

THE FALSE STEWARD AND THE MAGICIAN: CUPIDS CAUTELS
AND SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS 1599-1607

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PREFACE

This study originated at the suggestion of Dr. Charles E. Walton, Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, who made the text of the "Second History" of Cupids Cautels available to me, and gave many suggestions and much encouragement during the course of the study. I wish to express my appreciation to him, and also to Dr. June Morgan, Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, the second reader of this thesis, for her unfailing aid and encouragement.

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CHAPTER I

POINT OF DEPARTURE

Henry Wotton's A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels (1578) has recently been well established as a source for several Elizabethan plays. Atkinson and Pogue showed that "The Fifth Historie" of Wotton's collection of tales was a source for plot and characterization in Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona.¹ McIlvain proved Kyd's use of "The First Historie" in Soliman and Persida.² Baldwin pointed out the use of the same story in Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy and also directed attention to the similarity between Fair Em and Wotton's book.³ Watson, in his study of Fair Em and "The Fourth Historie," has definitely proved that the play is indebted to Wotton.⁴ With these bases substantiating the thesis that Wotton's book was relatively well known as a source book

¹Dorothy Atkinson, "Sources of The Two Gentlemen of Verona," SP, XL (1944), 223-34; Jim C. Pogue, A Reinvestigation of the Sources of The Two Gentlemen of Verona (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas).

²Clarice D. McIlvain, A Study of the Sources of Thomas Kyd's Soliman and Persida (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas).

³C. T. Baldwin, On the Literary Genetics of Shakspeare's Plays, pp. 180, 514.

⁴Roy Watson, Fair Em and Cupids Cautels: A Study of the Date, Sources, and Authorship of Fair Em, With a Transcript of The Fourth Historie of Cupids Cautels (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas).

for Elizabethan dramatists, one turns to a study of "The Second Historie" in the collection.

The plot concerns a love intrigue centered around the theme of woman's chastity outraged by the wiles of men. The story is narrated on the second day of the five-day debate over the causes of the evils in love. Continuing a discussion of women's errors, Sir bel Aceueil tells a short tale of a woman sent to reside in the moon, because the angels in the Turks' Paradise were afraid of her quarrelsome and capricious nature. Then, after a short debate, Mistress Mary tells a story to uphold women's honor:

In the German city of Mens, two merchants' children, Herman and Floria, are betrothed. Both are virtuous, beautiful, and deeply in love with each other. But Ponifre, the steward of Floria's father, falls in love with her. Because she is above him in station, he must plot to win her. He speaks twice to her of his love, and both times she rejects him. Not understanding the depth of his passion, she treats the matter lightly, for she is too kind to reveal his ambitious suit. Her very goodness, however, is the basis of the ensuing tragedy. Ponifre seeks help from an old bawd, whom he first meets in a church. Although she takes his money and promises that her sorceries will succeed, she can do nothing. Ponifre next goes to a magician, who, after receiving money, conjures up a shadow in the shape of Floria. Although deceived in his pleasure for a time, Ponifre finally realizes the tricks of the illusionist, and also perceives that the illusion proceeds from his own evil. Nevertheless, he persists in his own lustful suit. With the aid of Floria's chambermaids, he gets her intoxicated and seduces her. She remembers nothing of their meeting, however, when she finds herself with child later. Herman deserts her, feeling bitterness toward all women. He marries Charita, in turn, and is happy for a short while. Tiring of her, he goes to market in Antwerp, despite her pleas. Meanwhile, Floria, miserable but not blaming Herman, marries Ponifre against her will, for he is her only willing suitor after the scandal. During the wedding celebrations, the triumphant bridegroom becomes drunk, revealing his seduction of

Floria. He and the maids are tried, tortured, and executed, Floria being in favor of this treatment to redeem her honor. Charita, always jealous of Floria, tests Herman's feelings by sending word that she (Charita) has died. Having received this message and the news of the really chaste Floria's widowhood, Herman sets out to find Floria. But Floria, still not content with her penance, sacrifices herself to the cause of chastity. After leaving a letter in her child's bosom, having kissed the child, she commits suicide by drinking a vessel of boiling wine. She is given a maiden's funeral, and a monument is erected for her nobility. Herman receives the news of her death when he is only half a day from Mens; to everyone's great astonishment, he dies of a "mortall convulsion," the result of extreme passions. Only Charita lives to tell the truth of events.

When the story is finished, the group discusses, in the elaborate, euphuistic style of the entire book the themes of chastity, drunkenness, second marriages, and suicide. The ideas are commonplaces, consisting in the main of proverbs and maxims which Elizabethans used so commonly in order to expand basic ideas and narratives.⁵

This tale, then, is conceived of in the tradition of the euphuistic style, and, as such, is a good example of the sensational intrigue plots of the Italian novelle genre.⁶ While the story would appear to have been prime material for source-hunting dramatists, an investigation of the extant plots of dramas written between 1580 and 1612 has, so far, failed to produce an indisputable use of this story as a basic source.

⁵M. P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's Euphues and in Pettie's Petite Pallace, p. 48.

⁶Hyder E. Rollins and Herschel Baker (eds.), The Renaissance in England, p. 672.

A number of striking similarities in phrasing and in incidents, however, do occur between Wotton's tale and four of Shakespeare's plays written between 1599-1607: Henry V, Hamlet, Othello, and Antony and Cleopatra. In most of this study's parallels, the rhetorical images do develop character beyond the suggestions of the major source. Antony and Cleopatra and Henry V (to a lesser extent than the former), however, present special problems, because each follows major sources closely. Whitaker cautions that echoes in cases of this sort may be nothing more than a "rounding off" by rhetorical commonplaces.⁷ In other words, Shakespeare may have used a commonplace that ultimately is seen to derive from several sources, each source having enough peculiar to it to show that Shakespeare knew and made use of them all. In studying similarities of commonplaces, one can be certain only that the authors are referring to the same situation or idea, that the sequence of ideas is similar, and that there are enough particular resemblances to warrant the effort of recording the similarity. One presents the evidence contained in "The Second Historie," therefore, in an attempt to determine Shakespeare's familiarity with this story. The plays will be discussed in chronological order, with Hardin Craig's edition of Shakespeare's plays the basis for the texts of the plays. "The Second Historie" is recorded in full in the "Appendix."

⁷C. V. Whitaker, "Shakespeare's Use of His Sources," PQ, XX (July, 1941), 382.

CHAPTER II

HENRY V

Henry V is the earliest of Shakespeare's plays to contain significant echoes of Wotton's "Second History." Scholars assign the play's composition to 1598 or early 1599, since Mere's Palladis Tamia (1598) does not mention it. It was entered in the Stationers Register on August 4, 1600, probably considerably later than its proposed date of composition.⁸ Lines 29-34 of the Prologue to Act V are, it is generally believed, an allusion to Essex's Irish campaign, internal evidence which would narrow the date to some time between March 27 and September 28, 1599.⁹ Smith presents evidence to indicate that Shakespeare may not have written the Choruses, however; instead, he believes that they were added for a specific audience of nobility after 1601 and are at odds with the logical continuity of the play.¹⁰ Chambers, however, finds the Choruses to be well in accord with the epic theme of Henry's perfect kingship and to be in keeping also with metrical tests of other Shakespearean plays of the late 1590's.¹¹

⁸King Henry V, edited by J. H. Walter, pp. xi-xii.

⁹Sir E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 203.

¹⁰Warren D. Smith, "The Henry V Choruses in the First Folio," JEGP, LIII (January, 1954), 57.

¹¹Sir E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 394-395.

The sources most important to the composition of Henry V are Holinshed's Chronicles and The Famous Victories of Henry V, an older play extant in the corrupt text of 1595, which may have supplied the inspiration for the comic and wooing scenes.¹² Shakespeare's Henry shows the characteristics of the perfect king in accordance with Erasmus's Institutio Principis and Chillester's 1571 translation of Chellidonus's Latin work, Of the Institution and firste beginning of Christian Princes.¹³ The echoes of Cupids Cautels in Henry V occur within the general framework of these major sources, and these expansions of the basic ideas will be discussed in the following order: (1) The Traitor Scene, (2) Prologue IV, and (3) The Wooing Scene.

(1) The Traitor Scene. In Holinshed's Chronicles, Henry does not question the traitors before the assembly of nobles. He hears the evidence, and, then, calls together the nobles and the offenders in order to pronounce the sentence of death.¹⁴ Henry's speech bewailing the treachery of loved friends and counsellors (II.ii.85-140) echoes Holinshed's account of the reasons for the treason, but the incidents of the first part of the scene are not in Holinshed. In Hall's account,

¹²Ibid., p. 395.

¹³Walter, op. cit., pp. xvii-xviii.

¹⁴The Life of Henry the Fifth, edited by Walter George Stone, pp. lii-liii.

Henry assembles the nobles, asks them to suggest a punishment for treason, and then confronts the traitors.¹⁵ Le Fevre's account may have been Shakespeare's inspiration for the "cat and mouse" game which Henry plays with the traitors, for in this source, he asks each traitor in turn what punishment he would give for treason before an assembly of his entire council. The traitors devise cruel deaths, and thus sentence themselves. It is not certain that Shakespeare knew this account, however; his Henry, too, is more merciful and just than Le Fevre's, for Shakespeare adds the incident of the pardoned drunkard.¹⁶ Chellidonus's anecdote of Pyrrhus, taken from Pliny, has been suggested as the source for the drunkard incident, as has North's translation of Plutarch.¹⁷ Chellidonus may well have recalled the incident to Shakespeare, if his treatise on kingship was indeed a source. Plutarch, however, relates the Pyrrhus incident within the context, not of justice, but of good humor, as he laughingly dismisses youths who themselves are in high spirits.¹⁸

The Pyrrhus incident in Chellidonus appears within

¹⁵Raphael Holinshed, Holinshed's Chronicles as Used in Shakespeare's Plays, edited by Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶Walter, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

¹⁷Ibid., p. xxvii; Shakespeare's Tragedies and Histories, edited by John Monro, p. 1020.

¹⁸Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans Englished by Sir Thomas North, edited by George Wyndham, p. 120.

the chapter on clemency, among examples of other gentle kings. The marginal notes point up that "wyne is the 'author of mischief," and that Pyrrhus retains "modestie," "beeing abused by his owne Souldiers."¹⁹ The idea of verbal violence is present in this account, then, as in Henry V, and the excuse of drunkenness is accepted also. But Chellidonius's account emphasizes the spies who first tell Pyrrhus of the drunkards. A group of accused men is present, as opposed to Henry V's single defendant. The spokesman excuses himself because the wine made him foolish, and says that he was lucky that he had not drunk more. The king pleasantly tells them to speak softly of their superiors, because of the universal presence of spies. There is no subsequent discussion of justice in circumstances of drunkenness, although the whole incident takes place within a discussion of good-hearted kings. There is no indication that the drunkards' speeches may have held a tinge of truth. There is no contrast of small crimes with larger ones.²⁰ But Wotton's tale, as is Henry V, is concerned with a discussion of justice, a trial of one man, and a contrast of just punishments of large and small crimes. There is no overtone of high good humor in Cupids Cautels either. Cupids Cautels, on

¹⁹Tigurinus Chellidonius, A Most Excellent Hystorie, Of the Institution and firste beginning of Christian Princes. p. 128.

²⁰Loc. cit.

the contrary, presents the Pyrrhus anecdote within a courtroom situation in which the judges already are aware of the defendant's guilt. The guilty man first feigns ignorance, then seeks clemency because of his drunkenness. A discussion of justice in such instances of drunkenness then follows. The judges finally sentence him to death by torture, for he has committed a greater crime than that of the drunkard in the Pyrrhus anecdote. The entire situation is analogous to that in Henry V, and a few close verbal similarities occur.

Henry V

Enlarge the man committed
yesterday
That rail'd against our
person: we consider
It was excess of wine that
set him on;
And on his more advice we
pardon him. (II.ii.40-43)

Cupids Cautels

. . . excusing hys confession,
vpon the alienation of hys
senses caused by wine, where-
vnto there was no more heede
to bee taken than to the wordes
of a Foole . . . the noble
minded Pirrhus pardoned those
that abused him in speaches
saying vnto him: We had ham-
pred thee more hardely, if
wine had not bereaued our
wittes²¹

Shakespeare's use of "enlarge" and "committed" echoes Wotton's "hampred thee more hardely," although the offenders speak in Cupids Cautels. The phrase, "rail'd against our person," conveys the same verbal violence as "abused him in speaches." Although Pyrrhus in Cupids Cautels is concerned with several men, as he is in Plutarch, Wotton's tale places the anecdote

²¹Wotton, op. cit., p. 110.

within the trial of a single defendant, who recalls the incident of the drunkards. The presence of only one defendant in Henry V is, thus, similar to the situation in Cupids Cautels.

