which Ceyx and Alcyone are transformed into birds. More substantially, the

[253] The image was visually realized in Wynkyn de Worde's 1530 edition of *The Parliament of Fowls* (STC 5092), which features on its title page a woodcut of a scholar apparently falling asleep before his book. On the woodcut's background, see Gillespie, *Print Culture*, 123n55.

hallmark of Chaucer's dream—namely, the mourning of the man in black for his deceased Blanche—transforms the voice of the bereaved Alcyone, whose lamentations were abbreviated in the narrator's retelling.[254] Strikingly, this sense of absorption into the Ovidian world is not restricted to the narrative contours of the mythic fiction. At the moment of waking, the narrator hears a horn and soon encounters a party of huntsmen, foresters, and hounds; upon asking who is hunting, the answer comes: "Sir, th'emperour Octovyen" (368). Chaucer dreams himself into the Augustan world in which the *Metamorphoses* was written, becoming, in effect, Ovid himself.[255]

In *The Dream of Chaucer*, the oneiric world becomes a space to continue the process of translation and appropriation, reworking images and themes from classical reading material into a new idiosyncratic vernacular artifact. That Shakespeare's own *Dream* is indebted to this model is nowhere more explicit than in the scene that restages this episode from *The Dream of Chaucer* when Theseus and Hippolyta come across the lovers after their night in the forest.[256]

Wind horn within. Enter Theseus with Egeus, Hippolyta, and all his train.

THESEUS

Go, one of you, find out the forester,
For now our observation is performed;

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[254] While readers of Speght's edition would have been informed of the historical connection to "Iohn of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, greatly lamenting the death of Blaunch the Duchesse, who was his first wife" (sig. c5v), no such commentary was offered in Stow's edition.

[255] Simpson*, Reform and Cultural Revolution*, 163. Ovid's contemporaneity with Augustus would have been clear to Chaucer from the final book of the *Metamorphoses*, in which Caesar is apotheosized in light of the grandeur of his nephew.

[256] An alert Renaissance reader seeing Shakespeare's play in print rather than on stage might have been especially primed to appreciate the connection to *The Dream of Chaucer*. The first quarto of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was published by Thomas Fisher and, as such, the title page bears his device of a kingfisher (a pun on his piscatorial name) and the word "ALCIONE." While the accompanying motto (*Motos soleo componere fluctus*, "I am used to calming the turbulent waves") echoes Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.135), the image and sentiment are clearly from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the story of Alcyone that led Chaucer to experience his own *Dream*. It may be worth noting that Fisher apparently designed his device for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: he was made free of the Stationers' Company only four months before making *Dream* his first entry in the Register (8 October 1600). See Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913), 126.

And since we have the vanguard of the day,
My love shall hear the music of my hounds.
Uncouple in the western valley; let them go.
Dispatch, I say, and find the forester. *Exit one*
We will, fair Queen, up to the mountain's top
And mark the musical confusion
Of hounds and echo in conjunction.

HIPPOLYTA

I was with Hercules and Cadmus once
When in a wood of Crete they bayed the bear
With hounds of Sparta. Never did I hear
Such gallant chiding; for besides the groves,
The skies, the fountains, every region near
Seemed all one mutual cry. I never heard
So musical a discord, such sweet thunder.

THESEUS

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flewed, so sanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew,
Crook-kneed, and dewlapped like Thessalian bulls,
Slow in pursuit, but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tunable
Was never holla'd [Q *hollowd*; F *hallowed*] to nor cheered with horn
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly.
Judge when you hear. But soft: what nymphs are these? (4.1.102SD–126)

At the heart of this passage is a synthesis of mythological material from Ovid and Plutarch, as Hippolyta remembers hunting with Hercules and Cadmus.[257] But the stage event itself is taken from *The Dream of Chaucer*, in which the narrator awakens to the musical sound of birds and then hears a huntsman blow his horn. Shakespeare combines the ideas by having Theseus praise the "musical" sound of his hounds in terms reminiscent of Chaucer's birds ("my chambre gan to ringe / Thurgh singing of hir armonye. / For instrument nor melodye / Was nowher herd yet half so swete…" [312–15]) within the narrative situation of hunting, even mirroring the Chaucerian lexicon. In *The Dream of Chaucer*, the narrator discovers "a grete route / Of huntes and eek of foresteres," of whom the chief huntsman blows his horn at "the uncoupling of his houndes" and "Within a whyl the herte

[257] As editors note, this is somewhat implausible since Cadmus was the legendary founder of Thebes.

founde is, / Y-halowed" (360–61, 377–79).[258] Just as the Chaucerian dreamer awakes under the impression "that it was May, / And in the dawning" (291–92), Shakespeare's four lovers will awake at moment the nocturnal fairies have departed the stage and Theseus has just performed his "observance to a morn of May" (1.1.167). It is the fifth sleeper, however, who comes the closest to representing the Chaucerian narrator on stage: just as Chaucer prefaced his dream with the exclamation that it was "So wonderful that never yit / I trow no man had the wit / To conne wel my sweven rede" (277–79), so Bottom awakes from his "most rare vision" convinced that he has "had a dream past the wit of man to say what dream it was" (4.1.202–3).[259]

If *The Dream of Chaucer* provided Shakespeare with a model for idiosyncratically translating Ovid, his restaging of an episode from that poem alerts us to the fact that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is as indebted to Chaucerian source material as it is to the Ovidian. As early as the eighteenth century, critics have noted that the narrative frame of Shakespeare's play constitutes a reimagining of *The Knight's Tale*.[260] Both are set in Athens, beginning with Theseus's anticipation to wed Hippolyta, and involve male erotic competition at odds with social and political stability, spilling into the woods outside the city, where the suitors are noticed by a hunting Theseus, who effects a resolution in which the conflict is subsumed within the normative political order. Of course, Shakespeare's variation on this structure constitutes a dream-like reimagining of the Chaucerian original as does the reappearance of Chaucerian names Egeus and Philostrate applied to entirely new characters.

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[258] Stow's orthography: "a great rout / Of hunters, and eke of foresters"; "At the vncouplinge of his hondes"; "Within a while, the harte founde is / I halowed" (sigs X7v–X8r). It may be worth observing that Theseus' description of his deferential, large-eared hounds is reminiscent of the "whelp" that approaches Chaucer after the hunt: "It come and crepte to me as lowe / Right as it hadde me y-knowe, / Held doun his hede and joyned his eres…" (391–93).

[259] David G. Hale, "Bottom's Dream and Chaucer," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (1985): 219–20.

[260] John Upton in 1748 wrote: "*A Midsummer's Night's Dream* had its origin from *The Knight's Tale*; which I don't remember to have seen, as yet, taken notice of" (*Critical Observations*, xvii). Horace Howard Furness, ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: A Midsommer Nights Dreame*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, 1895) 269, cites Steevens's 1773 edition.

Indeed, the very moment of encountering the lovers in the forest during the hunt is informed by both *The Dream of Chaucer* and the moment in *The Knight's Tale* when Theseus, Hippolyta, and Emelye discover the fighting Palamon and Arcite during a May morning hunt (I.1663ff).[261] Subsequent critics have not only traced further parallels between *The Knight's Tale* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the level of both diction and plot but have noticed the integration of and allusion to myriad other Chaucerian sources.[262] Theseus greets the waking lovers with the exclamation "Saint Valentine is past. / Begin these wood-birds but to couple now?" (4.1.138–39), recalling the narrative situation of *The Parliament of Fowls*. The intervention of a quarreling Oberon and Titania into the human world of romantic relationships recalls that of "Pluto, that is kyng of Fairye" and his queen Proserpine in *The Merchant's Tale*, which also includes an apostrophe to "noble Ovyde" and his story of "Piramus and Tesbee" as an example of the cunning resourcefulness of lovers (IV.2227, 2125–28).[263] And just as Theseus shares the stage with a carpenter, a weaver, and a bellows-mender, *The Knight's Tale* is immediately followed by the story of an Oxford carpenter told by the Miller, who is joined on his pilgrimage by comparable artisanal workers: "An Haberdasshere and a Carpenter, / A Webbe

[261] Hales, "Chaucer and Shakespeare," 249.

[262] The examples below, along with further parallels, are discussed in Ballmann, "Chaucers einfluss," 5–9; Dorothy Bethurum, "Shakespeare's Comment on Mediaeval Romance in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*," *Modern Language Notes* 60 (1945): 85–94; Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 88–94; Donaldson, *Swan at the Well*, 7–49; Lars Engle, "Pragmatism and Influence in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" in *Shakespearean Pragmatism: Market of His Time* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1993), 129–43; Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, 211–19; Helen Barr, "'Wrinkled deep in time': Emily and Arcite in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Shakespeare Survey* 65 (2012): 12–25.

[263] The couplet of Chaucer's fairy king, "Amonges a thousand men yet foond I oon, / But of wommen alle foond I noon" (IV.2247–48), might be recalled in Robin Goodfellow's lines: "Through the forest have I gone, / But Athenian found I none" (72–73). For Peter Brown's largely skeptical assessment of Shakespeare's use of *The Merchant's Tale* in *Dream*, see "Chaucer and Shakespeare: The *Merchant's Tale* Connection," *The Chaucer Review* 48 (2013): 222–37.

[*weaver*], a Dyere, and a Tapycer" (I.361–62).[264] The famous misdirected kiss of *The Miller's Tale*, when Absolon kisses "a thyng al rough and longe yherd" (I.3738) is reimagined in Shakespeare's play as Thisbe kissing the wall's hole, "with lime and hair knit up in thee" (5.1.190), and Titania kissing Bottom's hairy ass's head.[265] Indeed, the entire subplot of Bottom's tryst with the fairy queen, an episode that he recalls as a "most rare" dream, recalls Sir Thopas' oneiric prophecy, "Me dremed al this nyght, pardee, / An elf queene shal my lemman be / And slepe under my goore [*robe*]" (VII.787–89), and *The Tale of Sir Thopas* may also have provided Shakespeare with a model for the virtuosically bad poetry of the mechanicals' playlet.[266]

If one critical tradition holds that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is Shakespeare's "most Ovidian play," another makes a persuasive case that it is also his "most Chaucerian play."[267] It might even be observed that the very idea of appropriating and transforming *The Knight's Tale*'s narrative frame of Theseus' return from Thebes for his own narrative may have been suggested by *Anelida and Arcite*, which does the same to the *Thebiad*. But the more pervasive model for the play as a whole is the Chaucerian dream vision. But whereas *The Dream of Chaucer* emanates from the narrator's bedtime reading of Ovid, the books behind *A Midsummer Night's Dream* seem to be both *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon* and *The Workes of Geffrey Chaucer*. If Chaucer employed his oneiric *translatio* to vernacularize the classics and to authorize new poetic creation, Shakespeare likewise uses a dream-like *translatio* to carry his literary sources from the page to the stage.

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[264] Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World*, 213–14. Cooper also observes of Shakespeare's mechanicals that "as a group they are decidedly more downmarket" (213). It might also be worth mentioning that Stow's Chaucer includes a sneering allegorical ballad, "O Mossie Quince" (sig. 3P6v).

[265] Engle, "Pragmatism and Influence," 141.

[266] Donaldson, *Swan at the Well*, 7–29.

[267] Lynch, "Baring Bottom," 104.

However, comparing Shakespeare's *Dream* with Chaucer's dream vision reveals an important difference between them. Chaucer's dreams begin with a narrator, who fashions his authorial identity by depicting himself as the imaginative dreamer responding to source texts. In Shakespeare's play, the dreaming author is absent. The dream vision proper, it would seem, is the realm of poetry: when Bottom awakes, the genre that he proposes for the expression of his dream is not a play (despite Bottom's enthusiasms as an actor) but a ballad. Indeed, the speech in which Bottom discloses this assumption is the same in which he comes closest to the Chaucerian narrator upon awakening from his *Dream*: "This is so queynt a sweven / That I wol, by processe of tyme, / Fonde to putte this sweven in ryme" (1330–32).[268] The indirect evocation of the poet-playwright's function in the person of Peter Quince and in Theseus' remarks on the "compact" imaginations of lover, poet, and madman serve paradoxically both to call attention to the author of the play and to highlight his absence from the stage.

If the play, then, is indeed the dream vision that its title suggests, whose dream is it? The question is answered in the play's closing lines by Robin Goodfellow, a figure from English folklore who was not without his own Chaucerian associations.[269] As the epilogue of the play makes clear, the dream is in the minds of the audience:

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[268] Marjorie Garber, *Dream in Shakespeare: From Metaphor to Metamorphosis* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1974), 12; Hale, "Bottom's Dream and Chaucer," 220.

[269] In the first edition of *The Cobler of Caunterburie* (London, 1590), the most extensive and self-aware of homages to *The Canterbury Tales* as a whole (see Introduction), readers found a prefatory epistle by Robin Goodfellow. Since *Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie* (London, 1590) had been presented to readers as "Published by an old Companion of his, *Robin Goodfellow*," the anonymous author of *Cobler* included an indignant epistle written by the puck to express his outrage that a mere cobbler should become an arbiter of literary merit. Interestingly, Robin Goodfellow's prefatory epistle to *Cobler* presents much richer insight into his role in folk mythology than does anything in *Tarltons Newes*. Both pamphlets were printed by Robert Robinson, whose professional materials were acquired by Robert Bradock upon marrying Robinson's widow; thus, when Bradock printed *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1600, the filiation between this quarto and the two Robin Goodfellow pamphlets of 1590 was visible in their shared ornaments (see, for example, the same circular floral knot in *Tarltons Newes*, sig. A1r, where it appears directly beneath the title page attribution to Robin Goodfellow; *Cobler*, sig. A4v, where it appears immediately beneath the ascription of the epistle to Robin Goodfellow; *Midsommer*, sig. H4v, where it appears immediately after Robin Goodfellow's epilogue).

> If we shadows have offended,
> Think but this, and all is mended:
> That you have but slumbered here,
> While these visions did appear;
> And this weak and idle theme,
> No more yielding but a dream,
> Gentles, do not reprehend.
> If you pardon, we will mend. (5.1.414–21)

Whereas Peter Quince's prologue to his "Pyramus and Thisbe" had attempted to convey an apology on the grounds of the actors' intention (that, if they offend, the audience should believe that they have come with good will, intending to delight), Robin Goodfellow at first proposes the more cunning solution that any perceived offense has taken place in the minds of slumbering audience members. Robin's second distinct approach, however, effectively qualifies and undermines the first in its concession that the "weak and idle" play was, in fact, no more profitable than a dream. The dream conceit that had mysteriously hovered over the nocturnal action in the play's title is now revealed to be a witty form of insurance—like *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, and *What You Will*—absolving the company of any vacuity. And yet the lines are predicated on an assumption that there is something to excuse and that "to 'scape the serpent's tongue" would be "unearnèd luck" (42–443). All is not, in fact, mended, but rather reparations are to come: "If you pardon, we *will* mend."

Given the Chaucerian obsessions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is worth putting Robin Goodfellow's epilogue in dialogue with the *Retraction* of *The Canterbury Tales*. It is by no means obvious that Shakespeare would have known this text. It was not included in Thynne's 1532 *Workes* or the subsequent folio editions based thereupon; however, it had been published in four early editions of Chaucer that were undoubtedly still in circulation later in the century.[270] In these early

[270] The early editions are William Caxton's of 1477 (STC 5082) and 1483 (STC 5083), Wynkyn de Worde's of 1498 (STC 5085), and Richard Pynson's of 1526 (STC 5086). In a recent discussion of the

editions, *The Canterbury Tales* end (as modern editions today) with the poet's prayer that his readers give their gratitude to God for "any thynge that liketh hem" and to attribute "any thyng that displease hem" to

> the defaute of myne vnconnynge: for our boke saythe/ all that is written/ is written for our doctrine/ and that is myne entent/ wherefore I beseke you mekely for the mercy of god/ that ye for me praye/ that Cryst haue mercy on me/ and foryeue me my gyltes/ & namely of my translacions of worldly vanyties/ the whiche I reuoke in my retractions.[271]

While both Chaucer and Robin Goodfellow make appeals to their audience's reception of the work ("if ther be any thyng that displease hem"; "If we shadows have offended"), the scope of former's retraction is individual and confessional while the latter's is collective and monetary. This difference is underscored in the final words of the play:

> Give me your hands, if we be friends,
> And Robin shall restore amends. (428–29)

Regardless of which edition Shakespeare encountered Chaucer, whether *The Canterbury Tales* closed with *The Retraction* or *The Parson's Tale*, the work ended with the expression of hope for personal salvation punctuated by the word "Amen." Robin Goodfellow's final bargain with the audience concludes the play with a word that acoustically invokes the final "Amen" of *The Canterbury Tales*, but, in doing, so highlights the difference: the "amends" that Robin promises will take the form of a new play, and will be made only after playgoers pay for another performance.

Retraction's disappearance from Thynne's edition, Megan L. Cook observes that the sixteenth-century folios close the Chaucerian canon with works that specifically endorse Chaucer's poetic achievement, rather than undermine it in the way that the *Retraction* might: see "'Here taketh the makere of this book his leve': The *Retraction* and Chaucer's Works in Tudor England," *Studies in Philology* 113 (2016): 32–54, esp. 39–50. However, Cook reminds us that the early editions of Chaucer remained in circulation and extant manuscript copies of the *Retraction* by later readers proves that its existence was not forgotten (52–53).

[271] Pynson 1526 (STC 5086), sig. Y3v.

This frank acknowledgement of commercial relationship between actors and audience might well be conventional in a dramatic epilogue, but it subverts our expectations of the dream vision. The author who has "dreamed" the play, and who in doing so performed the grand synthetizing *translatio* of literary classics into the new vernacular of theatrical representation, is absent. In fact, the entire dream conceit is refigured as a retraction that wittily acknowledges the dependence of the company on the audience and its future attendance. Literary production in this sphere is not simply the work of a single author dreaming over his books, but a communal effort ultimately dependent on a paying audience. It is this awareness of the practical realities of playwriting for the professional stage that will condition Shakespeare's adoption of Chaucer in the *Henry IV* plays.

II. Chaucerian Form and the "Structural Problem" of *Henry IV*

The source of Shakespeare's history plays has always been obvious to audiences and readers: even Thomas Nashe, in the earliest passage of commentary on any Shakespearean play, recognized that "the subiect of them (for the most part) is borrowed out of our English Chronicles."[272] Indeed, the key source for all of Shakespeare's historical drama is Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which appeared in 1577 and again after Holinshed's death in a significantly revised edition of 1587,[273] supplemented by other sources that provided not only historical data but also narratives that influenced how Shakespeare shaped the matter of historiography. Indeed, this issue of form has been one of the central questions in criticism on Shakespeare's history plays. How did Shakespeare understand the

[272] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Diuell* (London, 1592; STC 18373), sig. F3r. Nashe's discussion of "braue *Talbot*" on the stage is of course an allusion to *1 Henry VI*.

[273] The 1587 edition likely used by Shakespeare contained extensive contributions by authors other than Holinshed himself, including the Chaucer editor John Stow and the Chaucer editor *manqué* Francis Thynne. For the purposes of the present chapter, I adopt "Holinshed" to indicate the voice of the *Chronicles* narrator, while recognizing the case made by Annabel Patterson's *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994) for the multivocality of the 1587 edition. Quotations will refer to STC 13569.

historiographical record of past events and how did he give them order? For some critics, the question of form is an extrapolation of Shakespeare's conception of history. For example, do Shakespeare's plays, as E.M.W. Tillyard argued, reproduce a providential conception of English history, one discernable in the 1587 *Chronicles* largely as a result of the editorial interventions of Abraham Fleming?[274] Even as Tillyard's understanding of Shakespeare's historical drama as a unified cycle of triumphal Tudor historiography gave way to newer appreciations of the ambivalent or subversive nature of the history plays, scholars still grapple with questions of form (are the plays better considered individually or as constituting "tetralogies"?) and the related questions of source (to which precedents did Shakespeare look for ideas on how to shape these plays?).

Some of these shaping sources are less historiographical than literary, including both the poetic account of Samuel Daniel's *The First Four Books of the Civil Wars* (1595) and, in the case of Shakespeare's second tetralogy, the entertaining theatrical warhorse *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, performed originally by the Queen's Men in the 1580s.[275] In fact, the latter work, a hallmark example of what Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean have identified as the Queen's Men's "medley" genre that reveled in the "interplay between the lowly and the exalted," provided Shakespeare with a dramaturgical model for the mix of tragic and comic, of court, battlefield, and tavern that characterizes his own three plays starring Henry V, a tonal shift that must have been especially

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[274] R. Mark Benbow, "The Providential Theory of Historical Causation in *Holinshed's Chronicles*: 1577 and 1587," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 1 (1959): 264–76; Matthew Woodcock, "Narrative Voice and Influencing the Reader," in Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's 'Chronicles'* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 337–53, esp. 340–42. As Benbow writes, "Ultimately Fleming is less interested in chronology than in teleology" (265).

[275] The date of play's composition and first production are unknown. Martin Wiggins identifies outer limits as 1583–1587 with a best guess of 1586 (*British Drama*, 2:358). It is universally acknowledged that Shakespeare would have known this play, although the earliest extant published text (STC 13072) was printed in 1598, four years after it was entered in the Stationers' Register. The issue is succinctly addressed in David Bevington, ed., *Henry IV, Part One* (Oxford: Oxford, 1987), 17–19. Citations of *The Famous Victories* will refer to Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, eds., *The Oldcastle Controversy: 'Sir John Oldcastle, Part I' and 'The Famous Victories of Henry V'* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1991).

salient to audiences after the exclusively versified *Richard II*.[276] In fact the emphasis on Prince Hal that Shakespeare takes from *The Famous Victories* has encouraged critics to conceive of the entire second tetralogy as his story and to adopt the term "Henriad," an attractive appellation with no historical basis and far from neutral interpretative implications.

In criticism surrounding these questions of form in the history plays, no case has been more vexed than that of *Henry IV, Parts One* and *Two*, which are simultaneously two distinct plays with their own dramatic integrity, constituent parts of a tetralogy, and a distinctly titled pair.[277] Even critics who argue that Shakespeare consciously conceived of the two plays together—whether as a single work with ten acts or a strategically complementary diptych—tend to focus their arguments around the role of Hal, whose path towards kingship is said to be the key to the "structural problem" that the plays pose. And yet conceiving of these two plays as the portrait of the future monarch as a young man occludes the king for whom the plays are named: Henry IV. It is also significant that these two plays are also the only histories to include Hal's other father figure Falstaff, whose original name of Oldcastle would have only highlighted his structural affinities with the prince's royal biological father. In the present chapter, I want to shift the attentions from Hal to the older generation as a way of addressing the "structural problem" of *Henry IV*: my argument is that Holinshed's *Chronicles* provided Shakespeare with the idea to frame the two parts of *Henry IV*, and the reign of Henry IV in particular, with a specifically Chaucerian design.

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[276] Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 125; Janet Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014), 163. For Clare's intertextual analysis of the two parts of *Henry IV* with the *Famous Victories*, see 145–57.

[277] Quotations to the plays will refer to David Bevington, ed., *Henry IV, Part 1* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987), and René Weis, ed., *Henry IV, Part 2* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997).

In the first Falstaff scene of the *Henry IV* plays, the stage is set for what will be the great comic episode of the Gad's Hill robbery, a scene that enacts on a carnivalesque scale the disorder of the realm that will soon find graver realization in the rebellion against the king, while also adumbrating Hal's dual role as impresario of revelry and cool pragmatist who will eventually discard Falstaff. The plot begins when Poins announces the particular advantages of the location:

> But my lads, my lads, tomorrow morning by four o'clock early at Gad's Hill there are pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings, and traders riding to London with fat purses. I have vizards for you all; you have horses for yourselves. Gadshill lies tonight in Rochester. (1.2.118–21)

In Poin's speech, Gad's Hill is accurately described in its geographical position in Kent, near Rochester, on the highway that connected London and Canterbury. Shakespeare and his company would have known the roads well, having performed on tour in Kentish towns en route to and around Canterbury.[278] But Poins's specific allusion to the Canterbury pilgrims who would have taken this route is a rare historicizing touch in this play, situating the audience in a legibly medieval world. The practice of pilgrimage had been a casualty of the Reformation, so an allusion to the cultural and spiritual function of the London-Canterbury highway in pre-Protestant England was a distinct marker of medieval pastness. Shakespeare had no way of knowing that Chaucer himself was robbed

[278] Kent is disproportionately well represented in the extant travel records for the Chamberlain's Men. They performed at Faversham around 1 August 1596 ("about Lamas"), again sometime in the year following Michaelmas (29 September) 1596, and again in the year following Michaelmas 1605; at Dover on 3 September 1597, on 30 August 1606, and 7 July 1610; at Fordwich on 6 October 1605; at Maidstone in the year following All Souls' Day (2 November 1605); at Hythe on 16 May 1609; and at New Romney sometime shortly after 17 May 1609 and again on 21 April 1612. See James M. Gibson, ed., *REED: Kent, Diocese of Canterbury* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2002), 484, 495, 499 (Dover); 562, 566 (Faversham); 602 (Fordwich); 633 (Hythe); 806–7, 1367 (New Romney). On the date of the account books, see Gibson, ed., *REED: Kent*, clxxxix–cxc. Of course, lacunae in the records—damaged, destroyed, untraced—impair our knowledge of the company's touring habits.

by highwaymen on the road from London to Canterbury in 1390,[279] but there is nevertheless every reason to believe that Poins's speech is meant to invoke specifically Chaucerian associations.

Shakespeare's Gad's Hill subplot was suggested by hints found in *The Famous Victories*. That play begins with Prince Hal and his companions entering on the scene having just robbed the king's receivers, while the subsequent scene has Richard Tarleton as the clownish carrier Derick identify the thief Cutbert Cutter (the model for Shakespeare's Gadshill) as "a taking fellow upon Gad's Hill in Kent."[280] Shakespeare develops these clues by actually staging the robbery scene, and by fusing the two suggestions so that Prince Hal himself is involved in a theft that takes place at Gad's Hill. But more importantly for our purposes, while the geography of these plots remains the same, the historicizing allusion to the Canterbury pilgrims is entirely Shakespeare's own. Indeed, since the Gad's Hill plot is introduced with a subtle allusion to Chaucer, it may not be a coincidence that savvy readers of Renaissance editions of *The Canterbury Tales* might have recalled that it was at Gad's Hill where Chaucer the pilgrim concluded his *Tale of Melibee*.[281]

Chaucer's presence in the *Henry IV* plays, however, is not simply connected to the location of the Gad's Hill episode. In addition to a possible allusion to *The Nun's Priest's Tale*,[282] it has become a kind of critical tradition to suggest that Shakespeare's Falstaff owes his character to a Chaucerian

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[279] Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, eds., *Chaucer Life-Records* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 477–89. The site of the robbery, "le foule Ok" (the Foul Oak), was located in Deptford, much closer to London than Gad's Hill.

[280] *Famous Victories*, 1.8–9, 2.57.

[281] In Stow's 1561 edition, the Host invites the Monk to begin his tale by referring to the group's location: "Lo Rochester stondeth here fast by" (sig. P2v). Cf. *CT* VII.1926. Since the Monk immediately follows Chaucer in the sequence, we must imagine that Chaucer finishes telling his tale as the party nears Rochester, passing through Gad's Hill.

[282] Falstaff refers to the Hostess as "Dame Partlet the hen" (*1H4*, 3.3.50), which may be simply a commonplace use.

mode of representation, especially to the Wife of Bath.[283] (It may, therefore, not be a coincidence that Falstaff's life outside of the history plays in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* takes the narrative form of a Chaucerian *fabliau*.) While critical maneuvers like this might be dismissed as the most optimistic form of wishful thinking,[284] one might more forcefully argue that Chaucer exercises an influence throughout the two parts of *Henry IV* on the grounds of historical simultaneity.

For literary historians today, Chaucer's career was largely a Ricardian one; however, for an English reader in the mid-1590s (before the publication of Speght's edition) Chaucer's actual historical position could be rendered unclear or distorted by competing and incongruous biographical data. Most conspicuously, the peruser of Holinshed's *Chronicles* would have read of Chaucer's achievements during the reign not of Richard II but of Henry IV. Indeed, Holinshed's description of Chaucer does not occur until the chronicle narrative reaches the year 1413, well over a decade after Chaucer's death, when, immediately following the description of Henry IV's death and burial, the *Chronicles* retrospectively consider the contemporaneous authors of the age:

> Now will we rehearse what writers of our English nation liued in the daies of this king. That renowmed poet Geffrie Chaucer is woorthilie named as principall, a man so exquisitlie learned in all sciences, that his match was not lightlie found anywhere in those daies; and for reducing our English toong to a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all other; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord 1402, as *Bale* gathereth: but by other it appeareth, that he deceassed the fiue and twentieth of October in the yeare 1400…[285]

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[283] See, for example, Donaldson, *Swan at the Well*, 129–39; Bloom, *Western Canon*, 112–19; David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1997), 382, 494n15.

[284] Ann Thompson, for example, evinced little patience for the vague juxtaposition of the two as "rich comic characters" (*Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 83).

[285] Holinshed 1587 (STC 13569), III, 541. That Shakespeare read Holinshed's praise of English writers is almost certain given his use of the name "Gower" in *2 Henry IV*. As the Lord Chief Justice hears Mistress Quickly's complaints about Falstaff's obligations to her, a messenger, "Master Gower," enters with news about the progress of the king and prince. During Gower's brief appearance onstage, his name is repeated no fewer than five times (2.1.131, 174, 177, 183, 186), as his minimal narrative function in the scene is eclipsed by the indexical signifying function of his name.

Notwithstanding the citation of two alternative but early years for Chaucer's death, the chronological placement of this passage at 1413, on the eve of Henry V's coronation, creates an optical-textual illusion that Chaucer "liued in the daies of this king," Henry IV.[286]

The staging of pre-Reformation English poets in the days of their monarchs was not beyond the attention of Renaissance dramatists. While Gower of *Pericles* addresses the audience detached from any historical moment, a play like *Sir Thomas More* brings the earl of Surrey on stage as a historical figure in his own time, although an even more relevant is the appearance of John Lydgate in *The Second Part of The Seven Deadly Sins*, performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1597–98.[287] This play, which survives only as a backstage plot (Dulwich College, MS 19), began with King Henry VI (whose reign Shakespeare had of course dramatized in his first historical tetralogy) imprisoned in the Tower of London.[288] Awaking from sleep, Henry is visited by Lydgate who proceeds to function as a presenter for three inset plays-within-the-play, treating the stories of King Gorboduc, Sardanapalus, and Tereus to exemplify, respectively, Envy, Sloth, and Lechery. Lydgate and Henry remain onstage during these performances: the poet introduces the narrative and converses with his king, presumably commenting on the tales that are being enacted before the audience. We might

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[286] The index of the *Chronicles* directs readers to this passage from the entry "Chaucer the English poet in what kings time he liued" (STC13569, sig. ^{8}C4v). A reader of Stow's 1561 edition might have come to a similar conclusion independently: the envoy to "The Complaint of Chaucer to His Purse" is printed as an independent poem with the title "Chaucer vnto the kinge" (sig. 3P1r), which followed shortly after "John Gower, vnto the noble King Henry the iiij" (sig. 3N6v), a poem whose running titles thrice refer Henry IV (sigs. 3O1v–3O2v).

[287] The dating and attribution of the "plot" comes from the influential work of David Kathman, whose argument is based on the appearance of several major Chamberlain's actors names (Burbage, Phillips, Pope, Bryan, Sly, Sincler) in the document: see "Reconsidering *The Seven Deadly Sins*," *Early Theatre* 7.1 (2004): 13–44. For Andrew Gurr's argument against the later date, along with Kathman's rebuttal, see "The Work of Elizabethan Plotters, and *2 The Seven Deadly Sins*," *Early Theatre* 10.1 (2007): 67–87, and "*The Seven Deadly Sins* and Theatrical Apprenticeship," *Early Theatre* 14.1 (2011): 121–39.

[288] Transcribed in Walter W. Greg, *Henslowe Papers, Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1907), 130–32; W.W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabeth Playhouses*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931), I, document 2; Kathman, "Reconsidering," 35–38.

safely assume that the godly Henry VI looked upon these stories of sin with Christian horror and renewed devotion, and that he is repaid in the play's final scene when the earl of Warwick appears on stage to restore the king to his throne. Although the peccaminous content of the play might suggest Gower's *Confessio Amantis* more than anything by Lydgate, the playwright of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* carefully observes the synchronicity of Henry VI and a poet who lived in his days. Lydgate occupies a double position in the play, at once embedded in the historical moment of the play's frame narrative, an episode in the War of the Roses taken from the chronicles,[289] and serving as a figure who organizes the theatrical event for both King Henry and the audience, whom Lydgate addresses in the play's epilogue: "Lidgete speaks to the Audiens and so Exitts." Shakespeare himself likely acted in this play, perhaps in the role of Lydgate,[290] around the time he was writing his *Henry IV* plays. Of course, Shakespeare's historical drama is a distinctly different project from the morally didactic anthology of *2 Seven Deadly Sins*, and Chaucer makes no appearance as a character in the *Henry IV* plays. Nevertheless, examination of *2 Seven Deadly Sins* suggests the ways in which Chaucer's offstage presence shapes the structure of Shakespeare's historical diptych. If Poins's allusion to the Canterbury pilgrims implies that Shakespeare noticed Holinshed's elision of

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[289] "Which small sparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Warwike with a great power had not suddenlie quenched it, and punished the offendors […] When he had settled all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelfe daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degree" (Holinshed 1587 [STC 13569], III, 677)

[290] While Shakespeare's name does not explicitly appear in the "plot," Kathman conjectured, following Fleay, that the two major uncast parts, Henry VI and Lydgate, might be assigned to Shakespeare and Heminges. Kathman opted to cast Shakespeare as Henry, although on admittedly slender evidence: "One of the few contemporary comments on Shakespeare's acting ability is John Davies's reference to his playing 'Kingly parts in sport', and the little we know about Heminges on stage suggests that he would have been suited to playing an older, dignified character such as Lydgate," citing that "Heminges was called 'old' in 1613 and 1616 […] and his only known role was Corbaccio, 'an old Gentleman', in a production of *Volpone* around 1616–19" (31, 43). However, as Kathman concedes, *Volpone* was performed significantly later than the proposed date for *2 Seven Deadly Sins*. Indeed, Heminges was two and a half years *younger* than Shakespeare, and, if one accepts Kathman's dating, it's not significantly less likely that Shakespeare might have appeared as Lydgate in the production.

Chaucer's career with Henry IV's reign, this elision takes a grander form across the two parts of *Henry IV*.

Shakespeare's history plays give dramatic form to the episodic sequence of historical events in Holinshed's narrative. Given the critical tendency to conceptualize the second tetralogy as a "Henriad," this organizational principle is often understood in terms of Prince Hal's carefully staged role of prodigal son redeemed. This, combined with the traditional critical pull towards the play's corpulent center of gravity, Falstaff, has led to a tendency to neglect the career of the monarch for whom the two middle plays of the tetralogy are named. And yet to compare the first lines of Henry IV with his last, we discover a career framed by a single idea: Henry's unfilled ambition to mount a crusade to the Holy Land. The precise nature of Shakespeare's improvisation upon a Holinshed theme repays close examination. In the *Chronicles*, it is in the final year of Henry's reign that he begins preparations for a crusade "into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Ierusalem from the Infidels."[291] The plan fails to come to fruition when, at the very moment that the ships, soldiers, and munitions are prepared for the journey, Henry becomes sick of the apoplexy that will soon kill him. Holinshed records (following Fabyan) the story of Henry's final moments:

> while he was making his praiers at saint Edwards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and so to proceed foorth on his iournie: he was so suddenlie and greeuouslie taken, that such as were about him, feared least he would haue died presentlie, wherfore to releeue him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, recouered his speech, and vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name, wherevnto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then said the king; ["]Lauds be

[291] Holinshed 1587 (STC 13569), III, 540. The passage in full reads: "In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Henries reigne, a councell was holden in the white friers in London, at the which, among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things necessarie to be prouided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Ierusalem from the Infidels. For it greeued him to consider the great malice of christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischeefous purpose to destroie one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather than to make way against the enimies of the christian faith, as in conscience (it seemed to him) they were bound."

> giuen to the father of heauen, for now I know that I shall die heere in this chamber, according to the prophecie of me declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem.[”][292]

The end of Henry's life fulfills obliquely a hitherto unheard prophecy that he would die in Jerusalem: in the manner of a bad joke, this is not the expected Holy Land city of his planned crusade, but the Abbot of Westminster's Jerusalem chamber. The moment is staged with precise fidelity in Shakespeare's depiction of Henry's last words:

> KING HENRY
> Doth any name particular belong
> Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?
> WARWICK
> 'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord.
> KING HENRY
> Laud be to God! Even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophesied to me many years
> I should not die but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.
> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.
> *Exeunt, carrying the King in his bed.*
> (*2 Henry IV* 4.3.362–70)

Despite the fidelity to Holinshed in this particular passage, Shakespeare in fact departs from his source in his emphasis on this moment by expanding this narrative of a crusade unfulfilled into an underlying ambition throughout Henry's reign. Indeed, from the very first moments of his kingship, a crusade to the Holy Land is both the moral and the political *telos* of Shakespeare's Henry IV.[293]

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[292] Holinshed 1587 (STC 13569), III, 541. Cf. Fabyan, *The Chronicle of Fabian* ([London], 1559), II, 388–89. The skeptical marginal comments that appeared in the 1577 edition were omitted in 1587.

[293] Approaching the subject in a different way, Grace Tiffany argues that pilgrimage is an important context throughout Shakespeare's history plays, which substitute kingship and the English nation as the desired object of post-Reformation pilgrimage. See *Love's Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English Renaissance Literature* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2006), 68–86.