Henry's pardon brings protests from the traitors, who demand stronger punishment, including torture, for the defendant.

Henry V

Scroop. That's mercy, but too
much security;
Let him be punished, sovereign,
lest example
Breed, by his sufferance, more
of such a kind.
K. Hen. O, let us yet be merci-
ful. (II.ii.44-47)

If little faults, proceeding on
distemper,
Shall not be winked at, how
shall we stretch our eye
When capital crimes, chew'd,
swallow'd and digested,
Appear before us? (II.ii.54-57)

Cupids Cautels

. . . It were extreame rigor
in Iustice to impute any
wordes spoken, or empeache
a man of any acte committed
in drunkenness²²

. . . for if the lawes of
Germany punishe euery peti-
larsony so rigorously by
death, euen for y smallest
domestical pilfery, what
torment might suffice a trea-
son so horrible, conspired
by those that duty bounde
to be moste faithfull?²³

In Cupids Cautels, the subsequent discussion of justice, then, is present in the same progression of thought as that in Henry V. The construction of "If . . . what" in the latter passages is identical. Henry does not speak of "duty," here, but his closely following denunciation (II. 79-143) shows clearly the

²²Loc. cit.

²³Ibid., pp. 110-111.

duty they owe to him; Henry even uses the word, "duty," ironically (l. 127). The triviality of small crimes is pointed up by "little faults proceeding on distemper," a phrase analogous to Wotton's "ŷ smallest domestical pilfery." The same use of the consonants "p" and "d" is another interesting point of comparison.

(2) Prologue IV. The Prologue to Act IV contains the same rhetorical allusion to night as the mother of hell that occurs in the opening lines of Cupids Cautels. Baldwin has shown that Shakespeare's knowledge of Ovid included familiarity with Diana/Hecate as Queen of Night and Hell, a figure well known to the Renaissance writers because of the basic classical education that all received in grammar school.²⁴ The widespread use of the figure of night is testified to by Nashe, in The Terrors of the Night: "Well haue the Poets tearmed night the nurse of cares, the mother of despaire, the daughter of hell."²⁵ Shakespeare employs the idea in his elaboration of the historical sources, which relate the pitching of camps within a short distance of each other, the lighting of watchfires, and the English command for silence.²⁶ Both passages, in the play and in Cupids Cautels, use night

²⁴T. W. Baldwin, Shakspere's Small Latine, II, 436-440.

²⁵Thomas Nashe, The Complete Works, III, 220.

²⁶Holinshed, op. cit., p. 80.

and war camps in their rhetoric, to set up different situations. The rhetorical allusion to night strengthens the epic quality of Henry's leadership. In Cupids Cautels, however, the same type of allusion becomes part of a euphuistic simile in a courtly situation.

Henry V

Now entertain conjecture of
 a time
 When creeping murmur and the
 poring dark
 fills the wide vessel of the
 universe.
 From camp to camp through the
 foul womb of night
 The hum of either army stilly
 sounds,
 That the fix'd sentinels almost
 receive
 The secret whispers of each
 other's watch.
 . . . The country cocks do
 crow, the clocks do toll,
 And the third hour of drowsy
 morning name.
 . . . And chide the cripple
 tardy-gaited night
 Who, like a foul and ugly witch,
 doth limp
 So tediously away. (IV.1.22)

Cupids Cautels

Like as when two campos,
 enimies, hauing appoynted a
 daye to experiment howe great
 their desire is of reuenge,
 or the loue of honor bought
 with the price of much blood,
 by equall force of armes doo
 fighte, vntill the night,
 mother of confusion, doth
 separate them from their
 bloudie conflict, by a neces-
 sarie retreat, attending on
 both partes with impacient
 expectation the spring of day
 euen to the vttermost the
 omitted combate: Euen so
 our couragious Champions,
 hauing forborne the extremest
 execution of the sharpe con-
 flict of their tongues . . .
 watched the returne of the
 next dawning²⁷

The idea of night as a witch, in conjunction with the immediately following verb "doth"; the slow approach of dawn impatiently awaited, shown also in Henry V by the constant preparations (11. 10-14); and the idea of "whispers" and "hum" compared to

²⁷Wotton, op. cit., p. 81.

Wotton's armies' "tongues" are all significant points of contact between Henry V and Cupids Cautels.

(3) The Wooing Scene. Henry's wooing of Katharine is an expansion of the extremely short accounts in Holinshed and Hall of the meetings of the "lovers."²⁸ The Famous Victories has long been regarded as Henry V's prototype in structure and idea, although the text of the old play is corrupt.²⁹ Shakespeare's play does contain echoes of Cupids Cautels in passages not directly suggested by the main sources, as first in Henry's discussion with Burgundy, and then in Queen Isabel's proverbial utterances of happy marriages:

Henry V

Bur. . . . If you would conjure
in her, you must make a circle;
if conjure up love in her in his
true likeness, he must appear
naked and blind
(V.ii.319-321)

Cupids Cautels

. . . barhead & barefoot,
making diuerse turnes and
returnes aboute a church-
yard, mumbling the Diuels
paternoster, like an old
ape, composing certaine
points with a wand in the
dust, he did so much by force
of his coniurations, shewes,
exorcismes and iuocatiois, as
he charmed the imaginatiue
fantasie of his man, in such
force as he him to lye with
a shadowe which by nigromancie
he had intierly forced to
take the shape of Floria . .
.

²⁸Holinshed, op. cit., p. 87.

²⁹Stone, op. cit., pp. lii-liii.

³⁰Wotton, op. cit., p. 98.

Although in the play it is love who is naked and blind, the image of the conjuror in Cupids Cautels, leaping barefooted and the subsequent description of the "shadowe" furnish parallel ideas of "blind" and "naked" love. Burgundy's idea of magic used in love suits is proverbial, surely, but Burgundy and Henry then speak of the "maiden walls" of chastity (11. 348-355), a commonplace of war imagery in love suits that is prominent in Cupids Cautels.³¹ Isabel's proverb then, provides the third echo in the scene:

Henry V

Cupids Cautels

Q. Isa. God, the best maker of
all marriages,
Combine your hearts in one, your
realms in one! (V.11.387-388)

. . . Whervpon the Prouerbe
saith, the firste marriages³²
are made in Heauen

In summary, the echoes of Cupids Cautels in Henry V occur in three scenes. All employ an idea, a rhetorical figure, an anecdote, a proverb, or an allusion to a tradition (the conjuror) in the euphuistic manner. But the presence of several parallels and the particularly strong coincidences between the discussions on justice merit attention. The war camp and night image is certainly traditional; yet when the other similarities are considered, it takes on added interest. The appearance of incidents and phrases similar to Wotton's tale in other plays

³¹Ibid., p. 94.

³²Ibid., p. 116.

of the period may help to shed further light on the significance of the similarities in Henry V.

CHAPTER III

HAMLET

It is the false steward,
that stole his master's daughter.
(Hamlet, IV.v.72-73)

Source studies of Hamlet invariably begin with the basic outlines of the story, translated from Saxo Grammaticus's version in Belleforest's Histoires Tragiques, and with the oft-discussed Ur-Hamlet. No English translation of Belleforest's tale is known prior to that of 1608, which, most scholars agree, was influenced by Shakespeare's play.³³ Therefore, scholars assume that the Ur-Hamlet is derived from Belleforest. The French tale contains the outlines for most of the major incidents: the murder of a father by an uncle; a mother's incestuous marriage with the uncle; the son's feigned madness; his interviews with a beautiful girl and with the mother; the hero's murder of an eavesdropping courtier; and the hero's voyage to England.³⁴ It also gives, perhaps, the inspiration for Hamlet's father's ghost, although the ghost takes no part in the action of the French story.³⁵ The characters of Claudius,

³³Hamlet Variorum, edited by H. H. Furness, II, 89.

³⁴Sir Israel Gollancz, The Sources of Hamlet, p. 85.

³⁵Arthur P. Stabler, "King Hamlet's Ghost in Belleforest?" PMLA, LXXVII (March, 1962), 18-20.

Gertrude, Polonius, Ophelia, Horatio, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern are all found in a very basic form.³⁶

It is generally accepted that the author of the Ur-Hamlet used this tale in the latter 1580's, probably before August 23, 1589, the date on which Robert Greene's Menaphon was entered in the Stationers' Register.³⁷ On the basis of Thomas Nashe's famous allusion to "Hamlets" in the preface to Menaphon, and because many resemblances in theme and structure are apparent between the later Shakespearean play and The Spanish Tragedy, most scholars have credited Thomas Kyd with the authorship of the first Hamlet. Chambers remains skeptical of the internal evidence, however, and Baldwin believes that the Nashe allusion is directed, instead, to a general group of unlearned writers.³⁸

The contents of the source-play are not exactly known, although approximate reconstructions have been made by scholars on the bases of the texts of the degenerate German play, Fratricide Punished, Q₁ (1603), and Q₂ (1604), the latter being regarded as Shakespeare's most authoritative text. Furthermore,

³⁶Kenneth Muir, Shakespeare's Sources, I, 110-112.

³⁷Ashley H. Thorndike, "Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays," PMLA, XVII (1902), 129.

³⁸J. D. Wilson (trans.), "Nashe's 'Kid in Aesop': A Danish Interpretation by V. Osterberg," RES, XVII (October, 1942), 385-394, gives an excellent summary of the case for Kyd's authorship. Sir E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 412-422, is more skeptical.

other contemporary revenge plays have yielded some information. The approach through the method of comparative texts relies heavily upon the hypothesis that the German play is based upon the old play and that Q₁ is an incomplete revision of the same play or is otherwise based upon both Shakespeare's and Kyd's plays. This basis is hazardous, however, since the earliest printed text of Fratricide Punished (1710) could have been derived also from Shakespeare's version. In addition, the status of Q₁ is presently being re-examined in the belief that it is, perhaps, a travelling text, made from the author's only revision and used as a prompt book; its corrupt state is further accounted for by printers' errors and difficulties in interpreting the foul papers.³⁹ Whatever the exact textual relationship, the student of literary parallels must, however, attempt to place the study within a framework that may shed new light upon Shakespeare's art. In the case of parallels in Hamlet concerned with Cupids Cautels, this projected framework takes on an added interest, since Kyd knew the Wotton book, as did Shakespeare. Most of the parallels to be pointed out are within the existing framework generally credited to Kyd, being elaborations which, because of verbal similarities, one is inclined to think are parts of a final revision.

Contemporary revenge plays, between 1598-1604, are

³⁹Albert Weiner (ed.), Hamlet The First Quarto, pp. 50-60.

thought to have stemmed from the tremendous influence of The Spanish Tragedy and Hamlet. Marston's Antonio's Revenge, or The Second Part of Antony and Mellida (1602), is especially believed to have been derived from the Ur-Hamlet at approximately the same time that Shakespeare was revising the old play, although there is some dispute over which play (Shakespeare's or Marston's) came first.⁴⁰ The most probable date of Marston's play is late 1599 or 1600-early 1601.⁴¹ The date of Hamlet has been left in a somewhat confused state, because of the many quarto problems. For example, if there were two revisions, Q₁ probably dates from 1598-1601, and Q₂ from 1603-1604.⁴² If only one revision were made, however, the date most favored by present scholars is 1601, although, using the same evidence in Mere's Palladis Tamia, Harvey's marginalia in his copy of Chaucer, and the themes of and references to contemporary plays, Honigman believes the date to be early 1600.⁴³ Whichever play came first, both contain similar features that shed light on the Ur-Hamlet. The young heroine is added, and her virtue is called into question; her death is announced by

⁴⁰John H. Smith, et. al., "Hamlet, Antonio's Revenge, and the Ur-Hamlet," SQ, IX (1958), 495.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 496.

⁴²Leo Kirschbaum, "The Date of Shakespeare's Hamlet," SP, XXXIV (April, 1937), 168-175.

⁴³E. A. J. Honigman, "The Date of Hamlet," Shakespeare Survey, (1956), 24-34.

the hero's mother; a burial and a dumb show take place; and the hero in both plays speaks of "blowing bubbles," probably pointing to an original ironical hero. The basic theme of a son's avenging his father's poisoning (Belleforest's king is killed at a banquet in full view of the uncle's followers), the Ghost's appearance to the mother, the contention of miseries (though not at a grave site in Marston's play), and the problem of incest occur in both plays, although Marston's hero does not die at the end of his play.⁴⁴ The revenge tradition, in general, includes a play-within-a-play, feigned madness, graveyards, poisonings, duels, and desires to "drink hot blood."⁴⁵ The mad woman also appears in almost all revenge plays, after the success of The Spanish Tragedy with Isabel; so one concludes that she probably also appeared in the Ur-Hamlet.⁴⁶ The character of Laertes is also probably due to the old play, within the tradition of Lorenzo's relationship to Bel-imperia and Horatio. In summary, the Ur-Hamlet probably contained the ghost, the feigned madness, the play scene, the closet scene, the murder of Polonius, the voyage to England, the madness and suicide of Ophelia, and the duel with Laertes.

⁴⁴Thorndike, op. cit., pp. 161-164.

⁴⁵Ashley Thorndike, "Shakespeare as a Debtor," Shaksperian Studies, p. 174.

⁴⁶Ashley Thorndike, "Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays," PMLA, XVII (1902), 125-220.

In Hamlet, the Ophelia scenes are believed to follow the older play closely; her funeral sequence is possibly contained in the older play, too.⁴⁷ Although the fact that conventional revenge heroes usually die leads one to believe that Kyd's Hamlet also died, the fact that Marston's hero does not die, and that Belleforest's Hamlet does not die at the moment of his completed revenge, leaves the fate of the hero in the Ur-Hamlet somewhat in question.

To the old play, Shakespeare added the pirates, Fortinbras, and perhaps the gravediggers' scene.⁴⁸ The absence of this last scene in the German play is responsible for the doubt about its original authorship, although, as one has pointed out, the relationship of this play to the whole Hamlet problem is uncertain. However much Shakespeare drew from the revenge tradition and from his direct source is, finally, uncertain, for Hamlet itself may have been responsible for much of the tradition.

Shakespeare's most important revision, nevertheless, was his expansion and intellectualization of themes and motives.⁴⁹ Scholars have suggested innumerable sources for this amplification. Various works on melancholy have been cited, especially

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 174-176.

⁴⁸Muir, op. cit., p. 114.

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

Timothy Bright's A Treatise on Melancholy.⁵⁰ The old Italian history of the murder of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (perhaps existing in play form), may be the source for the play-within-a-play and possibly also for the real king's poisoning.⁵¹ Similarities between Nashe's Pierce Penilesse and Hamlet's moralizing on drunkenness long since have been pointed to.⁵² Muir illustrates the similarities of Guazzo's Civil Conversations and Hamlet's attack on cosmetics.⁵³ Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne also has been advanced as a major source for Hamlet's soliloquy and for the general thought underlying the plays after 1603.⁵⁴

"The Second Hystorie" of Wotton's Cupids Cautels also offers a wide variety of ideas, none intellectually demanding, that coincide with the more thorough presentation in Hamlet. Verbal similarities and possible allusions to the tale which seem to occur in the play will be discussed hereafter as

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 120-121.

⁵¹G. Bullough, "The Murder of Gonzago, 'A Probable Source for Hamlet,'" MLR, XXX (October, 1935), 433-444.

⁵²G. B. Blakemore, "Thomas Nashe and the 'Dram of Eale,'" Notes and Queries, CXCVIII (September, 1953), 377-378.

⁵³Muir, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵⁴John Robertson, Montaigne and Shakspeare. If Q₁ was derived from Shakespeare's one and only revision, however, the Montaigne theory would have to rest upon the possibility that Shakespeare read the manuscript before its publication, or had read a French copy.

(1) The Ophelia Plot (concerning similarities of character, incident, and phrasings, especially in Hamlet's denunciations of women); (2) Hamlet's Moralizings on Drunkenness; and (3) Hamlet and Gertrude's Relationship.

(1) The Ophelia Plot. The only suggestion of Ophelia in Belleforest is the beautiful girl placed as a decoy for the purpose of determining the reality of Hamlet's insanity. She meets Hamlet only once and reveals the attempted plot to him. From this germ, she appears in Shakespeare's play as a part of a "typical" Renaissance court family, obedient in every respect to her father, rejected by the disillusioned hero, and finally reduced to madness and suicide mainly by her very goodness. The character of Ophelia was almost certainly present in the older play, fulfilling the requirements of the revenge plays as the romantic element and the mad woman. As Shakespeare has handled the character, she provides a hinge for the analyses of Hamlet's madness and lends an added emotional force to the play, in her story's pathos.⁵⁵ Not really a complex figure, Ophelia appears in only five scenes, is "used" by almost everyone in the play, and yet remains as one of the most often discussed minor characters. Her plight is always referred to as "innocent," "pathetic." It is interesting to compare her story with that of Floria in Cupids Cautels, for Floria is obedient,

⁵⁵Linda Wagner, "Ophelia: Shakespeare's Pathetic Plot Device," SQ, XIV (1963), 94.

virtuous, but reduced to ruin by the tricks of others, committing suicide finally.

Ophelia's first appearance (I.iii) occurs in the scene of Polonius's famous advice to Laertes. These precepts have been the object of many parallel studies which clearly show that the "advice technique" was commonplace in Renaissance prose, occurring in the works of Lyly, Lodge, and Greene, among others.⁵⁶ Laertes's and Polonius's advice to Ophelia is, similarly, of a commonplace nature, but their words and the situations which they describe also occur in Cupids Cautels, although in Hamlet the social relationships are reversed. Ophelia is of lower rank than her suitor, her father being the court chamberlain, or "steward," while Floria is socially above her father's steward Ponifre. The chastity of both women, however, is the subject of concern. Floria is ultimately seduced by the tricks of Ponifre. The word cautel does not appear within the text of the Wotton tale, but one observes that Ponifre's wiles bear out the validity of the overall title of the book. Laertes, first, warns Ophelia:

. . . Perhaps he loves you now,
 And now no soil or cautel doth besmirch
 The virtue of his will: but you must fear
 His greatness weighed, his will is not his own
 (I.iii.14-17)

⁵⁶ G. K. Hunter, "Isocrates' Precepts and Polonius' Character," SQ, VIII (1957), 501-506; Josephine Bennett, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes," SQ, VI (1955), 3.

There is never a problem of Floria's love for Ponifre being held in check by rank, for she never loves him, but the presence of cautel may be significant, here. Furness's Vari-
orum lists a suggested source in Henry Swinburne's Brief
Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills:

. . . There is no cautele under heaven, whereby
the liberties of making or revoking this testament
can be utterly taken away⁵⁷

Muir, in his general discussion of the sources of Hamlet, finds it difficult to believe that Swinburne is the source, but admits to the possibility.⁵⁸ The O. E. D. defines cautel variously as "a crafty device," "cunning," "wariness," or, as in law terminology, "an exception."⁵⁹ In view of the restrictions upon Hamlet's private will that Laertes points out, the legal connotation of the term would seem plausibly applicable in the same connection that Swinburne has discussed. But Laertes is also concerned about his sister's innocence, and, here, a knowledge of Shakespeare's other rare uses of the word may be of some help. Cautel appears only in Hamlet, but cautelous appears in Julius Caesar and Coriolanus.⁶⁰ In both plays, the

⁵⁷Furness, op. cit., I, 61.

⁵⁸Muir, op. cit., I, 7.

⁵⁹The Oxford English Dictionary, II, 198.

⁶⁰John Bartlett, A Complete Concordance, p. 210.

word refers to a crafty device:

. . . and what other oath
 Than honesty to honesty engaged,
 That this shall be, or we will fall for it?
 Swear priests and cowards and men cautelous
 (Julius Caesar, II.1.126-29)

. . . or be caught with cautelous baits and practice (Coriolanus, IV.1.32-33)

Laertes also contrasts cautel and virtue; after his lecture on civic responsibility, he returns to the subject of her need for caution against "his unmaster'd importunity," in commonplaces worthy of Polonius. Polonius also lectures Ophelia on the tricks of love, in terms reminiscent of Ponifre's courtship, which follows a generally recognizable pattern of all lovers:

Hamlet

Cupids Cautels

Pol. Affection! pooh! you speak
 like a green girl,
 Unsifted in such perilous circumstance.

Do you believe his tenders, as
 you call them?

Oph. I do not know, my lord,
 what I should think.

. . . My Lord, he hath importuned
 me with love
 In honourable fashion.

Pol. Ay, fashion you may call
 it; go to, go to.

Oph. And hath given countenance
 to his speech, my lord,
 With almost all the holy vows
 of heaven.

Pol. Ay, springs to catch wood-
 cocks. I do know,

. . . so as the faire fire
 of Fleuria, being so neare
 hym, embraced him so lively,
 as it constrained him to
 determine a resolution too
 hautie for his feeble forces,
 that is to saye, to require
 of hir the guages, whiche
 they that fight vnder the
 ensign of Loue, doe accepte
 for their safety the
 simple maiden who knew not
 what loue ment, regarded not
 his courtesies, neither had
 the capacitie to marke I knowe
 not what particular affection:
 The which the Factor considering,
 incontinently made his
 reckning that it behoued him

When the blood burns, how prod-
 iginal the soul
 Lends the tongue vows: these
 blazes, daughter,
 Giving more light than heat, as
 it is a-making,
 You must not take for fire.
 From this time
 Be somewhat scanted of your
 maiden presence

(I.iii.101-121)

to speake clearely, and not
 betweene his teeth, if he
 would practice surely, and
 make a happy conquest of hir
 good graces. Wherefore with
 newe apparell, taking new
 counsayle, he made him fine
 and braue, he kemed, he
 froted, he frised, and
 prinked him in his glasse
 with a trembling
 toung he discouered vnto her
 . . . the forces of loue,
 which . . . constrayneth
 Goddesses to abandon the
 heauens I beseeche
 you . . . if you accept
 nothing but that which is
 worthy of your beautie, you
 muste ascende into
 heauen⁶¹

Ophelia's innocence in matters of love recalls Floria's simplicity of character. Polonius's seizure upon the word fashion shows his familiarity with tricks like Ponifre's "frotting" for nefarious purposes. Even the archvillain, Richard III, uses tricks similar to Ponifre's (I.ii.254-264), a fact which shows just how universal such tricks are. Polonius's use of "fire," "blazes," "burns," recall Floria's "fire" that kindles Ponifre's love. Ponifre's "incontinent" decision to "speake clearely and not betweene his teeth" is similar to Polonius's ". . . prodigal the soul / Lends the tongue vows." Polonius's concluding advice recalls still other ideas found in Ponifre's love suit:

⁶¹Henry Wotton, A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels, pp. 93-94. The references to pagination are those of Wotton's tale.

Hamlet

Set your entreatments at a
higher rate
Than a command to parley.
(I.iii.122-123)

Do not believe his vows; for
they are brokers,
Not of that dye which their
investments show,
But mere implorators of unholy
suits,
Breathing like sanctified and
pious bawds,
The better to beguile.
(I.iii.127-131)

Cupids Cautels

. . . For since Maydens
which harken, and castels
that consent to parle (as
the Prouerbe sayth) doo
easily agree to composition,
it ensueth rightly that a
deafe woman is vneasie to
winne⁶²

. . . determined to aide his
suite by . . . bawdes
In this deuotion one Sunday
comming to the parish church,
he boured an olde mother
Bee, who solde candell of
consideraunce, praying hir
to giue him light in this
businessse⁶³

The use of financial terms like "brokers," "investments," and, in an earlier exchange, "tenders" (ll. 104-108) is appropriate to Polonius's position as court chamberlain, or treasurer. Ponifre, also, is a steward, although in a much less exalted position. His attempts to win Floria cause him to spend much money, thereby giving a monetary value to his "love," too.⁶⁴

Finally, in this scene, Ophelia's obedience is seen to echo Floria's; both reject the lover's advances virtuously:

⁶²Ibid., p. 93.

⁶³Ibid., p. 96.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 97-98.

Hamlet

Pol. . . . I would not, in
plain terms, from this time
forth,
Have you so slander any moment
leisure,
As to give words or talk with
the Lord Hamlet.
Look to't, I charge you: come
your ways.

Oph. I shall obey, my lord.
(I.iii.134-136)

Cupids Cautels

. . . so likewise this
vertuous youngling, (whose
sage youth ought to be a
myrror vnto y^e eldest) made
hir hearing deafe vnto his
sugared talke⁶⁵

The stock device of "the suspicious father" concerning Laertes's departure and Polonius's advice is found also in Cupids Cautels. Herman, departing on a business trip, consoles his wife and gives his reasons for undertaking the trip:

. . . may see and learne by the frequentation of straungers,
that whiche the fonde loue of my Parentes hath not permitted
me to vnderstande, bicause they could neuer suffer me out
of their sightes⁶⁶

Although Laertes is returning to France, his father is reluctant to give him leave (I.ii.58-61), and treats him as if he had never been out of his sight, his advice being, in the main, how to get along with strangers (I.iii.56 ff.).