This is set up as early as the final moments of *Richard II*, when Sir Piers of Exton announces the death of King Richard. The *Chronicles* are ambivalent about Henry's complicity in Richard's assassination[294] and it is the assassin Exton who is "striken with the pricke of a giltie conscience, for murthering him, whom he had so long obeied as king."[295] Shakespeare inverts this relationship by having Henry repudiate Exton (despite acknowledging that he himself had ordered the assassination) and announce his own penitential "voyage to the Holy Land / To wash this blood off from my guilty hand" (5.6.49–50). By the beginning of *1 Henry IV*, the journey has remained constant although the rationale has changed. In the play's astonishing opening speech (to which I will return), Henry declares his intention to enlist an English army to retake Jerusalem for Christendom. The passage is remarkable in part because it is, by its own admission, a set piece, as Henry concludes: "But this our purpose now is twelve month old, / And bootless 'tis to tell you we will go. / Therefor we meet not now" (1.1.28–30). Functionally otiose from the perspective of narrative, the passage rather serves the structural function of demarcating, at the beginning and end of Henry's reign, a single unifying ambition. In Shakespeare's hands, Henry IV's continuing ambition to travel to the Holy Land not only antedates Holinshed's, moving the public expression of this desire from the end of his reign to the beginning, but is also colored by his guilt as the usurper and destroyer of Richard II. That is, the unfulfilled ambition that frames Henry IV's career in the two plays that bare his name is at once an idealistic crusade and a personal pilgrimage for absolution.

If Shakespeare then manipulates the raw historical data of Holinshed's chronicle narrative into a more coherent shape, it is no surprise that he looks for a model in the most famous literary

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[294] Holinshed reads "king Henrie, to rid himselfe of any such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward faine himselfe to represent his person, though some haue said, he was not priuie to that wicked offense" (Holinshed 1587 [STC 13569], III, 516). Although the *Chronicles* elsewhere take Henry's complicity as a given: see Charles R. Forker, ed., *King Richard II*, Arden3, 505 (5.6.34–44n).

[295] Holinshed 1587 (STC 13569), III, 517.

precedent of an unfulfilled pilgrimage: *The Canterbury Tales*. Shakespeare's absorption of the Chaucerian precedent as a framing model for the reign of his Henry IV is subtle enough to have eluded most critics of the play,[296] but a juxtaposition of the opening lines of *1 Henry IV* with the General Prologue of Chaucer's *Tales* reveals the cunningly oblique appropriation of Chaucerian poetry in Henry's speech:

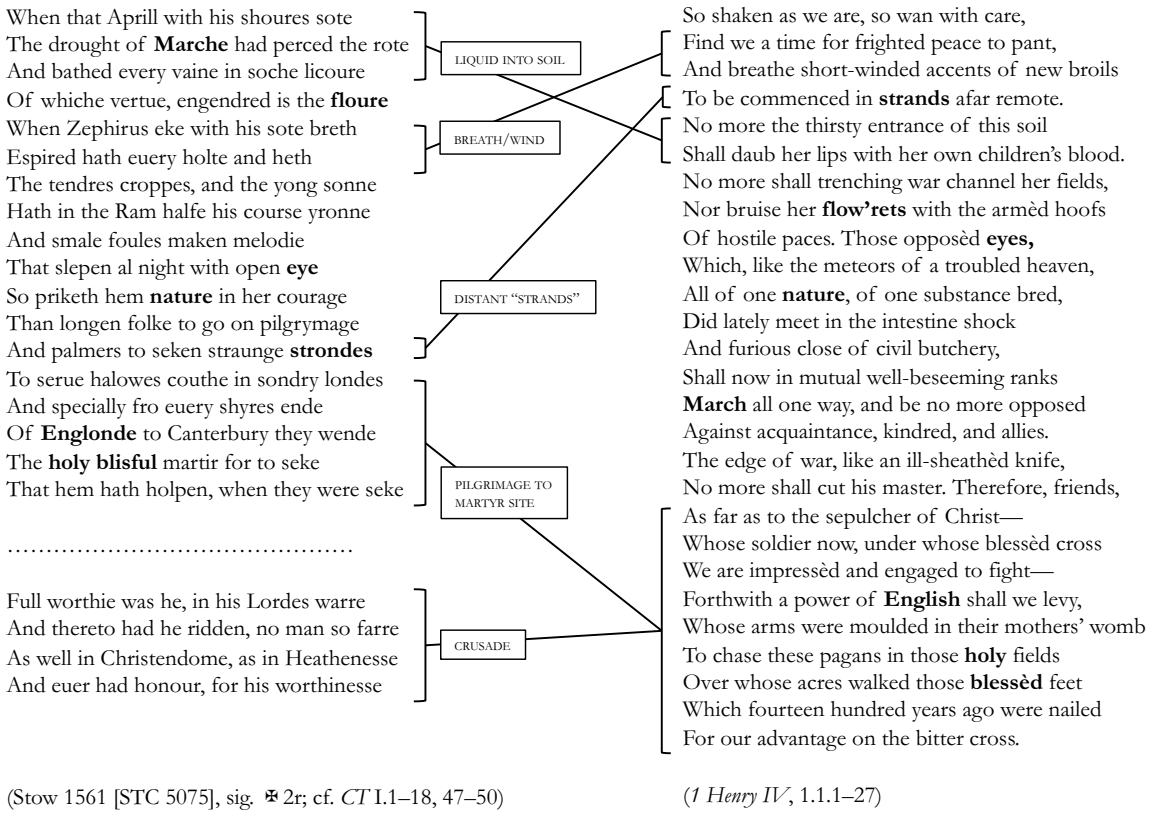


Figure 1. Openings of *The Canterbury Tales* and *1 Henry IV* compared

The sweet showers of Chaucer's poem, which pierce the dry earth to the root and bathe every vein in liquid, find a disturbing parallel in Henry's speech, where the thirsty soil of England drinks in the blood of her children. The sweet breath of Zephirus that inspires the tender crops in Chaucer

[296] David Wallace similarly observes that Henry's crusade invites comparison with Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* project (*Chaucerian Polity*, 381), however his focus is the politics of "*compagnye*" rather than the formal comparison between the passages or the works as a whole.

becomes in Shakespeare the panting "short-winded accents" "breathe[d]" by Henry to announce his purpose "in strands far remote," echoing "straunge strondes" that the palmers seek in Chaucer.[297] Indeed, the end point of both speeches is a vision of collective English unity towards a hallowed site of martyrdom. From every shire of England to Canterbury do Chaucer's pilgrims wend, to seek the holy blissful martyr; in Henry's speech, this national vision is redirected on an international scale, as England itself is mobilized towards the site of the sacrifice of Christ, whose "blessèd feet" were "nailed / For our advantage on the bitter cross." In Stow's 1561 edition of Chaucer, the opening of the *The Canterbury Tales* was dominated visually by woodcut of the Knight, the description of whom begins with an emphasis on his participation in international crusades: "Full worthie was he, in his Lordes warre / And thereto had he ridden, no man so farre / As well in Christendome, as in Heathenesse." The first speech of *1 Henry IV* then, not only transforms one of the most famous introductions in vernacular literature but does so in a way already latent in Chaucer's poem and emphasized by the *mise-en-page* of the early editions.[298]

The same intertextual overlap holds true for the end of *Henry IV*, where the king's final lines, so explicitly modeled on Holinshed, nevertheless recall the conclusion of *The Canterbury Tales*. Invited by the Host as the last of the pilgrims to share a tale (X.16), the Parson delivers a contribution that effectively functions as a compensatory stand-in for the sacred destination unreached by the pilgrims in the frame narrative: an extensive theological account of penitence, an abstract manual to achieve the salvific condition for which the company pilgrimages in the physical world. Crucially, the Parson describes his contribution in figurative terms that recall the narrative frame itself:

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[297] This is the only occurrence in the Shakespeare canon where "strands" is used in the plural.

[298] This claim would not hold true for Thynne's editions, but does for Pynson's of 1526 (STC 5086), the latest text to include the *Retraction*.

> And Jhesu for his grace wit me sende
> To shewe yow the way in this viage
> Of thilke parfit, glorious pilgrimage
> That highte Jerusalem celestial. (X.48–51)

For his audience on the pilgrimage as much as for Chaucer's readers, these lines gesture towards the central metaphor by which pilgrimages to Canterbury and to Jerusalem perform in the physical world the soul's aspiration towards heaven, the "glorious pilgrimage" to "Jerusalem celestial." From a narrative perspective, the lines function as a kind of compensation: while there will be no scene of the pilgrims achieving their destination, the textual ending does at once evoke and fulfill in another sense the promised end of their journey. Similarly, for Shakespeare's Henry IV, his reign ends not in the anticipated destination of Jerusalem temporal but merely the Jerusalem chamber, at once evoking and compensating for the desired end point of Henry's own penitential pilgrimage.[299]

If Poins's allusion to the Canterbury pilgrims at the beginning of *1 Henry IV* invokes the famous Chaucerian precedent, the two parts of *Henry IV* apply to the narrative welter of Holinshed's *Chronicles* a specifically Chaucerian idea of order onto the reign of the king in whose days he lived. There would have been a valuable intertextual reason for evoking the structure of *The Canterbury Tales* onto these two plays in particular. Recall that the *Henry IV* plays represented Shakespeare's first embrace of the "medley" history play represented by *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*. From the neoclassical perspective of Philip Sidney, who deplored the English vernacular dramatic tradition that produced "neither right tragedies, nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, […] so as

[299] Shakespeare's decision to pattern the reign of his Henry IV on Chaucerian model might well have been suggested by the material experience of reading Holinshed's *Chronicles*: on the same page of the 1587 edition he would have found not only Henry IV's death in the Jerusalem chamber and Holinshed's praise of Chaucer, but also, between those two passages, the unusual conveyance of Henry's body from London to the Canterbury Cathedral, the destination of Chaucer's pilgrims. (The 1577 edition of Holinshed featured an illustration of the funeral procession.) If Shakespeare had visited Canterbury Cathedral while on tour, he would have seen the tomb of Henry IV adjacent to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. Henry was (and remains) the only English monarch to be buried there.

neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mongrel tragi-comedy obtained," the medley genre required some justification.[300] By invoking the intertextual parallel of *The Canterbury Tales*, that great canonical anthology of high and low styles, perhaps Shakespeare was claiming a literary precedent for what Sidney identified as generic miscegenation. While the comic scenes do continue into *Henry V*, the nature of the generic mix in that play is of a distinctly different variety: only in *1* and *2 Henry IV* do we find the direct mingling of the future king with comic lord of misrule represented by Falstaff. Of course, this comes to a decisive end in the final scene of *2 Henry IV*: when newly crowned Henry V banishes Falstaff, he forecloses the possibility that this distinct comic "mingling" would have occurred in the play's sequel, even if Falstaff himself were to return.[301]

Just as Henry IV's final lines bear comparison with the structural role of *The Parson's Tale*, Henry V's final speech in the play extends the Chaucerian pattern further. Befitting his self-fashioning as a prodigal son turned Christian king, Henry's dismissal of Falstaff is articulated in self-consciously spiritual language. "Fall to thy prayers," he tells his former companion, "So surfeit-swelled, so old, and so profane": "Make less thy body hence, and more thy grace" (5.5.46, 49, 51). The famously devastating twenty-five-line speech in which Hal renounces Falstaff has been anticipated since his first scene in *Part One*, and despite the professions of ignorance that begin the speech ("I know thee not, old man"), the King acknowledges that he has "turned away my former self" along with "The tutor and the feeder of my riots" (46, 57, 61). As if in metatheatrical recognition of the pleasures that the banished Falstaff has represented for the audience, the King sneers, "How ill white hairs becomes a fool and jester" (47). In effect, Henry's final speech in *2*

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[300] Sidney, *Major Works*, 244.

[301] Cf. *Famous Victories*, 9.37–50, which Shakespeare mirrors in sentiment if not in form, although the Henry of *The Famous Victories* addresses his friends Ned and Tom rather than Oldcastle, who is also onstage.

Henry IV echoes Chaucer's terminal *Retraction* to *The Canterbury Tales* by disowning his most ebullient scenes of comedy and theatrical pleasure, or at least "tho that sownen vnto synne."

Thus far, I have argued that Shakespeare applied to the two parts of *Henry IV* a literary model borrowed from the works of the famous poet who, as Holinshed misleadingly wrote, lived in the days of that King. But this argument must address how Shakespeare understood the relation between the two parts of *Henry IV*. The question of whether Shakespeare could even have conceived of a frame for Henry IV's reign is related to what has been called the "structural problem" of the *Henry IV* plays. Since the eighteenth century, critics (such as Johnson) have suspected that the two parts of *Henry IV* were conceived of and deliberately structured at the same time: Edward Capell, for example, writing in 1774, noted: "Both these plays appear to have been plan'd at the same time, and with great judgment."[302] According to the opposite view, the plays are, as Harold Jenkins says, "independent and even incompatible": that Prince Hal seems to perform two apparently redundant reformations suggests a fundamental disunity between the two parts.[303] On the union side, critics point to the Archbishop of York, whose role in *1 Henry IV* 4.4 is only accountable as anticipatory of his role in *Part Two*, and would not have made an appearance if the later play had been an "unpremeditated" sequel to the first. I would argue that the deliberate framing of Henry IV's career as an unfulfilled crusade-pilgrimage constitutes evidence for a premeditated design across the two parts of *Henry IV*. However, this observation does not so much solve the "structural problem" as highlight one of foundational problems the undergirding the debate.

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[302] Edward Capell, *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare* (London, [1774]), 164; cited in Kastan, ed., 19, where it is misdated 1779.

[303] Sherman H. Hawkins's response to Jenkins offers a spirited defense of the integrity of the two parts as a diptych by arguing that Hal's twin reformations are not redundant but complementary: see "*Henry IV*: The Structural Problem Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 33 (1982): 278–301.

As Paul Yachnin has observed, critical arguments about the structural coherence of the two parts are founded on a *literary*, rather than a *theatrical*, approach to the texts.[304] As critics in favor of the separate-but-equal hypothesis observe, there is no evidence that the two plays were ever performed on the same occasion.[305] This is not to suggest that the company might not have presented the two parts on consecutive performances, as we know the Admiral's Men did their multi-part plays.[306] But the narrative coherence of Shakespeare's treatment of the reign of Henry IV was necessarily a fractured experience. The manuscript abridgement of *Henry IV* prepared for Sir Edward Dering's amateur performances suggests at once the impulse to experience the narrative through-line of both plays but the impossibility of doing so with the full texts as Shakespeare wrote them.[307]

While *1* and *2 Henry IV* were (likely[308]) never printed together before the First Folio, Shakespeare would have known well that print at least offered the possibility that plays could be

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[304] Paul Yachnin, "History, Theatricality, and the 'Structural Problem' in the *Henry IV* Plays," *Philological Quarterly* 70 (1991): 163–79, at 164. Yachnin, however, argues that both sides of the debate err by treating the plays structurally, which is the purview of read literature rather experienced performance.

[305] Notwithstanding the disingenuous nature of that argument in light of the paucity of evidence that survives of any performances of Shakespeare's works, these critic do nevertheless call attention to the basic and ineluctable fact that the two parts of *Henry IV* are two plays and are unlikely ever to have been performed back-to-back.

[306] The Admiral's performed the two parts of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* on 17 and 19 December 1594; 30 December 1594 and 1 January 1595; 27 and 29 January 1595, with an intervening performance of *The Set at Maw*; 17 and 18 February 1595; 11 and 12 March 1595; 21 and 22 May 1595; and 12 and 13 November 1595 (see ff. 11r–v, 12v, 14r; R.A. Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 26–29, 33). During the same period, *1* and *2 Hercules* received six performances on consecutive days. The individual parts were also performed independently on a handful of occasions.

[307] Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.34. The manuscript, which seems to have been prepared *c.* 1623, has been edited by George Walton Williams and Gwynne Blakemore Evans (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1974).

[308] The slight possibility that the plays might in fact have been published together in a now-lost edition is suggested by a catalogue of books owned by Edward Conway, second viscount Conway, held at the Armagh Public Library, which lists among its entries "Henry 4 the first and second parte[s], 1619": see Arthur Freeman and Paul Grinke, "Four New Shakespeare Quartos?" *TLS* (5 April 2002): 17–18, at 18. Kastan thinks it more likely that the plays were simply bound together "since the copyrights of each play belonged to

presented in a form that unified separate *theatrical* events into a single *textual* artifact. The conspicuous precedent for this was Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, a book whose seminal role in the creation of a reading market for dramatic playbooks has been discussed by Lukas Erne.[309] Published by Richard Jones in 1590, the octavo first edition of *Tamburlaine the Great* described the text as "Deuided into two Tragicall Discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London." However, Jones's presentation of the book as a literary text involved a self-conscious distancing from the world of the stage: the prefatory epistle "To the Gentlemen Readers: and others that take pleasure in reading Histories" boasts the refinement of the theatrical experience into

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a different publisher" (22), while Lukas Erne offers the even more attractive suggestion that the Arabic "4" is a mistake for the Roman "VI" and that the quarto referred to is *The Whole Contention*, which was published as one of the 1619 "Pavier quartos" (*Book Trade*, 207–8). Against Erne's argument, it seems unlikely that a cataloguer would have re-named *The Whole Contention between the Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke* as "*Henry VI*" on the basis of the 1619 edition's title page (in which Henry's name is buried at the end of the descriptive title) and that anyone who cross-referenced the text with a Folio edition would have discovered that the two plays were *Henry VI, Part Two* and *Part Three*, and not "the first and second parte[s]." (Although, it is interesting to note that the two plays were so described in the Stationers' Register on 19 April 1602: see Book C, f. 80v.) Regarding Kastan's argument, it is unclear whether or not the two parts were indeed owned by different stationers. *1 Henry IV* had been entered in the Stationers' Register on 25 February 1598 to Andrew Wise, who published Q0, Q1, and Q2; on 25 June 1603, Wise transferred "Henry the .4. the first p*ar*t" (along with *Richard III* and *Richard II*) to Matthew Law (Book C, f. 98r). *2 Henry IV*, however, was owned by Andrew Wise together with William Aspley: the two entered that play on 23 August 1600 (with *Much Ado*) and published their quarto edition the same year. While Kastan supposes that Law "might have acquired both *1* and *2 Henry IV* together" and that he "simply didn't want the less popular play" (18–19), it should also be acknowledged that, if Law *had* in fact wanted to acquire *2 Henry IV*, it would necessarily have been a separate transaction from the three titles he acquired for which Wise was the exclusive owner. (The fact that no such transfer appears in the Register is hardly evidence that it did not happen since many perfectly legitimate transfers went unrecorded.) On the other hand, in favor of Kastan's conclusion, the fact that Aspley was a member of the First Folio syndicate strongly suggests that he had retained the rights to both *2 Henry IV* and *Much Ado* until 1623. Even if the plays were never printed together in a single edition, readers could and did bind them together for themselves, such as the volume at the Folger Shakespeare Library owned by Sir Thomas Twysden (1602–1683) that contains Q3 of *1 Henry IV* (1604) together with Q1 of *2 Henry IV* (1600): see Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 22282.

[309] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 71–76. For Erne, Jones's *Tamburlaine* was "the first distinct attempt to drive a wedge between stage and page" and his epistle "an aggressive advertisement for a product that is not yet established on the market" (73, 75). Kirk Melnikoff, however, argues that while Jones's *Tamburlaine* may have played a pioneering role in creating a market for of literary drama, it was also deeply consistent with longstanding concerns throughout his career as a stationer: see "Jones's Pen and Marlowe's Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature," *Studies in Philology* 102 (2005): 184–209.

readerly text by winnowing out the "fond and friuolous Iestures" that were "of some vain co*n*ceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed vpon the stage."[310] As readers of this two-part text would have recognized, print was a double-edged sword for drama. It provided a medium that could explicate the formal design of multi-part plays, effectively impossible in the embodied medium of commercial theatre; but this impossibility was a function of the distance between the two media, a distance that Jones's edition of *Tamburlaine* took extreme steps to widen. Whether or not Shakespeare intended for his plays to be published, or even expected that they would be, the structural design that unifies the two parts of *Henry IV*, one that I have argued was modeled on *The Canterbury Tales*, could only be embodied in print. Presented as distinct theatrical events, this overarching frame is rendered illegible. Perhaps it is fitting, then, that the figure who stands as the Janus-faced mediator between the two halves is a character who at once invokes and undermines the idea of literary tradition.

2 Henry IV begins with a bizarre allegorical induction delivered by Rumor, whom the quarto text describes as "*painted full of Tongues.*"[311] Rumor vividly introduces itself as the spreader of slander and false report, who will bring to the "crafty-sick" Northumberland news of victory for the rebels with Prince Hal slain and King Henry near death. Editors of *2 Henry IV* often gloss the quarto's stage direction with reference to Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which Fama, the swiftest of evils (*malum qua non aliud velocius ullum*), is depicted as a feathered monster with as many eyes, tongues, mouths, and ears.[312] However, the narrative situation of the *Aeneid*, in which Fama spreads the news of Aeneas' liaison with Dido throughout Africa, is a less precise analogue to *2 Henry IV* than Ovid's

[310] [Marlowe], *Tamburlaine the Great* (London, 1590), sig. A2r.

[311] Shakespeare, *The Second part of Henrie the fourth* (London, 1600), sig. A2r.

[312] Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.174, 181–83 (*monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae, / tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu), / tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris*). For a comprehensive account of Virgil's Fama and her literary cousins, see Philip Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of* Fama *in Western Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012).

Metamorphoses, where Fama brings news to the Trojans of the approach of Greek ships.[313] Ovid's long description of the *domus Famae* gives to Virgil's allegorical monster a local habitation, a house built from resounding copper (*ex aere sonanti*) with a thousand entrances, reverberating with the hubbub of murmured gossip, from which issue fictions that will be embellished upon every retelling: "The thing that was invented growes much greater than before, / And every one that getts it by the end addes sumwhat more" (*mensuraque ficti / crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adicit auctor*).[314]

"Why is Rumour here?" asks Shakespeare's presenter (Ind.22). The rhetorical question is both a way to prompt the narrative exposition that will introduce the plot of the play, but it also raises the question of translation: why has Virgilian and Ovidian *fama* been carried to medieval England? Shakespeare no doubt knew that Chaucer had already performed this translation before him with his long dream poem *The House of Fame* and had, like Shakespeare, combined the Virgilian and Ovidian precedents by combining the *Aeneid*'s allegorical description of Fama with the vision of the epicenter of rumor found in *Metamophoses*, a combination recalled in *Titus Andronicus*, when Aaron cautions Tamora's sons, "The emperor's court is like the house of Fame, / The palace full of tongues, of eyes and ears."[315] Chaucer's *The House of Fame* not only participates in the tradition of representing Fama, but the nature of his participation wittily resembles the operations of Ovid's *fama* itself with its accretive fictions upon the source of the original *auctor*(*es*), as the twenty-five lines of the *Aeneid* and twenty-eight of the *Metamorphoses* explode into an English poem of over two

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[313] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12.64–66.

[314] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 12.46, 57–58; Arthur Golding, trans., *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, ed. John Frederick Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry, 2000), 300–301 (12.62–63).

[315] Jonathan Bate, ed., *Titus Andronicus*, 1.1.626–27; the Chaucerian connection was observed in Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 74.

thousand.[316] Chaucer's signal contribution to the tradition is that the purview of his Fame is revealed to include both the whirling factory of rumor as well as the palatial memory of the reputations of famous writers: as if in recognition of his own participation in the classical tradition of depicting Fama, Chaucer enshrines both Virgil and Ovid, placing the latter upon a pillar of copper, the same metal of which his *domus Famae* was built (*HF* 1486–87).[317]

Shakespeare might perhaps have based his Rumor solely on Virgil's description, either directly or via one of the conventional visual representations that were available.[318] However Rumor's allusion to her "well-known body" triggers a broader intertextual consideration the *fama* of Fama, and the irruption of this figure into the midway point of a dramatic diptych framed by a Chaucerian model invites us to consider the specifically Chaucerian implications of her presence as a collaborator in literary reputation.[319] The function of Rumor in *2 Henry IV* is made clearer when put

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[316] Sixteenth-century folio editions of were slightly longer than the authoritative texts of Chaucer's poem today as Caxton's ad hoc twelve-line conclusion (STC 5087, sig. d3r) was simply absorbed into the canon without comment.

[317] While Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, in "The Early Reception of Chaucer's *The House of Fame*," in *Chaucer and Fame: Reputation and Reception*, ed. Isabel Davis and Catherine Nall (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 87–102, demonstrate that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers rarely discuss Chaucer's poem explicitly in relation to literary fame, I believe this would have been easily legible to any reader of the poem, especially a poet and dramatist like Shakespeare.

[318] On the iconographic traditions representing Rumor, see Frederick Kiefer, *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre: Staging the Personified Characters* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 63–100. Editors of the play cite a passage from Holinshed's account of an entertainment performed before Henry VIII on 8 October 1519: "Then entered a person called Report, apparelled in crimsin sattin full of toongs, sitting on a flieng horsse with wings and feet of gold called Pegasus" (Holinshed 1587 [STC 13569], III, 849). To my knowledge, no one has considered Shakespeare's allegorical Rumor alongside Holinshed's description of Prince Hal's elaborate allegorical costume when he comes to court to defend himself against slanderous rumors. Holinshed writes: "He was apparelled in a gowne of blew satten, full of small oilet holes, at euerie hole the needle hanging by a silke thred with which it was sewed. About his arme he ware an hounds collar set full of SS of gold, and the tirets likewise being of the same metall" (Holinshed 1587 [STC 13569], III, p. 539). The scene, undramatized by Shakespeare, culminates in the Prince offering his father a dagger to slay him if it would relieve his suspicion: in this context, I imagine the needles hanging from Prince's costume are meant to mirror his presentation of the dagger, emphasizing his voluntarily precarious safety, and the dog's collar would emblematize his obedience.

[319] It could be argued that Virgil and Ovid already use their depictions of Fama as metapoetic self-reflections: see Hardie, *Rumour and Renown*, 106–12, 150n.

into dialogue with the Chorus of *Henry V*, to whom it serves as a kind of antimasque. Whereas the Chorus begins that play by invoking the high poetic language of inspiration, Rumor seems to perform the opposite function. The induction begins with the seductive command, "Open your ears," and the frank confession that those ears will be "Stuff[ed]" with "false reports" (Ind.1, 8). The world of Rumor is one of auricularly administered fictions, one whose connection with the world of theatre is soon made explicit:

> But what need I thus
> My well-known body to anatomize
> Among my household? Why is Rumour here? (Ind.20–22)

The deictic force of that last question takes on a different dimension on stage in light of Rumor's identification of the theater as "my household." Shakespeare's own contribution to the tradition of the *domus Famae* then is at once appropriative, another translation from page to stage, but one that deliberately complicates the destination of that translation. In Chaucer's complex vision of the House of Fame, the many-tongued goddess was the capricious arbiter who elevated poets like Virgil and Ovid to their pillars of immorality; in *2 Henry IV*, the tongues that adorn Rumor's body seem rather to mirror the multivocality of drama, a vision of theatre in which there is no unified playwright but rather the many mouths of the actors on stage.

Indeed, in light of this chapter's discussion of the structural organization of the two parts of *Henry IV*, the question "Why is Rumour here?" invites yet another attempt at an answer. As Samuel Johnson observed, Rumor's induction is, from an expository point of view, "wholly useless, since we are told nothing which the first scene does not clearly and naturally discover," and indeed even within the first scene, the false report of Hal's death stuffs the ears of Northumberland only briefly: it is a mere eleven lines before Travers reports the truth and another fifty before Northumberland is

convinced.[320] Like the King's otiose opening speech in *1 Henry IV*, Rumor's induction serves a thematic and structural purpose.[321] Simply put, Rumor demarcates the mid point of the reign of Henry IV. Ironically, the false report that Rumor brings (the fall of the present monarch) *would* have, effectively, meant the beginning of a new chapter of English history with the triumvirate reign of Percy, Mortimer, and Glendower—that is, a new play with a new title. But in actuality, Henry IV and his heir still live. Like the Chorus of *Henry V*, Rumor serves a structural function, but whereas the Chorus' appearances signpost for the audience at the new Globe the classical division of a single play into five acts, Rumor's single appearance serves simply to demarcate the point of fissure between the two parts of *Henry IV*.

Critics of the idea that *Henry IV* constitutes a single play with ten acts are right to argue that this literary analysis of the two parts sits in tension with the fact that the two plays constitute two distinct theatrical experiences. Yet they overlook the possibility that Shakespeare himself was aware of that tension. Indeed, Shakespeare's translation of Fama at once invokes its literary antecedents while simultaneously undermining that tradition by announcing itself as a denizen of the theater, and its appearance at the breaking point in the midst of two plays treating the reign of the same king highlights the material realities of performance—that plays can only go on for so long—that serve to limit theatrical appropriations of literary models.

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[320] Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London, 1765), 4:233n; qtd. Hardie, *Rumor and Renown*, 489.

[321] Many commentators have argued that Rumor's appearance at the dead center of the tetralogy centralizes a concern with rumor, reputation, and publicity that run throughout the "Henriad" or the history plays in general. See, for example, Hardie, *Rumor and Renown*, 487–519; Djordjevic, "Shakespeare and Medieval History," 519–26. An analogy might be drawn to classical poems like the *Aeneid*, which, as Gian Biago Conte has argued, use proems in the middle of works to "offer[ ] a specific declaration of poetics": see "Proems in the Middle," *Yale Classical Studies* 29 (1992): 147–59 (esp. 152), cited in Hardie, *Rumor and Renown*, 492.

In this chapter, I have argued that Shakespeare used Chaucerian models, both generic and formal, to shape his engagements with other source material. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the Chaucerian dream vision energizes and authorizes Shakespeare's creative *translatio* of literary classics (both Ovid and Chaucer himself) from the page to the stage. In the two parts of *Henry IV*, the framing narrative of *The Canterbury Tales* gave to the reign of the eponymous king a unifying form, while also evoking a literary precedent for the medley of genres that an emergent neoclassicism condemned. And yet while these Chaucerian models served to authorize Shakespeare's plays, the very act of appropriation reveals the limits of drama's assimilation of literary models. In *Henry IV*, the presence of Rumor calls attention to the restrictions of dramatic writing entailed by the logistics of theatrical performance: a work of the scope of *Henry IV* must necessarily be broken into multiple parts, thereby rendering illegible the ordering principles that give them shape. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* adopts the genre that provided Chaucer with the opportunity to foreground his own idiosyncratic appropriations of classical texts, the dream vision; however, in the theatre, the communal nature of performance means that the playwright cannot foreground himself and the dream conceit is ultimately redirected towards the audience in a frank acknowledgement of the material realities of performing for a profit. By exploring the literary possibilities of drama, Shakespeare reveals drama's literary impossibilities.

However, almost immediately after Shakespeare finished *2 Henry IV*, a new figure appeared on the London theatre scene: Ben Jonson. Beginning in his early satirical comedies, Jonson put forward a new model of dramatic authorship, one that did indeed foreground the playwright as a literary and moral authority. As the debate surrounding this Jonsonian idea of authorship reached a fever pitch, Shakespeare turned to Chaucer more directly than ever before with *Troilus and Cressida*, his most strident intervention in the so-called Poets' War. Ultimately I will argue that, where Shakespeare's earlier appropriations of Chaucer explored the literary impossibilities of drama, *Troilus and Cressida* explores the dramatic impossibilities of literature.

Chapter 3

Authority Under Siege: *Troilus and Cressida* (1)

More than any other point in Shakespeare's career, the years at the turn of the century constituted something of a Chaucerian "moment." Thomas Speght's grand humanistic edition of Chaucer had been published in 1598, and the following year, Edmund Spenser, the modern poet celebrated as Chaucer's filial inheritor, was buried with much public fanfare in Westminster Abbey next to the medieval poet. As if in response to a renewed public attention to Chaucer, a series of dramatic adaptations from Chaucer's works immediately appeared on the professional stage in 1599 and 1600, and it was not long after that Shakespeare undertook his own contribution to this "moment," an adaptation of the Chaucerian poem most revered by Renaissance readers, *Troilus and Criseyde*.[322] And yet what Shakespeare actually produced has proven to be one of his most baffling and challenging works of art. For John Dryden, at once the Restoration's premiere celebrant of Shakespeare and its most eloquent critic of Chaucer, *Troilus and Cressida* was an uneven, chaotic, and confusing play, one

[322] Since the date of *Troilus* is relevant to my argument, a brief review of the evidence is in order. A firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by the first Stationers' Register entry on 7 February 1603 as having been "acted by my lo: Chamb*er*lens Men": Register C, f. 91v; qtd. David Bevington, ed., *Troilus and Cressida*, Arden3 (London: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 398; cf. Arber, *Transcript*, 3:226. The *Oxford Textual Companion* tentatively assigns the play to 1602, although its stylometric analyses "cannot determine whether the play precedes or follows *Hamlet* or *Twelfth Night*," assigned to 1600–1 and 1601, respectively (123). On intertextual grounds, Bevington argues (11) for a date in the second half of 1601, after the performance of Jonson's *Poetaster* and before the performance of *2 Return from Parnassus*, dated 1601 in the manuscript copy (Folger MS V.a.355, f. 3r): see Leishman, ed., *The Three Parnassus Plays*, 24. James P. Bednarz narrows the window by arguing for composition before the 24 October registration of Marston's *Antonio and Melida*, which appears to allude to *Troilus*: see *Shakespeare and the Poets' War* (New York: Columbia UP, 2001), 272–74. It remains to be seen whether scholars will be persuaded by more recent stylometric analyses using computational tools, such as Douglas Bruster and Geneviève Smith's, which would place *Troilus* as early as 1596: see "A New Chronology for Shakespeare's Plays," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2014): 1–20, at 13.

that could be explained only by considering it a work of juvenilia and salvaged only by a comprehensive rewriting, "remov[ing] that heap of Rubbish, under which many excellent thoughts lay wholly bury'd."[323] In the intervening centuries since Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida* has been restored to its rightful chronological position in Shakespeare's creative development, a contemporary of *Hamlet*.[324] But even as the very features that provoked Dryden's unbridled contempt have been reinterpreted as the play's strengths, generations of critics have nonetheless been moved to express their bewilderment about the play in superlatives. Coleridge declared that "there is none of Shakespeare's plays harder to characterize."[325] From an editorial perspective, it presents "more problems than any other play."[326] Its peculiar aesthetic cruces and its role in the playwright's development make it the "most puzzling of all Shakespeare's plays."[327]

One of *Troilus*'s most compelling puzzles is its astonishing treatment of its narrative sources. In dramatizing the Trojan War, Shakespeare was invoking the English literary tradition's two fountainheads, classical and vernacular. By the turn of the century, not only was Chaucer familiarly styled as "the English Homer," but English writers could reciprocate the relationship by referring to Homer as "that Chaucer of the Greeke Poets."[328] For English readers, the *Iliad* and the *Troilus* stood as complementary literary monuments, the two originary poets' treatments of Western culture's

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[323] John Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late* (London, 1679), sig. A4v.

[324] The specific connection here is perhaps most vividly evoked by A.D. Nuttall's conceit, "clearly, Hamlet is the author of *Troilus and Cressida*." See *Shakespeare the Thinker* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), 205.

[325] Thomas Middleton Raysor, ed., *Coleridge's Shakespeare Criticism*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1930), 1:109.

[326] Alice Walker, *Textual Problems of the First Folio* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953), 68; qtd. Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, xvi. Even Dryden grasped something of this, claiming that the Folio text was printed "so carelessly, that a more uncorrect Copy I never saw" (sig. A4v).

[327] John S.P. Tatlock, "The Chief Problem in Shakespeare," *The Sewanee Review* 24 (1916): 129–47, at 129.

[328] British Library, Add. MS 81083, f. 31r; William Scott, *The Model of Poesy*, ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 52.

primal scene: besieged Troy. Against these expectations, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* seems to be nothing less than a vandalistic disfiguration of the English literary canon's most foundational works. Indeed, modern critics of the play have almost unanimously moved from Dryden's opinion to that of George Bernard Shaw, who described Shakespeare's attraction to his source material as that of an iconoclast to an icon, reinterpreting Dryden's "heap of Rubbish" as the rubble of shattered literary idols.[329] In a play that famously defaces the very idea of value at a philosophical level, Shakespeare also adopts a cynically skeptical posture towards the sacred cows of the literary canon. At yet, like every act of vandalism, this posture is performed for an audience. As I will argue in this chapter, Shakespeare's corrosive adaptation constitutes a broader statement on the role of literary authority in the theater.

Scholars of Shakespeare's sources have long recognized that *Troilus and Cressida*, largely by virtue of its famous subject matter, is Shakespeare's most intertextually overdetermined play.[330] The Trojan War was the site of constant, almost obsessive revisitation, from the epic visions of Homer and Virgil, to the post-classical revisions of "Dares" and "Dictys," to the comprehensive medieval

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[329] George Bernard Shaw, "Shaw's 1884 Lecture on 'Troilus and Cressida'," ed. Louis Crompton and Hilayne Cavanaugh, *The Shaw Review* 14 (1971): 48–67, esp. 52 ("What attraction had it [the story] for Shakspere [*sic*], and how comes Troilus and Cressida to be one of the most interesting of his works? The answer is that Shakspere did not invent the story, but found it ready-made; and that its attraction for him was that which an idol has for an iconoclast, or a plausible fraud for an ingenious detective"). Cf. Elizabeth Freund's verdict a century later: "nowhere does he strip *both* his sources *and* his own text of their 'original' substance with such spirited iconoclasm": "'Ariachne's broken woof': The Rhetoric of Citation in *Troilus and Cressida*," in Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman, eds., *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory* (New York: Methuen, 1985), 19–36, at 35.

[330] Helpful general treatments of the play's sources and analogues include John S.P. Tatock, "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood," *PMLA* 30 (1915): 673–770; Hyder E. Rollins, "The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare," *PMLA* 32 (1917): 383–429; Robert K. Presson, *Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida" & The Legends of Troy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953); Robert Kimbrough, *Shakespeare's "Troilus & Cressida" and Its Setting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1964); Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 6:83–221; Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, 375–97. Jill L. Levenson compellingly argues that scholars should attend to visual (in addition to written) sources in "Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and the Monumental Tradition in Tapestries and Literature," *Renaissance Drama* n.s. 7 (1976): 43–84.

narratives of Guido, Lydgate, and Caxton, to Renaissance reimaginings and translations, such as first installments of Chapman's Homer that appeared in 1598. All of these might be said to have a claim in Shakespeare's creative process, yet arguably it is two dramatic contexts that shed the most revealing light on *Troilus and Cressida*'s iconoclastic mode of adaptation. One of these dramatic contexts, familiar to Shakespeareans, is the quarrel that occupied Jonson, Marston, and Dekker in the years straddling the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, known to scholars of Renaissance drama as the Poets' War.[331] Critics have long read Shakespeare's *Troilus* as a singularly destructive salvo in this war, and, drawing on this work, I will argue that Shakespeare's vandalistic adaptation of Homer and Chaucer constitutes a polemical stance on issues at the heart of the Poets' War, namely, the question of literary authority in the theater and the relationship between *auctores* and *actores*. The other dramatic context is less familiar: the repertory of the Admiral's Men, which included three Chaucerian adaptations performed in the years immediately preceding the composition of *Troilus* at the Rose theatre, directly across the street from Shakespeare's Globe. As I will argue, it was one of these plays in particular that provided Shakespeare with a strategy to interrogate the nature of dramatic adaptations of Chaucerian works from within. With these two contexts in view, Shakespeare's iconoclastic demolition of literary authority takes on a precise theoretical force. However, *Troilus and Cressida* is not merely an act of destruction. Rather, out of the rubble of literary authority, Shakespeare forges a new vision of a distinctly theatrical longevity.

I. The Authority of the *Troilus*

[331] The idea that *Troilus and Cressida* was originally written for an audience at the Inns of Court (first conjectured in 1928) has enjoyed a certain currency in modern scholarship and is tempting to incorporate into the present discussion given Chaucer's purported affiliations with the Inner Temple. However, since the hypothesis rests on slender evidentiary grounds, I neglect it in my argument about the play. For more, see Appendix C ("*Troilus and Cressida*: The Inns of Court Hypothesis").

In naming his play *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare was invoking the poem that, more than any other, was celebrated as Chaucer's masterpiece. If *The Knight's Tale* could emblematize Chaucer's originary status, *Troilus and Criseyde* was understood to be his signal canonical achievement. The seminal importance of Chaucer's *Troilus* was easily legible to Renaissance readers, nowhere more obviously than the poem's final pages. Whereas *The Canterbury Tales* terminates in its own author's self-destructive retraction, *Troilus* ends with the opposite gesture, an envoy that sends the poem into the world and into the literary canon:

> Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye,
> Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,
> So sende myght to make in som comedye!
> But litel book, no makyng thow n'envie,
> But subgit be to alle poesye;
> And kis the steppes where as thow seest pace
> Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace. (V.1786–92)

Even if Renaissance readers did not register the inauguration of vernacular literary tradition that modern scholars have read in this stanza,[332] it was conspicuous enough as Chaucer's *entrée* into European literary history, propelling his poem into the company of classical *auctores*, followed by a prayer for its textual integrity, predicated on the poet imagining his poem's widespread dissemination, both spatial and temporal (V.1793–98). From the perspective of Renaissance readers, the poem was clearly one of Chaucer's most influential, both in his own time and after.[333] Throughout Lydgate's *Troy Book*, references to Troilus and Criseyde occasion the later poet's hyperbolic expressions of praise for his illustrious predecessor: in fact, there is a sense in Lydgate's

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[332] A.C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 34 ("What Chaucer does in this stanza is virtually to invent the possibility of a history of English poetry"). For the classic account of the conclusion's complex effect on the reader, see E. Talbot Donaldson, "The Ending of *Troilus*," *Speaking of Chaucer* (London: Althone, 1970), 84–101.

[333] For an authoritative summary of the poem's reception until 1700, see Barry Windeatt, *Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), 360–82.

articulation that *Troilus and Criseyde* was the very moment in which Chaucer began "our tunge first to magnifye, / And adourne it with his eloquence."[334]

The poem became well known as a high-water mark of Chaucer's achievement, a work that could be plausibly understood in relation to the epics of "Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace,"[335] and indeed, seems to have attracted the classicizing impulse of Renaissance readers, of which Francis Kinnaston's Caroline translations into Latin represent the summit.[336] Among the Renaissance's most influential arbiters of poetic excellence, the *Troilus* occupied a position of preeminence. Sidney named it alone among Chaucer's works (and alone among works composed before the sixteenth century) in his brief syllabus of English poetic achievements: "Chaucer, undoubtedly, did excellently in his *Troilus and Criseyde*; of whom, truly, I know not whether to marvel more, either that he in the misty time could see so clearly, or that we in this clear age go so stumblingly after him."[337] (Sidney's praise served as the culminating endorsement of Chaucer in Speght's "Life."[338]) More meaningfully, it was to *Troilus and Criseyde* that Edmund Spenser turned when he made his poetic debut in 1579, a turning point in English literary history. Savvy early readers of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* would

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[334] John Lydgate, *The Avncient Historie and onely trewe and syncere Cronicle of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans* (London, 1555), sig. R2v [book 3, lines 4542–47]; cf. Brewer, *Heritage*, 48.

[335] On the epic connotations of "myn tragedye," see Lee Patterson, "Genre and Source in *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Acts of Recognition: Essays on Medieval Culture* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 198–214.

[336] *Amor Troili et Creseidæ Libri duo priores Anglico-Latini* (Oxford, 1635); completed in Bodleian Library, Add. MS C.287 (*c.* 1640), which has been published with an editorial apparatus in German by Helmut Wolf (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1997). For more on Kinnaston, see Lawrence V. Ryan, "Chaucer's Criseyde in Neo-Latin Dress," *ELR* 17 (1987): 288–302. For a classicizing annotator of *Troilus*, see Seth Lerer, "Latin Annotations in a Copy of Stowe's Chaucer and the Seventeenth-Century Reception of *Troilus and Criseyde*," *RES* 53 (2002): 1–7.

[337] Sidney, *The Major Works*, 242. He adds: "Yet had he great wants, fit to be forgiven in so reverent an antiquity." Gabriel Harvey confirmed that the poem, "A peece of braue, fine, & sweet poetrie," was in fact "One of Astrophils [i.e. Sidney's] cordials": BL, Additional MS 42518, sig. c5v; qtd. Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 228; Brewer, *Critical Heritage*, 1:123.

[338] Speght 1598 ed., sig. c3v.

have encountered, upon first opening the volume, two mirrored allusions to Chaucer's poem. On the verso side of the opening, the first line of the author's poem "TO HIS BOOKE" picks up where Chaucer left off: "Goe little booke: thy selfe present, / As child whose parent is vnkent…"[339] Where Chaucer had sent his work to be subject "to alle poesye," the scope of Spenser's proleptic envoy is apparently less ambitious (his own little book is sent solely to its dedicatee, Sir Philip Sidney) and, with its folksy tetrameter tercets composed by one "Immeritô," outdoes Chaucer's characteristic humility *topos*.[340] However, the recto side of the opening, featuring E.K.'s prefatory epistle to Gabriel Harvey, makes explicit Immeritô's debt to Chaucer with another quotation from *Troilus and Criseyde*: "VNCOUTHE VNKISTE, Sayde the olde famouse Poete Chaucer: whom for his excellence and wonderfull skil in making, his scholler Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a maister, calleth the Loadestarre of our Language: and whom our Colin clout in his Æglogue called Tityrus the God of shepheards."[341] Like Criseyde, it is "our new Poete" who is as yet unknown ("uncouth") and therefore uncelebrated ("unkissed"), but "I dout not, so soone as his name shall come into the knowledg of men, and his worthines be sounded in the tromp of fame, but he shall be not onely kiste, but also beloued of all, embraced of the most, and wondred at of the best." It was this implicit comparison that the poet himself invokes explicitly on the final page of the volume:

> Goe lyttle Calender, thou hast a free passeporte,
> Goe but a lowly gate emongste the meaner sorte.
> Dare not to match thy pype with Tityrus his style,
> Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman playde awhyle:
> But followe them farre off, and their high steppes adore,

[339] [Edmund Spenser,] *The Shepheardes Calender* (London, 1579), sig. ¶v.

[340] Critics' disagreement about whether Spenser discerned and adopted specifically Chaucerian techniques of ironic humility largely hinges on the question of how relevant contemporary Chaucer reception by other Elizabethan readers and writers should be. See Anthony M. Esolen, "The Disingenuous Poet Laureate: Spenser's Adoption of Chaucer," *Studies in Philology* 87 (1990): 285–311; Glenn A. Steinberg, "Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* and the Elizabethan Reception of Chaucer," *ELR* 55 (2005): 31–51.

[341] [Spenser,] *Shepheardes Calender*, sig. ¶2r.

The better please, the worse despise, I aske nomore.[342]

By appropriating the famous envoy of *Troilus*, the New Poet of *The Shepheardes Calender* not only makes a claim to the Chaucerian mantle, but effectively ratifies the success of Chaucer's achievement in *Troilus* to follow the steps of Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, and Statius as a new literary *auctor*.[343]

Besides its high prestige value among Renaissance tastemakers, *Troilus* represented the most widely diffused and frequently cited Chaucerian creation.[344] At a formal level, its influence was discernable in the spread of rhyme royal, the verse form that, in Shakespeare's time, the Scottish monarch and heir presumptive to the English throne described as "*Troilus* verse," and that Shakespeare himself would adopt in *The Rape of Lucrece*.[345] More broadly, however, *Troilus*'s three main characters all enjoyed a proverbial and linguistic currency unprecedented for a vernacular work. The myriad allusions to Troilus's constancy or Criseyde's fickleness in published books of the period represent not only the influence of Chaucer's poem, but the independent proverbial life taken on by

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[342] [Spenser,] *Shepheardes Calender*, sig. N4r. Chaucerians will be alert to the possibility that the Pilgrim-Plowman figure might allude to pseudo-Chaucerian *The Plowman's Tale*, but there are strong reasons for thinking that this represents the poet of *Piers Plowman*: Richard A. McCabe, ed., *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems* (London: Penguin, 1999), 574. Judith H. Anderson explores the relationship at length in *The Growth of a Personal Voice: 'Piers Plowman' and 'The Faerie Queene'* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), and in brief in "Langland, William," in A.C. Hamilton, ed., *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1990), 425–26.

[343] On Spenser's literary authority, see, for example, Paul Alpers, "Pastoral and the Domain of the Lyric in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," *Representations* 12 (1985): 83–100, esp. 95–97. For a classic account of Spenser's novel self-presentation as the New Poet, see Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983), 67–82.

[344] Caroline Spurgeon's thorough study of Chaucerian allusions reveals that until the eighteenth century *Troilus* "est de beaucoup le plus populaire, le plus généralement connu et le plus fréquemment cité de tous les poèmes de Chaucer": see *Chaucer devant la critique en Angleterre et en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), 108. By the time she had revised and augmented her study for publication by the Chaucer Society, Spurgeon enumerated 124 references to *Troilus* before 1750 compared to 59 references to *The Canterbury Tales* as a whole: see *Five Hundred Years*, 1:lxxix (cf. *Chaucer devant la critique*, 115).

[345] [James VI,] *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. M4r.

his characters.[346] In Shakespeare's drama, we find no fewer than eight citations of the Troilus and Cressida story prior to his full adaptation, beginning with *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which Petruchio, as he consolidates his politic reign of Kate, calls for his dog: "Where's my spaniel Troilus?"[347] The fugitive nature of this allusion to Chaucer invites questions about how—and how precisely—we should understand it.[348] Does the invocation of this icon of romantic devotion invite the comic comparison with Petruchio's treatment of his new wife? Does it offer us a brief glimpse into the imaginative wellsprings of Petruchio's misogyny? Perhaps; but arguably the most revealing aspect of this moment is the speed and inconsequentiality with which the allusion occurs. Troilus was simply part of the readily accessible imaginative resources that were available not only to the highest echelons of poetic accomplishment but also at much more popular levels. Indeed, as Shakespeare has the fictional Petruchio name his dog after Chaucer's romantic hero, real English parents were doing the same to their own children. Richard Burbage may well have remembered that in the summer of 1591 one Troilus Skinner was baptized at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, the Burbages' church, located steps away from the Theatre; it is even possible that Shakespeare himself attended services at St. Leonard's with this young Troilus in the congregation.[349] But Troilus Skinner was just

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346 An early but still useful survey of the dissemination of the characters in the sixteenth century, see Rollins, "The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare."

347 Barbara Hodgdon, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), 4.1.136.

348 Ann Thompson sees the act of canine naming as inherently satiric and symptomatic of the erosion of the Troilus story by Shakespeare's time (*Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 65). The name could, however, be perfectly suitable for a dog as a marker of fidelity: see Brian Morris, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew*, Arden2 (London: Methuen, 1981), 4.1.137n.

349 London Metropolitan Archives, P91/LEN/A/001/MS07493, f. 29r ("Troylus Skinner was baptized the xxviijth daye of August"). Shakespeare was of course acting at the Theatre with the Lord Chamberlain's Men from 1594 until 1598, and it was Aubrey who reported that Shakespeare "lived in Shoreditch" (Chambers, *WS*, 2:252), which, if true, likely happened before his move to St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where he was residing by October 1596. One of Aubrey's sources for information about Shakespeare was William Beeston, the son of Chamberlain's Men actor Christopher Beeston, who, like Burbage, lived in St. Leonard's parish. See Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), 122; Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare: The Biography* (New York: Nan A. Telese, 2005), 172. The baptismal entry for

one of several Troiluses to be so christened during Shakespeare's life: one of Chaucer's remarkable achievements in *Troilus and Criseyde* was to create a character whose name could enter not only into widespread proverbial currency but also into the English onomasticon itself.[350]

Given the importance, visibility, and palpable cultural significance of Chaucer's poem, it would seem inevitable that Shakespeare's play would have been received against certain expectations about its literary filiation. A version of this expectation can be seen in the earliest extant publications of *Troilus and Cressida*, the two states of the 1609 quarto printed by George Elde.[351] In what bibliographers identify as the earlier state, the title of the play appears as: "THE | Historie of Troylus | and Cresseida. | *As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties* | seruants at the Globe." In the second state, the title page has been significantly revised: "THE | Famous Historie of | Troylus *and* Cresseid. | *Excellently expressing the beginning* | of their loues, with the conceited wooing | of *Pandarus* Prince of *Licia*." The cancel title page offers a very different face for the play, and two subtle revisions to the title itself suggest an intentional move towards "Chaucerizing" Shakespeare's play. The title of the play that has come down to posterity is replaced by the more conspicuously

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Troilus Skinner was first noticed in *Notes and Queries* series 2, 11 (1861): 47, although the author ("C.J.R.") used it as an example of Shakespeare's (rather than Chaucer's) influence, along with three other suggestions equally improbable if no less interesting.

[350] See Appendix D ("Troilus and the English Onomasticon, 1564–1616"). Surprisingly, we also find traces of early modern Cressidas in the parish registers—one Cresside Baker was married to Thomas Horsnaile on 11 February 1602 at St. Stephen, Coleman Street in London, and one Cressid Martin was married to John Kitson on 9 October 1604 at St. Margaret's, Westminster—but the name is understandably rare: see LMA, P69/STE1/A/002/MS04449/001, f. 84v; Arthur Meredyth Burke, ed., *Memorials of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers, 1539–1660* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1914), 314. For some sixteenth-century poets' curiously high opinion of Criseyde, Rollins, "Troilus-Cressida Story," 389–92.

[351] STC 22331 and 22332. For standard bibliographic accounts, see Philip Williams, Jr., "The 'Second Issue' of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*," *Studies in Bibliography* 2 (1949/50): 25–33; Williams, "Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: The Relationship of Quarto and Folio," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950/51): 131–43; *Textual Companion*, 424–26; Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, 398–429. Regarding the two states of Q1, Philip Williams showed that the revisions must have been made during the printing process, rather than at a different time ("'Second Issue'"). A recent revisionary discussion argues that a now-lost quarto edition of the play pre-dated the extant one of 1609: see Pervez Rizvi, "The Bibliographical Relationship between the Texts of *Troilus and Cressida*," *The Library* 7th series, 14 (2013): 271–312, discussed by Gabriel Egan in *The Year's Work in English Studies* 94 (2015): 352–56.

Chaucerian orthography in which the three-syllable "Cresseida" becomes the two-syllable "Cresseid."[352] Even more significantly, the addition of the epithet "Famous" invokes the play's source narrative, with the wider resonances of Chaucerian *fama* that such an allusion entails. (This was the only instance of an early Shakespeare publication describing its story as "famous."[353]) In the physical space once occupied in the cancelland by the theatrical provenance, we find a description of the play's contents. However, "the conceited wooing | of *Pandarus* Prince of *Licia*" is (as we will see) an inorganic description of Shakespeare's play, and like the Chaucerizing gestures of the title itself, points yet again towards the originary poem. This sense of glancing *ad fontes* is corroborated by the fact that Pandarus' Lycian connection appears nowhere in Shakespeare's text, nor indeed in Chaucer's; its origin is Homeric.[354] Clearly the publishers, Richard Bonian and Henry Walley, took pains to market *Troilus and Cressida* as a work within a certain literary tradition.[355]

However, this promotion of literariness entailed a repudiation of the play's theatrical provenance. Famously, the cancel title page's deletion of the play's theatrical auspices ("*As it was*

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[352] Although in the Chaucerian two-syllable form of the name predominates in the text of Shakespeare's play, the two relevant early Stationers' Register entries give the three-syllable form of the name for the play's title, as does the Folio's running title. Predictably, the precise orthography in Chaucerian contexts varies as well, but all the instances in Speght's 1598 edition would imply a two-syllable pronunciation. The closest parallel to the 1609 quarto's cancel title page occurs in the prefatory "Arguments" section, where the title of the poem appears as "Troylus and Creseid" (sig. c5v).

[353] The early quarto title pages of *2 Henry VI* (1594, 1600, 1619) describe the houses of York and Lancaster as "famous."

[354] As Tatlock observes, the question of Pandarus's origins is hardly straightforward in Homer, but his status as "Prince of *Licia*" is clearly found in Latin and English materials ("Siege of Troy," 743n). See, for example, "The bands of *Zele* in *Lycie* land, at foote of *Ida* springs, / The *Aphnees* braue, *Lycaons* sonne the noble *Pandare* brings," and "Duke *Pandarus*, / The *Lycian* head" (Hall, trans., p. 42 and 80). Tatlock also speculates that Qb's title-page description was "possibly derived from an original *dramatis personae* or something else in the MS., which might reflect Shakespeare's reading" (744n). However, in the contemporaneous *Twelfth Night*, Feste refers to "Lord Pandarus of Phrygia" (3.1.50), a conventional poetic synonym for Troy.

[355] For a reading of the preface as the publishers' own self-interested interpretation of the play, consistent with their other contemporaneous literary offerings, see Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 1–4.

acted by the Kings Maiesties | seruants at the Globe") is ratified by a preface, "A neuer writer, to an euer reader. Newes" (sig. ¶2r–v), explicitly claiming that *Troilus and Cressida* was never performed: "Eternall reader, you haue heere a new play, neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comicall." The paronomasia in this opening sentence, with its stark distinction between the prize of audience applause ("the palmes of the vulger") and that of laureate poetry ("the palme comicall"), keenly articulates the contrast between the quarto's two states as two distinct visions of Shakespeare's play: a work for the stage performed by a specific company at a certain public theater, and a work of literature in the canonical poetic tradition—one not simply *a*theatrical, but *anti*theatrical.

The veracity of the preface's claim that play never received a public performance will likely remain among *Troilus and Cressida*'s insoluble cruces.[356] However, regardless of its utility as theater-historical evidence, this short piece of prose is, quite simply, one of the most interesting literary critical commentaries on Shakespeare that appeared during his lifetime. What we find is an ambivalent picture of Shakespeare's achievement as dramatist—a superb writer in an undeserving milieu. Shakespeare is praised for his mimetic realism, his universal insights, and (saliently, with regard to a play so obsessively concerned with intelligence) his wit; and yet these achievements are poorly served by the realities of the theater, from the prejudiced city fathers who disdain plays ("those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities") to the "dull and heauy-witted worldlings, as were neuer capable of the witte of a Commedie." Even if Shakespeare, not only witty in himself but the cause that wit is in other men, can leave his audiences "better wittied then they came," his

[356] Textual scholars who argue for both a public and a private version of the play often argue that the claims in the second-state's epistle refer specifically to the latter. Richard Dutton has argued that what is indicated here is rather that the "reading version," as published in the quarto, had not been performed: see "The Birth of the Author," in R.B. Parker and S.P. Zitner, eds., *Elizabethan Theater: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1996), 71–92, at 84–85. Lukas Erne agrees with Dutton's argument, but is rightly skeptical of the implication that the 1609 publishers used this difference as the basis for a separate license than Roberts's of 1603 (*Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 128).

work (*Troilus* in particular) deserves "such a labour, as well as the best Commedy in *Terence* or *Plautus*," that is, the careful consideration of reading. Indeed, this is the *telos* imagined by the preface's writer in a canny prophecy of Shakespearean book collecting: "when hee is gone, and his Commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set vp a new English Inquisition." While the writer never condemns theater or performance as such (as we have seen, he distances himself from the conventional antitheatricality of the "grand censors"), the world of performance nevertheless leaves Shakespeare's works tainted: "stal'd with the Stage […] clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulgar […] sullied, with the smoaky breath of the multitude." In articulating the pollution of performance, the preface borrows from the idiosyncratic diction of *Troilus and Cressida*: both "clapper-clawing" and "stale," for example, appear within the same speech by Thersites (5.4.1, 9). Arguably, however, the preface not only picks up on the language of the play but also one of its central thematic concerns. Just as the two title pages of the 1609 quarto present two sharply contrasted accounts the play's milieu, the play itself puts these two categories at odds: when the armed Prologue alludes to "author's pen or actor's voice" (Prol.24), the relationship and tension between *auctores* and *actores* is established that will provide the crucial hermeneutic context for approaching Shakespeare's adaptation of Chaucer, the English *auctor par excellence*.

The play's resident theorist of the tension between *auctor* and *actor* is Ulysses and arguably his clearest articulation of this theme occurs in the best-known passage in the play—the speech on Degree—and its aftermath. This sublime vision of universal order and the apocalyptic consequences of its violation was famously adopted by Tillyard as literature's premier instantiation of the "Elizabethan world picture," a depiction of obedience to authority as a law of nature:[357]

[357] E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1943), 18–19. Subsequent critics have been less inclined to see the speech as a transparent representation of this "world picture." Rosalie L. Colie dismissed the speech as merely a concatenation of clichés (*Shakespeare's Living Art* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1974], 320–21); Jonathan Dollimore emphasized the speech's concession that "society is disordered and the universe is in a state of incipient chaos" (*Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and*

> The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre
> Observe degree, priority and place,
> Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
> Office and custom, in all line of order.
> And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
> In noble eminence enthroned and sphered
> Amidst the other, whose med'cinable eye
> Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil
> And posts, like the commandment of a king,
> Sans check, to good and bad. (1.3.85–94)

The universal observation of established order is described in tenfold terms, reaching its apex in the legalistic sublime of that hypnotically sonorant asyndetic line beginning with the thrilling coinage *insisture*, which elides time and space into a single continuum of obedience. What is described is a permanent, natural course of the world, policed by the sovereignty of the sun, whose regal commandments, delivered without hesitation, preserve the status quo under the sign of planetary authority. However, Ulysses' speech is most famous for what follows: its nightmarish thought experiment about the subversion of this universal order "when degree is shaked" (101). Interestingly, the trajectory of this half of Ulysses' speech mirrors that of his portrait of order: the planetary modulates to the political. Images of disorder oscillate between the natural (the "raging of the sea, shaking of the earth" [97]) to the social (the erosion of civic fraternity, commerce, primogeniture [103–8]) and back again ("The bounded waters / Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores / And make a sop of all this solid globe" [111–13]), but the rhetorical terminus of Ulysses' oration is his vision of political collapse:

> Strength should be lord of imbecility,

Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984], 43); Harry Berger, Jr. has argued that the speech parodies the medieval commonplaces by cynically drawing attention to their fictiveness and the necessity of power to impose them (*Figures of a Changing World: Metaphor and the Emergence of Modern Culture* [New York: Fordham UP, 2015], 115–23, reworking ideas from "*Troilus and Cressida*: The Observer as Basilisk," *Comparative Drama* 2 [1968]: 122–36, esp. 125–27).

> And the rude son should strike his father dead;
> Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
> Between whose endless jar justice resides,
> Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
> Then everything includes itself in power,
> Power into will, will into appetite;
> And appetite, an universal wolf,
> So doubly seconded with will and power,
> Must make perforce an universal prey
> And last eat up himself. (114–24)

The dystopia imagined is a world of "mere oppugnancy," a warring state of nature governed only by the law of power, in which everything is absorbed. The last actual illustration of social breakdown before the speech becomes subsumed in abstraction and metaphor is that of the "rude son" killing his father. The image, which takes on a chilling irony in light of the myth of Ulysses' patricidal son Telegonus, is the most succinct emblem of *auctoritas* violated by the brute force of action. This is, ultimately, the most pressing concern in Ulysses' carefully calibrated speech of political counsel, diagnosing the Greek army's disease as a case of contagious dissension in the ranks ("The general's disdained / By him one step below, he by the next, / That next by him beneath" [129–31]), exemplified by "great Achilles, whom opinion crowns / The sinew and the forehead of our host" (142–43). Achilles is the cynosure of the camp and the consequences of his act of withdrawal make palpable the dependence of authority on power, an example imitated by the other soldiers.

> They tax our policy and call it cowardice,
> Count wisdom as no member of the war,
> Forestall prescience, and esteem no act
> But that of hand. The still and mental parts,
> That do contrive how many hands shall strike,
> When fitness calls them on, and know by measure
> Of their observant toil the enemy's weight—
> Why, this hath not a finger's dignity.
> They call this bed-work, mapp'ry, closet war;
> So that the ram that batters down the wall,
> For the great swinge and rudeness of his poise,
> They place before his hand that made the engine
> Or those that with the fineness of their souls

By reason guide his execution. (197–210)

The conflict is not simply one between brain and brawn, but between the intellectual authority who commands the action ("The still and mental parts, / That do contrive how many hands shall strike") and the performers of that action, author versus actor.[358] Tellingly, the most flagrant affront by the side of the martial actors and the most symptomatic expression of their contempt for authority is a theatrical performance: Patroclus' burlesque of the Greek generals for Achilles' entertainment. Ulysses' detailed report of these "scurril jests" (148) occupies nearly fifty lines, an astonishingly lowbrow satyr play following immediately after the high metaphysical tragedy of the Degree speech:

> And with ridiculous and awkward action—
> Which, slanderer, he imitation calls—
> He pageants us. Sometime, great Agamemnon,
> Thy topless deputation he puts on,
> And, like a strutting player, whose conceit
> Lies in his hamstring, and doth think it rich
> To hear the wooden dialogue and sound
> 'Twixt his stretched footing and the scaffoldage,
> Such to-be-pitied and o'erwrested seeming
> He acts thy greatness in… (149–58)[359]

Patroclus' acting (linguistic variations on which word frame the passage above) is parasitic in its relationship to authority and fundamentally anti-intellectual. Agamemnon's august office, the object of Patroclus' burlesque, is described in a phrase that aligns the Greek general's preeminent position of authority with cognitive capacity, the etymological origin of "deputation"—*putare*, "to thinke," "to

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[358] My reading here overlaps with Linda Charnes's in *Notorious Identity: Materializing the Subject in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1993), 88–89. Cf. Hannah Arendt's distinction between *auctor* and *artifex* in *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Penguin, 1961/1993), 122.

[359] For F's "aukward" (line 149), Q reads "sillie." Bevington notes that F's reading allows for "the same potentially sodomitical suggestion of 'preposterous'" (1.3.149n), used elsewhere to describe Patroclus and analyzed by critics such as Patricia Parker. While the anti-intellectual connotations of Q's "sillie" are worth considering, the word seems just as likely to be a sophistication of F's reading.

consider," "to iudge"[360]—reinforced by its sonic echo ("puts") later in the line (152). By contrast, Ulysses describes the act of acting as essentially corporeal: adumbrating the disparagement of Ajax, he compares Patroclus to "a strutting player, whose conceit / Lies in his hamstring."

The threat posed by Patroclus—actorly representation compromising authority—was hardly foreign to Shakespeare's theatrical world.[361] Certainly denigrating or satirical representations by actors were often suffered by noblemen to their outrage. Within a year of *Troilus*, for example, some "gent*lemen* of good desert and quallity" were mocked at the Curtain, the Earl of Lincoln was satirically mimicked by his nephew in a performance at South Kyme, and the disgraced Earl of Essex feared that actors "will play me in what formes they list upon y^{e} stage," a fate he considered "a thowsand tymes woorse then death."[362] Even Elizabeth herself was not immune to being impersonated on international stages.[363] But even well-intentioned representations could come under scrutiny. The charge would haunt Shakespeare's company as, for example, in 1604 when their performance of *The Tragedy of Gowry*, featuring an impersonation of King James, attracted the

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[360] Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ* (London, 1578), *v.* "*putare*."

[361] See, for example, David Scott Kastan, "Proud Majesty Made a Subject: Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37 (1986): 459–75; rpt. *Shakespeare After Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 109–27. This is distinct from the larger issue of representing sovereign authority more generally on the stage.

[362] Privy Council letter to the Justices of Middlesex, 10 May 1601, TNA, PC 2/26, p. 193; James Stokes, ed., *REED: Lincolnshire* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2009), 269–304, esp. 271; Essex to the Queen, 12 May 1600, TNA, SP 12/274, f. 232; Chambers, *ES*, 1:324–25. For a critical discussion of the Essex letter, see Grace Ioppolo, "Robert Deverux, 2nd Earl of Essex, and the Practice of Theatre," in Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, eds., *Essex: The Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 63–80. The performance at South Kyme is most thoroughly summarized in Norreys Jephson O'Conor, *Godes Peace and the Queenes: Vicissitudes of a House, 1539–1615* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1934), 108–26.

[363] In June 1598, in the wake of the Peace of Vervins, Elizabeth was critically depicted in topical sketches in Brussels and Antwerp: Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts… Salisbury*, Part VIII (London, 1899), 190, 197. In 1602, the English ambassador to France successfully prevented the performance of a play "*contre la regne d'Angleterre*" by an Italian troupe in Paris: Ralph Winwood to Robert Cecil, 7 July 1602, TNA, SP 78/46, f. 161v; cf. *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I* (London, 1725), 1:425. Both examples are cited in Chambers, *ES*, 1.323n.

concerned attention of the Privy Council.[364] Before long, there was an explicit prohibition "against the rep*re*sentinge of anie moderne Christian Kings in those Stage plays."[365] In both cases, the political sensitivity of the material made these plays objects of official concern, but the same attention could be warranted by politically benign or well-meaning representations, as when the 1596 Privy Council ordering the destruction of artistically inadequate portraits of Elizabeth.[366] Even the most deferential or flattering depictions of the living monarch could become the object of representational anxiety. When Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* premiered at the Globe in 1599, it concluded with an appearance by Queen Elizabeth played by a boy actor, "which (*dia to ten basilissan prosopopoesthai* [because of the Queen's having been portrayed on stage by an actor]) many seemed not to relish."[367] Despite the glowing representation of Elizabeth in the play, theatrical depiction of real political authority was perceived to be in itself distasteful: there was an inherent problem in the actorly representation of *auctoritas*.

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[364] Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 1:199 ("whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that yt be thought unfit that princes should be plaide on the stage in theyre life time, I heare that some great counsaillors are much displeased with yt").

[365] Edward Conway to the Privy Council, 12 August 1624, TNA, SP 14/171, f. 53. This letter describes Charles's reaction to the aftermath of Middleton's *A Game at Chess*. It is often supposed that the commandment in question is that which is referred to by the French ambassador Antoine Lefèvre de la Boderie after the Blackfriars boys' performance of some controversial topical plays, including Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron*, resulted in a closure of the theaters; Boderie reported that the King would only permit them to play again "à condition qu'ilz ne représenteront plus aucune histoire moderne ni ne parleront des choses du temps à peine de la vie" ("on condition that they should no longer perform any modern histories nor speak of contemporary affairs on pain of death"). See Chambers, *ES*, 3:258; John Margeson, ed., *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* by George Chapman (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988), 277.

[366] See TNA, PC 2/21, p. 337 ("the abuse com*m*itted by diuers vnskillfull artizans in vnseemly and improp*er*ly paintinge, gravinge and printing of her Ma*jesty's* p*er*son and vysage"); cited in Kastan, "Shakespeare and the Spectacle of Rule," 462.

[367] Helen Ostovich, eds., *Every Man Out of His Humour* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2001), 372–73, 372n. The two earlier quartos printed in 1600 (STC 14767 and STC 14768) have Greek letters, whereas the third quarto of that year (STC 147769) gives upper-case Roman letters.

Of course, the issue is complexly ironized in *Troilus and Cressida*: just as Cleopatra's horror at being travestied by squeaking boy actors in Rome is uttered by a squeaking boy actor in London, the Greek commanders who discuss Paroclus' burlesque are themselves being represented on stage. Ulysses' description of the "strutting player" is the most familiar of metatheatrical gestures and, like the word "scaffoldage" (which recalls the "unworthy scaffold" described by the Chorus at the opening of *Henry V*) points to the immediate material context of performance. What we are witnessing on stage mirrors Ulysses' description, but with an important difference: it is less the seditious mockery of real *political* authority than the sullying and staling personation of *literary* authority. However, to appreciate the ramifications of this personation, we need to consider the implications of these issues in the broader context of London theatre at the turn of the century.

II. Authors and Actors in the Poets' War

When Shakespeare composed *Troilus and Cressida* in 1601, he was writing in the midst of a fierce debate about the inheritance of classical *auctoritas* and the role of contemporary poetic authority, a context signaled by the Prologue's claim that he comes "not in confidence / Of author's pen or actor's voice." The "Prologue armed" (23), the first figure to appear in Shakespeare's *Troilus*, recalls and responds to the similar "armèd Prologue" who appears at the beginning of Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, performed earlier that year.[368] In Jonson's play, the armor-clad Prologus who dispels the malicious presence of Envy with "a well erected confidence," defending "our author" against his detractors, the "fry of writers" who "beslime his fame" by calling him arrogant.[369] As scholars have long argued, Jonson's *Poetaster* represents the high point in the contemporary quarrel between a

[368] Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, ed., *Poetaster, or The Arraingment*, *CWBJ*, Ind.67. However, for a reading of the Prologue, which appears only in the Folio, as a necessarily *textual* composition, see William Kuskin, *Recursive Origins: Writing at the Transition to Modernity* (Notre Dame, IN: U of Notre Dame P, 2013), 137–42.

[369] Jonson, *Poetaster*, Ind.74, 80.

handful of English writers that played out on the stage in pointed topical satires, named by one of its participants as the "Poetomachia," the Poets' War.[370] One of the chief weapons in this war was representation *à clef*: in play after play performed in the critical window of 1599–1602, Jonson, Dekker, and Marston staged thinly veiled caricatures of one another, aping vocabulary, amplifying vices, and critiquing convictions. While this "war of the theaters" has become a familiar staple of English literary history, recent work on the subject by James P. Bednarz and others has demonstrated that what was at issue in this *agon* between dramatists was less a matter of the *ad hominem* mudslinging emphasized by nineteenth-century theater historians than a serious debate about the moral authority of poets and the future of English drama.[371] In Bednarz's narrative, Jonson was the *enfant terrible* who stridently claimed for himself a singular position among dramatists as the preeminent moral arbiter and redefined the role of drama as a vehicle for social critique. Jonson's campaign, according to Bednarz, required a dismissal of Shakespearean romantic comedy in favor of an abrasive social satire in which the authoritative dramatist could reveal, and thereby purge, endemic vices—a vision that playwrights such as Marston, Dekker, and Shakespeare took it upon themselves to qualify, discredit, and explode. My attention to the Poets' War has less to do with the familiar argument that *Troilus and Cressida*'s Ajax represents a vituperative send-up of Jonson

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[370] Thomas Dekker, *Satiro-mastix. Or The vntrussing of the Humorous Poet* (London, 1602), sig. A3r.

[371] James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets' War* (New York: Columbia UP, 2001). Bednarz's study provides the most coherent and comprehensive account of how the debate unfolded; as such, much of my discussion on the subject follows his arguments and overarching narrative. Roslyn L. Knutson in *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) offers a crucial revisionary perspective, arguing that the Poets' War was not representative of the relationships between theatrical companies who had much more to gain by cooperation than the cutthroat competition that had been assumed by earlier theater historians. Part of Knutson's argument involves a reinterpretation of standard Poets' War texts (*Histriomastix*, *Hamlet*, *Poetaster*, *Satiomastix*), downplaying their hostility. An earlier study by Matthew Steggle focused on the issue of carcicature: see *Wars of the Theatres: The Poetics of Personation in the Age of Jonson*, English Literary Studies 75 (Victoria, BC: U of Victoria P, 1998). Charles Cathcart in *Marston, Rivalry, Rapprochement, and Jonson* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), concentrating on Marston, extends the arenas of the Poetomachia beyond the stage.

himself than the fact that questions of dramatic authority and poetic inheritance had reached a fever pitch when Shakespeare began to write his play.