Another similar use of phrasing, concerned with Ponifre's suit, is pertinent here, as part of the same train of ideas. Polonius tells the king that he has warned Ophelia that ". . . Lord Hamlet is a prince, out of thy star." (II.ii.140)

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 105.

Ponifre falls in love with Floria because she ". . . surpassed as far the rests of the Townish damoysels, as ŷ Moone surmounted the brightest starres" ⁶⁷

Ophelia's meetings with Hamlet are an expansion of the meeting that takes place in the woods in Belleforest's tale. However, one notes further similarities, here, to the plot of Cupids Cautels. Ophelia runs to her father in fright to tell him that Hamlet has come to her with his clothing disarrayed. Although the Hamlet tradition contains an account of his slovenly habits in his feigned madness, ⁶⁸ the description is almost the antithesis of Ponifre's "prinking" for his courtship. Ophelia, then, relates Hamlet's expressions in terms similar to those which occur in Cupids Cautels after Ponifre delivers his first speech to an astonished Floria:

Hamlet

Cupids Cautels

Oph. . . . a look so piteous
in purport
As if he had been loosed out of
hell
To speak of horrors
He raised a sigh so piteous and
profound
As it did seem to shatter all
his bulk
And end his being

. . . with a cruell looke
and shamefast countenance,
enflamed with choler and
disdayne, she closed his
mouth, and after a rude
threatning, gaue him suche
a bone of repentaunce to
chewe vpon, for his too
headlong hardynesse, as
bbeing left alone hauing by

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 92. Cf. All's Well That Ends Well, ca. 1600-1607: Helena speaks of her love for Bertram far above her, speaks of his physical nearness, and uses love/war images as in Cupids Cautels.

⁶⁸Gollancz, op. cit., p. 194.

Pol. Come, go with me silence supported a pearcing
 This is the very ecstasy of love. rage, he resembled one of
 What, have you given him the damned soules in time
 any hard words of late? past that Jupiter threwe
 (II.ii.82-107) into the bottgmlesse
 lake⁶⁹

The silent Hamlet seems to "support a pearcing rage" in the images of "hell" in Ophelia's description of the meeting. Polonius's immediate fear that too harsh words caused Hamlet's madness echoes Cupids Cautels in its account of Floria's "bone of repentaunce." Repenting his false judgment of Hamlet, Polonius "philosophizes" in his usual commonplaces, which again echo Cupids Cautels, in the judgment of Ponifre's rashness:

Hamlet

By heaven, it is as proper to
 our age
 To cast beyond ourselves in
 our opinions
 As it is common for the younger
 sort
 To lack discretion
 (II.ii.114-117)

Cupids Cautels

. . . you esteeme me very
 rashe and vnaduised to plant
 mine affections in so hawty
 degree⁷⁰

Floria, too, rebukes Ponifre for his "headlong hardynesse," explaining, in effect, that he shows a lack of discretion and a "casting" beyond himself.

In the Nunnery scene, similar ideas between the two

⁶⁹Wotton, op. cit., p. 94.

⁷⁰Loc. cit.

works appear, again. Polonius gives Ophelia a book--presumably a prayer book--and utters a hypocritical commonplace:

We are oft to blame in this--
 'Tis too much proved--that with devotion's visage
 And pious action we do sugar o'er
 The devil himself (III.1.46-49)

The king immediately responds with ". . . the harlot's cheek . . ." (I. 51) Hamlet's first words to Ophelia are, "Nymph, in thy orisons / Be all my sins remember'd." (II. 89-91) His disillusionment with women becomes paramount as the scene progresses, ending with the "nunnery" speech, contrasting chastity and vice in the religious images begun by Polonius and Claudius. The idea of the whole scene is echoed in the account of Ponifre's meeting with the bawd in church in Cupids Cautels as he ". . . prayed hir to giue him light in this businesse." However, the idea of piety versus vice was, of course, an Elizabethan commonplace, and Nashe in Pierce Penillesse makes similar allusions in his attacks upon London's vices:

. . . bring me two vergins that haue vovd chastitie, and
 Ile builde a Nunnery . . . a Wench no sooner creepes out
 of the shell, but she is of the religion⁷¹

Several of Hamlet's bitter remarks about women are also similar to the commonplace paradoxes of beauty and virtue to be found in Cupids Cautels. Although these paradoxes are very

⁷¹Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, p. 92.

common in Renaissance literature, as Tilley illustrates,⁷² the first similarity here falls into the mood of Shakespeare's Nunnery scene and the concept of "false show," illustrating well Hamlet's use of double entendres in the most concise way:

Hamlet

Ham. Ha, Ha! are you honest?
Oph. My lord?
Ham. Are you fair?
Oph. What means your lordship?
Ham. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.
 (III.i.103-108)

. . . the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness: this was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof.
 (III.i.111-114)

Cupids Cautels

. . . what demeanour or countenance soeuer Maidens shew, they are uery easie to be loued, esteeming them selues louely. And yet shame founded vpon I knowe not what opinion of honour, suffreth them not to agree unto that which chēefly they desire, which causeth the to craue willingly y men shuld force the, therby to shadow⁷³ their willing cosentes.

. . . so as there is gret enmity betwixt beauty & bounty, as they neuer remaine together in one mansion. And al that is reported of Lucrecie, Cassadra, & others, are but fayned fables [to the reality of his disillusionment in Floria].⁷⁴

There is perhaps a closer similarity between Hamlet's "good/god kissing carrion" speech and Herman's bitter lament over women's frailty. The Qq. and Ff. reading of "good" fits the

⁷²Tilley, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁷³Wotton, op. cit., p. 95.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 103.

context well:

Hamlet

Ham. . . . Ay sir; to be honest as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand.

Pol. That's very true, my lord.

Ham. For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a good kissing carrion--Have you a daughter?

Pol. I have, my lord.

Ham. Let her not walk i' the sun (II.ii.178-187)

Cupids Cautels

. . . So as it is a gret ouerwening vnto a ma to promise himselfe a shamefast woma, cosidering it is a thing rarer than the only Phenix . . . but the beautiful woman is like the Ermine, whose skinne is estimable, and carcas carion . . . wherefore we must conclude, that Nature hath engendered the worme to gnawe ypon our dead carcasses, & wome to feed vpo our liuing bodie, our substance and renoume⁷⁵

Hamlet's thoughts are closely connected in his feigned madness, for he is very much worried about women's "honesty" (chastity) throughout the play, and, of course, the whole scene is filled with sexual imagery carrying over into the later conversation which Hamlet has with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. One admits that the word, carrion, also was a common Elizabethan epithet for women, and it is used elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays.⁷⁶

Hamlet's sudden shift of mind is, therefore, very consonant with his thoughts about women's frailty. He could well be referring here to an idea such as that in Cupids Cautels, where "good" is the right reading. A closer comparison reveals a

⁷⁵Loc. cit.

⁷⁶Furness, op. cit., I, 148.

very possible connection:

<u>Hamlet</u>	<u>Cupids Cautels</u>
. . . sun . . . .	. . . Nature
. . . breed . . . .	. . . hath engendered
. . . maggots . . . .	. . . worms [equated with women]
. . . dead dog . . . .	. . . dead carcasses [equated with men]
. . . good kissing carrion . . . .	. . . women . . . whose skinne is estimable, and carcas carion

The idea of spontaneous creation and corruptible flesh for the reading, "god kissing carrion," is well established in accepted ideas of the Renaissance.⁷⁷ Hamlet's abrupt statement about keeping Ophelia from the sun especially seems to substantiate the reading of "god" for sun. But spontaneous generation in the anti-feminist harangue in Cupids Cautels is also connected to women as carrion. It is interesting, also, to observe that the idea of virtue as being extremely rare precedes both discussions of corruptible flesh in the context of women's frailty. As a final consideration, one notes that this passage occurs in Wotton's story in the same passage as does the "beauty/bounty" idea discussed above in the Nunnery scene. Furthermore, echoes of the rest of the speech in Cupids Cautels occur in Othello, to be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷⁷John E. Hankins, "Hamlet's 'God Kissing Carrion': A Theory of the Generation of Life," PMLA, LXIV (June, 1949), 507.

Floria in Cupids Cautels does not go mad, as does Ophelia, but in her "pathetic" plight she suffers unbelievable mental torments over the loss of chastity, finally committing suicide, to save her soul. Since Ophelia's madness seems to have nothing to do with the plot, its insertion has been attributed by some to the author of the Ur-Hamlet.⁷⁸ In the German play, her madness is treated farcically, and she meets her death by throwing herself from a hill. This incident has been pointed out as possible evidence of Kyd's authorship of the old play, for her manner of death here echoes The Spanish Tragedy (IV.1.26-28).⁷⁹ In Shakespeare's version, however, several phrases of interest occur in respect to Cupids Cautels. In the midst of singing her ballads, concerned with the death of her father and also with love, Ophelia pauses to say:

O, how the wheel becomes it! It is the false
 steward that stole his master's daughter.
 (IV.v.172-173)

Craig reports that no story is known, here.⁸⁰ Furness's Variorum suggests an unknown ballad that perhaps contained an allusion to a wheel.⁸¹ There is no "wheel" in Cupids Cautels,

⁷⁸Muir, op. cit., I, 112.

⁷⁹The Tragedy of Hamlet, edited by Thomas Parrott and Hardin Craig, p. 11.

⁸⁰The Complete Works of Shakespeare, edited by Hardin Craig, p. 932.

⁸¹Furness, op. cit., I, 345.

except the "tickle wheele" of exciting life that sets the key for the tale in the opening poems. The allusion to the wheel, however, in the light of the many ballads that Ophelia sings, probably refers to the "bob and wheel" of medieval versification. But Ophelia's allusion to the steward could possibly be the key to Shakespeare's knowledge of the story, especially when one considers the similarities of phrasing and theme in both Hamlet and Othello. The fact that all other "mad" fragments seem to be ballads may hinder the suggestion, but she sings the ballads and speaks the "steward" allusion in prose.

A similar use of puns occurs in the discussions of both heroines' deaths. Floria, having drunk a vessel of boiling wine, is compared with Adebunt, ". . . who caught hys bane by drinking too much."⁸² Laertes responds with a pun similar in idea when he learn of Ophelia's drowning: "Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia / And therefore I forbid my teares." (IV.v.85-86) Q₁ omits the pun and, instead, Laertes's speech contains echoes of The Spanish Tragedy, with the emphasis upon revenge.⁸³ Laertes in Q₂ speaks only of his overwhelming grief. How much of this scene is due to the Ur-Hamlet is unknown, but scholars generally consider Shakespeare the originator of Ophelia's death by drowning.⁸⁴

⁸²Wotton, op. cit., p. 311

⁸³Parrott and Craig, op. cit., p. 31.

⁸⁴Sir E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 25.

The graveyard scene is also the subject of dispute in connection with the old play. The absence of the scene in the corrupt German text has led some scholars to think Shakespeare the originator, for the popularity of the scene would seem to preclude its omission in revision.⁸⁵ The similarity in the speech habits between the gravediggers and Sampson and Gregory in Romeo and Juliet (I.i) also leads one to think that Hamlet's gravediggers may be original with Shakespeare. Yet, Belleforest's tale contains an ironic discussion about a near-by graveyard and the fates of men.⁸⁶ This French tale also contains the account of Hamlet's witnessing his own funeral upon his return to Denmark from England, to the astonishment of all present.⁸⁷ The switch to a funeral of a young girl may be a method of concluding the romantic element and adding much pathos, culminating in displays of great grief.

The plot of Cupids Cautels falls into the well-worn tradition of the bitter-sweet funeral of a young girl. Following her suicide, Floria's body is conducted in state to the grave. Although Floria's suicide is praised within the story, a discussion afterwards among the "courtly" audience questions the merits of suicide. It is significant that Shakespeare uses

⁸⁵Parrott and Craig, op. cit., p. 12. Craig is presently skeptical of the German play; see Weiner, op. cit., p. iv.

⁸⁶Gollancz, op. cit., pp. 242-244.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 250.

the traditions of discussions, maidens' funerals, and laments within his graveyard scene.

The clowns parody conventional discussions, presenting, as Barton has illustrated, a reductio ad absurdum of a contemporary lawsuit in which the act of suicide was divided into three parts.⁸⁸ But the rustics, in addition, contrast Christian and heathen practices; Cupids Cautels bases its discussion upon pagan authorities. This technique of opposing heathen and Christian practices is intriguing, to say the least, especially when one considers that both works speak of "great folk." Cupids Cautels contains examples of "great folk" who slew themselves and were praised; the gravediggers bring the "great folk" into their own experience of class distinctions:

Hamlet

First Clo. Is she to be buried in Christian burial that willfully seeks her own salvation?