Indeed, the play to which *Troilus* most conspicuously responds is precisely about Jonson's self-justification through his historical literary precedents. In *Poetaster*, Jonson dramatizes the Augustan heyday of Latin literature, in which Horace and Virgil stand as eminences worthy of Caesar's admiration. In the scene in which Virgil reads lines from his *Aeneid*, the mutual reverence between political and poetic authority illustrates the Jonsonian ideal of art's role in society. "Read, read thyself, dear Virgil," urges Caesar. "Let not me / Profane one accent with an untuned tongue; / Best matter, badly shown, shows worse than bad. […] Virtue without presumption place may take / Above best kings, whom only she should make."[372] At odds with these paragons of literary authority are the poetasters, hack playwrights, and actors represented by Crispinus, Demetrius, and Histrio, a sordid world of cheap theatrics consistently contrasted against the courtly milieu of immortal poetry—in Augustus' words, the best hope of Rome's glory eternized. In the spectacular final scene, Horace purges the malicious slanderers Crispinus and Demetrius of their tainted vocabulary, under the temporary praetorship of Virgil, whom Caesar encourages to "use your authority."[373] Although the play in large part functions as an *ad hominem* attack against Marston and Dekker, it also betrays a distinct revulsion for the world of the theater, and actors in particular: the familiar prejudice against the stage voiced by Lupus and Ovid Senior at the beginning of the play is left unanswered and the play's final scene features an actor dismissed by Caesar to be whipped.[374]

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[372] Jonson, *Poetaster*, 5.2.21–23, 26–27.

[373] Jonson, *Poetaster*, 5.3.351.

[374] Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets' War*, 231–40.

Repeatedly, the plays of the Poets' War display prejudices not antitheatrical but "antihistrionic."[375] The contrast between acting companies and morally authoritative poets was explicitly addressed in a play that loomed large in the early stages of the debate: *Histriomastix*, possibly written by John Marston.[376] Whether or not this was the play that Jonson told William Drummond of Hawthornden had inaugurated his feud with Marston,[377] it was certainly in Jonson's mind when he parodied its diction in *Every Man Out of His Humor*.[378] At the center of *Histriomastix* is the disparity between the authoritative Chrisoganus and the mercenary theatrical troupe Sir Oliver Owlet's men, set against an emblematic backdrop of society in the throes of cyclical history.[379] Whereas the "golden-born" Chrisoganus is a public intellectual, speaking in defense of philosophy

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[375] Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, 63.

[376] The issue of *Histriomastix*'s authorship and composition date has been contentious. The play was entered in the Stationers' Register by Thomas Thorpe on 31 October 1610 (Arber, *Transcript*, 3.447) and published that year without authorial attribution. Marston's authorship was first proposed by Richard Simpson in his 1878 anthology *The School of Shakspere*, and has been generally accepted in subsequent work, especially that which reads the play as a key trigger to the Poets' War. The attribution to Marston was challenged by Roslyn L. Knuston, who argued that the play's diction, prosody, imagery, and lack of "trendiness" are sufficiently un-Marstonian to disprove his participation: see "*Histrio-Mastix*: Not by John Marston," *Studies in Philology* 98 (2001): 359–77. She expanded the grounds for distancing the play from the Poets' War by arguing that the play's excessive cast list indicates that it could not actually have been performed by any commercial company, and is better attributed to amateur academic drama *circa* 1590 (*Playing Companies*, 82–102). Bednarz provided a substantial rebuttal of Knutson's most pointed critiques and reasserted Marston's authorship, although acknowledging that the play as it was published in 1610 must contain some discrepancies from any version that could have been staged in 1599: see "Writing and Revenge: John Marston's *Histriomastix*," *Comparative Drama* 36 (2002): 21–51. Subsequent work has tended to favor Marston as the play's author. Charles Cathcart, observing a parodic allusion to *Hamlet*, supported a date of composition after Shakespeare's play ("*Histriomastix*, *Hamlet*, and the 'Quintessence of Duckes'," *N&Q* 50 [2003]: 427–30), and John Peachman located six phrasal parallels that occurred exclusively in *Histriomastix* and in Marston's corpus ("Previously Unrecorded Verbal Parallels Between *Histrio-Mastix* and the Acknowledged Works of John Marston," *N&Q* 51 [2004]: 304–6). Regardless of the play's authorship, even the skeptical Knutson concedes that Jonson did indeed target the pedantic lexicon of *Histriomastix* in *Every Man Out* (*Playing Companies*, 77, 100).

[377] As Drummond records it: "He had many quarrels with Marston: beat him, and took his pistol from him; wrote his *Poetaster* on him. The beginning of them were that Marston represented him in the stage." See Ian Donaldson, ed., *Informations to William Drummond of Hawthornden*, in *CWBJ*, 5:374, lines 216–18.

[378] See especially Bednarz, "Revenge," 27.

[379] For an interpretation of Owlet's Men's repertory as a parodic whistle-stop tour of sixteenth-century theatrical trends, see Munro, *Archaic Style in English Literature*, 153–57.

and ethics, the troupe's hack writer Posthaste, as his name suggests, represents the basest form of textual production, his appropriations of the language of authority made ridiculous by poetic incompetence, as in a drafted prologue he reads to his eager troupe:

> *When Aucthours quill, in quiuering hand,*
> *His tyred arme did take:*
> *His wearied Muse, bad him deuise,*
> *Some fine play for to make.*
> And now my Maisters in this brauadoe,
> I can read no more without Canadoe.[380] (sig. Cr)

As the doggerel verse and dipsomania make clear, Postehaste's assumption of the "*Aucthours*" role is unwarranted, and when the troupe performs before an audience of nobles, this is treated as an act of serious transgression. Far from the gentle contempt of the Athenian court in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the reaction of the Italian lord Landulpho to the players' prologue is shock at the debasement of poetry, in which doggerel versification is made even more grotesque by its defacement of authoritative subject matter. Tellingly, the authoritative poem being despoiled is none other than *Troilus and Criseyde*:

> P*rol*. P*hillida* was a faire maid; I know one fairer then she,
> *Troylus* was a true louer; I know one truer then he:
> And *Cressida* that dainty dame, whose beauty faire & sweet,
> Was cleare as is y^e^ Christall streame, that runs along y^e^ street.
> How *Troyll* he that noble knight, was drunk in loue and bad goodnight,
> So bending leg likewise; do you not vs despise.
> *Land*. Most vgly lines and base-browne-paper-stuffe
> Thus to abuse our heauenly poesie,
> That sacred off-spring f[r]om the braine of Ioue,
> Thus to be mangled with prophane absurds,

[380] *OED* cites this as the sole use of the word and tentatively offers the definition "(?) Drink from a can." In *Histriomastix*, Posthaste's command is repeated by the players ("some Canadoe quickly") and a stage direction reads "*Enter Vintner with a quart of Wine.*" Could "Canadoe" represent a variation on "Canary"? An account of Francis Drake's 1595 voyage to the West Indies describes the Canary Islands as "the *Grand Canadoes*" and an island yielding "much Wine, as *Canadoe* Wine": see [Walter Bigges,] *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West-Indian Voyage* (London, 1652), p. 47.

Strangled and chok't with lawlesse bastards words[.] (sig. C3v)

In Landulpho's response, the act of unintentional burlesque constitutes a violent "abuse" of "our heauenly poesie," a phrase that both gestures towards an abstraction of poetry and towards a specific poem. As an Italian, perhaps he recognizes Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* behind the players' travesty; for the English audience, "our heauenly poesie" implicitly points to Chaucer. Landulpho's misgivings are confirmed when the play itself begins and the lovers make their appearance:

Enter Troylus and Cressida.
Troy. Come *Cressida* my Cresset light,[381]
Thy face doth shine both day and night,
Behold, behold, thy garter blue,
Thy knight his valiant elboe weares,
That When he shakes his furious Speare,
The foe in shiuering fearefull sort,
May lay him downe in death to snort.
Cres. O knight with vallour in thy face,
Here take my skreene, weare it for grace,
Within thy Helmet put the same,
Therewith to make thine enemies lame.
Land. Lame stuffe indeed the like was neuer heard.[382] (sig. C4r)

Besides the jogging tetrameters couplets *à la* Peter Quince, Posthaste's adaptation extrapolates and thereby makes ridiculous the Chaucerian moment in which Criseyde gives Troilus the love token of "a broche, gold and asure, / In which a ruby set was lik an herte" (III.1370–71). In Posthaste's

[381] Henry Rollins ("Troilus-Cressida," 389n) noted a similarity in Samuel Rowland's fourth Satire in *The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine* (London, 1600): "Be thou the Lady *Cressit-light* to mee, / Sir *Trollelolle* I will proue to thee" (sig. E2r). The parallel is interesting, but the only specific point of comparison is the figurative appropriation of Criseyde's name to the common term *cresset-light*, which may have perhaps been arrived at independently.

[382] Earlier critics of this play have sometimes taken this speech to be a specific burlesque of Shakespeare's *Troilus*: see, for example, Edmond Malone, "An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays Attributed to Shakspeare Were Written," *The Plays of William Shakspeare*, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (London, 1778), 1:269–346, at 318. Those who consider "shakes his furious Speare" a specific allusion to Shakespeare himself (e.g. Richard Simpson, ed., *The School of Shakspere*, 2 vols. [London, 1878], 2:3, 39n) neglect the ubiquity of the phrase.

version, Troilus is laden with all manner of feminine clothes, ludicrously on display when he heads into battle.[383] *Histriomastix*, like *Poetaster*, is not exactly antitheatrical—its intellectual hero Chrisoganus offers to sell a play to Sir Oliver Owlet's Men—but it does excoriate the theater industry for its travesty of true poetry ("base Ecchoes to our voice" [sig. D4v]) in favor of popular appeal to the lowest common denominator, "yawl[ing] to the common sort / Of thickskin'd auditours" (sig. D4r).[384] Bad drama threatens the project of poetic authority, and Sir Oliver Owlet's Men's crude adaptation of *Troilus and Criseyde* is the play's case study.[385]

Poetaster and *Histriomastix* are not antitheatrical as such, but they do imagine a dramatic author function that exists prior to the medium of the theater. In both plays, figures of poetic authority (an authority ratified by political figures within the plays) are set in opposition to a parasitic histrionism that threatens their claims. In *Poetaster*, Jonson's strategy of self-justification arises directly from an appropriation of the classical past; in *Histriomastix*, however, theatrical appropriation of literary authority can constitute an act of "abuse." As I will argue, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* responds to a similar constellation of concerns about histrionism's threat to authority, in particular, the literary authority of the past. It might be argued that the case of Chaucer is somewhat foreign to the debates of the Poets' War: indeed, in the small canon of plays that scholars have read

[383] Chaucer's Criseyde later gives Diomede "a pencel of hire sleve" (V.1043), but it is the broach that he wears in battle (V.1661). Shakespeare makes the exchange of love tokens a feature of their separation.

[384] Critics, like Alvin Kernan, who have been inclined to read *Histriomastix* as a Marstonian insult to Jonson have emphasized the negative facets of Chrisoganus's character, such as arrogance and pedantry, despite his overwhelming prescience within the world of the play; in the final analysis of Bednarz, who also makes this play a crucial early instigator of the Poets' War, finds the playwright's depiction of the character "fundamentally ambivalent" (*Poets' War*, 97).

[385] The overall form of Posthaste's adaptation is never revealed. When four characters from a prodigal son play burst onto the scene, it is unclear whether this is the actors' confusion or the playwright's, as the nobles summarily call an end to the show (sig. C4r). The episode almost functions as an act of criticism on the Troilus burlesque that has preceded it: the lavish son who wastes his father's resources, exchanging deference to authority for liquid cash, resembles the mercenary playwrights who flagrantly pillage poetic *auctores* for profit.

as the constitutive texts of the *poetomachia*, Chaucer is not a major presence.[386] However, it was during the same period that one of the debate's chief interlocutors was embarked on a project of Chaucerian adaptation. The playwright was Thomas Dekker, who between 1599 and 1600 co-wrote three plays for the Admiral's Men based on narratives from the Chaucerian canon: *Troilus and Cressida*, *Patient Grissil* (based on *The Clerk's Tale*), and *Fair Constance of Rome* (based on *The Man of Law's Tale*). It was immediately after this Chaucerian sequence that Shakespeare wrote his own version of *Troilus and Cressida* for the Chamberlain's Men and an examination of Dekker's plays will bring the stakes of Shakespeare's Chaucerian adaptation into focus.

III. Chaucerian Adaptations at the Rose

The most candid theorization of theatrical intertextuality in the Renaissance is found not in any published treatise by Jonson or Heywood, but in the contract for the construction of the Fortune theater signed on 8 January 1600.[387] Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn, whose Admiral's Men were performing at the Rose, had spent the better part of the year in the shadow of the newly constructed Globe, and, whether or not their relocation to St. Giles-without-Cripplegate was the direct result of stiff competition over Southwark audiences, their list of demands for the Fortune betrays a keen eye for what was desirable in their new neighbors' playhouse.[388] Repeatedly

[386] That Chaucer should not have played a role in the Poetomachia's debates on whether a morally inadequate person can nevertheless serve as an authoritative voice seems surprising given the importance of those issues in Chaucer's works: see, recently, Alastair Minnis, *Fallible Authors: Chaucer's Pardoner and Wife of Bath* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2008). However, it is also apparent that these examples would not likely have served either side of the debate particularly well, and Jonson, who might have had more to gain, would scarcely have chosen Chaucer—about whom he felt ambivalent at best—above his beloved classical surrogates.

[387] Dulwich College, Muniment 22; Walter W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers: Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1907), 4–7; R.A. Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 306–10.

[388] The precise date of the Globe's opening is unknown. The reference to the "*novo edificata*" on the Globe site on 16 May 1599 may refer either to the playhouse or to the adjoining tap house: TNA,

throughout the document, the carpenter Peter Street is told to follow the example of features "as are made & Contryved in and to the late erected Plaiehowse On the Banck in the saide p*ar*ishe of S^te^ Savio^r^s Called the Globe."[389] Often what is demanded is not mere replication but improvement: the frame and stage of the Fortune are to be constructed "accordinge to the manner and fashion of the saide howse Called the Globe Saveinge only that all the princypall and maine postes of the saide fframe and Stadge forwarde shalbe square and wroughte palasterwise w^th^ carved proporc*i*ons Called Satiers to be placed & sett on the Topp of every of the same postes"—that is, the Fortune's columns should be like the Globe's except square and ornamented with sculpted satyrs.[390] Henslowe and Alleyn's close attention towards a rival playhouse is essentially the material equivalent of the practice of dramatists writing for the professional stage, who looked with an emulative eye to their colleagues for how to construct plays, how to treat specific narratives, and how to improve on their competitors' achievements.

This was especially true for the year during which the two companies played literally across the street from each other in Southwark. The Admiral's Men had performed for years at the Rose theater when the Globe opened in 1599 across Maid Lane, and they remained until late 1600, when they finally moved into the completed Fortune.[391] The close proximity between the two playhouses in 1599/1600 was underscored by the remarkable resonances between their respective repertories as

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C142/257/68; Chambers, *ES*, 2:415; Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988–91*, MOLA Monograph 48 (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2009), 90. More reliable is Thomas Platter's account of going to the theater to see *Julius Caesar* on September 21 of that year, although there is still a possibility, however slight, that this was not Shakespeare's play and that the theater was not the new Globe: Ernest Schanzer, "Thomas Platter's Observations on the Elizabethan Stage," *N&Q* 201 (1956): 465–67; Gabriel Egan, "The Lords Howard's Men at the Rose and On Tour in 1599," *N&Q* 244 (1999): 234–36.

[389] Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers*, 5 (lines 30–32).

[390] Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers*, 6 (lines 53–56).

[391] The Fortune was operational by November or December 1600, according to a payment recorded by Henslowe "for the firste weckes playe" (Foakes, ed., *Diary*, 137 [f. 70v]).

each company vigilantly monitored its competitor's offerings, as Roslyn L. Knutson has shown.[392] Just as Henslowe and Alleyn had their eyes turned to the Globe, Shakespeare and his fellow sharers were watching the Rose. It was during this short period that the Admiral's Men staged their Chaucerian triptych—*Troilus and Cressida*, *Patient Grissil*, and *Fair Constance of Rome*. The co-authorship of these three plays varied, but the constant among all three was Thomas Dekker, who would become one of the most loyal Chaucerians working in the professional theater.[393] Dekker was well known to Shakespeare and his company. In January 1599, he was skirting arrest for a debt to the Lord Chamberlain's Men (despite a loan from Henslowe, he may have ended up in jail nevertheless)[394] and shortly after the Admiral's performed Dekker's Chaucer sequence, the Chamberlain's Men would stage *Satiromastix* at the Globe in 1601, Dekker's most direct salvo in the *poetomachia*—indeed, the work that provides theater historians with the term itself.[395] Although the

[392] Roslyn L. Knutson, "Toe to Toe Across Maid Lane: Repertorial Competition at the Rose and Globe, 1599-1600," in June Schlueter and Paul Nelsen, eds., *Acts of Criticism: Performance Matters in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2006), 21–37.

[393] Chi-fang Sophia Li, "Inheriting the Legacy: Dekker Reading Chaucer," *English Studies* 93 (2012): 14–42.

[394] On 30 January 1599, Henslowe records a loan of £3 10*s*. "to descarge Thomas dickers frome th*e* a reaste of my lord chamberlenes men" (Foakes, ed., *Diary*, 104 [f. 53], cf. 194–95 [f. 101]). His absence from Henslowe's records until the first payments for *Troilus* is sometimes thought to be the result of his imprisonment: see, e.g., Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 108. It is possible that the debt was the result of an advanced payment for a commission that Dekker failed to fulfill: see W.L. Halstead, "Dekker's Arrest by the Chamberlain's Men," *N&Q* 176 (1939): 41–42; M.T. Jones-Davies, *Un peintre de la vie londonienne: Thomas Dekker (circa 1572–1632)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librarie Marcel Didier, 1958), 1:38; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan, 1592–1623* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011), 246.

[395] Thomas Dekker, *Satiro-mastix. Or The vntrussing of the Humorous Poet* (London, 1602), sig. A3r. The quarto edition of the play, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on 11 November 1601, advertised itself as having "bin presented publikely, by the Right Honorable, the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants; and priuately, by the Children of Paules" (London, 1602). Bednarz argues for a slightly earlier *terminus ante quem* of 24 October 1601 on the grounds of its relationship to Marston's *Antonio and Melida* (*Shakespeare and the Poets' War*, 272–73).

repertory of the Admiral's company has traditionally been left out of accounts of the Poets' War,[396] Dekker's contributions for this company—in particular, his Chaucerian triptych mounted by the Admiral's Men in 1599/1600—deserve to be considered in terms resonant with the concern for authority and drama contested by Jonson, Marston, and others, Shakespeare included.

There are, however, practical limitations to our ability to do this. Of the Admiral's Chaucer sequence, only one play has survived, although the records of Henslowe's *Diary* furnish us with the essential evidence about authorship and dating of all three. *Troilus and Cressida*, a collaboration between Dekker and Henry Chettle, seems to have been finished by May of 1599.[397] *Patient Grissil*, for which Dekker and Chettle were joined by William Haughton, was finished by January 1600,[398] at which time the company acquired a gray gown for the production.[399] *Fair Constance of Rome*—in which Dekker, Michael Drayton, Richard Hathaway, Anthony Munday, and Robert Wilson all had a hand—appeared in two parts, the first of which was finished by June 1600, and the second begun almost immediately thereafter.[400] What we know about these three plays varies widely. Only *Patient*

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396 Despite the centrality of Dekker to his account, Bednarz's focus on the three most conspicuous companies—the Chamberlain's Men, the Children of Blackfriars, and the Children of Paul's—excludes the Admiral's offerings almost entirely from his consideration. The competitive relationship between the two companies was addressed at length in R.B. Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594–1603* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1935), although many of Sharpe's generalizations about the Admiral's repertory have been subsequently nuanced by later critics.

397 The only payments for this play in Henslowe's *Diary* are dated 7 and 16 April 1599 and only total £4 (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 106–7 [f. 54v]), although the final payment(s) may well have taken place during the gap in the *Diary* between April 17 and May 26 (Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, 138; Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 29, 243n).

398 Payments to the playwrights are recorded until 29 December 1599, although the apparent total sum (£10 10*s.*) is unusually high (Foakes, ed., *Diary*, 65, 125, 128–29 [ff. 31, 65–67]).

399 Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 130 (f. 67). On the role of this gray gown (and other garments) in the play, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 228–32, 239–44.

400 The first four playwrights are recorded in the *Diary* as receiving payments for *1 Fair Constance* totaling £5 9*s.* (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 135–36 [f. 69v]); Wilson is identified as a collaborator (entitled to a share of 11*s.*) in an undated letter to Henslowe from the actor Robert Shaw: see Dulwich College, MSS 1, article 31 (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 294). Regarding *2 Fair Constance*, only a payment of 20*s.* is recorded in

Grissil survives in an early printed edition.[401] *Fair Constance of Rome* remains the most obscure, known only through the hints in the Dulwich archives. The case of *Troilus and Cressida*, that most immediately relevant to a consideration of Shakespeare's play, occupies an intermediary position thanks to the survival of a fragmentary backstage "plot" prepared for its production, preserved with four other examples in the British Library.[402]

While this variable survival prohibits us from considering the Admiral's Chaucerian triptych in detail, the subject matter of these plays alone allows us to conjecture a common thread. While the inaugural installment of *Troilus and Cressida* may have been first added to the Admiral's contemporary repertory to continue the company's representations of the Trojan myth,[403] it may also have owed its more immediate impetus to the publication of Speght's Chaucer edition in 1598, a conjecture that the subsequent Chaucerian plays seem to corroborate. That Dekker should have been involved in all

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the *Diary* (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 136 [f. 69v]). The team of collaborators, excepting Dekker, was the same who would write *Sir John Oldcastle*, the Admiral's martyrological corrective to Shakespeare's Falstaff, which premiered in 1599/1600. Dekker would later write additions for the 1602 revival (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 213 [f. 115]).

401 *The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissill. As it hath beene sundrie times lately plaid by the… (Lord high Admirall) his seruants* (London, 1603). The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 28 March 1600 by Cuthbert Burby, not long after its premiere, and only ten days after Henslowe lent 10*s.* "to geue vnto th*e* printer to staye th*e* printing of patient gresell" (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 132 [f. 68]). The 1603 quarto (STC 6518) was printed by Edward Allde for Henry Rocket. Subsequent citations will refer to the text as edited by Fredson Bowers in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953–61), 1:213–90.

402 British Library, Add. MS 10449, f. 5. Greg's first transcription (*Henslowe Papers*, 142) was revised in *Dramatic Documents*, I, document 5; the latter is also accessible in Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 6:220-21; David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 111. The plot and its likely source material are most helpfully discussed in Tatlock, "The Siege of Troy," 697–703, and Geoffrey Bullough, "The Lost 'Troilus and Cressida'," *Essays and Studies* n.s. 17 (1964): 24–40. For a skeptical assessment of the plot's relationship to Dekker and Chettle's play based on the relatively infrequent appearances of Troilus and Cressida in the extant fragment, see Harold N. Hillebrand and T.W. Baldwin, eds., *Troilus and Cressida*, New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1953), 461.

403 Misha Teramura, "Brute Parts: From Troy to Britain at the Rose, 1595–1600," in David McInnis and Matthew Steggle, eds., *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 127–47. The Player's "Hecuba" speech in *Hamlet* is sometimes thought to allude to the Trojan repertory of the Chamberlain Men's neighbors.

three prompts us to look for a different kind of resonance: besides a shared concern with tested fidelity and constancy,[404] these three stories to some extent represent the highest prestige Chaucerian material, or at least those narrative works in which Chaucer most explicitly touches on his own fame. As we have seen, *Troilus* was read as Chaucer's greatest poetic achievement, with the famous valediction to his book at the close of the poem emblematic of canonical self-interpolation, while both of the *Canterbury Tales* adapted by the Admiral's Men begin with similar gestures. The Man of Law prefaces his *Tale* by alluding to Chaucer's literary accomplishments in an extended account of *The Legend of Good Women*—the only moment in the Chaucerian canon in which the poet interpolates his own last name into verse[405]—and, as I will discuss below, *The Clerk's Tale* begins by invoking Petrarchan laureation with the implication that a *translatio studii* of humanism from Italy to England will be performed by Chaucer himself.

Whether or not Shakespeare was conscious of the implications of the Admiral's triptych, he certainly seems to have paid attention to Dekker and Chettle's treatment of *Troilus and Cressida* before writing his own version. While the extant plot is badly damaged, leaving scholars unsure about the extant of material that has been lost,[406] what survives offers revealing suggestions about what specifically Shakespeare may have borrowed. Notwithstanding a critical tendency to assume that the Admiral's play was, in Geoffrey Bullough's words, an "unsophisticated mixture of epic and

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[404] Perhaps the three narratives were connected in Chaucer's mind as well. The praise of Troilus, "That ecch hym loved that loked on his face" (*T&C* 1.1078) is similarly used to describe both Constance and Griselda (*CT* II.532, IV.413): Windeatt, ed., *Troilus*, 374, line 1078n.

[405] Larry D. Benson, *A Glossarial Concordance to the Riverside Chaucer*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1993), 1:122. In manuscript witnesses, the poet's name often appears in paratexts: see John S. P. Tatlock and Arthur G. Kennedy, eds., *A Concordance to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and to the Romaunt of the Rose* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), *s.v.* "Chaucer" (134).

[406] Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, II, 138. As Greg notes, the fragments seems to represent "the lower half of the front, or first, sheet." As such Greg thought that the final scene preserved in the plot was not the last scene in the play (*Dramatic Documents*, II, 138, 143), although Bullough was inclined to disagree on aesthetic grounds (37, 40).

didactic sentiment" to which Shakespeare provided "a 'realistic' answer,"[407] it is clear that Shakespeare found much to emulate in the earlier play, taking not only its interpolation of the Chaucerian story within the classical matter of Troy, "but also several of his most important scenes."[408] At a structural level, the resonance between classical and Chaucerian narratives, largely implicit in their shared source material, was brought to the forefront of Dekker and Chettle's collaboration. Consider the scene (represented in lines 19–25 of the fragment) in which Troilus and Cressida are coupled:

> E⟨nte⟩r Tro⟨y⟩l⟨ s &⟩ Pandarus
> to t⟨h⟩em Cressida & a waight⟨ ng⟩
> maid wth a l⟨igh⟩t, m^{r} Jones his boy
> exit⟨ w⟩ai⟨g⟩htng maid, exeunt manet
> Pan⟨da ⟩ to ⟨h⟩im Deiphobus, exit
> D⟨ei⟩p⟨h b ⟩ to him Helen & Paris
> exit Panda⟨r⟩us, exeunt omnes[409]

The waiting maid, played by Richard Jones's boy, accompanies Cressida onstage, and then departs, leaving her alone with Pandarus and Troilus; the two lovers then leave together. That the climactic scene in which Troilus and Cressida consummate their love should immediately be followed by the appearance of Paris and Helen, a living emblem of the catastrophic consequences of erotic betrayal, clearly appealed to Shakespeare, who would borrow this direct juxtaposition of the two pairs of

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[407] Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 6:100. Bullough's judgment is quoted without comment by Ann Thompson (*Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 32). The play is sometimes thought to be the specific object of satire of Sir Owlet's Men's performance in *Histriomastix* discussed above (for example, Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 32), although the general familiarity of Troilus and Criseyde scarcely necessitated a direct target: see Harold Jenkins, *The Life and Work of Henry Chettle* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1934), 225. Amusingly, George Bernard Shaw had the confidence to assert that the play mentioned in Henslowe's *Diary* was Shakespeare's, and not a distinct work of Dekker and Chettle, apparently due to misunderstanding about the nature of the *Diary* ("Shaw's 1884 Lecture," 63ff).

[408] Bullough, "The Lost 'Troilus and Cressida'," 40. See also Tatlock, "Siege of Troy," 744–46.

[409] Greg, *Dramatic Documents*, I, document 5, lines 19–25. Angle brackets indicate spans where the MS is defective, along with Greg's best guesses where a fragment of a letter is legible.

lovers in his own adaptation.[410] Although Shakespeare spreads the exchange over two scenes and reverses the order of their appearance on stage, the idea is clearly lifted from Dekker and Chettle, and the grouping of Pandarus, Paris, and Helen (the last of whom only appears in a single scene in Shakespeare's play) is unparalleled in any other source.[411] Even in its skeletal form we can see the Admiral's dramatists fascinated by the political resonances of the love plot. When Deiphobus appears on stage at line 23, presumably relating to Pandarus the capture of Antenor that he had witnessed in the previous scene (lines 15–18), he not only adumbrates the exchange that will take Cressida to the Greeks—and thus the tragic end to the love story—but also his own future marriage to Helen, which will itself end with its own galling example of erotic treachery and the fall of Troy itself.[412] In Dekker and Chettle's play, the erotic and the political are brought into close proximity.

Although the fragmentary plot of Dekker and Chettle's *Troilus and Cressida* is richly suggestive of thematic possibilities that may have appealed to Shakespeare, it tells us little about the precise nature of their adaptation of Chaucer. For this we must turn to *The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissil*,

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[410] The equivalent scenes in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (3.1 and 3.2) may be roughly abstracted as follows:

> *Enter Pandarus and a Seruant. Enter Paris and Helena* [*attended*].[(a)] [*Exit Pandarus.*][(b)] *Exeunt.*
> *Enter Pandarus and Troylus Man. Enter Troylus.* [*Exit Troilus's Man.*][(c)] *Exit Pandarus. Enter Pandarus. Exit Pand*[*arus*]. *Enter Pandarus and Cressida.* [*Exit Pandarus.*][(d)] *Enter Pandarus. Exeunt.*

The stage directions above are taken from the fuller Folio text (TLNs 1478, 1519, 1631, 1632, 1636, 1649, 1661, 1666, 1672, 1730, 1846). The supplied directions are based on relatively uncontroversial inferences from textual clues: (a) "*Pan.* Faire be to you my Lord, and to all this faire company…" (b) "*Pan.* Farewell sweete Queene. | *Hel.* Commend me to your Neece. | *Pan.* I will sweete Queene." (c) "*Troy.* Sirra walke off." (d) "*Pan.* […] Come in, come in, Ile go get a fire?" (TLNs 1520, 1617–19, 1638, 1690–91).

[411] Bullough says of the scene in the Admiral's play: "no doubt Helen and Paris discuss their own affairs and the love of Troilus and Cressida" ("Troilus," 31). Some doubt is probably warranted: in Chaucer, the union of the lovers is meticulously kept secret, as will be discussed below.

[412] Deiphobus posthumously relates the story to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6.512–30. Bullough suggests that Deiphobus' presence can be accounted for "because it is his house" (31), based on the setting of Troilus and Cressida's first encounter in Chaucer's Book II. It is possible that Dekker and Chettle conflated the two distinct meetings. But the nocturnal time suggests that a location within or even outside of Pandarus' house might be the more likely possibility.

the adaptation of *The Clerk's Tale* by Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton.[413] Printed in a black letter edition in 1603, *Patient Grissil*'s published form was evocative of its Chaucerian pedigree.[414] However, the play itself—the earliest extant Chaucerian adaptation written for the professional theater—is a remarkable reflection on this pedigree and the complex tensions of translating this material to the public stage. Interestingly this reflection manifests itself less in the playwrights' treatment of Chaucer's story of psychological torture than in their conspicuous additions to the story: namely, the characters of Laureo and Babulo.[415]

Patient Grissil's eponymous character and her family are introduced in the second scene of the play.[416] Predictably, it is a laudatory portrait of domestic life, as Grissil and her father Janicola are

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[413] The play's nineteenth-century editors, John Payne Collier and Gottlieb Hübsch, both assumed that Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton's immediate source was not Chaucer's poem but rather a prose translation of Boccaccio's story, such as *The Antient, True, and Admirable History of Patient Grisel* (STC 12383), published in 1619 but "no doubt […] a re-impression of a much anterior work": see Collier, ed., *Patient Grissil* (London, 1841), viii. This claim was refuted by Otto Ballmann, who provided a list of specific textual parallels with *The Clerk's Tale*: see "Chaucers einfluss," 66–72. In Ann Thompson's judgment, Dekker is "more a man who uses Chaucer than one who is creatively influenced by him, although the sheer quantity of his references makes him a significant 'Chaucerian'" (*Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 24). Chi-fang Sophia Li builds on this suggestion, arguing that Dekker responds to dramaturgical cues implicit in Chaucer's text: "Inheriting the Legacy," 34–37.

[414] Zachary Lesser, revisiting the subject of black letter use, has argued that by the late sixteenth century it had come to signify the nexus of Englishness and past-ness in the traditional English community: see "Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and Black Letter," in Marta Straznicky, ed., *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England* (Boston: U of Amherst P, 2006), 99–126, esp. 107. However, the semiotic importance of black letter use in printed playbooks should not, admittedly, be overestimated in the case of *Patient Grissil*. Although Lesser identifies the years 1595 to 1608 as a period in which black letter was being phased out of dramatic printing (114), of the forty-nine editions of professionally staged plays that were printed between 1601 and 1605, twelve (almost a quarter of the total) were still printed in black letter. (My figures here are based on the online *Database of Early English Playbooks*, although I count substantially identical states as one edition and *DEEP* neglects to indicate the 1605 quarto of *Tamburlaine* [STC 17428] was printed in black letter.) My argument is not that all black letter use had a single semiotic function, but that specific instances could trigger specific associations, such as the Chaucerian source text in the case of *Patient Grissil*.

[415] The play's version of the story is conveniently summarized in Harry Keyishian, "Griselda on the Elizabethan Stage: The *Patient Grissil* of Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 16 (1976): 253–61.

[416] Both the first and second scenes of the play mirror the opening parts of Chaucer's *Tale*. The play opens with Gwalter, Marquess of Salucia, hunting in the forest with his courtiers, whose skepticism that the

both humbly at their work of basket weaving. The particular virtues of the heroine are established as Grissil demurs from working in the sun lest she be seen by a man, a decision praised by her father as exemplary of her extraordinary modesty (1.2.25–8, 37–50). The scene also introduces two non-Chaucerian characters into the household, the family's servant Babulo and Grissil's brother Laureo, both of whom will remain important presences throughout the play.[417] Less predictably, these two additional characters serve not simply to reinforce the scene's domestic simplicity, but are carefully characterized as outsiders to Chaucer's central familial dyad. Babulo, the first of the household's characters to be introduced, represents the play's rather inorganic attempt to provide a clowning role in the main plot of Chaucer's darkest tale, his boisterous prose outbursts discouraged by the sober Janicola: "Goe foole, cease this vaine talke and fall to worke" (1.2.20), "Let not thy tongue goe so: sit downe to worke" (89). By contrast, Janicola's son Laureo is not another basket weaver but a university student, and his unexpected entrance in the scene, despite a rapturous greeting from his father, is marked by his ashamed confession that his poverty prohibits further study:

> I that haue liud,
> These nine yeares at the Vniuersity,
> Must now for this worlds deuill, this angell of golde,
> Haue all those daies and nights to beggerie solde:
> Through want of money, what I want I misse,
> Who is more scorn'd then a poore scholler is?
> […]
> Oh I am mad,
> To thinke how much a Scholler vndergoes,
> And in th'ende reapes naught but pennurie (1.2.135–39, 141–43).

Marquess will fulfill his promise to be married that day is met with his jocular assurances that wives must be hunted (1.1.35–54), an idea that picks up on a suggestion in Chaucer's tale (IV.232–38).

[417] In Cyrus Hoy's division of the play's authorship, the first half of the second scene—with the introduction of Babulo and Laureo—is the work of Dekker: see *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker' Edited by Fredson Bowers*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), 1:146.

That Laureo's appearance as an impoverished student, the play's most significant early departure from *The Clerk's Tale*, should be subject of sustained attention (sixty lines) immediately prior to the crucial arrival of the Marquess on the scene, invites readers to wonder about its precedent, an answer discovered not in Chaucer's tale, but rather its teller.

Chaucer's Clerk of Oxford is the quintessential penurious student: an unemployed "philosophre," with "holwe" looks, "thredbare" clothes, and "litel gold in cofre" (I.289–90, 297–98). What he lacks in worldly glamor, he compensates in his pregnant conversation, "short and quyk and ful of hy sentence; / Sownynge in moral vertu was his speche" (306–7). An incorrigible bibliophile, he spends any money that happens to come his way "On bookes and on lernynge," preferring "Twenty bookes, clad in blak or reed, / Of Aristotle and his philosophie" to have nearby than clothes or instrumnets (300, 294–95). When solicited by the Host to tell "some myrie tale" (IV.9), the Clerk's instinct is to draw upon his academic milieu and recite

> a tale which that I
> Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,
> As preved by his wordes and his werk.
> He is now deed and nayled in his cheste;
> I prey to God so yeve his soule reste!
> "Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete,
> Highte this clerk, whos rethorike sweete
> Enlumyned al Ytaille of poetrie…['] (IV.26–33)

This evocation of the Paduan "clerk" Petrarch is both an appropriately scholarly citation for the young academic and an aspirational self-portrait—both for the Clerk of Oxford and for Geoffrey Chaucer.[418] Foregrounding the source of the tale as the poet laureate, Chaucer and the Clerk invite the comparison of their own poetic retelling within the line of humanistic transmission, from Boccaccio's Italian to Petrarch's Latin to Chaucer's English. Fittingly, Laureo, the avatar of academic

[418] Helen Cooper, *Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 185–86.

credentials within *Patient Grissil*, is christened after the Petrarchan symbol of poetic prestige that aligns the Clerk with Chaucer: the laurel. Laureo, then, represents not so much an allegorical depiction of Chaucer[419] or even an interpolation of the Clerk within his own *Tale*, but the personification of a set of values and aspirations associated with erudition and poetic achievement, and the moral function of both.

However, Laureo's academic humanism is thrown into relief by his main foil in the play—not the tyrannical Gwalter, against whom he rails, but the servant Babulo, the playwrights' other addition to the Grissil and Janicola household. If the loquacious Babulo is by his very first appearance in 1.2 legible as a clown,[420] his association with traditions of performance sets him in opposition to the academic Laureo from their very first interaction on stage, when Babulo disingenuously misremembers the names of the Nine Muses as the seven deadly sins (1.2.117–22). Whereas Laureo's name aligns him with the bookish traditions of written authorship, Babulo's aligns him with theatrical traditions of foolery.[421] At once evocative of *bauble* and *babble*, Babulo's name invokes the traditional symbol of the jester ("What's a foole but his bable?" asks the prologue of Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*[422]) as well as the prolixity that makes him an incongruously

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[419] Indeed, the influence of Chaucer's personality and voice is far more diffused throughout the play, as the subplot of the Welsh couple Sir Owen ap Meredith and Gwenthyan seems to embody throughout the play the oppositional rallying cry in "*Lenuoye de Chaucer a les mariz de nostre temps*" (Speght 1598, f. 49v): "Ye archewyves, stondeth at defense, […] Ne suffreth nat that men yow doon offense […] Ne dreed hem nat; doth hem no reverence" (IV.1195, 1197, 1201).

[420] As such, he was probably played by the Admiral's clown John Singer.

[421] The name Babulus could have been found in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*: see *Metamorphoses*, IV.14; William Adlington, trans., *The. xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse* (London, 1566), f. 38v. While the word does not appear in early modern dictionaries, its resemblance to *babble* has suggested to modern lexicographers that the word may be a nonce form meaning "fool," and perhaps may have been understood as such to Renaissance readers: see Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), *s.v.* "babulus." The word does not appear in P.G.W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012).

[422] Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament* (London, 1600), sig. B1v.

dominant stage presence, suggesting the impromptu performances of early modern fools when they departed from their prescribed texts. It is of course one of Hamlet's warnings to the players that the "clowns speak no more than is set down for them."[423] That these improvisations could be perceived as anti-literary is most famously articulated by Richard Jones in his epistle to *Tamburlaine* (1590), one of the seminal documents in the rise of dramatic publication, which famously "left out some fond and friulous Iestures," unworthy "to be mixtured in print with such matter of worth."[424]

Whereas Laureo represents the moral authority of academic humanism, Babulo represents entertainment. Like professional actors, many of whom came from artisanal backgrounds[425] and who performed before the Queen on a regular basis,[426] Babulo is a basket maker recruited by Gwalter for entertainment at court at the same time that the Marquess selects Grissil to be his wife (1.2.297–313). One telling exchange between Laureo and Babulo pits these two worlds against each other, and deserves to be quoted at length:

> *Enter* Laureo *reading and* Babulo *with him.*
>
> *Bab.* Come I haue left my worke to see what mattens you mumble to your selfe, faith *Laureo* I would you could leaue this lattin, and fal to make baskets, you think tis enough if at dinner you tell vs a tale of Pignies,[427] and then mounch vp our victuals, but that fits not vs: or the historie of the well *Helicon*, and then drinke vp our beare: we cannot liue vpon it.

[423] Q1's Hamlet refers to the clown "blabbering with his lips" (sig. F2v), using a verb with an onomatopoetic connection to *babble*. On the possibility that Q1 *Hamlet* witnesses just such an improvisatory dilation at this moment in the play, see Margreta de Grazia, *'Hamlet' without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007), 178–79.

[424] [Marlowe,] *Tamburlaine* (London, 1590), sig. A2r. For more on the tension between clowning and literary text, see Richard Preiss, *Clowning and Authorship in Early Modern Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014).

[425] See, for example, David Kathman, "Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004): 1–49.

[426] As Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton were completing the play, the Admiral's Men performed before the Queen at court on December 27 and January 1: Chambers, *ES*, 4.166; *MSC* VI, 31.

[427] Pigmies, such as those described in Pliny's *Natural History* and Mandeville's *Travels*. See Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries*, 174.

Laur. A Scholler doth disdaine to spend his spirits,
Vpon such base imploiments as hand labours.
Bab. Then you should disdaine to eate vs out of house and home: you stand all day peeping into an ambrie[428] there, and talke of monsters and miracles, and countries to no purpose: before I fell to my trade I was a traueller, and found more in one yeare then you can by your poets and paltries in seauen yeares.
Laur. What wonders hast thou seene, which are not heere?
Bab. Oh God, I pittie thy capacitye good scholler; as a little wind makes a sweet ball smell, so a crumme of learning makes your trade proude: what wonders? wonders not of nine daies, but *1599*. I haue seene vnder *Iohn Prester* and *Tamer Cams*, people with heds like Dogs.
Laur. Alas of such there are too manie heere,
All Italie is full of them that snarle,
And bay and barke at other mens abuse
Yet liue themselues like beastes in all abuse. (5.1.0SD–23)

Babulo begins by deflating Laureo's classical literacy as unworldly, unprofitable, and prideful, while Laureo makes recourse to the autotelic value of scholarship. Whereas Laureo's accounts of learning come from books—Pliny and Mandeville, it would appear—Babulo boasts firsthand experience of the "wonders" that Laureo describes: "I haue seene vnder *Iohn Prester* and *Tamer Cams*, people with heds like Dogs." Audiences at the Rose may well have remembered that these "wonders" were precisely the kinds of spectacles that had been performed on that very stage, such as in the lost *Sir John Mandeville*, which was performed eight times in 1592–93, and the two-part *Tamar Cham* performed in 1596 by the Admiral's Men, who would revive it again not long after *Patient Grissil*.[429] Dekker had used the same pair of allusions in his *Old Fortunatus* (1599), when the main character promises to "trauell to the Turkish Emperour: / And then ile reuell it with *Prester Iohn*, / Or banquet

[428] "A container for storing books, a bookcase" (*OED*, *v.* "aumbry, *n.*"). Hoy preferred the sense of "a place for keeping victuals" (*Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries*, 174), suggesting Laureo raiding the family's food supply as he expounds. Perhaps a pun on both senses is intended.

[429] For *Sir John Mandeville*, see Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 16–20 (ff. 7–8). For the 1596 performances of *Tamar Cham*, see Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 36–37, 47–48, 54 (ff. 15v, 21v, 25). The extant plot for *1 Tamar Cham* (surviving only in an 1803 reprint) indicates a cast from a later period, probably around 1602, when the company purchased the play book from Edward Alleyn (Foakes, ed., *Henslowe's Diary*, 205 [f. 108]): see Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers*, 145–48. Wiggins suggests the possibility, based on the placement of the sale record in the *Diary*, that the later performance may have antedated the sale of the play to Worcester's Men rather than the Admiral's company (*British Drama*, 3.136–37).

with great Cham of *Tartarie*."[430] Babulo's emphasis on sight ("I haue seene") reinforces the parallel with theatrical spectatorship, and his speech underscores this performative milieu with a subtle allusion to the *Isle of Dogs* scandal of 1597[431] and, possibly, to the contemporary theatrical stunt of William Kemp's famous jig from London to Norwich.[432]

Babulo speaks of spectacle; Laureo moralizes, allegorizes, and satirizes. Of course, Babulo's speech may be more cunning than it appears; but it is Laureo, the academic, who will improvise on Babulo's list of curiosities throughout the exchange that follows to descant on society's deformities. However, just as *Histriomastix*'s Chrisoganus was not antitheatrical as such, Laureo's laureate voice is not wholly divorced from the world of drama: indeed, Laureo here aligns himself not only with the humanism of Chaucer's Clerk, but also, as Tom Rutter has observed, with the claims for moral authority and the strategies of satire that so saliently characterized the Jonsonian voice in the Poets'

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[430] *Old Fortunatus* 2.1.197–99; cited Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries*, 175.

[431] The allusion is less subtle in *Satiromastix*, where Dekker's Tucca taunts Horace (Jonson) by recalling "when the Stagerites banisht thee into the Ile of Dogs, thou turn'dst Ban-dog" (4.1.132–33; qtd. Bednarz, *Poets' War*, 220) and later refers to him as "Cinocephalus" (4.2.86; cited in Rutter, "Jonsonain Satire," 298).

[432] That Kemp's famous jig of February and March 1600 (1599 Old Style) is referred to in this speech is just possible. The performance took place over the course of four weeks beginning on Monday, 11 February and reaching its conclusion on Saturday, 8 March, when he was greeted with great fanfare and rewarded with 40*s.* by the mayor of Norwich: see *Kemps nine daies wonder* (London, 1600); David Galloway, ed., *REED: Norwich 1540–1642* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984), 114–15, 331–32. Kemp's account of his journey was entered in the Stationers' Register on 22 April of that year. Given the entrance of *Patient Grissil* on 28 March, it is possible that the final manuscript copy may have been revised after the completion of the jig. It is also possible that the revision could have been made with Kemp's jig in mind but before it was completed: "nine days' wonder" was of course a familiar idiom, and the fact that Kemp ventured money on his successful completion of the journey suggests that the nine-day duration was part of the wager from the start. However, the last payment to a playwright for *Patient Grissil* recorded by Henslowe is dated 29 December, over a month before Kemp began, although Kemp may have been soliciting backers that early. On the other hand, it may be possible that the passage was a revision not represented by a recorded payment, and that it was inserted before the performance of the play in February 1600 (i.e. shortly after the payment for the gown on 26 January), as Kemp was preparing for—and perhaps even just after he had begun—his jig. The proximity of these events encourages a close look at the possibility, but the unknowns render a verdict difficult. It should also be noted that Babulo alludes to the expression "nine days' wonder" earlier in the play (1.2.318–19).

War, and that would feature again even more prominently in Dekker's *Satiromastix*.[433] Throughout the play, Laureo takes upon himself the role of moral arbiter. Where Grissil and Janicola are content to endure their abuses with patience, Laureo advocates vocal retaliation and condemnation (4.2.6–7, 69–71, 127), growing more stridently confrontational as the play nears its climatic final revelation.[434] This brief exchange between Laureo and Babulo reveals two competing impulses that confront commercial dramatists adapting an authoritative source: one directed towards literary erudition and the social function of the laureate poet, and one towards popular entertainment; one gesturing towards its prestigious source material, the other towards the commercial world of the theatre and its demands.[435] The play itself remains Janus-faced, acutely aware of its medial position between these two worlds, with the two antagonistic characters Laureo and Babulo acting out the psychomachia of medium.

In the years immediately preceding Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, the issue of literary authority and actorly representation was being fiercely debated on the stages around London. *Poetaster* and *Histriomastix* explicitly staged conflicts between authoritative poets and predatory actors. *Patient Grissil* internalized this tension in the context of Chaucerian adaptation by embedding both a literary narrator and a clown within its plot. Shakespeare's play, I will argue, improvises on Dekker's

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[433] Tom Rutter, "*Patient Grissil* and Jonsonian Satire," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 48 (2008): 283–303. In Rutter's complex account, Laureo represents another denigration of the Jonsonian satirical stance: he is undermined by his hypocrisy and his own sympathy to tyrants ("a certain hankering after despotism") (296). In a later essay, Rutter shifts the emphasis to the Marlovian style of Laureo's speeches, which seem to present him as a "University Wit *manqué*": see "Marlovian Echoes in the Admiral's Men Repertory: *Alcazar*, *Stukeley*, *Patient Grissil*," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27 (2009): 27–38, at 35.

[434] Laureo's position as social critic in the play seems self-authorized by his status as scholar of antiquity. However, David Wallace's analysis of *The Clerk's Tale* as an anti-tyrannical critique of Petrarch depends on the distance between the Clerk as logician and Petrarch as rhetor, rather than their elision: see *Chaucerian Polity*, 292.

[435] Tom Rutter, *Work and Play on the Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 110–12.

interpolation of an authoritative narrator figure but for precisely the opposite ends: using characters in *Troilus and Cressida* to represent an active hostility towards their source material.

IV. Authors and Anti-Authors in *Troilus and Cressida*

Although Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* lacks a resident author, the play's armed Prologue attracts attention to the issue, even as it denies its intention of exonerating either actor or author. The recherché diction ("princes orgulous"), grandiose gestures ("Dardan and Timbria, Helias, Chetas, Troien / And Antenorides"), and Horatian scaffolding ("our play / Leaps o'er the vaunt and firstlings of these broils, / Beginning in the middle, starting thence away") immediately evokes the expectation of epic pretensions (Prol.2, 16–17, 26–28).[436] However, unlike the recurrent presence of the Chorus in *Henry V*, the armed speaker's first appearance is his last, as this narratorial voice quickly excuses itself from the action, resigning as a mediating presence and consigning interpretation of the play to its audience. In the absence of authorial voices, the play substitutes a pair of characters who represent not an indifference to the category of authorship, but a jaded and indeed corrosive relationship to the play's source *auctores*, classical and vernacular: Thersites and Pandarus.

If Ulysses' Degree speech is the play's clearest articulation of authority and the threats thereto, Agamemnon's invitation for Ulysses to deliver this speech contains a subtly self-undermining allusion to the play's most scabrous voice of dissent:

> Speak, Prince of Ithaca; and be't of less expect
> That matter needless, of importless burden,
> Divide thy lips, than we are confident,
> When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws,
> We shall hear music, wit and oracle. (1.3.70–74)

[436] On lexical parallels with Caxton, see Kuskin, *Recursive Origins*, 140.

In Homer's *Iliad*, newly available in Chapman's first translations, Thersites is the "filthiest Greeke that came to Troy," notorious for his "ranke minde" and "tongue whose ravenlike voice a tuneles jarring kept."[437] While the Homeric Thersites appears only briefly, railing against Agamemnon in Book II, Shakespeare makes him a constant presence, expanding this "personification of anti-authority"[438] as the most memorable voice throughout the play. Shakespeare's Thersites does not make his first physical appearance onstage until the following scene—which will begin with Ajax shouting his name (2.1.1)—but Agamemnon's ostensible compliment to Ulysses makes him a shadow presence throughout the Degree speech. Indeed, if in the *Iliad*, Ulysses is the one who silences Thersites' rant, here, Agamemnon's involuted chiasmus, which hinges on two negative comparisons, threatens rather to blur the distinction between the two.

"When rank Thersites opes his mastic jaws": in this alarming image, Shakespeare's *mastic* is a typically polysemeous master stroke that evokes, beyond its literal botanical sense of "gummy," two distinct etymological roots—*masticare*, "to chew," and *mastix*, "scourge"[439]—both of which suggest the qualities that, for Agamemnon, associate the "rank Thersites" with dissonance, stupidity, and inconsequentiality. The conspicuously potent word has long been considered an allusion to John Marston, whose *Scourge of Villanie* was published in 1598 and expanded in 1599, in which text the poet begins by claiming to "Beare the scourge of just *Rhamnusia*," and ends by signing the anonymous pamphlet as "Theriomastix," the scourge of beasts.[440] Even if one is unpersuaded by the

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[437] George Chapman, trans., *The Iliad*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1998), 531–2 (lines 210, 205, 204). Thus the 1598 edition; Chapman would revise the first two books in his complete 1611 translation.

[438] Frank Furedi, *Authority: A Sociological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 16–30.

[439] In Chapman's translation, Thersites's harangue is followed by two speeches, one by Ulysses and one by the other soldiers, the final words of which are "whipt" and "bite," respectively (lines 255, 267).

[440] [John Marston,] *The Scourge of Villanie* (London, 1598), sigs. B5r, I3v. On Marston's scourge roles, see Bednarz, "Revenge," 31–36.

attempts to read Thersites as a personification of Marston, clearly the "-mastix" construction was ubiquitous throughout the Poets' War, appearing in the titles of the plays *Histriomastix* and *Satiromastix*. All of these examples, however, point towards a common well-known precedent with important implications for *Troilus*'s Iliadic context, namely, "Homeromastix," the sobriquet applied to Zoilus, the notorious critic of Homer.[441] The details of Zoilus' unfortunate career could be found on the final page of Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1578):

> *Zoilus*, A malicious poete, that wrate a booke of rayling verses against the noble workes of Homer, and therefore is called *Homeromastix*, that is. Homers scourge. When this Zoilus did reade his verses to the worthie and learned king Ptolome, he taking thereat great displeasure, at that present saide not one worde vnto him. Afterwarde this railing Poete being in great pouertie, desired of the King some reliefe. Naie (saith Ptolome) Homer feedeth and refresheth many. Wherefore thou, that arte better then Homer, maiest well finde thy self without reliefe of other. At the last he was condemned of heinous murder, and by the kings co*m*maundement put to death. Of him, all mallicious carpers of other mens workes be called *Zoili*.[442]

In the case of Zoilus, political authority aligns itself with literary authority, and the malicious poet's disparagement of Homer gains him the acrimony of the learned King Ptolemy. The story was a favorite of Renaissance poets, who, as Cooper describes, availed themselves of the appellation "Zoilist" to allude to their detractors.[443] The connection between the Homeromastix, scourge of literary authority, and Homer's own Thersites, scourge of political authority ("Thus did Thersites chide the king to whome al Greece did bow"), did not go unnoticed. Gabriel Harvey drew the

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[441] For Marston's awareness of "Homeromastix," see Bednarz, "Revenge," 36. Marston uses "Zoilist" in *What You Will* (London, 1607), sig. C3r.

[442] Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ* (London, 1578), sig. 7Q4r (*s.v.* "Zoilus"). A briefer explanation is offered under the entry for *Homeromastix*: "The reprocher of Homere. Generally *Homeromastices,* be taken for all reprochers and false detractours of learned men." The anecdote appeared again in a translation of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* published in 1600: see F.L., trans., *Ouidius Naso His Remedie of Love. Translated and Intituled to the Youth of England* (London, 1600), sigs. D2v, E2v.

[443] It may be worth specifically mentioning Francis Thynne's poem in praise of the late Spenser, promising "noe carpinge zoilus cann thy verse disgrace": Huntington Library MS EL 34/B/12, f. 53v; qtd., Francis Thynne, *Emblemes and Epigrames*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (London, 1876), 71.

comparison in one of his diatribes against Robert Greene: "*Zoilus* in his spitefull vaine, will so long flurt at *Homer*: and *Thersites* in his peeuish moode, so long fling at *Agamemnon*; that they wil become extremely odious & intollerable to all good Learning, and ciuill Gouernement," a sentence that was later picked out for mockery by Thomas Nashe.[444] By expanding the role of Thersites in his play, Shakespeare not only gives his iconoclastic play its resident iconoclast, but embeds an anti-Homeric voice within his Homeric adaptation, since Thersites' railing implicates not only the vices and frailties of specific Greeks and Trojans, but the whole Matter of Troy itself: "All the argument is a whore and a cuckold" (2.3.69–70). Just as Laureo in *Patient Grissil* served as an emblem for the high literary provenance of the source text, Thersites serves as an embedded critique of his own source and the canonicity of its legendary author. He is the play's anti-laureate.

The case of Pandarus is at once more complex and more revealing. Whereas Thersites' choral function in the play serves explicitly as a corrosive commentary on the narrative, Pandarus embodies this corrosion. Critics of the play as an adaptation of *Troilus and Criseyde* are agreed that Shakespeare's Pandarus is a cheapened, coarsened, bitterly refashioned version of Chaucer's.[445] But the implications of this vandalistic appropriation can only be appreciated by first appreciating its

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[444] In one of his *Four Letters* (1592), Harvey describes the culture of invective and slander fostered by Robert Greene and the ballad-writer William Elderton, which will only come to destroy these two "ringleaders of the riming, and scribbling crew": see *Fovre Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene*… (London, 1592), p. 6. The comparison was reprinted when Thomas Nashe paraphrased the line ("*nor* Zoylus *anie more flurt* Homer, *nor* Thersites *fling at* Agamemnon") to ridicule Harvey's alliteration: see *Strange Newes, Of the intercepting certaine Letters*… (London, 1592; STC 18377a), sig. E1r.

[445] See especially Kenneth Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Methuen, 1977), 143; M.C. Bradbrook, "What Shakespeare Did to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 9 (1958): 311–19, at 314; Frederick B. Dyer, Jr., "The Destruction of Pandare," in Anne Paolucci, ed., *Shakespeare Encomium* (New York: The City College, 1964), 123–33; Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 119 et seq.; Donaldson, *Swan at the Well*, 102–3; Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, 385. A minority of critics, typically those whose consideration of the play does not involve close comparison with the source text, have offered affectionate readings of Pandarus. For G. Wilson Knight, he is "always kindly and sympathetic… truly delightful": *The Wheel of Fire* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 64–65. One of the first Chaucerian comparisons found the "whole character of Pandarus […] with his frequent jests and real affection for both Troilus and Cressida […] taken directly from Chaucer's 'japing' Pandarus": see R.A. Small, *The Stage-Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the So-Called Poetasters* (Breslau, 1899), 154.

precedent. Indeed, the Pandarus of *Troilus and Criseyde* has long been the cynosure of the poem's critics—Chaucer's radical expansion of the thinly drawn Boccaccian Pandaro into the dynamic engine of his own poem's narrative energies.[446] It is Pandarus who serves not merely as a liaison, but as the indispensible stage manager of the lovers' encounters, encouraging, provoking, cajoling, and coercing them at every step. Throughout the poem's erotic flood tide, the exuberant go-between is simply ubiquitous. In one of his signal moments, when Troilus and Criseyde's dialogue reaches a precarious impasse during their climactic nocturnal love scene, Pandarus, who has been on the margins of the scene sitting next to the fireplace pretending to read an "old romaunce," immediately intervenes and hastens the consummation, stripping clothes off of the stunned Troilus after throwing him into the bed (III.980, 1093–1099).[447] Pandarus' omnipresent shaping influence has led critics to see him as a kind of embedded narrator within the poem.[448] Like the narrator, whom Pandarus resembles in more than a few particulars, he not only orchestrates the opportunities for the lovers to meet, but fabricates exigencies for their doing so, such as the material threat posed by Polyphete or the love-rival Horaste.

Pandarus's fictive energies take explicitly verbal forms. He virtually dictates letters that the lovers write, and his theory of composition is informed by Horace's *Ars poetica*: "For if a peyntour wolde peynte a pyk / With asses feet, and hedde it as an ape, / It cordeth naught, so nere it but a jape" (II.1041–43). Just as he is a reader of old romances, he is acutely conscious of the art of

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[446] My discussion below draws on E. Talbot Donaldson, "Chaucer's Three 'P's': Pandarus, Pardoner, and Poet," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 14 (1975): 282–301; Miskimin, *Renaissance Chaucer*, 171–81; John M. Fyler, "The Fabrications of Pandarus," *Modern Language Quarterly* 41 (1980): 115–30; Carolyn Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1989), 47–50; Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, 141.

[447] Although he makes to go to sleep before their actual consummation, the poem is ambiguous whether he in fact leaves the room (Windeatt, ed., *Troilus*, 411n).

[448] Two seminal twentieth-century studies of Chaucer arrived independently at the conclusion that Pandarus dramatizes the translating poet's role as a cultural go-between: see Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 63; Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991), 103–4.

narration. When Pandarus arrives at Criseyde's house to declare Troilus' love for the first time, he prefaces his news with some canny observations about tale-telling:

> How so it be that som men hem delite
> With subtyl art hire tales for to endite,
> Yet for al that, in hire entencioun
> Hire tale is al for som conclusioun. (II.256–59)

Pandarus's rhetorical gambit of declaring his own direct speech, by which he both distances himself from sophisticated speakers and reveals his own attention to matters of narration, is then belied what follows: his careful interior consideration of his rhetorical strategy ("Than thought he thus"), anticipating Criseyde's suspicious reaction and adjusting his approach "hire wit to serven" (267, 273).

Pandarus' control is, like Theseus' in *The Knight's Tale*, sometimes hidden beneath the surface: indeed, if Pandarus acts like the poem's narrator, the narrator in turn is capable of acting like Pandarus. At a pivotal juncture at the heart of the poem, Pandarus has maneuvered the two lovers both into his own house, the attended Criseyde unaware that Troilus has been hidden in a closet. At the decisive moment, the dinner and evening entertainment finished, Criseyde moves to leave:

> …she gan homward hye,
> But execut was al bisyde hire leve° *consent*
> The goddes wil, for which she moste bleve.° *remain*
>
> The bente moone with hire hornes pale,
> Saturne, and Jove, in Cancro joyned were,
> That swych a reyn from heven gan avale
> That every maner womman that was there
> Hadde of that smoky reyn a verray feere;
> At which Pandare tho lough, and seyde thenne,
> 'Now were it tyme a lady to gon henne!['] (III.621–30)

Pandarus' sarcastic comment on Criseyde's unfortunate timing appears an improvisatory reaction to the sudden onset of bad weather as mere bad luck; indeed, the narrator's apostrophe to Fortune that

precedes these lines deflects the responsibility of the event to fate: "O Fortune, executrice of wyerdes" (617). However, the careful explanation of the planetary arrangement undermines this account. It is the conjunction of the moon, Saturn, and Jupiter under the sign of Cancer that precipitates the deluge. It is not simply that these natural phenomena are legible to men, but Pandarus' plan is predicated on this understanding: had he not correctly predicted the storm, Cressida would have left, and Pandarus' preparations to bring Troilus to her would be pointless.[449] The narrator is complicit in concealing Pandarus' control over the situation by deflecting attention to Fortune, the "executrice of wyerdes," an epithet that virtuosically yokes together Latinate and Anglo-Saxon diction, although the cunning echo of *words* confesses that it is literary imagination that is the true shaping influence.

However, this image of Pandarus as the poem's puppeteer had a dark side that was all too obvious to the Renaissance reader in light of the notorious afterlife of the word *pander*. Even more than Troilus' afterlife in the national onomasticon and proverbial imaginary, the reception of Crisyede's uncle was inescapably shaped by his reputation as the ur-Pandar.[450] The word was so deeply engrained in the English lexicon that it could be found in all strata of print media, from humor books like *Tarltons newes out of Purgatorie* ("he agreed with an old pandor") to English translations of the classics, such as North's Plutarch ("nor any Pander to keepe any brothell

[449] Chaucer was particularly admired by Renaissance intellectuals for his astronomical expertise, most clearly exemplified by the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, a work that impressed Renaissance readers with its enduring utility (Speght, 1598 ed., sig. c6r). (A sixteenth-century manuscript edition of the *Astrolabe*, amended by one Walter Stevins, is another testament to its endurance: see British Library, Sloane MS 261; Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:92–93) Gabriel Harvey, in his marginalia to Dionysius Perigetes's *The Surueye of the World* (1572): e.g. "Other commend Chawcer, & Lidgate for their witt, pleasant veine, varietie of poetical discourse, & all humanitie: I specially note their Astronomie, philosophie, & other parts of profound or cunning art" (Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 160–61). Francis Thynne wrote over four pages to Speght defending the integrity of specific passage of *The Nun's Priest's Tale* describing the angle of Taurus on a certain day in spring. See *Animadversions*, 59–62 (corresponding to ff. 42v–45r in the Huntington MS).

[450] For an ambitious interpretation of early Tudor court culture as fundamentally "Pandaric," see Lerer, *Courtly Letters in the Age of Henry VIII*.

house").[451] The semantic afterlife of Pandarus' name invariably shaped reception of the character. Even Sidney spoke of "Chaucer's Pandar" alongside Gnatho from Terence's *Eunuchus* as two characters "so expressed that we now use their names to signify their trades."[452]

That Pandarus functions as the poem's bawd is naturally a reduction of the complexity of Chaucer's achievement. And yet the Renaissance reader would find plenty in Chaucer's poem to corroborate the familiar interpretation. Indeed, Pandarus' status as a bawd constantly lurks as an interpretative possibility in the minds of the characters, paradoxically affirmed for the reader by their repeated repudiations, as when he and Troilus converse following the lovers' encounter at Deiphobus' house:[453]

> …for the am I bicomen,
> Bitwixen game and ernest, swich a meene° *mean (intermediary)*
> As maken wommen unto men to comen –
> Al sey I nought, thow wost wel what I meene. (III.253–56)

Pandarus' ambivalence is clear: there is a pressing need to acknowledge the issue, but the word itself is too distasteful to be spoken. Troilus, in his grateful response, cavalierly addresses the issue with the confidence that there is an inherent distinction between Pandarus' gestures of gentility and the bawd's services:

> …me thoughte by thi speche
> That this which thow me dost for compaignie,
> I sholde wene it were a bauderye –
> I am nought wood, al if I lewed be!
> It is nought so, that woot I wel, parde!

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[451] *Tarltons newes out of Pugatorie* (London, 1590), p. 15; Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (London, 1579), sig. E1v.

[452] Sidney, *Major Works*, ed. Duncan-Jones, 222.

[453] See also II.352–53 ("For me were levere thow and I and he / Were hanged, than I sholde ben his baude").

> But he that gooth for gold or for ricchesse
> On swich message, calle hym what the list;
> And this that thow doost, calle it gentilesse,
> Compassioun, and felawship, and trist. (III.395–403)

Troilus' nice distinction is, of course, self-interested, and he doubles down on his interpretation by freely offering to return the favor by giving to Pandarus any daughter of Priam that he wants: "Tel me which thow wilt of everychone / To han for thyn, and lat me thanne allone" (III.410, 412–13).[454] Even if this arrangement of reciprocity satisfies Troilus as courteous "gentilesse," the reader is rather left with the sense that women serve as mere commodities for men to trade. This sense is hardly mitigated at the denouement of Pandarus' plan, after he has furtively snuck Troilus into his house in anticipation of a first night with Criseyde:

> But Pandarus, that wel koude ech a deel° *knew thoroughly*
> Th'olde daunce, and every point therinne,
> Whan that he sey° that alle thynge was wel, *saw*
> He thought he wolde upon his werk bigynne,
> And gan the stuwe doore al softe unpynne… (III.694–98)

The description of Pandarus' execution of his plan has the distinctly unsavory traces of a familiar act ("wel koude ech a deel / Th'olde daunce"). Although in the context of the poem Chaucer's "stuwe doore" refers to the small chamber in which Troilus has been kept hiding (III.601), it almost unavoidably evokes its homonym *stew*, "brothel," a sense known to both Chaucer and Shakespeare.[455] In an organically deconstructive reading of this passage, Pandarus, whom Troilus had exonerated from the charge of bawdry through his gratis service, has become simply a pimp at

[454] For Dinshaw, this exchange betrays Troilus' complicity in the logic of female trafficking, a social expectation that effectively encourages the "slydynge of corage" (*Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 60).

[455] Speght 1598: "And gan the stew dore all soft vnpin" (f. 170r). The word often appears pluralized, as in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* (VI.465); Shakespeare uses the singular *stew* for "brothel" in *Cymbeline* (1.6.152).

"werk." Indeed, his first lines promise Troilus' gratification well before Criseyde even knows their meeting has been arranged: "Make the redy right non, / For thow shalt into hevene blisse wende" (III.704–5).

This reading of Chaucer's Pandarus was clearly available to Shakespeare, as evinced by his uses of Pandaric reference in plays leading up to the composition of *Troilus*. When Pistol is asked, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, to deliver Falstaff's letters to Mistresses Page and Ford, he responds with indignation ("Shall I Sir Pandarus of Troy become, / And by my side wear steel?"), and the subsequent echoes of the name in the play ("panderly," "a pander") enact the historical process of semantic ossification.[456] The elision of character and function compromises Troilus as well in *Much Ado About Nothing*, when Benedict describes Troilus as "the first employer of panders."[457] In *Henry V*, the Duke of Bourbon rallies his followers by scorning any deserter: "Let him go home and with his cap in hand / Like a base pandar hold the chamber-door / Whilst by a slave no gentler than my dog / His fairest daughter is contaminated," an image that disturbingly recalls Pandarus opening the "stuwe doore" to allow sexual access his own unsuspecting niece.[458] (Although written some years after *Troilus*, the Gowerian *Pericles* offers the end point of this trajectory with its character simply identified as a "*Pander*," the final erosion of Chaucer's great creation.[459]) It would appear unavoidable then, that *Troilus and Cressida*, a play saturated with the language of whores and bawds, should offer a Pandarus so characterized, even by the characters who would suffer the most from such a

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[456] T.W. Craik, ed., *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982), 1.3.70–71, 4.2.107, 5.5.166.

[457] Sheldon P. Zitner, ed., *Much Ado About Nothing* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), 5.2.31.

[458] T.W. Craik, ed., *Henry V*, Arden3 (London: Routledge, 1995), 4.5.13–16. A textual issue complicates the strength of this example. Gary Taylor argues that the reading *base leno* (Latin, "pimp") from the otherwise unreliable Q text should be preferred on the principle of *lectio difficilior* to F's "base Pander," which Taylor supposes to be a compositorial sophistication: "Shakespeare's *Leno*: *Henry V*, IV.v.14," *N&Q* 26 (1979): 117–18. However, Craik follows F, citing the other Shakespearean uses of *pandar*, though his argument that Q's reading might represent "the reporter showing off his vocabulary" is perhaps less credible (4.5.14n).

[459] *Pericles* (London, 1608), sig. F3v *et seq*.

characterization.[460] At the end of his first exchange with Cressida, he gives her a token from Troilus, to which she responds: "By the same token, you are a bawd" (1.2.272). The charge attends Shakespeare's Pandarus throughout the play, even lurking in the figurative language of other characters.[461] Of course, this is the very fate that Shakespeare's Pandarus imagines for himself in the climatic oath scene at the dead center of the play:

> If ever you prove false one to another, since I have taken such pains to bring you together, let all pitiful goers-between be called to the world's end after my name: call them all panders. (3.2.193–97)

After the three all swear "Amen" to their respective fates, Pandarus hastens the lovers off to a bed (which they shall "press […] to death") and turns to the audience with a ribald prayer to Cupid in which his own name is already synonymous with pitiful goers-between, as if the swearing to the oath has proleptically taken effect (205–6). In one account of the source history of *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare's cheapened depiction of Pandarus was inevitable, merely the function of his reputation eroded over time. However, while the vulgarizing of Pandarus can, to some extent, be seen as the product of linguistic predetermination, I would argue that the disenfranchisement of Pandarus' fictive power in Shakespeare's play is more loaded: that Pandarus should be deprived of the stage managing function so ebulliently exhibited by unwholesome characters like Richard III and Iago

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[460] As Hyder Rollins put it, Shakespeare "did not try to raise him from common 'noundom'" ("Troilus-Cressida," 423). Rosalie L. Colie argued that, whereas in works like *Love Labour's Lost* and the *Sonnets*, Shakespeare "animat[es] literary clichés into actual characters," in *Troilus* he chose "to *reverse* that process, to show how human situations can be stripped of their personal and general meanings to be no more—and to deserve no more—than the clichés with which literature presents us": *Shakespeare's Living Art*, 322.

[461] "PANDARUS […] I come to speak with Paris from the Prince Troilus. I will make a complimental assault upon him, for my business seethes. | SERVANT Sodden business! There's a stewed phrase indeed" (3.1.37–41). As Bevington notes, *sodden* is the past participle of *seethe*, and the Servant's pun plays on the polite and impolite senses of *stew* (3.1.40n).

(created before and after *Troilus*, respectively) is an index of a more systematic denigration of Chaucer's achievement.[462]

If Chaucer's Pandarus is the tireless and consummately cunning impresario of the love story, Shakespeare's is moody, tone-deaf, and fickle. In the very first scene of the play Troilus complains that he "cannot come to Cressid but by Pandar, / And he's as tetchy to be wooed as to woo" (1.1.91–92). Indeed, Pandarus' tetchiness in on full display throughout their encounter: he drifts out of the conversation (1.1.30–44), inattentive to Troilus' speech, and obtusely misunderstands Troilus' praise of Cressida as a personal slight (71–74), before capriciously abandoning the whole affair altogether (67–69, 76–79).[463] The prime mover of Chaucer's poem is reduced to an unreliable instrument of Troilus' desires, "Our doubtful hope, our convoy and our bark" (1.1.100).

The change is even more extreme in the following scene, when Pandarus appears with Crisyede. In Chaucer's *Troilus*, the relationship between uncle and niece is one of the most vividly realized accomplishments of the poem, predicated on trust and finely responsive to each other's sensibilities. For Pandarus, intimacy and humor are crucial tools of persuasion. When delivering Troilus' letter to Criseyde, he is initially met with resistance, to which he responds with the astonishing gesture of thrusting the letter into her bosom (II.1155), and overcomes her refusal to reply ("For trewely I nyl no lettre write") with a joke ("'No? than wol I,' quod he, 'so ye endite'") that succeeds in reversing the mood:

> Therwith she lough, and seyde, 'Go we dyne.'
> And he gan at hymself to jape faste,
> And seyde, 'Nece, I have so gret a pyne
> For love, that everich other day I faste –'

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462 However, on Chaucer's Pandarus and Shakespeare's Iago, see Richard Hillman, *Intertextuality and Romance in Renaissance Drama: The Staging of Nostalgia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 64–67.

463 This is sometimes described by critics as a bawd's hard sell (e.g. Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 119), but Troilus at least does not seem to perceive it that way.