Sec. Clo. I tell thee she is, . . . the crowner hath sat on her, and finds it Christian burial.

First Clo. How can that be, unless she drowned herself in her own defence?

Sec. Clo. Why, 'tis found so.

First Clo. It must be "se offendado"; it cannot be else

Sec. Clo. But is this law?

First Clo. Ay, marry, is't;

Cupids Cautels

. . . For so muche as sith the one slewe hir selfe, and the other not, it ensueth there was a fault in the one and the other. And although the Historians affirme, that Sardanapalus neuer dyd any vertuous deede vntill he slewe him selfe, bicause such actes require great outrage: so it is that the very Pagane lawes haue allowed suche death, principally when it commeth by the scruple of conscience . . . True it is, the Paganisme also pardoned those

⁸⁸D. P. Barton, Links between Shakespeare and the Law, pp. 51-54.

crowner's quest law.

Sec. Clo. Will you ha' the truth on 't? If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out o' Christian burial.

First Clo. Why, there thou say'st: and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves, more than their even Christian
[Gravediggers] hold up Adam's profession.

Sec. Clo. Was he a gentleman?

. . . .
First Clo. What, art a heathen?
. . . . (V.1.1-40)

that slewe them selues for anye allowable cause, as for the sauegarde of their virginitie . . . or to knowe what men dyd in the other world To conclude, worthy Plinie affirmed, that the greatest benefite whiche nature hath bestowed vpon man, is to dye when he pleaseth, the which neuerthelesse is farre from the good opinion of Plato, who denieth that a matter of so great importance ought to be in mans power: but whosoeuer killeth himselve, is punishable⁸⁹

Ophelia's funeral is also similar to one in Cupids

Cautels. Her corpse is conducted to the grave by a large retinue of mourners. (V.1.241) Although the rites are "maimed," Ophelia is "allow'd her virgin crants, / Her Maiden strewments and the bringing home / Of bell and burial." (V.1.55-57) Such accompaniments to a virgin's funeral are similar in idea to those in Cupids Cautels, where the "townish dames" are the chief mourners, similar to their function in weddings as chief members of the bride's train.⁹⁰

. . . al the townish Dames apparelled like Mourners both in bodey and minde, wyth greate pompe conducted the corpes (whilome the vessell of al perfections) vnto hir sepulchre whervppon for a perpetuall memorie of a facte so couragious was erected at the townes charges a sumptuous & stately

⁸⁹Wotton, op. cit., p. 119.

⁹⁰Furness, op. cit., I, 400-401.

Tombe. O happie monument, the Christall skies mollifie thy grauestone with the deawe of Manna, and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thee, as a crown vnto the beautie which is lodged within thee But lette thornes and thistles wither, rather than take roote heare thee, and lette all venemous and filthy wormes feare to approche the entrance of this holy Temple of Chastitie, sithence thys beautifull dame hated vice so hartily⁹¹

Laertes's speeches of mourning echo the Arcadian rhetoric in several respects:

Hamlet

Lay her i' the earth:
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring!
(V.1.262-264)

Cupids Cautels

. . . and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thee⁹²

"Fair and unpolluted flesh" recalls "Temple of Chastitie," and "vessell of al perfections," while the use of the identical verb spring is also arresting. This sentiment has been pointed out as parallel with Mantuan's "Nunc non e tubulo fortunateque favella nascentur violee?" although Muir and Thomson find the parallel coincidental.⁹³ Certainly, such sentiments were common in the Renaissance. One notes that in The Second Part of Antonio and Mellida, for instance, the dead heroine is called

⁹¹Wotton, op. cit., pp. 311-114.

⁹²Ibid., p. 114.

⁹³Muir, op. cit., p. 2.

. . . the beauty of admir'd creation,
 The life of modest vnmixt puritie,
 Our sexes glorie (IV.iii.1642-1644)

The Priest's "shards and pebbles" (l. 254) injects the same threatening note as does "thornes and thistles" in Cupids Cautels, while Laertes's description of Ophelia as a "ministering angel" recalls the "Temple of Chastitie" and the "dame that hated vice so hartely." Again, Laertes uses the conventional ideas of figures like "Christall skies" and "deawe of Manna" to serve as the basis for his own passionate, theatrical grief, as he calls for a mountain "To o'ertop old Pelion, or the skyish head / Of blue Olympus" (V.1.276-277)

The final similarity to be noted in respect to the funeral itself is the King's command for the monument, the ever-present Renaissance symbol of immortality: "This grave shall have a living monument" (IV.1.320) Here, of course, the King is being ironic, referring to his plans for Hamlet's death. Yet, the idea of a monument, proclaimed by civil authority, corresponds, in its basic meaning, to the "perpetuall memorie" of a "stately Tombe," erected at the "townes charges."

There is some similarity between Hamlet's reception of the news of Ophelia's death and Herman's reception of that of Floria, whom he has rejected, but has loved deeply. Both characters are returning from journeys, Hamlet from an unfinished one to England, Herman from Antwerp, where his plans to go to

England have been cut short (although certainly not for the same reasons):

The bruite of this piteous death . . . fleeing into euery coaste, stayed not vntill it sounded in the eares of Herman, who was nowe within halfe a dayes iourney of Mens, making full accompte at his returne to finde the worthy recompence of his trauailles

When he was assured by one that mette hym on the way of the famous death and buriall of hir, for whome heretofore he liued: at these wofull news, the miserable louer fell from his horse in a sowne vnto the greate amazement of eueryone, who after they had chaffed his temples with vineger . . . perceyued their labour lost The cause wherof was a sodaine alteration out of exceeding ioye into extreame sorrowe⁹⁴

Hamlet's funeral in Belleforest, as has been pointed out, took place upon his return to Denmark. Shakespeare's Hamlet, however, sees another funeral when he is on his way to accomplish his revenge (which, however, has nothing to do with Ophelia). He learns of her death by means of a loud argument, which is not really the "bruite" meant in Cupids Cautels; yet, surely Ophelia's death is the topic of much conversation, as the gravediggers, whom Hamlet meets on the way, illustrate in their discussion. Hamlet exhibits extreme passion, later apologizing for his "towering passion" which he claims was brought on by Laertes's theatrical grief (V.ii.78-79). He reacts just as theatrically, however, in his own sorrow. It is interesting to note, here, that Marston's "Hamlet" play has

⁹⁴Wotton, op. cit., p. 114.

a scene in which theatrical grief is also rationally criticized. (I.iv.484-513) But in Hamlet, the hero indulges in challenges of grief. Among them, interesting in view of the fact that "vineger" is used to remedy Herman's swoon, is Hamlet's challenge to drink up "eisel," for "eisel" is usually glossed as vinegar, being used elsewhere by Shakespeare and other writers as indicative of bitterness.⁹⁵ The connection between the two stories, however, is interesting also in that Floria's death was the result of drinking boiling wine which "parches" her "entrailes" a death perhaps comparable to that caused by drinking acid.⁹⁶

It is also significant that verbal similarities occur between Hamlet's death scene and that of Floria's and Herman's in Cupids Cautels. In these instances, Shakespeare's mastery of the commonplace idea is clearly manifest.

Hamlet

Now cracks a noble heart--
Good night, sweet prince,
And flights of angels sing
thee to thy rest.
(V.ii.346-348)

Cupids Cautels

. . . hir entrailes . . .
brast with such violence, as
of necessitie death approched,
to set an vnion amog them,
chacing the beautifull soule
out of the painefull body to
direct it into glorie and
eternall felicitie⁹⁷

⁹⁵Furness, op. cit., I, 408.

⁹⁶Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.

⁹⁷Loc. cit.

. . . engendred a mortall
convulsion, caused by the
restraint of the ventricle
of the braine, whereby the
way was stopped vnto al the
vitall spirites, enforcing
them to bée sequestred fro
y body⁹⁸

Horatio lives to tell the tale, after Hamlet asks him to do so out of love. In Cupids Cautels, Charita is the only character remaining to tell the tale, but a note of penance in her tale is missing in Hamlet:

Hamlet

If thou didst ever hold me in
thy heart,
Absent thee from felicity
awhile,
And in this harsh world draw
thy breath in pain,
To tell my story.
(V.ii.356-359)

Of deaths put on by cunning
and forced cause,
And, in this upshot, purposes
mistook
Fall'n on the inventors' heads:
all this can I truly deliver.
(V.ii.394-397)

Cupids Cautels

Her loye for Herman reuiued
after y death of Herman, which
she testified not by rashe
deathe, esteeming hir sorrow
ouer great to take so short
end, but to make it endure
as long as it was possible .
. . . .⁹⁹

. . . Neuerthesse, the
whole blame was laide in her
necke, as hauing opened y
gate to this mischiefe, for
the which she performed per-
petuall penace¹⁰⁰

The occurrence of these parallels, following each other

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 114.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁰⁰Loc. cit.

in the same order, is intriguing, especially when one considers all the similarities within the Ophelia plot proper.

II. Drunkenness. Many parallels have been cited for Hamlet's tirade on his country's drinking customs. Robinson suggested Montaigne's discussion of Caesar's ambition as a possible source, but there are too many denunciations of drinking itself and of countries' drinking habits for Shakespeare to need to turn to a discourse on ambition.¹⁰¹ In Belleforest's tale, there are comments on the drinking habits of Germans, as a vice common to people of the North country, and the usurping king and his counsellors indulge freely and frequently in wine.¹⁰² Hamlet's amplification of the sin of drunkenness is in the well known tradition of classic and Christian philosophers. Gascoigne's odd "A Delicate diet, for daintiemouthde Droonkardes" (1576) cites Augustine's denunciation of drink's reducing men to animals; Gascoigne, then, proceeds to make his own denunciation of the vice and of England's drinking customs. Listing classical and Christian examples, he concludes,

. . . Ah las, we Englishe men can mocke & scoffe at all countreyes for theyr defects, but . . . we can learne by lytle and lytle to exceed and passe them al In lyke manner we were woont . . . to contempne and condepne the Almaines and others of low Countreyes, for theyr

¹⁰¹Robertson, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰²Gollancz, op. cit., p. 254.

beastly drinking and quaffing. But . . . small difference is founde betwixt us and them, but only that they (by a custom rooted amongst them & become next Cose to nature . . .) doo dayly wallow in a grosse maner of beastliness¹⁰³

Gascoigne also speaks of the "Almaine's Rhenish wine," as does Hamlet (I.iv.168).¹⁰⁴ Another odd pamphlet Bacchvs Bountie (1593), shows the universality of such attack in its heavy-handed satire of several nations' drinking customs.¹⁰⁵ (The identification of the German drinker as being from Mentz is enlightening as to that city's reputation, for Mens is the setting of Wotton's tale in which drunkenness is the cause of the downfall of two characters.)

Nashe's Pierce Penillesse contains a very close parallel to Hamlet's speech, as Blakemore has pointed out.¹⁰⁶ Nashe attacks the Germans and Dutch as especially notorious drunkards, calls English drunkards "swine," and proceeds to moralize upon drinking in general.¹⁰⁷ In view of the fact that the "dram of eale" crux can be very probably resolved by Nashe's words, in Blakemore's study, and that the generalization of sins follows the same pattern, one concludes that Pierce Penillesse was

¹⁰³George Gascoigne, The Complete Works, II, 463.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 466-467.

¹⁰⁵Bacchvs Bountie, Harleian Miscellany, II, 292.

¹⁰⁶Blakemore, op. cit., pp. 377-378.

¹⁰⁷Nashe, op. cit., pp. 75-78.

probably the source, here. It is interesting, first, to compare Nashe's work with Shakespeare's and, then, to compare each with Wotton's denunciation of drunkenness, to see how universally alike were Elizabethan attitudes on the subject.

Hamlet

. . . these men,
Carrying, I say, the stamp of
one defect,
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star--
Their virtues else--be they as
pure as grace
As infinite as man may undergo--
Shall in the general censure
take corruption
From that particular fault:
the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of
a doubt
To his own scandal.

(I.iv.30-39)

Pierce Penilesse

. . . Let him bee indued with
neuer so many vertues, and
haue as much goodly proportion
and fauour as nature
can bestow vppon a man . . .
that one beastly imperfection,
will vtterlie obscure all
that is commendable in him:
And all his good qualities
sinke like lead down to the
bottome of his carrowsing
cups, where they will lie
like lees and dregges, dead
and vnregarded of any man.¹⁰⁸

Although Cupids Cautels is not as close as Pierce Penilesse, there are some parallel situations and ideas. Claudius, a reveller, apparently is still celebrating his marriage in drunken feasts. Ponifre, the "villain," also does this same thing.

Hamlet

Ham. The king doth wake tonight
and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering

Cupids Cautels

. . . Nowe if this mariage
were begun with great pleasure,
the continuance thereof

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 77-78.

up-spring reels;
 And, as he draines his draughts
 of Rhenish down,
 The kettle-drum and trumpet thus
 bray out

The triumph of his pledge.

Hor. Is it a custom?

Ham. Ay, marry, is't:

But to my mind, though I am
 native here

And to the manner born, it is a
 custom

More honoured in the breach
 than the observance.

They clepe us drunkards, and
 with swinish phrase

Soil our addition; and indeed it
 takes

From our achievements, though
 performed at height,

The pith and marrow of our
 attributes.

So oft it chanches in particu-
 lar men,

That for some vicious mole of
 nature in them,

As in their birth--wherein they
 are not guilty,

Since nature cannot choose his
 origin--

By the o'ergrowth of some
 complexion,

Oft breaking down the pale
 forts of reason,

Or by some habit that too much
 o'er-leuens

The form of plausible manners,
 that these men,

Carrying, I say, the stamp of
 one defect,

Being Nature's livery or
 fortune's star--

Their virtues else--be they as

was yet more delightful, for
 that eche day ensuing other
 prepared newe pastimes . . .
 vntill by mishappe the bride-
 grome one daye making a
 banquet for his familiars,
 forgatte himselfe so deeply,
 as summoning eche one to
 quaffe his carouse, and
 answering euerie one by
 measure, according to the
 custome of the country, hee
 drunke so freely, as he forgat
 not to call for musicke &
 dauncing after dinner, & so
 bestirred him in every other
 businesse¹⁰⁹

. . . the maner and custome
 of the country permitteth,
 yea, and accounteth it a ver-
 tue to drinke deuoutly, whiche
 might somewhat excuse hir .
 . . .¹¹⁰

. . . Euen so by the law of
Moses a father alledged a
 very sufficient reason vnto
 th people to stone hys sonne
 to death, accusing him to be
 a drunkarde. For in deede,
 if we will search the mis-
 chiefes that procede of wine
 we shal conclude . . . as
 finding no greater enimie of
 humaine reason that wyne,
 sithence it resembleth men
 into beastes, some vnto Lions,
 as Alexander, who by the only
 vice of dronkenesse reformed
 yet by a sodain repentaunce,

¹⁰⁹Wotton, op. cit., p. 109.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 100.

pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergo--
Shall in the general censure
take corruption

darkened al the splendant
Uertues which made him so
to shyne: other into swine,
as Marke Anthonie, and many
moe^{lll}

When one closely examines these passages, he finds many particular resemblances:

<u>Hamlet</u>	<u>Cupids Cautels</u>
. . . clepe us drunkards . . . .	. . . accusing him to be a drunkard
. . . particular men . . . .	. . . Alexander . . . Marke Anthonie . . . and many moe
. . . oft breaking down the pale forts of reason . . . .	. . . no greater enimie of humaine reason
. . . one defect . . . .	. . . the only vice of drunkennesse
. . . fortune's star-- Their virtues else . . . .	. . . darkened al the splendant Uertues, which made him so to shyne

Finally, Hamlet discovers some excuse for the presence of vice in nature, "since nature cannot choose his origin"; and in Cupids Cautels, the narrator's judgment of Floria is softened for the same reason. In addition, she ruins her reputation by drinking (though she is not a drunkard) and becomes the topic of general scandal.

III. Hamlet and Gertrude. Belleforest's story concerns the incestuous marriage of Hamlet's mother, but the emphasis there is less than in Hamlet; it does not obsess Hamlet's mind

^{lll}Ibid., p. 101.

as greatly, although he does lecture her grossly in her closet.¹¹² It is interesting to note that in Cupids Cautels the discussions of second marriages and of inordinate haste to marry or to change mates show similarities to the treatment of the like theme in Hamlet. Wotton writes, ". . . for surely the dead pretende great interest, and are very carefull if the liuing marry, or no" ¹¹³ This statement is surely proverbial, but the Ghost's interest in Gertrude leads one to wonder if the first Ghost, in the Ur-Hamlet was also as interested in his queen. Andrea, in The Spanish Tragedy, however, does worry about Bel-imperia, and the ghost of Andrugio in Marston's play appears to his queen.

Another parallel idea occurs in Wotton's general discussion:

Hamlet

A little month, or ere those
shoes were old
With which she follow'd my
poor father's body,
Like Niobe, all tears:--
why she, even she--
O God! a beast, that wants dis-
course of reason,
Would have mourn'd longer--
married with my uncle
(I.ii.147-151)

Cupids Cautels

. . . Thus one thinketh that
those which marry the second
time, attribute no great
honour vnto their first hus-
bads, with whom it seemeth
they bury their loue ¹¹⁴

¹¹²Gollancz, op. cit., pp. 114-116.

¹¹³Wotton, op. cit., p. 117.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 116.

The construction of the early part of Hamlet's speech, here, also resembles Charita's wailing jealousy at her husband's early departure.

Hamlet

. . . O God! O God!
 . . . That it should come to
 this!
 But two months dead: nay not
 so much, not two:
 . . . Within a month?
 . . . O most wicked speed . . .
 . (I.ii.132-157)

Cupids Cautels

. . . O God sweete love finde
 you already such annoyaunce
 in marriage, as you can not
 endure the expiring of the
 yeare, according to the
 auncient custome, the whiche
 giueth to others priueledge
 and dispensation¹¹⁵ of their
 vocations? . . .

Again, Hamlet's remembrance of his parents' love is similar to the description of Charita's and Herman's early marriage in

Cupids Cautels:

Hamlet

. . . so loving to my mother
 That he might not beteen the
 winds of heaven
 Visit her face too roughly.
 Heaven and earth,
 Must I remember? Why, she
 would hang on him,
 As if increase of appetite had
 grown
 By what it fed on: and yet
 within a month
 (I.ii.140-145)

Cupids Cautels

. . . all theyr couetousnesse
 was onely to reioyce theyr
 mindes with the tender imbrac-
 ings and delicate courtesies
 reserued in the storehouse of
 loue, employing diligently
 the feare of future stormes,
 watering the fragrant flours
 of the yong spring . . . they
 neuer went abroude or returned
 home without billing and beak-
 ing like waton Doues, until
 such time as whe a man is
 werie of his own ease¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 105.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 104.

"Increase of appetite" is similar to "couetousnesse" by "tender embraces"; the gentle protection of "not beteeme the winds of heaven / Visit her face too roughly" is similar to ". . . employing diligently the good season for feare of future stormes." The abrupt change of tone in each passage is similar, too, with Gertrude's "unfaithfulness" inverting the roles of man and woman in Cupids Cautels.

Wotton writes again, in his general discussion,

. . . for the agreementes of second marriages are more difficile to encounter, tha it is uneasie to matche a nutte shel with any other, than that fro which it was first seuered.¹¹⁷

Hamlet's comparison of the miniature depictions of the two brothers is similar to this sentiment, in idea, if not in actual words. Perhaps even another passage in Cupids Cautels is close in matters of idea and phrasing:

Hamlet

Look here, upon this picture,
and this,
The counterfeit presentment of
two brothers
This was your husband. Look
you now what follows.
. . . have you eyes?
Could you on this fair mountain
leave to feed
And batten on this moor? Ha!
Have you eyes?
And what judgment would step

Cupids Cautels

. . . what fained likelyhood
so euer they shew, their
flitting fantasies entertaineth
loue no longer than they be-
hold the thing beloued, so as
with the presence they lose
all remembrance, yeelding
their fauors immediatly to
euey one as their leysures
serue them, like vnto looking
glasses which indifferently
represent all figures and

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 116.

from this to this?
(III.iv.54-62)

impressions so long as the
bodies are opposit and object
before the, the which, such
glasses are sodainly ready
to forgo, to despose the
to represent other shapes
presented before them. And
herein y testimony of the
wise king of Iuda maye satis-
fie vs, who called the vnsati-
able gulfs¹¹⁸

While the idea is traditional in Elizabethan literature, some particular resemblance can be isolated. For example, Hamlet physically "represents" shapes to her, reiterates "eyes," and uses terms of eating:

Hamlet

. . . what judgment
Would step from this to this?
. . . Could you on this fair
mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor?

Cupids Cautels

. . . flitting fantasies
. . . who called the vnsati-
able gulfs.

Finally, in the closet scene, Gertrude counsels Hamlet to have patience, in the figure of the "burning" emotion. In her passion of jealousy, Charita is consoled similarly by Herman in Cupids Cautels:

Hamlet

. . . O gentle son,
Upon the heat and flame of thy
distemper

Cupids Cautels

. . . as the fire continueth
hir heate vnder the cinders,
so my loue shall encrease

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 103.

Sprinkle cool patience.
(III.iv.122-124)

under the secret remembrance
of you Thus the
good Herman comforted cour-
teous Charita, who began to
steale patience¹¹⁹

These similarities between Hamlet and Cupids Cautels reveal many points of interest in the similar characters of Ophelia and Floria. One is further intrigued by the similar names. One wonders about the names "Polonius" and "Ponifre," especially when Polonius, a type of steward, knows so many of the wiles employed by the steward Ponifre. However, the status of Q₁ in which Polonius is called "Corambis" is seemingly unresolvable at the present time. The parallels of incidents here recorded also have some basic counterpart in the legend of Hamlet, but are interesting in view of the often similar phrasings. An investigation of Othello helps to shed further light upon the problem of Shakespeare's knowledge of Wotton's tale.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 107.

CHAPTER IV

OTHELLO

" . . . it behoued him yet to obtaine
the aide of a Magician"
(Cupids Cautels)

The date of composition for Othello has been established between 1601-1604, placing the drama within the same general time-span as Henry V and Hamlet, which also contain echoes of Cupids Cautels. Philemon Holland's 1601 translation of Pliny's Natural History, echoed in Othello's address to the Senate, establishes the earliest possible date, while the Revels Accounts of 1604 contains the first known performance of Othello, on November 1, 1604.¹²⁰ Othello may have been a new play in that season, although all but Measure for Measure, of the seven Shakespearean plays presented at Court in 1604-1605's holiday season, are of known earlier date.¹²¹ Evidence exists to show that new plays were in demand that winter, however, and because of this fact, Chambers believes Othello to have been new in 1604.¹²² Rosenberg also prefers this date, because of Queen Anne's taste for entertainment concerning blackamoors in this

¹²⁰E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, 119; The Tragedy of Othello, Introduction and Notes by H. N. Hudson, p. xxv.

¹²¹E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV, 139.

¹²²Ibid., II, 211-212.

season, although this odd fact may point to nothing more than to the popularity of Othello with a new Court.¹²³ Halliwell-Phillipps believed the date to be 1604, because of the statute passed that year making it illegal to "prouoke any person to unlawful loue" by witchcraft or sorcery, such an accusation being a significant addition to Shakespeare's major source for the story of Othello.¹²⁴

Several scholars have been in favor of a date earlier than 1604, many of whom once based their suppositions on Collier's forged record of a performance of Othello on August 6, 1602, at Harefield.¹²⁵ Hart, however, recently presented interesting evidence in support of this early date, finding a possible allusion to Othello in Dekker's The Honest Whore Part I, printed in 1604, and also finding in Q₁ of Hamlet, 1603, many phrases reminiscent of Othello, which do not appear in Q₂.¹²⁶ Since Q₁ contains phrases from other, earlier plays of Shakespeare's company, Hart believes it possible that the reporter of Q₁ interpolated more familiar lines when he forgot the correct lines.¹²⁷ It is possible, therefore,

¹²³Marvin Rosenberg, "On the Dating of Othello," ES, XXXIX (1958), 72-74.

¹²⁴Othello Variorum, edited by H. H. Furness, pp. 352-353.

¹²⁵Ibid., pp. 346-347.

¹²⁶Alfred Hart, "The Date of Othello," TLS, October 10, 1935, p. 631.

¹²⁷Loc. cit.

that Othello could have been part of the company's repertory before 1603, although this fact would not mean necessarily that Othello was written before Hamlet. The point is, however, that the two dramas are extremely close in date, and that both have been shown to contain echoes from the same sources, used to elaborate upon the major sources.¹²⁸ Therefore, the presence of apparent echoes of Cupids Cautels in both plays takes on added significance.