> And gan his beste japes forth to caste;
> And made hire so to laughe at his folye,
> That she for laughter wende for to dye. (1161–69)

Chaucer's vivid illustration of avuncular intimacy is accomplished not only in moments pivotal to the narrative but also, even more memorably, in the inconsequential gestures of affection that punctuate their interactions.

> But Pandarus, that in a study stood,
> Er he was war, she took hym by the hood,
> And seyde, 'Ye were caught er that ye wiste.'
> 'I vouche sauf,' quod he. 'Do what you liste.'
>
> Tho wesshen they, and sette hem down, and ete… (II.1180–85)

By contrast, Shakespeare's Pandarus and Cressida are distinguished by their lack of rapport. Whereas Chaucer's Pandarus is uniquely attuned to his niece's personality and sense of humor, Shakespeare's is made ridiculous by his ham-handed attempts to praise Troilus, witheringly deflected by Cressida, and obliviousness to her own jokes at his expense:

> PANDARUS I cannot choose but laugh, to think how she tickled his chin. Indeed, she has a marvellous white hand, I must needs confess –
> CRESSIDA Without the rack.
> PANDARUS And she takes upon her to spy a white hair on his chin.
> CRESSIDA Alas, poor chin! Many a wart is richer.
> PANDARUS But there was such laughing! Queen Hecuba laughed that her eyes ran o'er –
> CRESSIDA With millstones.
> PANDARUS And Cassandra laughed –
> CRESSIDA But there was more temperate fire under the pot of her eyes. Did her eyes run o'er too?
> PANDARUS And Hector laughed. (1.2.130–43)

The warm laughing that characterizes the familial intimacy in Chaucer's poem is here confined to an unfunny anecdote to which Cressida responds not with laughter of her own, but by relentlessly undercutting her uncle's story with acerbic skepticism. Pandarus here, beyond simply an inattentive

interlocutor, is a poor narrator who cannot read his audience, and whose prosaic language is made even more conspicuous after the false start of elevated rhetoric introduced by Cressida's man Alexander at the beginning of the scene to describe Hector's departure into battle (1.2.2–11).

Pandarus' obtuseness and linguistic impotence are further exaggerated at his next appearance on stage, when he encounters Paris' servant. Like Cressida's barbed commentary, the servant's jesting repartee simply bewilders Pandarus ("Friend, we understand not one another. I am too courtly and thou too cunning" [3.1.26–27]), who has come to ask Paris the favor of making an excuse to Priam for Troilus' absence at dinner. The situation adapts a Chaucerian one: in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Pandarus approaches another of Troilus' brothers, Deiphobus, to solicit his help in protecting Criseyde from her predatory enemies, one of Pandarus' signature fictions carefully designed to provide the opportunity for Troilus and Criseyde to meet. In the play, when Paris arrives with Helen and their attendant musicians,[464] Pandarus begins his "complimental assault":

> PANDARUS Fair be to you, my lord, and to all this fair company! Fair desires, in all fair measure, fairly guide them! – especially to you, fair queen. Fair thoughts be your fair pillows!
> HELEN Dear lord, you are full of fair words. (3.1.42–46)

Helen's ironic observation of the lexical poverty of Pandarus' speech (*fair* and *fairly* constitute a full quarter of the words in his assault) exposes his rhetorical ineptitude before his exchange with Paris has even begun. Where the Eleyne (Helen) of Chaucer's poem becomes an accomplice in Pandarus' designs, providing him with the opportunity to suggest that Criseyde importune the sick Troilus for his help (II.1625–31), Shakespeare's Helen interrupts him with her teasing requests for a song, repeatedly undermining his seething business.

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[464] No entrance for the musicians is provided in Q or F, but the case is made by the Oxford editors (*Textual Companion*, 431), to which one might add that Paris' comment about the music being "broke" suggests that the playing musicians have stopped playing when Pandarus began his speech.

In Chaucer's poem, Pandarus' delicate choreography of the lovers' meetings is conducted with exacting care to maintain the secrecy of their courtship: the critical criterion of his success, and indeed of his survival, is the preservation of Crisyede's honor by manufacturing convincing public narratives to mask their meetings. The same concern is apparent in the first scene of the play, as Troilus recalls the necessity of suppressing a sigh in the presence of his family (1.1.32–36). But Shakespeare's Pandarus is singularly inept at controlling the public narrative.

> PARIS What exploit's in hand? Where sups he tonight?
> HELEN Nay, but, my lord –
> PANDARUS What says my queen? My cousin will fall out with you.
> HELEN [*to Paris*] You must not know where he sups.
> PARIS I'll lay my life, with my disposer Cressida.
> PANDARUS No, no, no such matter, you are wide. Come, your disposer is sick.
> PARIS Well, I'll make 's excuse.
> PANDARUS Ay, good my lord. Why should you say Cressida? No, your poor disposer's sick.
> PARIS I spy.
> PANDARUS You spy? What do you spy? – Come, give me an instrument. (3.2.78–91)[465]

The comedy of the exchange comes in Pandarus' unsuccessful attempts to dissemble the truth, which Paris immediately discerns. The scene may, perhaps, be played as if it were acknowledged as an open secret, but Pandarus' desperate attempt to distract from the question by yielding to Helen's request for a song is his own self-defeating *coup de grâce*.[466] Indeed, that Pandarus sings at all only serves to mark further the distance from his eloquent and assured precedent,[467] while the song itself, a raunchy allegory of Cupid's arrow as sexual penetration brings him into close alignment with his bawdy reputation.

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[465] Bevington (364) discusses the difficulty of Paris' *my disposer*, which may ultimately mean one who can dispense mercy to Troilus ("'*my* disposer' in the sense that she will act with Paris' blessing").

[466] Similarly, in 4.2, although with a sharply different tone, Aeneas comes to Calchas' house to look for Troilus, impatient with Pandarus' attempts to feign ignorance (4.2.46–59).

[467] Miskimin, *Renaissance Chaucer*, 180. Muriel Bradbrook saw Pandarus' song as Shakespeare's answer to Antigone's song in *Troilus and Criseyde* II.827–75 ("What Shakespeare Did," 315).

These lovers cry, 'O! O!', they die!
  Yet that which seems the wound to kill
Doth turn 'O! O!' to 'Ha, ha, he!'
  So dying love lives still,
'O! O!' a while, but 'Ha, ha, ha!'
'O! O!' groans out for 'Ha, ha, ha!' (3.2.115–20)

Playing on the conventional ambiguity of *die*, Cupid's arrow figures the apparent suffering of sexual penetration converted into orgasm. The only song in the play is, effectively, its self-reflexive poetics through the lens of Pandarus, whereby the violent world of epic (arrows, killing, dying) becomes refigured as a mere sex farce, the whole argument of the war nothing but a whore and a cuckold, and Chaucer's poem, which had been famously sent off into European literary history as a "tragedye" mutates into the ultimate cheapening of Pandaric laughter: "Ha, ha, ha!"

If Laureo in *Patient Grissil* had represented a technique of embedding the narratorial voice within the narrative itself, Shakespeare's Pandarus trivializes the voice that comes closest to the narrator: the character that stood as the surrogate of the author within *Troilus and Criseyde* becomes a hollow, perverted pastiche of his original.[468] The play's most astonishing corruption of its source, however, occurs in its final moments. In Chaucer's famous closing stanzas, the narrator sends his poem to kiss the feet of classical *auctores*, Troilus posthumously reaches a Boethian epiphany about worldly suffering, and the poem's readers are apostrophized:

O yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she,
In which that love up groweth with youre age,
Repeyreth hom fro worldly vanyte,
And of youre herte up casteth the visage
To thilke God that after his ymage
Yow made, and thynketh al nys but a faire,
This world that passeth soone as floures faire. (V.1835–41)

[468] However, for a reading of Shakespeare's Pandarus as an emblem for the linguistic mediation necessary for all literary art, see Richard Fly, *Shakespeare's Mediated World* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1976), 48–51.

Shakespeare's play also ends as a tragedy, although one styled in the most curdled form of irony, when the narratorial stand-in Pandarus appears on stage to deliver the play's epilogue.[469] The sick old man who delivers these lines has finally embodied the nadir of Pandarus' reputation, a mere "trader[ ] in flesh" speaking to his fellow guildsmen:

> As many as be here of Panders' hall,
> Your eyes, half out, weep out at Pandar's fall;
> Or if you cannot weep, yet give some groans,
> Though not for me, yet for your aching bones. (5.11.46–50)

Pandarus' address to the "Brethen and sisters of the hold-door trade" (51) perverts the "yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she" addressed at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, and in place of the tragedy's redemptive consolation to direct one's gaze upwards to heaven and away from worldly vanity, the play's Pandarus directs the gaze even lower: if you cannot weep out of empathy for me, then groan for your own corporeal ailments. The same debasing likewise defaces the poem's final valediction by

[469] My reading of the epilogue overlaps with Bradbrook's ("What Shakespeare Did," 316). It should be acknowledged that the passage's status as an epilogue has been contested in textual scholarship. Although it appears at the end of both the Q and the F texts of the play, some scholars have argued that it does not represent Shakespeare's final intention for the close of the play, largely on the basis of the repeated lines that appear at the end of 5.3 in F. Notably, Gary Taylor, preparing the *Oxford Shakespeare*, argued that the epilogue was specifically written for a performance at the Inns of Court and deleted for performances at the Globe, where (he claims) Pandarus' last exit occurred in 5.3: see Taylor, "*Troilus and Cressida*: Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation," *Shakespeare Studies* 15 (1982): 99–136. This interpretation was accepted in the Oxford text, with Pandarus' epilogue relegated to an appendix. Phebe Jensen argued against Taylor's logic in "The Textual Politics of *Troilus and Cressida*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46 (1995): 414–23, but not before the Oxford editors had changed their position: see Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, "The Oxford Shakespeare Re-Viewed by the General Editors," *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* n.s. 4 (1990): 6–20, esp. 14–15. Wells and Taylor instead endorsed the claim that Pandarus' speech belongs at the end of 5.3, serving as Pandarus' last lines to the audience but by no means serving as the conclusion to the play. This solution, however, Bevington notes, "has the serious flaw of locating the passage—which clearly reads as an epilogue—in a place sanctioned by neither Q nor F" (419). The most recent and most rigorous reconsideration of the bibliographic evidence, by Pervez Rizvi, suggests that the epilogue was a later addition, written for a private performance ("Texts of *Troilus*," 293). Although this hypothesis would mean that Shakespeare did not necessarily conceive of this passage as integral to the play from his original composition, it would nevertheless retain its status as an epilogue, which is the most important component of my argument below.

a "makere" to his own "litel bok," to "subgit be to alle poesye," imagining an afterlife among Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, and Statius, and a wide dissemination such that "red wherso thow be, or elles songe, / That thow be understonde, God I biseche!" Here is the afterlife that Pandarus imagines:

> Some two months hence my will shall here be made.
> It should be now, but that my fear is this:
> Some galled goose of Winchester would hiss.
> Till then I'll sweat and seek about for eases,
> And at that time bequeath you my diseases. (5.11.52–56)

Pandarus promises to return a mere two months away, in what seems to be an advertisement for a sequel that the company could not possibly fulfill. Perhaps predictably for an epilogue, this speech, more than any other moment in the play, draws attention to the immediate locale of the Globe theater with its pock-marked Southwark prostitutes in the audience, wallowing in the familiar territory of antitheatrical polemicists' accusations about sexual corruption and disease.[470] *Histriomastix* had imagined a dramatic adaptation of the Troilus and Cressida story becoming an "abuse [of] our heauenly poesie"; Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* revels in this corruptive possibility, perverting the divine moral that concluded Chaucer's poem by situating the reality of the play firmly in the London suburbs. The "Father Chaucer" who purified the dialect of our tribe and bequeathed the very possibility of English poetry is here replaced by a childless old man with nothing to bequeath but sexual contagion.

Troilus and Cressida, Shakespeare's most lacerating adaptation, gives voice to his most polemical stance on the theatrical appropriation of literary authority, and his most strident rejoinder to the grandiose Jonsonian claims for a drama of moral edification. By improvising upon the

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[470] Janet Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays, "Hamlet" to "The Tempest"* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 260, n8. The antitheatrical implications of disease in Ulysses' Degree speech are explored in Darryl Chalk, "Contagious Emulation: Antitheatricality and Theatre as Plague in *Troilus and Cressida*," in Brett D. Hirsch and Christopher Wortham, eds., *"This Earthly Stage": World and Stage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 75–101.

strategies of playwrights like Jonson, Marston, and Dekker, Shakespeare's adaptation of Homer and Chaucer vandalizes his sources from within. However, by neutering the signal markers of canonical literary authority, Shakespeare makes a claim for the vital independence of theater qua theater; it is to this strategy that we must now turn.

Chapter 4

Acting Criseyde: *Troilus and Cressida* (2)

At the climactic moment of the play, Troilus, stunned by the sight of Cressida's capitulation to Diomedes, grapples with what he has just seen by attempting to articulate the imploding logic of absolute faith betrayed:

> This is and is not Cressid.
> Within my soul there doth conduce a fight
> Of this strange nature, that a thing inseparate
> Divides more wider than the sky and earth,
> And yet the spacious breadth of this division
> Admits no orifex for a point as subtle
> As Ariachne's broken woof to enter. (5.2.153–59)

The abstract, almost Jehovic language of the paradox that begins this passage has served as the starting point for much important scholarship on *Troilus*, inviting myriad applications.[471] For Troilus, the woman whom he has just seen both is and is not the woman he knew, alike in appearance but unlike in Troilus' convictions, an epistemological crux at which sensory perception and belief cross and contradict each other. But the line can also be heard as a reaction to the play's narrative source: Shakespeare's Cressida at once "is and is not" her Chaucerian precedent. As we will see, Cressida's actions in this scene of betrayal differentiate her sharply from Chaucer's heroine. Indeed, the scene as a whole is itself a Shakespearean invention: whereas Chaucer's Troilus' epiphany of Criseyde's

[471] For example, J. Hillis Miller, "Ariachne's Broken Woof," *The Georgia Review* 31 (1977): 44–60; Freund, "'Ariachne's broken woof'," 19–21; Charnes, *Notorious Identity*, 70–71.

change of heart comes as a result of reading her letter, Shakespeare's Troilus witnesses and reacts to the precise moment of betrayal in person. Not only is this a distinctly more theatrical variation, but the very arrangement of the scene, in which Cressida and Diomedes are spied upon by Troilus and Ulysses, who are all in turn spied upon by Thersites, is obsessively and unmistakably structured to foreground the nature of theatrical spectatorship. For Robert Weimann the scene is paradigmatic of the signal features of the Shakespearean stage and Troilus' "This is and is not Cressid," uttered directly after this *mise en abyme* configuration, draws our attention to another metatheatrical observation: that the body on stage is at once the dramatic character and the boy actor who represents her—both is Cressida and is not her.

What is Cressida? This has been the crucial and unavoidable question throughout the long afterlife of the Troilus story, the pivotal moment of which is Cressida' decision to abandon her Trojan lover for the Greek Diomedes.[472] The importance of this question is staged with acute intensity in Shakespeare's play as the dramaturgy of the scene forces our perspective onto Cressida in the act of making her choice. Of course, Cressida's capitulation to Diomedes by the close of the scene is nothing if not predictable: the familiarity of the story has meant that her erotic submission was always already a foregone conclusion, merely fulfilling the audience's expectations of what Linda Charnes has called Cressida's "notorious identity." But Shakespeare's Cressida both is and is not

[472] For some Renaissance readers, the tragic half of the story was too painful a conclusion to the passionate heights of the poem's first three books. Rollins provides some examples of readers who apparently did not finish the poem, or else deliberately ignored its ending ("Troilus-Cressida Story," 389–92). A similar willful neglect of the tragic half of the story can be seen in some dramatic records. Chapman's *Sir Giles Goosecap* dramatizes *Troilus and Criseyde* with almost unparalleled adherence to Chaucer's poem (albeit under different character names) but nevertheless ends at the consummation of the love story in Chaucer's Book III. See G.L. Kittredge, "Notes on Elizabethan Plays," *Journal of Germanic Philology* 2 (1898): 7–13, at 10–13; Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 36–44. When the transcriber John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy was copying the Welsh dramatization of the Troilus story, he stopped his work on Valentine's Day, 1613, at the moment when the lovers are joined and Troilus delivers his encomium to Love; he did not copy the rest of the play until 1622, nine years later. See John S.P. Tatlock, "The Welsh 'Troilus and Cressida' and Its Relation to the Elizabethan Drama," *Modern Language Review* 10 (1915): 265–82, at 266, 268; W. Beynon Davies, ed., *Troelus a Chresyd* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1976), 90; Wiggins, *British Drama*, 1:422.

what we expect: she at once satisfies and frustrates our preconceptions, and the play is haunted by the question of how to interpret her. Unlike the decisively reviled Cressida of the proverbial imagination, Shakespeare's is conspicuously difficult to judge.

Critics of Shakespeare's play, however, have tended to respond to this difficulty with ambivalence. Even as the tradition of dismissing Cressida as nothing more than a faithless betrayer—"a compleat Jilt" in the words of Charlotte Lennox[473]—began to give way in the twentieth century to feminist appreciations of her vulnerable role in a patriarchal world driven by commodification of women,[474] Shakespeare's Cressida was nevertheless often seen as a disappointment next to Chaucer's creation. For Jill Mann, the psychological depth and suggestive interiority of Chaucer's Criseyde was fundamentally "Shakespearean," while Shakespeare's Cressida seems intentionally evacuated of these qualities.[475] I do not dispute that the Cressida of the play represents a significant departure from the Criseyde of the poem. But it is precisely in this departure that Shakespeare creates one of his most fascinating case studies in theatrical character. Sharing with Jan Kott the conviction that "Cressida is one of the most amazing Shakespearian characters, perhaps just as amazing as Hamlet,"[476] I argue that whereas Shakespeare's adaptation of Chaucer's Pandarus served as an index of his iconoclastic treatment of literary *auctoritas*, his adaptation of Cressida constitutes something of a manifesto for theatrical canonicity.

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[473] Charlotte Lennox, *Shakespear Illustrated*, 3 vols. (London, 1754), 3:93.

[474] Sharon M. Harris, "Feminism and Shakespeare's Cressida: '*If* I Be False…'," *Women's Studies* 18 (1990): 65–82. As Harris shows, essentially misogynistic accounts of Cressida's character had a disturbingly long shelf life (66–68).

[475] Jill Mann, "Shakespeare and Chaucer: 'What Is Criseyde Worth?'" in *Life in Words: Essays on Chaucer, the Gawain-Poet, and Malory* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2014), 20–41 (esp. 20, 27); revised slightly from *The European Tragedy of Troilus*, ed. Piero Boitani (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 219–42.

[476] Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. Boleslaw Taborski (London: Methuen, 1965), 65.

I. Cressida's Double Falsehood

Appreciating Shakespeare's Cressida requires a consideration of the meanings and expectations that had accreted around her name by the end of the seventeenth century and the relationship of this reputation to Chaucer's poem, not least given the fact that Shakespeare's play is so keenly self-conscious of its characters' ossification into clichés. Just like Pandarus, Cressida's conditional wish during the climactic swearing scene to be known as the "heart of falsehood" (3.2.190) if she should ever betray Troilus accurately foretells the afterlife of her name in the sixteenth century as a lightning rod for masculine indignation at feminine inconstancy. But the meaning of "falsehood" requires some explanation. In Chaucer's poem, Criseyde, separated from Troilus, is soon assailed by the savvy courtship of the Greek Diomede and slowly, almost subliminally drifts from one lover to the next as both Troilus and Troy "knotteles thorughout hire herte slide" (V.769); for the narrator, this is merely a function of her personality, not just "Tendre-herted" but also "slydynge of corage" (V.825). Despite our modern critical appreciation of Chaucer's complex treatment of Criseyde,[477] Renaissance readers might have been more inclined to read Chaucer's poem as confirming rather than challenging received ideas about Cressida's notoriety, and to look to its Criseyde as an example for more broadly misogynistic arguments. Indeed, Chaucer's narrator's final protestation that his female readers should not consider his depiction of Criseyde's infidelity as a general condemnation of women (V.1772–78) has a self-defeating quality to it in light of *The Legend of Good Women*, which immediately followed the *Troilus* sequence in Renaissance editions. In the *Legend*, Alceste is apparently unconvinced by the valedictory caveat and accuses Chaucer of having taken liberties with the figure of Criseyde ("thou hast seyd as the lyste") with the effect that men now distrust even good

[477] See Gretchen Mieszkowski's survey of precedents in "The Reputation of Criseyde, 1155–1500," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences* 43 (1971): 71–153.

women.[478] Despite Chaucer's defense that he simply reproduced the authoritative tradition as a way of criticizing only false love, the Renaissance reader could have found ample evidence to support the view that Chaucer had a career-long preoccupation with feminine faithlessness, which might have in turn affected readings of *Troilus*. While Gavin Douglas could write in 1513 that Chaucer "was evir (God wait) all womanis frend," this view would have been difficult to sustain after Stow's expansion of the canon in 1561 to include misogynistic poems titled "A Balade which Chaucer made against women vnconstant" and "a Balade which Chaucer made in the praise or rather dispraise, of women for their doublenesse," the former of which names Criseyde alongside Delilah and Candace as models of unfaithfulness.[479] "A balade, warning men to beware of deceitfull women" by "Chaucer" presents a lyric speaker appalled at women's capacity to dissemble their true intentions ("ful hard hir fantasy t'aspy […] whan they list, the tere is in the y") and the poem's refrain, "the blinde et many a fly," suggests a speaker who, Leontes-like, has eaten and seen the fly.[480] The culminating image of this poem's final stanza, impressive enough to be remembered by at least one Elizabethan letter writer in the same year that Shakespeare wrote his *Troilus and Cressida*,[481] declares that the whole

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[478] Speght 1598, f. 199r (F text, lines 335–36). The G text reads: "Hast thow nat mad in Englysh ek the bok / How that Crisseyde Troylus forsok, / In shewynge how that wemen han don mis?" (264–66). The disapproval of the constant Alcestis is of course adumbrated in *Troilus and Criseyde* itself (V.1778).

[479] Speght, 1598 ed., f. 340. The first ("Madame for your newfanglenesse") appears in the *Riverside Chaucer* among the poems not explicitly attributed to Chaucer in manuscripts (657); the second is now attributed to Lydgate. Douglas's view (for, which, see Brewer, *Heritage*, 86) was not impossible to hold after Stow. Gabriel Harvey includes Chaucer among the "praisers of women" ("*Præcones mulierum*"): see Harvey, *Gratulatio Valdinensis Libri Quatuor* (London, 1578), sig. L2v; Goldring et al., eds., *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 2:638, 707.

[480] Speght, 1598 ed. f. 344v. The poem is currently attributed to Lydgate.

[481] Ralph Winwood to Thomas Edmondes, 12 January 1601: "I am sure you are become a good Chaucerist and therefore I speake unto you in his language and say that, yf all the earthe were parchemin scribable, all water inck, and all trees pennes, and so the rest in proportion, yet were there noe meanes fully to declare the contentment which I doe enioy by the happie tydinges of the late defaict w^{ch} those rebells receaved in Ireland." British Library, Stowe MS 167, f. 226; qtd. *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1895–96), 1:167; cited in Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:167.

globe converted into a writing factory would still be inadequate to describe women's boundless treachery.

This grim view of women's falseness as more than simply weak-willed "slydynge of corage" has something of a precedent in Chaucer's poem when Crisyede sends her former lover a final, hypocritical letter implying that he has been unfaithful, the very crime that she herself has committed (V.1611–15). The reaction of Shakespeare's Troilus to Cressida's letter reflects an awareness of this poetic precedent: "Words, words, mere words, no matter from the heart; / Th'effect doth operate another way" (5.3.107–8). The literary reception of Cressida embellished this dissimulative quality further. "Record of Creside, & of Troylus the doloure," Stephen Hawes wrote on women's treachery: "They are so subtile, and so false of kynde / There can no man wade, beyonde their minde."[482] For Gascoigne, she was "crafty [*C*]*resside*," and, according to George Whetstone, a vindictive sexual predator even during her initial courtship of Troilus, "[i]n hart a fiend, in face and forme a Saint."[483] That Shakespeare was receptive to both of these aspects of Cressida's reputation (shifting mutability and predatory dissimulation) is evident in the examples of falseness rehearsed in *Troilus and Cressida*'s swearing scene: "As false / As air, as water, wind, or sandy earth, / As fox to lamb, as wolf to heifer's calf, / Pard to the hind, or stepdame to her son" (3.2.86–89). Clearly Cressida predicts a future in which she will become emblematic of both.

A telling instance of Cressida's exemplary utility occurs in Robert Greene's dramatic *Orlando Furioso* when the mad hero rails at Angelica (in reality, a Clown dressed as her), "Why strumpet, worse then Mars his trothlesse loue: / Falser the*n* faithles Cressida: strumpet thou shalt not scape,"

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[482] Stephen Hawes, *The Historie of graunde Amoure and la bell Pucel, called the Pastime of plesure* (London, 1554), sig. N4r. The *Pastime of Pleasure* was first published in 1509 (STC 12948), although no complete copy of that edition survives.

[483] George Gascoigne, *The Poesies of George Gascoigne Esquire* (London, 1575), sig. E4r; Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 1:110. George Whetstone, *The Rocke of Regard* (London, 1576), sig. B2r.

followed by corporeal violence as "*He beateth him out.*"[484] Orlando's words and actions here are symptomatic: just as he invokes Cressida as a prelude to his physical violence directed against Angelica, the character of Cressida herself could become the object of masculine aggression in her emblematic role as infidelity incarnate. The most famous and extensive instantiation of this masculine violence against Chaucer's Crisyede was Robert Henryson's fifteenth-century poem, *The Testament of Cresseid*. Included in all Renaissance editions of Chaucer immediately following *Troilus*,[485]

[484] Greene, *The Historie of Orlando Furioso* (London, 1599; STC 12266), sig. E4v–F1v. The extant "part" for Orlando offers a variant versions of the scene, in which Angelica is referred to as a "traytresse surpassing trothlese Cresida," though lacking the explicit stage direction. See Dulwich College, MSS 1, Article 138, f. 4r (f. 264r, old foliation); qtd. Greg, ed., *Henslowe Papers*, 162 (line 203). Rollins's survey of Cressida's reputation for falseness in the sixteenth century should be supplemented by the myriad references in *STC Chauceriana*, although recent EEBO-TCP transcriptions yield still more, such as Peter Beverley, *The Historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura* (London, [c. 1575]; STC 745.5), sig. D8r ("And how for falsing of her faith, / False Creseide fell vncleane"), and H.R., *Pheander. The Mayden Knight* (London, 1595; STC 21086), sig. C1r ("*Cressida* [was] beautiful, yet who more false?").

[485] The poem entered into the *Workes* canon in Thynne's 1532 edition, which also provides the earliest complete textual witness. In a curious coincidence, Henryson's *Testament* had the same status to Thynne's Chaucer as Shakespeare's *Troilus* had to the First Folio, inserted into the volume at a relatively late stage in the printing process: see Appendix B ("The Chaucer Folio Canon"). I agree with other critics in assuming that Shakespeare was strongly influenced by *The Testament of Cresseid* but that he was fully able to distinguish its non-Chaucerian authorship, although the latter postulate must necessarily remain a moot point. Given the lack of explicit markers that Henryson's poem was written by an author other than Chaucer, Rollins thought that it was "obvious that most readers took the *Testament* for Chaucer's own work" ("Troilus-Cressida Story," 399). Donaldson forcefully rejected the idea, not least given that the *Testament* begins with stanzas in rhyme royal praising Chaucer's poem and describing the narrator's discovery of "another queare" about Criseyde's fate, which he himself admits is of dubious authenticity (*Swan at the Well*, 76–77; Speght 1598, ed., f. 194v). (Rollins had already made the somewhat feeble conjecture that these stanzas could have been interpreted as an addition added onto true Chaucerian matter.) Whether or not all Renaissance readers discerned the new author is unclear in the historical evidence, although clearly some did. Francis Thynne, in his *Animadversions* on Speght, wrote: "yt wolde be good that Chaucers proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde, […] whiche Chaucer never composed, as may suffyciently*e* be proued by the thing*es* them selues" (69). Thynne demonstrated just how sufficiently this could be proved in his own copy of Speght's edition by underlining the *Testament*'s internal allusions to Chaucer's poem (Houghton Library, MS Eng 1221, f. 194r–v) and presumably other readers might easily have done the same. (Gabriel Harvey underlined the same words in his copy: see British Library, Add. MS 42518, f. 194r–v.) The fact that Speght ignored this advice in the 1602 edition might perhaps suggest that he felt there was simply no need to make this distinction explicitly: perhaps he was simply ignorant of the real author's name, although by 1593, the Edinburgh edition of the poem had been published, the title page of which "Compylit be M. Robert Henrysone" (STC 13165). On the other hand, it is true that the sentence added to the argument of *Troilus* in Speght's 1602 edition ("In which discourse Chaucer liberally treateth of the diuine purueiaunce [i.e. providence]") seems to imply that Chaucer was the author of the whole sequence (f. 143r). What is apparent is that Renaissance writers accepted Henryson's story of Crisyede

Henryson's poem revises the ending of Chaucer's *Troilus* by depicting Cresseid abandoned by Diomede and eventually cursed to a condition of leprous poverty by the gods, in which state she eventually dies. Analogous to Orlando's physical outburst against Angelica, Henryson's re-imagination of Criseyde, disgraced and destitute, can be seen as a violent punishment that even takes the form of literal physical defacement of Chaucer's character. As James Simpson has observed, the heavenly beauty of Criseyde's eyes, praised by Chaucer's narrator ("Paradis stood formed in hire yën" [V.817]), is gruesomely polluted in Henryson's poem by the verdict of the gods: "Thy christal eyen menged with blod I make."[486] From one perspective of literary history, it was Henryson's poem, "more than *Troilus*, [that] established *false Cresseid* as the literary type of feminine traitor."[487] In this account, the fact that Henryson's Cresseid extravagantly condemns herself would seem to make the *Testament* the authorizing *locus classicus* for the misogynistic understanding of Cressida's notorious identity. And yet, even as Henryson appears systematically to degrade his heroine, the very act of degradation implicitly offers a reading of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*: not only does it represent a vivid expression of the severity of Criseyde's transgression, but the very fact that Henryson's poem could be written points to a conspicuous lacuna in Chaucer's original poem, in which "*Cressida* is false, and is not punish'd."[488]

Indeed, there is something of a paradox in Chaucer's treatment of Criseyde, which in part accounts for the deeply various critical assessments of her character. On the one hand, the loving

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among the beggars to be a valid part of the narrative, although whether or not this acceptance necessitated assuming that the poem was the work of Chaucer himself is not obvious.

[486] James Simpson, "'The Formless Ruin of Oblivion': Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* and Literary Defacement," in Andrew James Johnston, Russell West-Pavlov, and Elisabeth Kempf, eds., *Love, History and Emotion in Chaucer and Shakespeare: 'Troilus and Criseyde' and 'Troilus and Cressida'* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2016), 189–206. Henryson is quoted from Speght, 1598 ed., f. 196r (line 337).

[487] Miskimin, *Renaissance Chaucer*, 209–10.

[488] Dryden's phrase is a critique of Shakespeare's play, but it serves well as a commentary on Chaucer's "tragedye" as well. See *Troilus and Cressida*, *or Truth Found too Late*, sig. A4v.

physical descriptions, to which Henryson was obviously attentive, are matched by an intimacy and psychological vividness with which Chaucer presents Criseyde to the reader: among the poem's greatest achievements, these qualities have encouraged the modern critical commonplace that Criseyde is an opaque character of irresolvable ambiguities, who changes for the reader with each encounter.[489] On the other hand, the poem's success is in crucial ways is predicated on her moral failure. At a primary level, Chaucer's representation of Criseyde's infidelity represented an adherence to the tradition of *auctoritas* in which his poem participates, "what so myn auctor mente" (*Legend* [F text], line 470). But more so, the poem's achievement as a "tragedye," as the poet identifies his work in his famous canonical valediction, is directly dependent on the pain that Criseyde inflicts. Indeed, the intensity of the "double sorwe of Troilus" (I.1), both the agony of love and the correlative shock of betrayal, depends on the egregiousness of Criseyde's transgression. With this in mind, Crisyede's act of betrayal is conspicuously underdetermined, and the fact that she essentially vanishes from view after having committed her betrayal leaves questions unanswered and falsehood unpunished. If Henryson's poem is the "tragedy" of Criseyde (*Testament*, line 4) and accords to her the kind of tragic self-knowledge that leads to reconciliation,[490] the tragedy of Chaucer's poem is exclusively Troilus'.[491]

And it is not simply Troilus who suffers. Throughout the second half of the poem, the narrator carefully stages his own horror and suffering at Criseyde's faithlessness, and even his pathetic attempts to exonerate her serve to underscore a sense that the narrator's own love has been

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[489] C. David Benson, *Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde'* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 104. For a recent survey of this reading as a critical consensus, see Patrick J. Horner, FSC, "To 'speken in amphibologies': Reading *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book V, 763," *The Chaucer Review* 47 (2012): 84–94, esp. 84–86.

[490] See Laura Wang, "Cresseid's Testament: Rewriting Herself," *English Studies* 93 (2012): 138–149.

[491] For Lee Patterson's argument that Chaucer's "tragedye" is meant primarily to indicate epic ambition and high poetic style than the suffering of the protagonist, see "Genre and Source," 198–204. I take it as self-evident that most Renaissance readers would have understood "tragedy" in the familiar sense.

betrayed and draw our attention to the pain of the poet in the act of making.[492] The parallel between the suffering of the poem's hero and its narrator becomes most explicit in the act of writing itself, when Troilus' tear-stained letter to Criseyde (V.1335–36, 1599–1600) effectively realizes the image of the weeping and writing narrator with which the poem began (I.7). More generally, the two come into alignment again in their virtues of fidelity. If Troilus suffers for his idealistic commitment to erotic *trothe*, the narrator's own adherence to historical *trothe*, "being *true* to the history he is recounting, however much he might wish to avoid its ultimate unhappiness," is the very virtue that assures his place among the literary *auctores*.[493] The narrator's only option is to try to contain the painful instability of Criseyde's "slydynge" heart by bringing the poem to an authoritative close, or at least perform his own tortured attempts to do so.[494] Whereas Henryson's punishment of Cresseid effectively restores some level of moral gravitas to the character for her male readers, Chaucer's success in his own "tragedye" of Troilus depends on the fact that Criseyde's falseness remains an injustice in the eyes of the poem's men. Criseyde's reputation is not simply collateral damage in the poem's pursuit of tragic power but a ritual sacrifice.

At the end of the sixteenth century then, Chaucer's Criseyde was at once the most richly drawn character in the poem but one whose presence was reduced by the poem's conclusion to nothing more than her transgression and its consequences—a reduction upon which the poem's final achievement as a "tragedye" was predicated—and the implications of this could easily be seen in the afterlife of the character, who became a byword for feminine falseness, often imagined as a form of histrionic hypocrisy. This then was the set of conditions that Shakespeare inherited when he

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[492] E. Talbot Donaldson, "Criseide and Her Narrator," *Speaking of Chaucer*, 65–83; Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 41. As a strange expression of critical guilt for disparaging Criseyde, Donaldson anxiously compares himself to Shakespeare's Thersites—not once but twice (75, 77).

[493] Patterson, "Genre and Source," 209.

[494] Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 46–47.

began to undertake his own adaptation of the *Troilus* story. While many critics have been content to place Shakespeare's Cressida squarely within this reception history as nothing more than a "compleat Jilt," predetermined by her notorious reputation in the literary tradition, Hyder E. Rollins, who surveyed the trajectory of Renaissance imaginings of Cressida, discerned something redemptive in Shakespeare's adaptation, which "pull[ed] Cressid partly out of the mire in which Henryson's followers had placed her."[495] As I will argue, Shakespeare does indeed offer a more complex portrait of Cressida than sixteenth-century audiences might have anticipated, but rather than specifically exonerating Cressida's character (as Dryden would do seventy years later), the play foregrounds the moral judgment and interpretation of Cressida's character as an open question. For Shakespeare, the question is intimately linked to *Troilus and Cressida*'s status as drama, in which interpretation of character is not wholly the decision of the playwright; in fact, Shakespeare's adaptation of Cressida is deliberately scripted in such a way as to limit his own authorial control over the outcome, ceding his authority to the actor.

II. The Actor's Drift

From Cressida's very first appearance in the play, Shakespeare specifically invokes aspects of her notorious identity, only to subvert the nature of our expectations. Whetstone and others had condemned Cressida as a model of duplicity, a Trojan vamp preying on the naïve Troilus, and our first impression of the play's Cressida, during her first exchange with Pandarus, would seem to depict such a character, witheringly unimpressed by her uncle's clumsy attempts to lionize Troilus. However, her short soliloquy that follows reverses this interpretation. As she confides to the audience and herself, despite her uncle's heavy handed cajolements, "more in Troilus thousandfold I see / Than in the glass of Pandar's praise may be. / Yet I hold off" (1.2.275–77). The only

[495] Rollins, "Troilus-Cressida Story," 409.

dissimulation is in her apparent *dis*interest. The reason for Cressida's abstention—that "Men prize the thing ungained more than it is" (280)—has been read by some critics as a cheap trick to inflate her value, but it is precisely because this is a world where women's worth is arbitrarily set by male valuation ("What's aught but as 'tis valued?") that she must dissemble. Her soliloquy closes with words that reveal the stakes of her aloofness:

> Therefore this maxim out of love I teach:
> 'Achievement is command; ungained, beseech.'
> Then, though my heart's contents firm love doth bear,
> Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appear. (283–86)

The Cressida of the misogynistic tradition feigns love to control Troilus; Shakespeare's also dissembles, but only insofar as she refrains from confessing her true "firm love" in order to preserve what little is left of her power in a world where men's "achievement" of love entails authoritative control.