Shakespeare's main source for the plot in Othello has long been thought to be Giraldi Cinthio's seventh novella of the third Decade of his Hecatommithi, 1565.¹²⁹ No English translation is known until that of 1795, a fact which has led some critics to conjecture that Shakespeare read the original Italian version.¹³⁰ Some scholars believe that Shakespeare knew the same tale that Cinthio tells, but in another form.¹³¹ Krappe, in fact, has proposed that Shakespeare knew, instead, an analogue, now lost, of Cinthio's tale.¹³² But Shakespeare does follow, for the most part, the outlines of Cinthio's plot

¹²⁸Muir, op. cit., p. 12.

¹²⁹This study has used the Italian and English reproduction of the tale in the Othello Variorum.

¹³⁰Muir, op. cit., p. 7.

¹³¹Othello, edited by M. R. Ridley, p. 238.

¹³²Alexander H. Krappe, "A Byzantine Source for Othello," MLN, XXXIX (March, 1924), 156-161.

until the murder scene, and develops in detail the major characters suggested in the novella. His additions and changes, however, are far-reaching, turning the short brutal tale of miscegenation and jealousy into an intensely painful psychological experience of transcendent evil within the world of men. Shakespeare's additions include the character of Roderigo, the accusation of witchcraft and the speech before the Senate, the drunken brawl during the watch, Cassio's dream, Othello's "trance," the "brothel" sequence, and the final scene of the sacrifice/murder and suicide. He adds also the themes of true sight versus illusion, witchcraft, and diabolism, and sexual satiety; he expands the themes of jealousy and of ironic fate.¹³³ While it is true that, as Adams points out, Cinthio's novella does contain suggestions for all these themes, it is also true that, with the exception of jealousy, Shakespeare had to expand them from only four phrases, if, indeed, he did read the original Italian.¹³⁴ It is interesting to find that many of the incidents that Shakespeare adds are often verbally very close to incidents in Cupids Cautels. The echoes will be discussed as follows: (1) The Character of Roderigo and His Relationship to Iago; (2) The Drinking Scene; (3) Othello's Jealousy; (4) The Brothel Sequence and Emilia's "Feminist"

¹³³Muir, op. cit., p. 7.

¹³⁴Maurianne S. Adams, "'Ocular Proof' in 'Othello,'" PMLA, LXXIX (June, 1964), 241.

Remarks; and (5) The Murder/Sacrifice and Suicide Scene.

(1) The Character of Roderigo. In Cinthio, it is the Ensign who vainly lusts for Desdemona [Cinthio's spelling], but in Othello, the role is transferred to Roderigo. Believing Cassio to be the greatest threat to his suit, Roderigo is led to hate Cassio, just as the Ensign hates the Captain. Roderigo, however, never hates Desdemona, contrary to the Ensign's motivation. Iago hates all three major characters, plotting their ruins and that of his dupe, Roderigo, from the beginning. Iago is a manipulator, a creator of time and circumstance, while the Ensign, although endowed with consummate villainy in Cinthio's novella, nevertheless must wait for time and event before he can act. The Ensign never asks for aid in his suit, but Roderigo appeals to Iago. The Roderigo/Iago situation is, of course, common to many Elizabethan plays, and may, in fact, owe something to Twelfth Night, in which Sir Andrew Aguecheek becomes Sir Toby Belch's purse while seeking romantic aid.¹³⁵ But the situation in Othello is more sinister, revealing a frightening complicity between evil and stupidity which leads to the destruction of all virtue. As such, it echoes Ponifre's attempts in Cupids Cautels to win virtuous Floria from virtuous Herman. Floria is eventually seduced and dies a martyr to chastity; Herman becomes a misogynist for a time, only to die of grief for Floria.

¹³⁵Twelfth Night, II.iii.212 ff.

Roderigo has relied upon Iago's help before Desdemona's marriage, having given him money to aid him in his suit (I.1. 2-3). With Desdemona's marriage, Roderigo is driven to thoughts of suicide, but finally regains confidence in Iago. Ponifre, rejected by Floria, goes first to an old beldame for aid, but, her devices failing, he is greatly discouraged. He then turns to a Magician. The main outlines of Ponifre's initial dejection are present in Roderigo's depression; in fact, Roderigo's despair inverts a simile of Ponifre's first expression of confidence in the bawd. The conversation of Roderigo and Iago more subtly enacts the whole scene of Cupids Cautels:

Othello

I will incontinently drown myself
 It is silliness to live
 when to live is torment; and
 then have we a prescription to
 die when death is our physician.
 (I.iii.306-311)

Rod. Wilt thou be fast to my
 hopes, if I depend on the
 issue?

Iago. Thou art sure of me:
 --go, make money: --I have told
 thee often, and I retell thee
 again, I hate the Moor
 Let us be conjunctive in our
 revenge against him. If thou
 canst cuckold him, thou dost
 thyself a pleasure, me a sport
 There are many events

Cupids Cautels

. . . As a healthfull medicine
 taken by the patient that is
 desirous of recouerie, driueth
 away the burning feuer, which
 scaldeth his weake lymmes,
 euen so this consolation did
 moderate the impacient desires
¹³⁶

. . . wherewith he was so
 touched to the quicke, as from
 thence forth he had consented
 to his proper ruine, seeing
 all his deuices so peruersely
 . . . he sodenly conceyued
 in his fantasie . . . to ob-
 taine the aide of a Magician,
 vnto whom he imagined nothing
 to be vnpossible: the coniuurer

in the womb of time which will be delivered. Traverse! go, provide the money. We will have more of this to-morrow. Adieu.

Rod. Where shall we meet i'the morning?

Iago. At my lodging.

Rod. I'll be with thee betimes.

Iago. Thus do I ever make my fool my purse. (I.iii.370 ff.)

demanding in hand a round sum of money (which he would finger before he would meddle with the matter) assigned thys miserable louer a time & place, where by the efficacy of certain carrecters he would enforce his cruel mistresse in her desptight to yeeld hir person at his commaundement and plesure . .

. . .¹³⁷

Furthermore, Iago's words of hope echo, in essence, the idea of the Magician's conjuration:

Othello

. . . if sanctimony and a frail vow betwixt an erring barbarian and a super-subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and all the tribe of hell, thou shalt enjoy her. (I.iii.359 ff.)

Cupids Cautels

. . . mumbling the Diuels paternoster, like an old ape . . . he did so muche by force of his coniuration, shewes, exorcismes, and invocatiois, as he charmed the imaginative fantasie of his man, in such force as he caused him to lye with a shadowe . . . in false delight . . .¹³⁸

When Roderigo leaves, Iago meditates the proper course of action, as does the Magician after Ponifre's departure. Iago's soliloquy conveys the same idea of his own kinship with the Devil as does the narrator's explicit comments about evil in Cupids Cautels. The narrator refers to Ponifre as a poor

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 97-98.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 98. Spenser's Faerie Queene (I.i.xxxviii-lx) illustrates Archimago's use of the conventional magician's trick.

"senseless sot," and "justifies" his depraved behavior because of the Devil's power over greater men. This passage is interesting in that Iago's abrupt shift of mind from Roderigo to Othello reveals the same idea present in Iago's satanic mind:

Othello

Thus do I ever make my fool my
 purse.
 For I mine own gain'd knowledge
 should profane,
 If I would time expend with such
 a snipe.
 But for my sport and profit, I
 hate the Moor:
 And it is thought abroad that
 'twixt my sheets
 'Has done my office
 [He reveals his hatred of Cassio
 and Desdemona.]
 I have't. It is engender'd.
 Hell and Night
 Must bring this monstrous birth
 to the world's light.
 (I.iii.409-410)

Cupids Cautels

. . . And I beleue this
 charme whose strange effects
 I haue recited, shal not
 seeme vnto you (honorable
 audience) erring from \hat{y} truth,
 if you haue neuer so smal re-
 gard vnto the power whiche
 God hath giuen the Diuell to
 tempt, euen those whome he
 most loueth A Scottish
 woman who a familiar spirite
 vsed to accompanie carnally,
 by whom she was deliuered of
 a moster I wil main-
 tayne that spirits can
 ingender, aswel bycause our
 religion defendeth vs to be-
 lieue that anye but Jesus
 Christe alone was euer borne
 without the seede of man, as
 also bycause nature hath
 not imparted to spirites
 distinction of kinde; but . . .
 they contaminate and pollute
 humaine creatures, vnto whom
 they are protested and sworne
 enimies¹³⁹

Iago's constant protestations of hatred toward all other characters, subsequently followed by the images of procreation using the words "ingender" and "monster," within the idea of the

¹³⁹Loc. cit.

diabolic, asexual conception closely parallel the discussion in Cupids Cautels of the Devil, which occurs within the context of Ponifre's visit to the Magician for advice in a love suit.

Such similarities are enlightening in that Spivack has shown that Iago always uses inverted logic when he puts his hatred of men before the cause, revealing a frightening realm in which causes really have no status.¹⁴⁰ The lines, "I hate the Moor: / And it is thought abroad . . .," are links between the allegorical and naturalistic levels of the drama, showing how well Shakespeare has used the tradition of unintelligible evil stemming from the earliest Psychomachian drama, integrating the moralistic tradition with the compactly plotted, realistic story of Cinthio.¹⁴¹ Iago's kinship with the Devil is, of course, widely discussed, some critics believing Iago to be the Devil in reality, and others believing him though evil, to be confined to this world alone.¹⁴² Heilman sees him as a part of both worlds in aesthetic criticism, just as Spivack

¹⁴⁰Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, pp. 448-449.

¹⁴¹Loc. cit.

¹⁴²Those who see Iago as human include A. C. Bradley, Shakespearean Tragedy, p. 209; E. E. Stoll, "A New Reading of Othello," MP, XLV (February, 1948), 210; J. W. Abernathy, "Honest Iago," SR, XXX (July, 1922), 339. Those who see Iago as Devil include S. L. Bethell, "Shakespeare's Imagery: The Diabolic Images in Othello," Shakespeare Survey, V (1952), 78-79; Paul Siegal, "The Damnation of Othello," FMLA, LXVIII (December, 1953), 1078.

sees his dual role in historical criticism.¹⁴³ The connection of magicians with the Devil entitled conjurers to be regarded as diabolic creatures of two worlds, both in popular Elizabethan tradition and in the drama.¹⁴⁴ The link between the worlds is pointed out explicitly in Wotton's tale. Assuredly, critics often discuss Iago's "magic" in metaphorical terms, but the other echoes of Cupids Cautels in Othello give the link at this point an added significance. Although Iago does not practice overt magic, such as leaping in circles and calling up devils (he himself, indeed, is diabolic enough), he practices a subtler, realistic form of magicians' and devils' tricks as found in the popular magic plays of the late 1590's and early 1600's.¹⁴⁵ These plays were, in addition, part of the general movement toward realism in this period, using many plots similar to that of the tragic domestic situation in Othello, with various aids in love suits by sorcerers and old beldames.¹⁴⁶ The villains in these "hybrid plays"--naturalistic domestic situations with the heritage of morality plays--do derive many magician-like powers from the tradition of the Vice character,

¹⁴³Robert B. Heilman, Magic in the Web, p. 16.

¹⁴⁴H. W. Herrington, "Witchcraft and Magic in Elizabethan Drama," Journal of American Folklore, XXXII (October, 1919), 447-485.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 461.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 479; Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, I, 354.

as they practice deceit against virtue in order to "sermonize."¹⁴⁷ Iago fits into this tradition well, but he still exhibits, by his admitted diabolism, a character more supernatural than the other realistic villains. His constant illogical reasoning in respect to his hatred of others could well be compared to the reasoning of Milton's Satan.¹⁴⁸

Typical powers of avowed necromancers in the magic plays include abilities to control space, to foresee the future, to provide food, to give aid in love suits, and to produce spells of paralysis in their victims.¹⁴⁹ With the exception of the third power, Iago uses all devices, always manipulating time, circumstance, and character, knowing the future (I.1.148-154), giving aid to Roderigo, and inducing a trance in Othello (IV.1.38-52). Iago's manipulation of Cassio's drunkenness recalls the evil potions associated with magic since before the time of Circe, and also recalls the Devil's concern with the vice of drunkenness.¹⁵⁰ This vice occupies an important position in Shakespeare's The Tempest, opposed as it is to the qualities of good magic. Further, it is interesting to observe

¹⁴⁷ Spivack, op. cit., p. 449; H. H. Adams, English Domestic and Homiletic Tragedy 1575-1640, p. 23.

¹⁴⁸ Spivack, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁴⁹ Waldo F. McNeir, "Traditional Elements in the Character of Greene's Friar Bacon," SP, XLV (April, 1948), 176.