The introduction of Cressida establishes two concerns: her desire to retain some kind of agency in a world in which to be "gained" is to be devalued and dispensed with, and the playwright's proclivity to subvert our expectations of Cressida. This desire to preserve her independence remains Cressida's crucial concern during her first staged encounter with Troilus in 3.2. Throughout the scene, she must "hold off" to save herself: as she describes her position directly to Troilus, "If I confess much, you will play the tyrant" (3.2.115). But what gives this scene its profundity and what gives Cressida her uncanny *vivacitá* in the encounter is her *in*ability to preserve her own discretion. We see this immediately in her very first exchange with Troilus:

> CRESSIDA Will you walk in, my lord?
> TROILUS O Cressida, how often have I wished me thus!
> CRESSIDA Wished, my lord? The gods grant – O my lord!
> TROILUS What should they grant? What makes this pretty abruption? (3.2.59–63)

Throughout the scene, the characterization of Cressida exemplifies what Gordon Teskey has called "articulated mimesis," in which characters reveal themselves in their interactions with others.[496] Unusually, Cressida is not only aware of these moments of revelation; she is horrified by them. Indeed, what Cressida here abrupts is the first in a series of almost involuntary confessions of love coupled with desperate attempts to silence herself, resulting in a kind of schizophrenic oscillation between disclosure and the desire for self-censorship.

> CRESSIDA Prince Troilus, I have loved you night and day
> For many weary months.
> TROILUS Why was my Cressid then so hard to win?
> CRESSIDA Hard to seem won; but I was won, my lord,
> With the first glance that ever – pardon me;
> If I confess much, you will play the tyrant.
> I love you now, but till now not so much
> But I might master it. In faith, I lie;
> My thoughts were like unbridled children, grown
> Too headstrong for their mother. See, we fools!
> Why have I blabbed? Who shall be true to us
> When we are so unsecret to ourselves?
> […]
> Sweet, bid me hold my tongue,
> For in this rapture I shall surely speak
> The thing I shall repent. (3.2.113–21, 125–27)

Confession, self-interruption, qualification, retraction, despair, pleading—Cressida is at war with herself, and the sense of a self divided between one that can be uncontrolled and another that cannot be informs her misgivings about consummating her relationship with Troilus. Appalled at her own conduct, Cressida tries to leave:

> TROILUS What offends you, lady?
> CRESSIDA Sir, mine own company.
> TROILUS You cannot shun yourself.
> CRESSIDA Let me go and try.

[496] Gordon Teskey, "Shakespeare's Styles," in Jonathan F.S. Post, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare's Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 3–25, at 18–20.

> I have a kind of self resides with you,
> But an unkind self that itself will leave
> To be another's fool. Where is my wit?
> I would be gone. I speak I know not what. (3.2.139–46)

On one level, the passage adumbrates Cressida's intuition of her betrayal, although it also serves as the most explicit articulation of the problem that has plagued Cressida throughout the play until this moment: that she has both "a kind of self," and "an unkind" (unlike, unnatural) one. Whereas the misognystic tradition imagined a Cressida cunningly and secretly controlling these two kinds of selves, Shakespeare's Cressida is the object of two distinct agencies that control her words and actions, a theatrical character who seems eerily aware of her embodiment by a boy actor. Cressida's thoughts, "like unbridled children, grown / Too headstrong for their mother," are indeed uttered by an adolescent, and the force of this allusion is rendered unmistakable in light of the scene's other references to "her" male body, as when she claims to have "wished myself a man" (123) or when Pandarus wagers, "If my lord get a boy of you, you'll give him me" (100–1), playing on two sense of the word *get*. If Cressida has an "unkind self that itself will leave / To be another's fool," the histrionic referent ("fool") yet again alerts us to the performing body that controls the character we see before us. Tellingly, Cressida's only recourses to preserving her autonomy take the form of pleas for her own silence or her constant (unsuccessful) attempts to leave the stage, the scene of her theatrical embodiment ("Will you walk in, my lord?" [twice, 3.2.59, 95]; "For this time will I take my leave, my lord" [135]; "I would be gone" [146]).

Shakespeare's Cressida, as she herself is painfully aware, is a creation of different interpreting agencies, and after the union scene, we see her vulnerable to the misinterpretations of others, such as Pandarus and even Troilus, who deliberately construes bawdy implications in her speech the morning after their consummation. When Pandarus arrives asking for his niece, and deliberately goading her about the loss of her virginity, she chastises him "Go hang yourself, you naughty

mocking uncle! / You bring me to do—and then you flout me too" (4.2.26–27); realizing too late that she has chosen the wrong her verb, Cressida is pounced upon by Pandarus: "To do what, to do what?" (28).[497] When knocking is heard at her gate, she attempts to protect her reputation by escorting Troilus inside, "My lord, come you against into my chamber," the unintended double-entendre of which provokes his amused laughter and her immediate defense: "You smile and mock me, as if I meant naughtily. […] I think of no such thing." (37–38, 40). Just as the oath scene points forward to Cressida's legendary reputation, the play itself dramatizes the acts of criticism by which Cressida *becomes* a bawdy jilt.

However, in the same way that Cressida draws attention to the performing body, the most damning act of interpretation occurs as a reading of her bodily conduct. Shortly after her arrival at the Greek camp, Ulysses responds to Nestor's evaluation of her, "A woman of quick sense," with utter disgust:

> Fie, fie upon her!
> There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
> Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out
> At every joint and motive of her body.
> O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,
> That give accosting welcome ere it comes,
> And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts
> To every tickling reader! Set them down
> For sluttish spoils of opportunity
> And daughters of the game. (4.5.55–64)

In the world of the play, Ulysses' speech is *the* foundational act of interpretation, inaugurating the misogynistic tradition of Cressida as a whore. But what Ulysses has just witnessed, a scene without Chaucerian precedent, is deeply ambiguous. When Cressida arrives at the camp, escorted by Diomedes, she is kissed by Agamemnon, Nestor, Achilles, and Patroclus in quick succession, and

[497] The long dash in Cressida's speech appears in both the Quarto and the Folio texts.

engages in repartee demonstrating what Nestor calls her "quick sense." And yet Cressida herself remains silent for 23 lines after her first appearance,[498] as the Greeks take their turns kissing her, and, tellingly, her verbal gamesmanship *parries* further kisses rather than inviting or even permitting more. From one perspective, her exchange with Menelaus suggests her easy assimilation with the "merry Greeks" as she seamlessly joins into their rhyming couplets and follows Patroclus' lead by taunting the cuckolded Spartan. However, from another perspective, she exercises what little agency she has to preserve her survival and even what she can of her chastity, as in her first attempt to refuse Menelaus: "I'll make my match to live, / The kiss you take is better than you give; / Therefore no kiss" (38–40). The exchange between Cressida and Ulysses, the final one before her exit, is similarly open-ended:

> ULYSSES May I, sweet lady, beg a kiss from you?
> CRESSIDA You may.
> ULYSSES I do desire it.
> CRESSIDA Why, beg too.
> ULYSSES Why then, for Venus' sake, give me a kiss,
> When Helen is a maid again and his –
> CRESSIDA I am your debtor; claim it when 'tis due.
> ULYSSES Never's my day, and then a kiss of you. (4.5.48–53)

What transpires in this exchange? It appears Ulysses actually does intend to receive a kiss from Cressida ("I do desire it") until she, improvising on his courteous overture, exerts her precious power by flatly demanding that he beg, at which point his desire curdles and he frames the conditions for his kiss in impossibilities (when Helen is again a virgin and restored to Menelaus). It is only after this exchange, in which Ulysses is outmaneuvered, that he delivers his vitriolic condemnation of Cressida's wanton conduct, an assessment further undermined by the fact that the

[498] Bevington places the entrance at 13.1, following F2, whereas Theobald interpolated the direction four lines later. Although Q and F omit the explicit direction, Diomedes and Cressida are obviously seen by Agamemnon at line 14.

kissing scene was his own idea: "'Twere better she were kissed in general" (4.5.22), Ulysses had said, a line that disturbingly echoes Othello's image of "the general camp" tasting Desdemona's "sweet body."[499]

Deeply compromised as an objective interpreter of Cressida, Ulysses thus serves here to reveal the radical instability of interpretation. And yet, the grounds of his condemnation are in fact legible only in performance: it is not Cressida's words, but the "language" of her body that disclose her wanton spirits, just as in the Degree speech it was in the strutting player's hamstring that his conceit lies (1.3.153–54). The veracity of Ulysses' assessment is literally on display. The character who in 1.3 articulated the tension between *auctor* and *actor* again reveals a different kind of tension alive in the world of the play: the decisive power is in the hands of the actor playing Cressida. The paradoxical use of book imagery underscores this point: "these encounterers, so glib of tongue, / That […] wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts / To every tickling reader!" Ulysses' Cressida is an open book, and yet to readers of the play—those who have only the playwright's words—this "text" is illegible.

Ulysses' association with the textual has already been made obvious in the play, even more than in the Degree speech by the scene in which he attempts to seduce Achilles into action. Conspicuously walking by the idle Greek warrior, Ulysses is noticed by Achilles who draws the audience's attention to the book that he holds: "Here is Ulysses; / I'll interrupt his reading. – How now, Ulysses? […] What are you reading?" (3.3.92–93, 95). Confronting Cressida, Ulysses "reads" her body and, given her notorious reputation in the literary tradition, the results are predictable. But, notwithstanding his variously compromised role as an interpreter of Cressida,[500] Ulysses' assessment

[499] Michael Neill, ed., *Othello* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), 3.3.347–48.

[500] Crucially, the metaphor that Ulysses uses in his contemptuous account of Cressida depends on the nature of the reader: it is the *tickling* reader—one, as David Bevington glosses, "easily aroused and titillated"

may indeed be vindicated in performance by the actor on stage, who can choose either to "unsecret" the tables of Cressida's thoughts in gesture and movement or to provide no objective correlative to Ulysses' lascivious portrait. In either case, Cressida as encountered through the playbook is fundamentally inaccessible, and any reader's interpretation must necessarily remain contingent and unstable. This is, indeed, the explicit subject of Ulysses' earlier literal encounter with reading, as explained to Achilles. The initial position of the "author" whom Ulysses reads, that no man perceives his virtues until they are reflected by others (a philosophical commonplace, the unimpressed Achilles notes), is made more exacting by the corollary that "no man is the lord of anything, […] Till he communicate his parts to others" (3.3.116, 118)—or, as A.D. Nuttall paraphrases, "there is no such thing as a truly intrinsic quality."[501] Ulysses' reading of Cressida exhibits the ramifications of this philosophical position for a work of drama: theatrical character is realized only when an actor bodies it forth.

This issue is brought to the fore in the final climactic appearance of Cressida in the betrayal scene. As we have seen, the nested audiences of the arrangement on stage stifle the scene with an almost claustrophobic metatheatricality; at the epicenter is Cressida, caught at the pivotal moment of her choice to betray or not to betray Troilus. It is, as I have suggested, a self-consciously theatrical appropriation of the final events of Chaucer's narrative: Troilus' epiphany about her infidelity comes not through reading of Criseyde's letter (V.1639–45), but seeing the act itself. The scene takes on an almost masochistic quality through Ulysses' repeated injunctions that Troilus remain nothing more than a mere passive audience member, reinforced by the mantric repetition of the word *patience* throughout their exchanges: "Hold, patience!" "You have not patience." "By Jove, I will be patient."

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or angling to "catch" Cressida like a fish—who finds wantonness in her body. On the choice of F's "tickling" over Q's "ticklish," see Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, 368 (4.5.62n).

[501] Nuttall, *Shakespeare the Thinker*, 213.

"There is between my will and all offences / A guard of patience." "You have sworn patience." "I am all patience." "I will be patient; outwardly I will." "I did swear patience" (5.2.31, 44, 49, 55–56, 63, 66, 71, 90).[502] That Troilus becomes nothing more than the passively suffering witness (*patiens*) to the betrayal exchange sharpens Cressida's role as an *actor*, both morally and dramatically. Just as Shakespeare's Troilus experiences the betrayal more intensely than Chaucer's does, the play's Cressida is drastically differentiated from Chaucer's Criseyde, with her almost subconscious "slydynge of corage." Shakespeare's Cressida, rather, experiences the act of betrayal as a tortured choice, articulated in language that echoes the anxiety-ridden aposiopesis of the consummation scene. She gives Troilus' sleeve to Diomedes (68), reflects on its importance and demands it back ("He loved me – O false wench! – Give't me again." [73]), cuts off their affair (76–77), concedes to let Diomedes keep it but refuses to disclose its owner (96–99), seems reluctant to let him leave (107–8), and finally allows him to return: "Ay, come. – O Jove! – Do, come. – I shall be plagued" (111). The scene is of course haunted by a sense of inevitability, as Cressida herself seems to register of the limits of her agency within the prescribed story. But, as in her encounter with the Greek commanders, the assessment of Cressida in this scene is ultimately dependent on the embodiment of her character by the actor, who might choose to emphasize either sexual attraction or coerced helplessness, her genuine agonized reluctance to leave Troilus or her ability to leverage a prior engagement to tantalize her suitor. The text, I would argue, is specifically scripted to allow for a spectrum of possibilities, even as it unmistakably foregrounds the issue of choice, both Cressida's and the actor's.

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[502] Structurally, the scene is also reminiscent of the tenth book of the *Iliad*, in which Diomedes and Ulysses raid the Trojan camp in the middle of the night, slaughtering their enemies in their sleep. Suspected today to be a later addition to the poem, the tenth book was nevertheless included in both Hall's 1581 and Chapman's 1598 translations; indeed, the former (*Ten Books of Homers Iliades*) concluded with this book, giving it an unexpected prominence for late Elizabethan readers.

The great canonical valediction of Chaucer's *Troilus* clearly defined the poem as a tragedy, a tragedy for which Cressida was clearly, if not blithely, responsible. In Shakespeare's famously uncategorizable play, the question of Cressida's culpability is left suggestively unresolved: the contours are fixed (Cressida does betray Troilus) but the nature of the character who transgresses is radically open to interpretation. Cressida's final speech in the play underscores this irresolvability. After Diomedes leaves the stage, Cressida speaks six reflective lines before exiting herself. As with the final speech of her first scene, these lines seem oddly unsatisfactory as soliloquy, their rhyming couplets and heavy dependence on *sententiae* giving a sense of rehearsed material rather than genuine introspection or revelation.[503]

> Troilus, farewell! One eye yet looks on thee,
> But with my heart the other eye doth see.
> Ah, poor our sex! This fault in us I find:
> The error of our eye directs our mind.
> What error leads must err. O, then conclude:
> Minds swayed by eyes are full of turpitude. (5.2.113–18)

Ostensibly an excuse for Cressida's infidelity, the lines also function as a kind of epilogue for the "play-within-a-play" watched by Troilus, Ulysses, and Thersites, one that contains within itself less an apologia for Cressida's actions than a guide for understanding what has just been witnessed by the audience. In the final lines of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Robin Goodfellow had instructed the audience in how to disregard what it had just witnessed. Cressida's "epilogue" similarly warns against the dangers of rendering a decisive verdict based on sight, its status as a closing maxim made obvious by its rhyme with "conclude": "Minds swayed by eyes are full of turpitude." While Shakespeare's adaptation of Cressida has until now been obsessively concerned with the choices that

[503] The quarto text made this sententiousness explicit in both speeches with quotation marks: see *Troylus and Cresseida* (1609), sig. B3r, K3v.

the actor makes in realizing her character, these final lines underscore the provisionality of this interpretation.

By the play's end, Shakespeare's Cressida has become a case study in the problem of dramatic character. The *auctoritas* of Chaucer's poem was predicated on Criseyde's act of betrayal and its tragic effect on both Troilus and the narrator, one that seemed almost to invite punitive treatments of her character to complement Chaucer's poem with disciplinary moral *auctoritas*. Not only does Shakespeare resist this easy participation in the traditional treatment of Cressida, but he specifically foregrounds the interpretation of her character as a problem. Rather than impose his own authoritative verdict on the character, he cedes this responsibility to the actor, who becomes a collaborator with the playwright in the realization of Cressida as a dramatic character. And yet, this power is finally stripped away, as all actorly interpretation is revealed to be provisional. Ironically, this play, that so systematically defaces the icons of literary endurance, in fact posits its own, distinctly theatrical version of longevity, in which the text will always be subject to new re-interpretations so long as men can breathe and eyes can see.

Conclusion

A copy of the 1609 quarto of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* held at the Huntington Library was once owned by the prolific seventeenth-century book collector Humphrey Dyson (*c.*1582–1633).[504] A notary public by profession, Dyson amassed one of the most significant libraries of the period,[505] although he may have had a special interest in Shakespeare's adaptation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Already something of an antiquarian,[506] Dyson also had a personal connection to the Chaucerian tradition, since he had married Elizabeth Speght, daughter of the editor Thomas Speght, whose 1598 edition of Chaucer was perhaps the grandest culmination of Chaucer's status as an English author.[507] However, Dyson had indirect Shakespearean connections as well, as in 1623 and 1627 he witnessed the wills of the former King's Men actors Nicholas Tooley and Henry Condell.[508] With these connections both to the worlds of canonical literary book production and the theatre

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[504] Dyson's copy of STC 22331 (first state) is Huntington Library, Rare Books 59072. The Huntington copy was photographed for the UMI Microfilms Collection Project and is thus accessible on Early English Books Online. On Dyson, see R.L. Steele, "Humphrey Dyson," *The Library* 3rd series, 1 (1910): 144–51; E.A.B. Barnard, *New Links with Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1930), 74–88; Nigel Ramsay, "Dyson, Humfrey (*d.* 1633)," *ODNB*; Nelson, "Shakespeare and the Bibliophiles," 64–68.

[505] A catalogue of Dyson's library prepared by Alan H. Nelson is forthcoming from the Oxford Bibliographical Society.

[506] Dyson is cited as a source for Anthony Munday's 1618 revision of John Stow's *Survey of London* (STC 23344, sig. A2v) and was a collaborating author for the 1633 edition.

[507] Dyson and Elizabeth Speght are mentioned as married in Thomas Speght's will, written on 27 February 1621, which Dyson also witnessed: NA, PROB 11/137, ff. 466v ("my daughter Elizabeth the wife of Humfrey Dison"); Steele, "Humphrey Dyson," 147. Nelson estimates their marriage took place around 1610 ("Shakespeare and the Bibliophiles," 64).

[508] Barnard, *New Links with Shakespeare*, 74. For transcriptions of the wills, see E.A.J. Honigmann and Susan Brock, eds., *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in the London Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993), 124–28 (Tooley), 156–60 (Condell).

industry, it is fitting that Dyson's copy of *Troilus* witnesses a pivotal moment in the elision of the two. After the quarto's title-page attribution "*Written by* William Shakespeare," Dyson noted in his own hand: "& printed amongst his workes."[509] The "workes" in question were *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*. Dyson thus serves as a bridge between the folio Chaucer (edited by his father-in-law Thomas Speght) and the folio Shakespeare (co-edited by his client Henry Condell). Despite the carefully worded title of Heminges and Condell's folio Shakespeare (which excluded the narrative poems and sonnets), Dyson perceived the volume as Shakespeare's *Workes*, the same title under which Chaucer's canon had come down to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers. Shakespeare had, at last, become an *auctor*.

Recent criticism has undertaken to show that Shakespeare always thought of himself this way—that he conceived of his career as one of a poet-playwright and a literary dramatist. This dissertation has argued that when Shakespeare considered this idea, it was with an ambivalent awareness incommensurability of theatre and literature, and this ambivalence is most on display in his adaptations of the figure who represented literary canonicity itself, Geoffrey Chaucer.

If the two documents that most capture Shakespeare's participation in the print life of his writing are *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, it is ironic that these two poems were not included in the volume that consolidated his status as an author: unlike Ben Jonson's *Workes* of 1616, Shakespeare's folio of 1623 was, in David Scott Kastan's words, the "first to insist that a man might be an 'author' on the basis of his plays alone, and, more remarkably, on the basis of plays written exclusively for the professional stage."[510] Similarly ironic is the fact that the Folio volume did not include *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Where Jonson had written *The Golden Age* to punctuate his *Workes* with an appropriation of the laureate literary tradition of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, the fact that

[509] Nelson, "Shakespeare and the Bibliophiles," 68; Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, 227.

[510] Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*, 63–64.

Shakespeare's career ended with his most explicit Chaucerian adaptation might suggest a similar imagination of the canonization of his own works. And yet the fundamental fact about the play's provenance—that it was the work of *two* playwrights in collaboration rather than one authoritative *auctor*—is often taken to be the reason it was not included among Shakespeare's plays. Deepening the irony still further, it is arguably the presence of the two authors working within *The Two Noble Kinsmen* that generates the most moving assertions of Shakespearean authority.

Indeed, part of the drama of the play's "kinsmen" arrangement is that the two competitive cousins on stage mirror the play's two co-authors, a comparison that is made almost unavoidable in Theseus's simile of Palamon and Arcite in battle:

> I have heard
> Two emulous Philomels beat the ear o'th' night
> With their contentious throats, now one the higher,
> Anon the other, then again the first,
> And by and by out-breasted, that the sense
> Could not judge between 'em. So it fared
> Good space between these kinsmen, till heavens did
> Make hardly one the winner. (5.3.123–30)

There is little reason why a military hero would need to search for metaphors to describe fighting and settle upon the image of competing songbirds—an improbability that inevitably explicates the parallel to Fletcher and Shakespeare. Yet the image here is not the mutually assured destruction of the Palamon and Arcite *agon*, but a kind of "nurturing competition,"[511] wherein the parallel challenge of artistic production spurs the participants on to greater achievements. Yet implicit in this contest of "emulous Philomels" is *emulation*, with its twin senses of striving competition and equaling by imitation. Earlier in the play, Arcite recalls Palamon's martial excellence: "you outwent me, / Nor

[511] The phrase comes from Donald K. Hedrick's dense reading of the "intertangled" relationship between cooperation and competition in the play's idea of co-authorship: "Be Rough with Me," 45–77, esp. 65, 69. See also Lynch, "Three Noble Kinsmen," 84.

could my wishes reach you. Yet a little / I did by imitation" (3.6.79-81). The fact that these lines were written by Fletcher prompts us to consider the younger playwright's relationship with the elder, in the final days of his career. Arguably, whereas Chaucer provides the authoritative source for the play as a whole, Fletcher's intertextual engagement with the Shakespearean *oeuvre* gives us another model of response to literary achievement on the threshold of canonization.

As critics have suggested, the same-sex relationships within the play offer us a language to conceive of collaborative playwriting, a lateral as opposed to vertical model of creation; however, the key locus of this idea in the play, Arcite's speech in the prison authored by Fletcher, enacts a different model altogether. In Fletcher's scene, the incarcerated Arcite's vision of a mutual collaboration—"We are an endless mine to one another; / We are one another's wife, ever begetting / New births of love"—performs not just the creation of new imaginative space within the limitations of *auctoritas*, but also the generative play of literary recycling by incorporating two moments from Shakespeare. The first is from Richard II's meditation imprisoned in Pomfret Castle: "My brain I'll prove the female to my soul, / My soul the father, and these two beget / A generation of still-breeding thoughts."[512] What in Shakespeare had been the self-sufficiency of a single mind in captivity, Fletcher turns into a collaboration between two, retaining the sense of imaginative production: his very act of borrowing performs the metaphor. Indeed, Shakespeare is Fletcher's "endless mine," even taking that very image from Shakespeare's avian elegy, where the love of the phoenix and the turtle is recalled as being reciprocally generative with the same metaphor: "Either was the other's mine" (line 36). In both, there is the play on the possessive (*my*, *mine*) and the source of wealth: Fletcher's lines constitute an act of *mining*, excavation and appropriation, that generates a new literary birth.

[512] Forker, ed., *Richard II*, 5.5.6–8. The parallel is noted by Lois Potter (2.2.76-79n.).

As editors and critics have observed, the Shakespearean "allusions" throughout the play are myriad in the scenes commonly attributed to Fletcher. Perhaps most conspicuously, the performance of the morris dance in the forest before Theseus and Hippolyta recalls *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; the erotic madness of the Jailer's Daughter revisits Ophelia; Arcite's proof of valor in a wrestling contest before an enemy duke recalls *As You Like It*; while the pretend storm in 4.1 seems to be a sendup of the opening of *The Tempest*. The playwright who had written a revisionary sequel to *The Taming of the Shrew* seems to attempt an anthology of Shakespearean moments, performing his own protean acts of homage, appropriation and parody. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* itself constitutes the closing of Shakespeare's *oeuvre* and, while Chaucer remains the play's presiding *auctor*, Fletcher engages with the Shakespearean corpus at a transitional moment before its own literary canonization.

Arguably, the vision of dramatic canonization that *The Two Noble Kinsmen* imagines is theatrical: just as Cressida's immortality is imagined as a dynamic oscillation between page and stage, Fletcher's gesture of canonization takes the form of collaboration, emulation, and appropriation. Shakespeare's works remain alive precisely because they demand to be reimagined. Although *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was not published in Shakespeare's folio, it was printed after 1623—the only canonical Shakespeare play of which this is true—in a quarto edition of 1634. The title page, which names both Fletcher and Shakespeare, "memorable Worthies of their time," seems to have been designed by the publisher to announce an rediscovered "classic," an elite work of literary drama.[513] But the quarto is unique in another respect: it is the only Shakespeare text to include "anticipatory directions." As Emilia delivers her ravishing long speech about her memories of Flavia, a cramped

[513] On the unfortunate stationer John Waterson and the cultural politics of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* quarto, see Lesser, "Shakespeare's Flop." On Caroline "undiscovered classics," see Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England," in Adam Zucker and Alan B. Farmer, eds., *Localizing Caroline Drama: Politics and Economics of the Early Modern Stage, 1625–1642* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 17–41

direction in the margins reads: "2. Hearses rea-|dy with Pala-|mon: and Arci-|te: the 3.|Queenes.|Theseus: and|his Lordes|ready."[514] As Lois Potter notes, these instructions "are obviously directed to people backstage at the playhouse, not to a hypothetical reader."[515] The future that the 1634 quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* imagines is not that of readerly contemplation but of being brought to life again on the stage.

After Shakespeare died, William Basse argued that Shakespeare's body should be re-interred next to Chaucer and Spenser in the south transept of Westminster Abbey. Ben Jonson's elegy on Shakespeare that prefaced the Folio, while to some extent revealing Jonson's own literary aspirations ("Thou art a monument without a tomb / And art alive still while thy book doth live") nevertheless captures something important in his rebuttal of Basse: "My Shakespeare, rise! I will not lodge thee by / Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie / A little further to make thee a room." Shakespeare's achievement was distinctly, preeminently theatrical: "Triumph, my Britain; thou hast one to show / To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe." When Dryden undertook his renovation of *Troilus and Cressida*, staged in 1679 at the Dorset Garden Theatre, it began with the famous actor Thomas Betterton delivering a prologue as "the Ghost of *Shakespear*."[516] Just as Chaucer was the founding father of English poetry, Dryden's Shakespeare is English theatre's loadstar: "Vntaught, unpractis'd, in a barbarous Age, / I found not, but created first the Stage."

My reluctance to discard the idea that Shakespeare did think of himself as a literary dramatist—despite his silence in the quartos—is that he must have also grasped that the afterlife of his plays *as works of theatre* was in part predicated on publication. The fact that the first play in the

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[514] John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (London, 1634; STC 11075), p. 14. On the appearance of these stage directions in manuscripts, see Paul Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), 209–18.

[515] Potter, ed., *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 124.

[516] Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida*, sig. b4r.

First Folio is *The Tempest* has always seemed to be in tension with the familiar reading of the play as Shakespeare's farewell to the stage. And yet the play itself implicitly recognizes the necessity of the First Folio as a vehicle to preserve works of drama so that they might be performed in the future. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the fading of Prospero's wedding masque. Tellingly the scene itself is borrowed from Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, when the magician conjures his own insubstantial pageant, which disappears instantaneously with the clap of his hands (V.1202–4). Shakespeare recognized in this passage the ephemerality of the theatrical experience, that everything that happens in the great Globe itself shall fade and leave not a wrack behind. And yet it is this very ephemerality that both requires the preservation of drama on the page *and* ensures the possibility of an ever-renewed theatrical afterlife. *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's great echo chamber of the sources that he had drawn upon throughout his career: Ovid, Virgil, Montaigne, Marlowe. But it was Chaucer who gave him the words to articulate this sense that the very thing that makes the theatre so fragile is what ensures its afterlife.

"Al oure revel was ago."

"Our revels now are ended."

Appendix A

Shakespeare at the Tabard Inn

In 1882, William Rendle, an historian of Southwark's inns, wrote a brief closet drama called "Shakespeare at the Tabard Inn: A Phantasy," in which the young playwright carouses with one Isabel Mabbe, widow of the inn's late owner: "Was not old Geoffrey, whose spirit yet haunts the house, fond of the fairies?"[517] Rendle's "phantasy" remained purely that until 2014, when Martha Carlin announced her discovery of a new Shakespeare allusion in a manuscript in the Edinburgh University Library's Laing Collection (MS La. II 422/211) in which an unnamed antiquary recorded seeing Shakespeare's name, along with those of Lawrence Fletcher, Richard Burbage, Ben Jonson, "and ye rest of their roystering associates" cut into the walls of the "lange room" of the Tabard.[518] Carlin observes that the antiquary's notes were likely prepared around November 1643, as another page of personal reflections are dated, although some could date as early as 1633. While the identity of the antiquary remains a mystery, Carlin noted that he seems to have been "an unmarried royalist" who was acquainted with William Harvey and Wenceslaus Hollar.

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[517] William Rendle, "Shakespeare at the Tabard Inn: A Phantasy," *The Antiquarian Magazine & Bibliographer* 1 (London, 1882), p. 32. Rendle and Philip Norman's study *The Inns of Old Southwark and Their Associates* (London, 1888) provides the foundational archival basis for the scholarship discussed below.

[518] Martha Carlin, "Shakespeare at the Tabard," *TLS* (24 September 2014): 15. See also Carlin, "The Host," in Stephen H. Rigby, ed., *Historians on Chaucer: The 'General Prologue' to the 'Canterbury Tales'* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), 460–80, at 471; "Shakespeare the Roisterer at the Tabard Inn," *Shakespeare Documented* <shakespearedocumented.org>. The Shakespeare allusion seems to have been first noticed by the University Librarian L.W. Sharp, who apparently did not publish his discovery.

In a response to Carlin's article,[519] Grace Ioppolo objected that any Jacobean Tabard Inn frequented by Shakespeare could not have survived until the date of the Caroline antiquary: her evidence was a 1635 report on the construction of new buildings in the parish of St. Saviour, which mentioned a "newe building of brick built vppon an old foundacon aboute 6 yeares past" at "the Inn called the Talbutt" by "M^{r} William Garford Landlord thereof," thereby suggesting that any structure that the antiquary saw in 1643 must have postdated Shakespeare's life in London.[520] Carlin's rebuttal[521] cited the will of the inn's owner Philip Bernard, dated 24 April 1629, that suggests that the new building mentioned in 1635 was not a reconstruction of the Inn itself, but rather the brew house that had been developed from the former lodgings of the abbot of Hyde, an adjacent property that had merged with the Tabard after the Dissolution. Bernard's will reads:

> Item whereas there hath been speech and conference between myselfe and m^{r} William Garfoote, concerninge a lease of my messuage, with the appurtenances called the Tabrett and Abbotts Lodgings now converted into a Brewhowse scittuate in Southwarke aforesaid for which he is to pay an hundred and ffowerteene pound*es* per annu*m* according to a Lease latelie drawne thereof but not yet sealed, w^{ch} was to commence at o^{r} Lady day last past, My will and meaning is, That the said William Garfoote doe and shall enioy the same…[522]

Thus, the "newe building" referred to in 1635 as having been constructed "aboute 6 yeares past" (and which was valued at "aboute 10^{li} per Ann*um*") was almost certainly the "Abbotts Lodgings now converted into a Brewhowse" in 1629. As Carlin summarizes: "there is no reason to assume, as Ioppolo does, that a room used by Shakespeare's circle could not have survived, with its defaced

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[519] Grace Ioppolo, "The Tabard Inn," *TLS* (3 October 2014): 6.

[520] London Metropolitan Archives, P92/SAV/1327, transcribed at William Ingram, "The Parish of St Saviour, Southwark Views of New Buildings, 1635," <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~ingram/StSaviour/foundations.html>.

[521] Martha Carlin, "The Tabard Inn," *TLS* (17 October 2014): 6.

[522] National Archives, PROB 11/155/466, ff. 296v–297v (297r).

panelling intact, in 1643." The life of the Tabard did ultimately come to an end on 26 May 1676, when it burned down along with many other Southwark institutions.[523]

As Carlin notes, if the list of King's Men's names inscribed on the wall implies a time when all the named members were assembled together, this is most obviously limited by the career of Lawrence Fletcher, who joined the company in 1603 when King James became its patron and died in 1608. One name, however, does require some comment, since its inclusion on the wall is incongruous. Carlin writes:

> Sir Sander (or Sanders) Duncombe seems unlikely to have been a fellow "roysterer" with Shakespeare and his companions. Knighted by King James in 1617, Duncombe obtained a monopoly in 1634 for the hiring-out of "covered chairs" (sedan chairs) in the capital. He also had a reputation as a healer: according to John Evelyn's *Diary*, when Evelyn's mother was dying in 1635, Duncombe attempted to save her life with "his celebrated and famous powder." In the early 1640s he was a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex. Presumably younger than Shakespeare, Burbage, Jonson, and Fletcher, and not otherwise recorded as their associate, Duncombe evidently visited the Tabard and carved his name among theirs, perhaps as an act of homage.[524]

To this one might add that Duncombe did have a stake in the London entertainment industry around the time the antiquary was making his notes. On 11 October 1638, Duncombe received a patent for "The sole practisinge & makinge profitt of the combatinge & fightinge of wild & domestick beasts within the Realme of England for fowrteene yeres."[525] Duncombe apparently set up a bear garden in Islington, although it was plagued with bad luck. In 1641, it was blown down

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[523] "From the Cock and Hart yard neer the Spur-Inn, down to St. *Thomas*'s Hospital, *Viz.* The Talbot, the George, the White-Hart, the Kings-head, the Queens-head, Inns; Together with their Back-houses, Stables, Barns, and Warehouses all burn'd down to the ground." *A Faithful Account Of the Late Dreadful Fire in Southwark* (London, 1676), p. 4.

[524] Carlin, "Shakespeare the Roisterer." Cf. Carlin, "Shakespeare at the Tabard," 15.

[525] J. Holden MacMichael, "Sir Sauder [*sic*] Duncombe," *N&Q* series 11, 2 (1910): 152. See also BL, Harley MS 1012, f. 54v ("A Priviledge to Sir Sanders Duncombe kn^{t} for 14 yeares the combating of all wild and Domesticke Beasts 11 Oct.").

and lay "as flat as a Shrove-tuesday pan-cake."[526] On 28 October 1642, tragedy struck. The title page of a sensational pamphlet printed shortly thereafter informed readers of "a terrible murther committed by one of Sir *Sander Duncomes* Beares on the body of his Gardner, that usually came to feed them, where thousands of people were eye-witnesses. Also with what strange meanes and manner they used to make him loose his savage hold by Muskets, Pikes, and Mastive Dogs, which could not be, till he had torne his Bowells (the man lying on his belly) thorow his back."[527] While Duncombe died in 1644,[528] his name seems to have been associated with the bear garden, as in a 1652 notice for "a Duel on *Wednesday* next in S^r^ *Alexander Duncams* Bear-garden near *Islington*."[529]

It seems that the Caroline antiquary knew enough about Sander Duncombe to record his name (presumably there were other names on the wall that were simply lumped among Shakespeare's roistering associates) but not enough to recognize that he could not have socialized with the King's Men. Alternatively, perhaps this testifies to an ignorance of (or indifference to) the precise dates that Shakespeare and his fellow players would have been roistering at all.

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[526] Thomas Herbert, *Newes out of Islington* (London, 1641), sig. A2r.

[527] *Strange and Horrible News* (London, 1642; Wing S5818), sig. A1r.

[528] His will (LMA, DL/C/B/005/MS09172/51, item 201) was proved on 26 March 1644. In it, he bequeaths "vnto my Cosin John Duncombe, sonne & heire to my Nephew & Neece formerly named, one full third made by the Patent given me by the King for the fighting & combating of all Wylde & Domestick beasts within the kingdome of England soe that he the said John be an assistant to manage the same eyther by himselfe or his Deputy" (f. [3r]).

[529] *The Faithful Scout* (9–16 April 1652), p. 508.

Appendix B

The Chaucer Folio Canon

The following table records the contents of the five major Chaucer folio editions to which Shakespeare might have had access: William Thynne's editions of 1532 and 1542,[530] John Stow's of 1561, and Thomas Speght's of 1598 and 1602. The consulted edition variants are, respectively, STC 5068, 5069, 5075, 5077, and 5080. Collational formulae follow the table.

Non-Ch. Non-Chaucerian texts are identified with a bullet; poems in English are listed with their identification numbers in the *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (dimev.net).

Title. Chaucerian texts are listed with titles corresponding to the *Riverside Chaucer*. Non-Chaucerian texts are listed either by modernization of titles used in the Renaissance folios or first lines. Titles in small caps indicate works whose constituent books or parts are itemized in the tables of contents.

Title/Attribution Notes. Titles of Chaucerian works that substantively differ from their titles in the *Riverside Chaucer* are recorded, including when the folios leave the poems untitled. Several works were clearly attributed to non-Chaucerian authors by their titles; other attributions that occur elsewhere in the folios are listed by earliest edition.

[530] Thynne's edition of c. 1550 (STC 5071–5074) has not been represented in the chart.

Table 1. The Chaucer Folio Canon.

Non-Ch.		*Title*	*1532*	*1542*	*1561*	*1598*	*1602*	*Title/Attribution Notes*
		(Speght's Editorial Apparatus)				•	•	
		(Thynne's Epistle to Henry VIII)	•	•	•	•	•	
4978	•	Eight Goodly Questions with Their Answers	•	•	•	•	•	
6045	•	To the King's Most Noble Grace	•	•	•	•	•	
6299	•	"When faith fails in priests' saws"	•	•	•	•	•	
		THE CANTERBURY TALES	•	•	•	•	•	
		(+ Woodcuts in General Prologue)[1]			•			
		(+ Woodcuts before Tales)	•	•				
		(+ Woodcut before The Knight's Tale)				•	•	
5436	•	+ The Plowman's Tale						
		(before The Parson's Tale)			•	•	•	
		(after The Parson's Tale)		•				
		THE ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE	•	•	•	•	•	
		TROILUS AND CRISEYDE	•	•	•	•	•	
477	•	The Testament of Criseyde	•	•	•	•	•	
		THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN	•	•	•	•	•	
3571	•	A Goodly Ballad of Chaucer	•	•	•	•	•	
		BOECE	•	•	•	•	•	Boetius de consolatione philosophie (*1532+*)
		The Book of the Duchess	•	•	•	•	•	The Dream of Chaucer[2] (*1532*, *1542*, *1561*, *1602*) The Book of the Duchess (*1598*, c5v)
		Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton	•	•	•	•	•	[Printed as envoy to *Duchess*; Bukton not named] (*1532*, *1542, 1602*) [Bukton named] (*1561*, A3r, *1598*)
		The Parliament of Fowls	•	•	•	•	•	The Assembly of Fowls (*1532+*)
2501	•	The Flower of Courtesy	•	•	•	•	•	[Attrib. Lydgate] (*1561+*, Z2r)
		The Complaint unto Pity	•	•	•	•	•	How Pity is Dead and Buried in a Gentle Heart (*1532+*)
1761	•	La Belle Dame sans Mercy	•	•	•	•	•	
		Anelida and Arcite	•	•	•	•	•	Of Queen Anelida and False Arcite (*1532+*)
2575		The Assembly of Ladies	•	•	•	•	•	
		A Treatise on the Astrolabe	•	•	•	•	•	The Conclusions of the Astrolaby (*1532+*)
2541	•	The Complaint of the Black Knight	•	•	•	•	•	
397	•	A Praise of Women	•	•	•	•	•	

Table 1. The Chaucer Folio Canon (Continued).

Non-Ch.		*Title*	*1532*	*1542*	*1561*	*1598*	*1602*	*Title/Attribution Notes*
		THE HOUSE OF FAME	•	•	•	•	•	
552	•	+ Caxton's conclusion[3]	•	•	•	•	•	
	•	THE TESTAMENT OF LOVE	•	•	•	•	•	
4383	•	The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene	•	•	•	•	•	
4801	•	The Remedy of Love	•	•	•	•	•	
		The Complaint of Mars	•	•	•	•	•	The Complaint of Mars and Venus (*1532*+)
		The Complaint of Venus	•	•	•	•	•	
1092	•	The Letter of Cupid	•	•	•	•	•	[Attrib. Hoccleve] (*1598*+, c6r)
176	•	A Ballad in Commendation of Our Lady	•	•	•	•	•	
4100	•	John Gower unto the Noble King Henry IV	•	•	•	•	•	
		Three Sayings of John Lydgate						
5559	•	"There been four things that make man a fool"			•	•	•	
5558	•	"There been four things causing great folly"			•	•	•	
2371	•	"If it befall that God thee list visit"			•	•	•	
5299	•	Of the Cuckoo and the Nightingale	•	•	•	•	•	
3954	•	"O lewd book with the foul rudeness"	•	•	•	•	•	
3645	•	Scogan to the Lords and Gentlemen	•	•	•	•	•	
		Lak of Stedfastnesse	•	•	•	•	•	[No title] (*1532*+)
		Truth	•	•	•	•	•	Good Counsel of Chaucer (*1532*+)
		Fortune	•	•	•	•	•	The Ballad of the Village without Painting (*1532*+)
		Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan	•	•	•	•	•	[No title] (*1532*+)
1526	•	"Go forth, King, rule thee by sapience"	•	•	•	•	•	
		The Complaint of Chaucer to His Purse	•	•	•	•	•	Th. Hoccleve to His Empty Purse (*1602*, 3I4r)
		[Envoy to The Complaint of Chaucer to His Purse]						Chaucer unto the King (*1532*, *1542*, *1561*, *1598*) Hoccleve unto the King (*1602*, 3I4v)
1070	•	"Consider well with every circumstance"	•	•	•	•	•	[Attrib. Lydgate] (*1561*+, 3P1r)
3442	•	A Ballad in the Praise and Commendation of Chaucer			•	•	•	
		Gentilesse			•	•	•	A Ballad Made by Chaucer Teaching What is Gentleness or Whom is Worthy to be Called Gentle (*1561*+, 3P2r)
		Proverbs			•	•	•	A Proverb Against Covetise and Negligence (*1561*+, 3P2r)
		Against Women Unconstant			•	•	•	

Table 1. The Chaucer Folio Canon (Continued).

Non-Ch.		*Title*	*1532*	*1542*	*1561*	*1598*	*1602*	*Title/Attribution Notes*
5793	•	Beware of Doubleness			•	•	•	A Ballad which Chaucer Made in the Praise, or rather Dispraise, or Women for Their Doubleness (*1561+*, 3P2r)
5990	•	The Craft of Lovers			•	•	•	[Explicitly attrib. Chaucer] (*1561+*, 3P3r)
4225	•	"Of their nature they greatly them delight"			•	•	•	
965	•	The Ten Commandments of Love			•	•	•	
4398	•	The Nine Ladies Worthy			•	•	•	
453	•	"Alone walking"			•	•	•	
2624	•	"In the season of Février when it was full cold"			•	•	•	
3989	•	"O merciful and O merciable"			•	•	•	
4997	•	How Mercury with Pallas, Venus, and Minerva…			•	•	•	
2169	•	The Descriving of a Fair Lady			•	•	•	
4006	•	"O Mossy Quince"			•	•	•	
3184	•	A Ballad Warning Men to Beware of Deceitful Women			•	•	•	
5380	•	The Ballad of Pity			•	•	•	These verses next following were compiled by Geoffrey Chaucer and in the written copies followeth at the end of the Complaint of Pity (*1561+*, 3Q1r)
2669	•	A Ballad Declaring that Women's Chastity…			•	•	•	
6756	•	The Court of Love			•	•	•	
6305	•	Chaucer's Dream [The Isle of Ladies]				•	•	
6426	•	The Flower and the Leaf				•	•	
		An ABC					•	Chaucer's A.B.C. called *La Prière de nostre Dame* (*1602*)
	•	Jack Upland					•	
		Chaucers Wordes unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn			•	•	•	
	•	Epitaphium Galfridi Chaucer	•	•	•			
6276	•	THE SIEGE OF THEBES			•	•	•	[Attrib. Lydgate] (*1561+*)[4]

Notes.

1. STC 5075 includes Caxton's woodcuts throughout the General Prologue. They do not, however, appear in STC 5076, another issue of Stow's edition.

2. This title appeared above the poem in every folio edition from 1532 to 1602. In Thynne's 1532 edition, the title was particularly striking given the ornamental page border that the printer used as space filler before the beginning of the poem itself (STC 5068, sig. 3B1v), the same border that was used for the volume's title page and other major works within it (McKerrow & Ferguson no. 19). Stow's edition retained Thynne's title in the text (sig. X6r), but offered alternative possibilities in the front matter, where it is twice listed, once as "The dreame of Chaucer, otherwise called the boke of the Duches, or Seis and Alcione, with a balade to his master Bucton" (sig. A3r), and then as "The dreame of Chaucer called the Duchesse" (sig. A3v). Speght's edition would later flag the traditional title as erroneous by identifying the poem as "The booke of the Duchesse, or the death of Blanch; mistermed heretofore, Chaucers Dreame" (sig. c5v) although the name remained unchanged in the two tables of contents, its appearance in the text, and relevant running titles, presumably because printing had begun before Speght's involvement in the edition (see below). (Speght also included a completely different poem under the title "Chaucers dreame," known today as *The Isle of Ladies*.) This change would be short lived, since Francis Thynne animadverted Speght's new title, arguing on historical grounds that John of Gaunt's wife could not be the Blanche of the poem and that the old title *The Dream of Chaucer* should be restored (Houghton Library, MS Eng 1221, sig. c5v; *Animaduersions*, 28–30), to which demand Speght acquiesced in the 1602 edition with the title "The Booke commonly entituled, *Chaucers* Dreame" (STC 5080, sig. 2R1r). Nevertheless Speght preserved the disclaimer at the beginning of *The Isle of Ladies*: "That which heretofore hath gone vnder the name of his dreame, is the booke of the Duchesse or the death of Blanch, Duchesse of Lancaster" (STC 5080, sig. 3L6r). See Kathleen Forni, "'Chaucer's Dreame': A Bibliographer's Nightmare," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64 (2001): 139–50, at 143–46. One owner of Thynne's 1532

edition inscribed Speght's title before *The Dream of Chaucer*, "The booke of the Duchesse or the death of Blanche as sayeth M^{r} Speght" (University of Glasgow, Sp Coll Hunterian Bs.2.17, sig. 3B1v).

3. When Caxton printed *The House of Fame* in 1483 (STC 5087), his exemplar lacked the final 64 lines of the poem as we have it today, ending at *HF* 2094. Acknowledging this deficiency in a prose note ("I fynde nomore of this werke to fore sayd"), Caxton composed and printed six couplets in which the narrator awakes and concludes the poem: "Thus in dremyng and in game / Endeth thys lytyl book of Fame" (sig. d3r). Caxton signaled the beginning of his addition with his name in the margin. Pynson's edition (STC 5088) reproduced Caxton's lines and a version of his note, but without the marginal comment, rendering the intervention unclear (sig. c3r). Thynne, using a better exemplar with the full authentic text of the poem (ending at *HF* 2158), nevertheless opted to append Caxton's concluding couplets (altering the first three lines), without either the note or the marginal attribution. *The House of Fame* would be thus reproduced until the nineteenth century.
4. The attribution to Lydgate was always unambiguous but was most prominent in Stow's edition, where it appears on the title page of the volume: "The workes of Geffrey Chaucer, […] With the siege and destruccion of the worthy Citee of Thebes, compiled by Ihon Lidgate, Monke of Berie."

COLLATIONAL FORMULAE

1532 STC 5068

A^{4} B–2P^{6} 2Q^{6}(-2Q3+'2Q3'.1,'2Q4'.1) 2R–3V^{6}

Note: the cancel leaves added to 2Q represent the inclusion of Robert Henryson's *Testament of Criseyde* after the outer bifolium of the quire had been set. This had been conjectured by

editors since the nineteenth-century on the basis of the *Testament*'s absent foliation in Thynne's edition and was later confirmed by Alice Miskimin's discovery of a cancelled leaf in a copy held at Yale University's Beinecke Library. See George Chalmers, ed., *Robene and Makyne, and The Testament of Cresseid* (Edinburgh, 1824), v (note 1); Denton Fox, ed., *Testament of Cresseid* (London: Nelson, 1968), 9–10; Miskimin, *Renaissance Chaucer*, 208; Fox, ed., *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), xciv–xcv.

1542 STC 5069

A^4 B–2Y^6 2A–2T^6

1561 STC 5075

❧^{4} ✠^{6} A^4 B–V^6 2A–2P^6 ^{2}Q–T^6 ^{2}V^8 X^8 Y–Z^6 3A–3T^6 $3V^8$

1598 STC 5077

[a]^6 b-c^6 ¶^{4} χ^1 A–V^6 2A–2T^6 2V–2X^8 2Y–4A^6 $4B^8$

Note: χ^1 represents the errata leaf, "Faults escaped, and some things omitted in the newe Additions," which appears variously positioned in the extant copies. The critical apparatus produced by Speght was commissioned only after presswork had begun. When Adam Islip received the right to print Chaucer's works on 20 December 1594, it included the provision "yf hereafter there be any Comentary or other thinge written vppon the same booke then the same Adam shall haue the offer of the same" (Book B, f. 316r; Arber, *Transcript*, 2:667). It seems Speght was solicited for this commentary while the printing was underway: "so it fell out of late, that *Chaucers* Works being in the Presse, and three parts thereof alreadie

printed, not only these friends did by their Letters sollicit me, but certaine also of the best in the Companie of Stationers hearing of these Collections, came vnto me, and for better or worse would haue something done in this Impression" (sig. [a]2v). See Pearsall, "Thomas Speght"; Mowat, "Constructing the Author," 104–6.

1602 STC 5080

[a]^{6} b–c^{6} A–3N^{6} 3O^{4} 3P–3T^{6} 3V^{8}

Appendix C

Troilus and Cressida: The Inns of Court Hypothesis

The idea that *Troilus and Cressida* was written by Shakespeare specifically for a performance at one of the Inns of Court has remained oddly tenacious in twentieth-century scholarship. There is of course no external evidence to support this claim, nor to suggest that *Troilus* was performed at the Inns of Court on any occasion. Nevertheless the idea has often been seen as the most appealing solution to the confusingly contradictory evidence about the play's early stage life, a theory enabled by the fact that two of Shakespeare's plays were known to have performed at the Inns (*The Comedy of Errors* on 28 December 1594 at Gray's Inn and *Twelfth Night* on 2 February 1602 at Middle Temple), by the play-going habits of many Inns students, and by the fact that the Inns commissioned masques from professional playwrights later in the seventeenth century. There is a certain temptation to entertain this possibility of an Inns of Court commission in the present project in light of Thomas Speght's claim that Chaucer himself was a member of the Inner Temple.[531] However, it must be acknowledged that the hypothesis is tenuous despite the currency it has enjoyed.

[531] Speght's "Life" claimed that Chaucer was a member of the Inner Temple, "for not many yeeres since, Master *Buckley* did see a Record in the same house, where *Geoffrey Chaucer* was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete" (sig. b3v). There is no surviving evidence today to corroborate this (the earliest extant records from any of the Inns date from 1422), and scholars have been naturally skeptical about Speght's assertion. Almost immediately Francis Thynne objected on the grounds that the timing was implausible (*Animadversions*, 21–22), although Speght's "Master *Buckley*" may have been one William Buckley, who in 1564 was the Inner Temple's chief butler, responsible for the care of the library and thus would have had access to the relevant records, and Buckley's source may also have been witnessed by the antiquarian Joseph Holland: see F.A. Inderwick, ed., *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, 2 vols. (London, 1898), 2:viii; Robert A. Caldwell, "Joseph Holand, Collector and Antiquary," *Modern Philology* 40 (1943): 295–301, at 300 (citing Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.4.27, f. 5). Among modern biographers, the possibility has been

The idea was first tentatively proposed by Peter Alexander in 1928 as part of his solution to the complicated textual situation of the play. Following Malone's inference that the simplest way of reconciling the contradictory evidence from the Stationers' Register and the 1609 quarto was to imagine a private performance, and finding that the play's content (especially its bawdry) would have made it unsuitable for Malone's proposed performance at court, Alexander offered an alternative suggestion:

> Shakespeare, however, may have written the play for some festivity at one of the Inns of Court […] In 1611 the Benchers of the Inner Temple decided to prohibit the 'lewd and lascivious plays' which had brought 'disorder and scurrility' into their entertainments, though they later went back on their decision. This recalls the note of Shakespeare's play; the subject and its treatment point to such an audience; the deliberate flouting of tradition as established by Homer and Chaucer would have been intelligible only to instructed spectators. […] It is unlikely that this play was ever performed to an audience at the Globe.[532]

Alexander's suggestion, augmented by other critics, was widely entertained in the years following, notably by W.W. Greg,[533] and discussed approvingly in new editions of the play.[534] By 1970, one

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supported by Edith Rickert ("Was Chaucer a Student at the Inner Temple?" *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1923], 20–31), John Matthews Manly (*Some New Light on Chaucer* [New York: Henry Holt, 1926], 7–15), and D.S. Bland ("Chaucer and the Inns of Court: A Re-Examination," *English Studies* 33 [1952]: 145–55). In a skeptical re-assessment of the evidence, Joseph A. Hornsby concluded that it is unlikely that Chaucer was educated at the Inns of Court, and the possibility that he was a member there as a practicing lawyer must rest on the groundless assumption that he ever was one to begin with ("Was Chaucer Educated at the Inns of Court?" *The Chaucer Review* 22 [1988]: 255–68, esp. 263–64). See also Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 29–30. However, I imagine that the average reader in 1600 would not have had much reason to suspect the veracity of the claim.

[532] Peter Alexander, "*Troilus and Cressida*, 1609," *The Library* 4th series, 9 (1928): 267–86, at 278–79. For Alexander, a private performance at the Inns of Court did not preclude the play's engagement in the Poets' War and in fact "would have provided a suitable audience for the incidental raillery of Jonson which some discover in the description of Ajax by Pandarus and the imitation of his action by Thersites" (279n).

[533] W.W. Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare: A Survey of the Foundations of the Text* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), 112; *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 340 (the theory "would explain some of the peculiarities of the piece and give us a hint respecting its history, though it must be frankly admitted that there is no shred of external evidence with which the conjecture can be supported").

scholar could write that "Alexander's theory, though set forth very tentatively, has been so widely accepted that it has almost acquired the status of a fact."[535]

In the twenty-first century, casual observers of the issue might have the sense that the publication of a book-length treatment of the subject, W.R. Elton's *Shakespeare's 'Troilus and Cressida' and the Inns of Court Revels* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), has all but proved the hypothesis. However, Elton's book makes its case exclusively on interpretative grounds, arguing that the combination of festive atmosphere, legal language, and academic allusions in *Troilus* "confirms that the play was directed to a festive law audience" (168). Elton does not attempt to prove the point on grounds other than intertextual; indeed, he treats the idea that the play was intended for an Inns of Court audience as a *donnée*: "more recent scholars, following Peter Alexander (1928–9), concur that it was intended for private performance as at an Inns of Court festivity" (1).[536]

The consensus, however, is fictional and Elton does not mention, nor does he try to refute, any skeptical accounts of the theory. The incredulous T.W. Baldwin pointed to how anomalous such a commission would have been: "It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no known instance in Sh.'s working days where any play was even written for such private performance […] Even the plays for the queen were selected from those that had already been well clapper-clawed by the vulgar."[537] At greater length, Jarold W. Ramsey provided an extensive rebuttal on both formal and evidentiary grounds to the different variations of the theory proposed by Alexander, Hotson,

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[534] Harold N. Hillebrand and T.W. Baldwin, eds., *Troilus and Cressida*, New Variorum Edition (Philadelphia: Lippincott and Co., 1953), 355 (Hillebrand's comment); Alice Walker, ed., *Troilus and Cressida* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1957), xxiii–xxvi.

[535] Jarold W. Ramsey, "The Provenance of *Troilus and Cressida*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 21 (1970): 223–40, at 224. Kenneth Palmer's Arden edition (London: Methuen, 1982) devotes a short appendix to the Inns of Court theory, ultimately finding that it "remains a theory, but plausible" (310).

[536] The most recent work in the list of sources he cites of scholars "entertaining the Inns-of-Court *Troilus* hypothesis" is Kenneth Muir's 1982 edition of the play.

[537] Hillebrand and Baldwin, eds., *Troilus and Cressida*, 356–57 (Baldwin's comment).

and Coghill. The Inns hypothesis has always been most persuasive to those who felt that some formal aspect of the play required an extraordinary explanation—that the play's language is too erudite, too rhetorical, too allusive to have been meant for an audience at the Globe. But, as Ramsey and others have observed, this sense of alterity is both subjective and liable to tautology.[538] Indeed, however much *Troilus* may have appealed to the interests and writings of some Inns students (who were, it must be acknowledged, a rather heterogeneous group), the play seems distinctly *un*suitable for a revels entertainment and scarcely resembles the two Shakespearean plays that we know were actually performed there, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night*. Gary Taylor, himself an apostate from the Inns theory, similarly pointed out that "entertainments at the Inns of Court generally reveal no predilection for arcane learning or exotic subject matter."[539]

Others have found the Inns theory unpersuasive on financial and logistical grounds based on what we know about Shakespeare's professional habits as a playwright and about the theatrical life at the Inns. David Bevington, one of the play's most recent editors, is also among the unconvinced, and writes: "Shakespeare is not known ever to have written a play on commission for a private audience; his plays were taken to court and elsewhere, but his source of income was the public stage."[540] Alan H. Nelson, who as editor of the recent *REED: Inns of Court* volumes has exhaustively reviewed the extant records of dramatic activity at the Inns of Court, found evidence of regular

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[538] As Ramsey noted, "the special provenance theory seems to follow a curious circular logic—the strange texture of *Troilus* provides an impetus for speculations about its origins, and then these speculations are used to help explain the work, or reinforce the critic's impression of its strangeness" (223). Phebe Jensen's critique of Taylor's article noted that scholarly arguments about *Troilus*'s textual and stage history are often problematically based on subjective responses to the play's style.

[539] *Textual Companion*, 438. In a 1982 article, Taylor argued that "Shakespeare first composed the play specifically with an Inns of Court premiere in mind," "for which, as almost all critics now agree, the play was originally written," but that it was revised for performances at the Globe: see Taylor, "*Troilus and Cressida*: Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation," *Shakespeare Studies* 15 (1982), 99–136, esp. 120, 103. By the time the *Textual Companion* was published, Taylor had changed his mind: "There has always been something unsatisfactory about the hypothesis that *Troilus* was written specifically for an Inns of Court audience" (438).

[540] Bevington, ed., *Troilus*, 88–89.

performances by professional companies at the Inns, but no trace of a dramatist writing a play expressly for them:

> Would any one of the Inns, in other words, have commissioned a play from Shakespeare or any other dramatist? The proposition seems unlikely. Masques were certainly commissioned from professional playwrights, but masques were by definition occasional and meant to be performed only once or twice. No professional play is known to have been intended for a single performance only. The effort which went into composing a play was hugely greater than that required to compose a masque. Plays, moreover, were always (so far as we know or can infer) expected to be performed in the full range of venues already discussed.[541]

For Shakespeare to have written *Troilus* expressly for a private performance at the Inns of Court would have been anomalous not only based on what we know about him, but also about any practicing dramatist of his time.

An alternative version of the theory, first proposed by Nevill Coghill, argues that Shakespeare originally wrote the play for Globe, subsequently revising it for a performance at the Inns of Court in 1608. Needless to say, this account is incompatible with the version of Inns hypothesis advanced by Alexander and Elton: whereas they imagine Shakespeare writing a play exclusively for an audience at the Inns of Court, filling it burlesquerie and academic-legal language designed to appeal to the Inns' students, Coghill relegates the audience-directed passages simply to the addition of the prologue and epilogue.[542] Finding these two passages too unlike other comparable Shakespearean examples to have simply been intended for delivery at the Globe, Coghill instead interprets their defensive stances as Shakespeare's anticipation of the same unceremonious reception that his company received at Gray's Inn in 1594. The epilogue in particular Coghill, argues, is intentionally filled with smut "designed in a lewd vein to titillate some particular and

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[541] Alan H. Nelson, "The Universities and the Inns of Court," in Richard Dutton, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 280–91, at 290.

[542] Nevill Coghill, *Shakespeare's Professional Skills* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964), 78–97.

unwonted audience, expected to give trouble." This theory has the advantage of being able to draw on somewhat parallel examples, such as the epilogue apparently written for performance (possibly by the Chamberlain's Men) at court during Shrovetide in 1599,[543] although, no such record of revision exists for Inns of Court performances and, as Taylor observed, the two plays that we do know were in fact performed at the Inns (*The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night*) "show no signs of being tailored for such an audience."[544]

A similar solution was adopted by Pervez Rizvi in his rigorous recent analysis of the bibliographical evidence to illuminate the play's textual provenance. Rizvi argues with Coghill that a version of *Troilus* performed at the Globe preceded one revised for a private performance; however, contra Coghill, Rizvi argues that the prologue was part of the original "public" version and that the only revision for the "private" version was the addition of the epilogue and the readjustment of Pandarus' final appearance to account for it. Again, the role of the Inns of Court *per se* becomes smaller and smaller, and the only evidence that Rizvi advances for an Inns-specific audience is that Pandarus' line "my will here shall be made" "would be more apt if spoken at the Inns of Court,"[545] an argument that has already been critiqued by Gary Taylor on the grounds that dying men did not typically make their wills at the Inns of Court and that the "more natural interpretation of 'here' is 'the stage'," where perhaps a sequel was planned.[546] I don't mean to link the validity of Rizvi's textual analysis to the validity of the Inns of Court theory; indeed, the Inns theory plays only the slightest of

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[543] William A. Ringler, Jr. and Steven W. May, "An Epilogue Possibly by Shakespeare," *Modern Philology* 70 (1972): 138–39.

[544] *Textual Companion*, 438

[545] Rizvi, "Texts of *Troilus*," 293.

[546] *Textual Companion*, 438. Earlier, Alfred Harbage found "baffling" the argument that the epilogue's insults to the audience would have been "especially congenial to inns of court ears. Generically, the allusions to panders among the spectators resemble facetious addresses in public theatres, where a 'galled goose of Winchester,' like a pickpocket or two, could be counted upon as lurking among amidst the throng." See *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 116–17.

roles in Rizvi's argument and might easily be removed without compromising the validity of his account of the play's textual provenance. However, his use of the Inns theory is symptomatic of its stubborn currency, even when the reasons for which it was originally thought to be persuasive dwindle to nearly nothing.

On final assessment, in lieu of concrete evidence about Shakespeare's play and its connection to the Inns of Court, the theory that Shakespeare intended his play for such an audience, or even that it received a performance there at some point, must remain conjectural at best, even if the contextual arguments that vitiate its plausibility cannot definitively disprove it as such.[547] And the work of someone like W.R. Elton is hardly labour lost. Even if a performance at the Inns is dismissed, one can be confident that any play-going Inns student who attended a performance of *Troilus* at the Globe would have found much in the play to appreciate. And, as Dawson recognizes: "We don't have to posit an exclusive Inns of Court performance to mark the influence of Inns of Court culture."[548]

[547] Anthony B. Dawson describes the Inns proponents "caught like Othello in the grip of narrative, trapped by their own stories": "Staging Evidence," in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel, eds., *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 89–108, at 101.

[548] Dawson, ed., *Troilus and Cressida*, 9.

Appendix D

Troilus and the English Onomasticon, 1564–1616

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the tireless Caroline Spurgeon was able to locate traces of only two "definitely Chaucerian christian names": Sir Troilus Turberville (d. 1645), "a Royalist who was killed in the Civil War," and a seventeenth-century Cambridge bookseller named Troilus Atkinson, although his "parents' names and the date of his birth [1600?] are unknown."[549] Today, thanks to the widespread digitization of parish records on genealogical databases, we can now easily discover more about Spurgeon's bookseller. His father, also named "Troylous Atkinson," was married to "Joane Bateson" on May 17, 1599, at All Saints Church in Cambridge.[550] As Spurgeon accurately assumed, "Troilus Atkynson" was born in 1600, baptized at the nearby St. Andrew-the-Great's on 4 September of that year. Joan died in 1608 (buried March 29), and the elder Troilus died, after remarrying, in 1612 (buried June 22).[551] The younger Troilus married in 1630 and lived a long life as a bookseller, dying in 1675.[552] Spurgeon's Royalist soldier Sir Troilus Turberville, whose life

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[549] Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years*, 3:53.

[550] Cambridgeshire Archives, P20/1/1, p. 28; W.P.W. Phillimore and Evelyn Young, eds., *Cambridgeshire Parish Registers. Marriages Volume IV*, Phillimore's Parish Register Series 154 (London: Phillimore, 1911), 7.

[551] Baptismal and burial records mentioned are found in the *Bishop's Transcripts for St. Andrew-the-Great's Church, Cambridge, 1600–1864*, Family History Library Film Number 1818376. For the elder Troilus's second marriage, see Cambridgeshire Archives, P20/1/1, p. 57; Phillimore and Young, eds., *Cambridgeshire Parish Registers. Marriages Volume IV*, 8.

[552] Thomas M. Blagg, ed., *Cambridgeshire Parish Registers. Marriages Volume VIII*, Phillimore's Parish Register Series 233 (London: Phillimore, 1927), 14 ("Troylas Atkinson & Elizabeth Rogers"); TNA, PROB 11/349/184 (ff. 1v–4v).

has been well documented elsewhere, was similarly the son of a namesake father.[553] In the case of the Turbervilles, the allusive intent of the name seems beyond doubt, since the elder Troilus' sister was named after another of Priam's children, Cassandra, perhaps suggesting that their father Nicholas may have been influenced by his brother, the poet George Turberville.[554] (Indeed, the connection is especially tempting in light of the numerous invocations of Troilus in George Turberville's published poems, one of which is even titled "The Louer in vtter dispaire of his Ladies returne, in eche respect compares his estate with *Troylus*."[555])

Spurgeon has thus given us four rather than two Troiluses living in Shakespeare's England. However, digitized genealogical and archival databases reveal that there were many more: the list below offers eighteen further examples based on a preliminary search of the relevant resources.[556] As the list demonstrates, the use of Troilus as a given name was not limited to a single region and can be found in parishes across England. (Examples from Scotland and Wales during the same period are omitted from the list.) However, its use was infrequent enough to remain conspicuously recherché. Of course, the eighteen examples provided here should not be taken to represent all the uses of the name in Shakespeare's time, since many parish registers remain unrepresented (or

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553 Michael Foster, "Sir Troilus Turberville, Captain-Lieutenant of the King's Life Guard (?1597-1645)," *Royal Stuart Society Papers* 16 (1980): 1–32.

554 Foster, "Sir Troilus Turberville," 4.

555 George Turberville, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (London, 1567), ff. 139r–140v. This example, noticed by Foster ("Sir Troilus Turberville," 27, n21), is strangely neglected by *STC Chauceriana*, which nevertheless records several further Troilus allusions in Turberville's works (74–75, 124–25). The comparative conceit of this particular poem may have been inspired by a similar example in Tottel's Miscellany, "A comparison of his loue wyth the faithful and painful loue of Troylus to Creside": see *Songes and Sonettes* (London, 1557), ff. 80v–81v.

556 There has been no attempt made to list the complete life records for the persons listed. Where plausible, I assume that the same name represents the same person in the interests of maintaining a conservative total estimate. The records baptism, marriage, and burial have all been located on Ancestry.com; footnotes below indicate whether I have been able to check the database records against a facsimile reproduction of an original document or published transcription.

erroneously transcribed) in the current databases, besides the more general caveat that the variable survival rates of parish registers and mobility between parishes mean that our record of the Renaissance onomasticon will always remain necessarily imperfect. As more parish register data is made accessible, the list will no doubt expand, and other examples may well be gleaned from other kinds of early modern documents. This is not to argue that the name was common—it was not—but rather that it was at least possible that someone in Shakespeare's time might have been aware of its entrance into the English onomasticon.

1. **Troylus Yotton**
   Baptized 11 July 1564 at St. John at Hackney, London[557]

2. **Troylus Tines**
   Baptized 6 December 1579 at Horsington, Somerset[558]

3. **Troylus Costerdyne**
   Baptized 20 August 1582 at St. Mary, St. Denys and St. George, Manchester, Lancashire
   Married 16 July 1604 to Anne Shalcrosse
   His infant son buried 31 July 1604[559]

4. **Troylus Crewkerne**
   Baptized 11 October 1583 at Seaborough, Dorset[560]
   Buried 2 November 1583[561]

5. **Troylus Travis**

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[557] R. Simpson, ed., *Memorials of St. John at Hackney*, Part III (Guildford, 1882), 220.

[558] W.E. Daniel, ed., *The Parish Register of Horsington, in the County of Somerset, 1558–1836* (Frome-Selwood: Broadway Press, 1907), 5.

[559] Manchester Cathedral Archives, Mancath/1/1/1/1, pp. 42, 270, 433; Ernest Axon, ed., *The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Manchester: Christenings, Burials, and Weddings 1573–1616* (Cambridge: Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1908), 39, 347, 457.

[560] Dorset History Centre, PE/SEA/RE 1/1, p. 2.

[561] Somerset Heritage Centre (South West Heritage Trust), D\P\crew/2/1/1; transcribed by Robert Dunning in Dorset History Centre, PE/SEA/RE 6/1.

Baptized 20 December 1584 at St. Mary, St. Denys and St. George, Manchester, Lancashire[562]

6. **Troylus Skinner**
   Baptized 28 August 1591 at St. Leonard, Shoreditch, Middlesex[563]

7. **Troylus Collyer**
   Baptized 8 June 1595 at St. Peter, Limpsfield, Surrey[564]
   Petitioned the House of Lords 21 March 1626, claiming copyhold lands at Portslade, Sussex[565]

8. **Troylus Edward**
   Baptized 1 September 1595 at Sandford-On-Thames, Oxfordshire

9. **Troyles Mason**
   Buried 3 June 1596 at Great Badminton, Gloucestershire[566]

10. **Troylus Bateson**
    Baptized 7 April 1598 at All Saints, Cambridge[567]

11. **Troylus Grame**
    Baptized 17 February 1600 ("Troyly") at Lowther, Westmorland[568]

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[562] Manchester Cathedral Archives, Mancath/1/1/1/1, p. 53; Axon, ed., *The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Manchester*, 48.

[563] London Metropolitan Archives, P91/LEN/A/001/MS07493, f. 29. The register indicates that Troilus Skinner resided at "More gardens," which I assume indicates Moor Mead: see James Bird, ed., *Survey of London*, Volume VIII: The Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch (London: London City Council, 1922), 88–89.

[564] Surrey History Centre, P11/1/2, p. 40.

[565] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/30; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourth Report* (London, 1874), 7.

[566] Gloucestershire Archives, P32 IN 1/1, p. 32.

[567] Cambridgeshire Archives, P20/1/1, p. 31. There is surely some connection between this Troylus Bateson ("y^e^ sonne of John Bateson") of All Saints parish in Cambridge and the Joan Bateson who married Troilus Atkinson in the same parish in 1599 (see introductory note). One might even imagine Atkinson served as godfather. The Bishops' Transcript of the All Saints register (as transcribed on Ancestry.com) also records another "Troiles Bateson" baptized on 18 April 1599. However, it seems from the original register that this stems from a scribal error, in which two baptismal entries were mistakenly repeated in 1599 (p. 32).

[568] J.F. Haswell, ed., *The Registers of Lowther, 1540–1812* (Penrith: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1933), 22.

Married 30 January 1626 to Margaret Nychollson at Kirkoswald, Cumberland[569]
Married 1642 to Isabell Fell at Heversham, Westmoreland

12. Troylus Beade
Children buried 29 July and 10 August 1608 at St. Botolph, Aldgate, London
Buried 11 August 1608[570]

13. Troilus Moone
Baptized 2 May 1611 at Holy Trinity, Dorset[571]

14. Troylous Lovell
Married 27 June 1615 to Charitye Lockier at Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire[572]
Examined 20 January 1626 by the Archbishop of Canterbury about his recent travels in Italy and France, especially his involvement with the English College in Rome[573]

15. Troilus Wallers
Children baptized on 1 May 1616, 20 October 1622, 13 March 1625, 3 February 1630 at Dorchester Holy Trinity, Dorset[574]

16. Troylos Diett
Married 14 October 1624 to Jone Edridg at Bruton, Somerset
Children baptized 9 July 1626, 2 November 1628, 8 December 1633, 21 November 1637
Buried 22 April 1641[575]

17. Troilus Axall
Married 22 January 1626 to Alice Shedweek at Chettle, Dorset

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[569] John J. Thornley, ed., *The Ancient Church Registers of the Parish of Kirkoswald, Cumberland* (Workington: G.H. Smith, 1901), 14.

[570] London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BOT2/A/015/MS09222/001 (not paginated).

[571] Dorset History Centre, PE/DO(HT)/RE1/1, f. 32r.

[572] W.P.W. Phillimore and John Sadler, eds., *Wiltshire Parish Registers. Marriages Volume VII*, Phillimore's Parish Register Series 119 (London: Phillimore, 1908), 8.

[573] National Archives, SP 16/7, f. 94r; SP 16/18, f. 164r (identifies his birthplace as Glanville's Wootton, Dorset); SP 16/19 f. 2r; John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic… Charles I. 1625, 1626* (London, 1858), 123, 228, 229.

[574] Dorset History Centre, PE/DO(HT)/RE1/1, f. 34v, 36r–v, 38r.

[575] Douglas L. Hayward, ed., *The Registers of Bruton, Co. Somerset.* Volume 1: 1554-1680, Parish Register Society 60 (London: Parish Register Society, 1907), 18, 82, 84, 89, 94, 155.

Son ("Troilus Exhole") baptized 9 August 1629[576]

18. Troilus Tailor

Son ("Troylus") baptized 3 February 1641 at St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London[577]

[576] Dorset History Centre, PE/CHT/RE1/1, pp. 38, 40.

[577] Willoughby A. Littledale, ed., *The Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, 4 vols. (London: Harleian Society, 1909–12), 1:19. I hazard the speculation that the elder Troilus Tailor falls within the arbitrary parameters of the present list, on the possibility that he was above the age of 25 when his namesake son was born.

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