¹⁵⁰ Geoffrey Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, Works, p. 225.

that Prospero's use of magic occurs on an island after a storm, in the tradition of the commedia dell'arte magic plays.¹⁵¹

Iago's wiles, though begun in Venice, with his first association with Roderigo, do not really become effective until the arrival in Cyprus, after an initial storm which does not occur in Cinthio's novella.

One school of recent criticism has seen in Othello an allegory of Adam and Eve in Eden.¹⁵² Emphasis on diabolic images becomes the most important aspect of this interpretation, for the words, and connotations of words, of diabolism opposed to virtue occur more often in Othello than in any other Shakespearean play.¹⁵³ Perhaps this Christian morality play interpretation is not far removed from Shakespeare's own intention, if the realistic devil/magician is part of Iago's composition. In the light of the subtilization of evil as a motive force in Hamlet, Macbeth, and King Lear, perhaps Iago can be seen as the black magician within man's experience who not only shows "sots" the means to their own destruction, but who tempts the "most loved" ones of God to find evil in their own hearts. Iago's own protestations of his evil never refer

¹⁵¹Sharon S. Smith, A New Look at Shakespeare's The Tempest (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas), p. 44.

¹⁵²Siegal, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁵³Kenneth O. Myrick, "The Theme of Damnation in Shakespearean Tragedy," SP, XXXVIII (April, 1941), 221-245.

to specified procedures that he, as a magician, must follow; but diabolic magic is an underlying theme throughout the play, having a very close affinity to the sins of the flesh, as shown in Iago's encouragement of Roderigo's lust:

Othello

Divinity of hell!
When devils will the blackest
sins put on,
They do suggest at first with
heavenly shows
As I do now

(II.iii.356-359)

She must change for youth: when
she is sated with his body, she
will find the error of her
choice: she must have change,
she must

(I.iii.354-356)

Her eye must be fed: and what
delight shall she have to look
on the devil? When the blood is
made dull with act of sport,
there should be againe to en-
flame it and to give satiety an
appetitè

(II.1.227-231)

. . . the wine she drinks is
made of grapes. If she had
been blessed she would never
have loved the Moor
Didst thou not see her paddle
with the palm of his hand?

Cupids Cautels

. . . Let vs not then think
it vnpossible that the maligne
serpent, who . . . transform-
eth hys shape into an Angel
of light to deceiue vs, wyll
not also resemble the person-
age of an Harlot, to glut in
the vnsatiabile delight of
lubricitye, the sinner whom
he had already wonne, and
minister the meane vnto him
to execute the wickednesse
first inspired in his
hart¹⁵⁴

. . . the Vine beareth three
grapes, whereof the first alter-
eth, the seconde troubleth,
and the thirde intierly dull-
eth, which causeth great drunk-
ards to be commonly no great

¹⁵⁴Wotton, op. cit., p. 99.

. . . Lechery, by this hand; an lechers¹⁵⁵
 index and obscure prologue to the
 history of lust and foul
 thoughts (II.i.257 ff.)

The accusations of "serpent" and "demi-devil" (IV.ii.15-16;
 V.ii.285, 301) are part of traditional evil, but the theme,
 again, is in Cupids Cautels.

Before leaving the subject of the Magician's conjura-
 tion of the shadow, it is interesting to note that Shakespeare
 adds the incident of Cassio's "dream" (III.iii.410 ff.) to the
 plot of Cinthio's tale. The descriptions of dreams, both in
Othello and Cupids Cautels, are highly sensual, although no
 verbal parallels appear.¹⁵⁶ It is also perhaps significant
 that after the revelation of Cassio's "dream," and the subse-
 quent disclosure of Cassio's possession of the handkerchief,
 the temptation of Othello is complete. As Othello and Iago
 kneel to vow murder, surely the sinner is "wonne," and Iago
 is ministering the "meane vnto him to execute the wickednesse
 first inspired in his hart," in just the same way as the dis-
 cussion of the Devil in Cupids Cautels reveals the affinity of
 magic and initial human depravity.

Roderigo eventually sees through Iago's machinations, but
 is too steeped in lust to withdraw from his immoral pursuit.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 120. Cf. All's Well That Ends Well, II.i.
 73 ff. and I.ii.231-234, for similar use of "grapes and "eyes."

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 98.

Ponifre in Cupids Cautels is found to be in the same situation.

Othello

Rod. Every day thou daffest me with some device, Iago I will indeed no longer endure it, nor am I yet persuaded to put up in peace what already I have foolishly suffered.

Iago. Will you hear me, Roderigo?

Rod. Faith, I have heard too much, for your words and performances are no kin together.

. . . . I have wasted myself out of my means. The jewels you have had from me would have half corrupted a votarist.

. . . nay, I think it is scurvy, and begin to find myself fopped in it. . . . I will make myself known to Desdemona: if she will return me my jewels, I will give over my suit and repent my unlawful solicitation

Iago. . . . I protest, I have dealt most directly in thy affair.

Rod. It hath not appeared.

Iago. I grant indeed it hath not appeared (IV.ii.176 ff.)

Cupids Cautels

. . . by little and little he opened the eyes of hys vnderstanding, and acknowledging that since he had taken his credite vnto a deceiuer, it was no meruayle though he hadde payde hym with his coyne whyche is, Illusion and false semblaunte. Wherefore partlye ashamed, and partely despighted of his dotishe erreure, he arose, and in place to desyste from his vnfortunate pursutes, he entertained an enraged wyll to persyste more effectuallye than before¹⁵⁷

The idea of illusion in Othello is present in the reiterated phrase, "It hath not appeared," and in Roderigo's accusation that Iago's words and deeds are of "no kin together." Roderigo is unhappy at spending so much money. He is partly ashamed, almost of a mind to repent. But his pride is too great: he cannot "put up in peace" what he has so "foolishly

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 99.

suffered," and he worries about finding himself "fopped." Iago wins back Roderigo to his evil, and the dupe is finally destroyed within the framework of Cinthio's tale, as Shakespeare integrates this story completely with the elements of the Italian plot. In Cupids Cautels, Ponifre makes his own plans after he leaves the Magician, but they, being completely evil, likewise lead to his destruction.

The theme of magic is pervasive in Othello. Even the handkerchief takes on magic properties, as it becomes a love-philter woven by a "Sibyl" and given to Othello's mother by an Egyptian "charmer." The old beldame in Cupids Cautels uses love charms, though ineffective, to aid lovers, and she is also compared to "sibella," in her conduction of lovers into hell.¹⁵⁸ Brabantio's frenzied accusations of witchcraft in the early scenes help establish the whole theme of diabolic magic, showing the elusiveness of the nature of real evil.

Although not directly concerned with magic, proverbial statements about grief which appear in the midst of Brabantio's accusations also echo the proverbs to be found in Cupids Cautels. The frequency of grief proverbs in Shakespeare's plays has been duly observed in this study, certainly.¹⁵⁹ But close similarities in vocabulary and presentation merit the recording

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 96

¹⁵⁹Katharine Lever, "Proverbs and Sententiae in Shakespeare," SAB, XIII (1938), 234.

of specific echoes in this case:

Othello

Let me speak like yourself, and
lay a sentence
When remedies are past, the
griefs are ended
By seeing the worst, which late
on hopes depended.
To mourn a mischief that is past
and gone
Is the next way to draw new mis-
chief on.
What cannot be preserved when
fortune takes,
Patience her injury a mockery
makes. (I.iii.202-207)

Cupids Cautels

. . . seeing there was no
remedie in an act committed,
but that according to the
wise mans saying, a myschief
must be prudently support-
ed¹⁶⁰

The uses of "sentence" and "wise mans saying," "remedies,"
"mischief," and "prudently" and "patiently" are very close.
Certainly both statements are common sentiments, but it is
significant that both are concerned with a daughter's loss of
innocence. Brabantio's answer to the Duke's attempted con-
solation is an ironic twisting of another grief proverb which
occurs in Cupids Cautels, concerned this time with the death
of a lover:

Othello

Duke. . . . The robbed that
smiles steals something from
the thief;
He robs himself that spends a
bootless grief.
Bra. So let the Turk of Cyprus

Cupids Cautels

. . . The greatest miserie ^g
may be is, disabilitie to
suffer misery patiently.
Alas how extreame grieffe
deliuereth feruent loue by ^g
losse of ^g thing beloued,

¹⁶⁰Wotton, op. cit., p. 102.

us beguile;
 We lose it not, so long as we
 can smile.
 He bears the sentence well that
 nothing bears
 But the free comfort which from
 thence he hears.
 But he bears both the sentence
 and the sorrow
 That, to pay grief, must of poor
 patience borrow.
 These sentences, to sugar, or to
 gall,
 Being strong on both sides, are
 equivocal
 But words are words; I never yet
 did hear
 That the bruised heart was pierced
 through the ear.

(I.iii.210-219)

sithence pearcing sorrow
 could giue his passioned hart
 no leisure to receiue cofort
 by any means . . . so selfe
 coforte in sorrow is a very
 difficult matter without
 the consolation of some
 friend¹⁶¹

The figure of the "bruised heart" being "pierced" by comfort in Othello is similar to the image of "pearcing sorrow" of a "passioned hart," incapable of receiving comfort in Cupids Cautels. Shakespeare's proverb is, however, more pessimistic about the aid in friends' proverbial wisdom than is the proverb in Cupids Cautels. The two grief proverbs, appearing within the same scenes of the witchcraft accusations, are further points to consider in the discussion of Iago's similarity to the Magician. The proverbs, assuredly, are often used, and diabolic magic is a common enough metaphor for villainy as it is applied to Othello first, and later to Iago, by others and by himself. But all these themes appear in Cupids Cautels, as well.

¹⁶¹Ibid., pp. 115-115.

(2) The Drinking Scene. Shakespeare adds the episode of Cassio's drunkenness, thereby giving a reason for the Captain's striking of another soldier while on watch, in Cinthio's tale. Shakespeare makes Roderigo the object of the attack, a device which first brings the dupe into the framework of the novella's plot, and which further reveals Iago as a manipulator of men and circumstances. Cupids Cautels moralizes upon the sin of drunkenness, as this study has pointed out in connection with Hamlet. Also as in Hamlet, the influence of Nashe's Pierce Penilesse is apparent in Othello, for Nashe writes of soldiers' drinking bouts and of different countries' drinking customs, just as the imbibing soldiers in Othello speak of them.¹⁶² He also writes of the "gidinesse" and loss of memory accompanying drinking, which Cassio experiences.¹⁶³ Other particularly close parallels occur as follows:

Othello

. . . It hath pleased the devil
drunkenness to give place to
the devil wrath
(II.iii.298-299)

If I can fasten but one cup
upon him,

Pierce Penilesse

. . . The chief spur vnto
wrath is drunkennesse . . .
.¹⁶⁴

. . . They run their wordes
at random like a dog that hath

¹⁶²Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penilesse, pp. 53, 75-80.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁶⁴Loc. cit.

With that which he hath drunk to- lost his master, and are
 night already, vppe with this man and that
 He'll be as full of quarrel and man¹⁶⁵
 offence
 As my young mistress' dog
 (II.111.50-53)

Cupids Cautels, however, presents a situation analagous to Cassio's downfall by drinking. Iago tries to lure Cassio into drunkenness, first, by drinking measures to Othello's recent wedding, just as Ponifre's downfall occurs because of his drunkenness at his own wedding celebration.¹⁶⁶ Iago tries to beguile Cassio into an admission of lust for Desdemona, similar to Ponifre's revelation of his sin with the innocent Floria.¹⁶⁷ Iago then begins a singing fest, similar to the one that occurs at Ponifre's feast, although one admits that drinking songs are natural accompaniments to any drinking bout. Iago refers to wine as "a good familiar"(II.111.313), a term of several meanings in this context, involving both witchcraft and companionship. "Familiars" is found in Cupids Cautels' drinking sequence as a term for Ponifre's drinking companions.¹⁶⁸ Iago's hypocritical moralizing over Cassio's vice echoes the old commonplace comparison in Cupids Cautels:

¹⁶⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁶Wotton, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁶⁷Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁸Loc. cit.

Othello

He is a soldier fit to stand
 by Caesar
 And give direction: and do but
 see his vice;
 'Tis to his virtue a just
 equinox,
 The one as long as the other
 . . . (II.iii.127-130)

Cupids Cautels

. . . Alexander, who by the
 only vice of dronkenesse re-
 formed yet by a sodain repen-
 taunce, darkened al the
 splendant Uertues which made
 him so to wyne: other into
 swyne, as Marke Anthonie . . .
 .169

The ideas are identical, and the choice of "a soldier fit to stand by Caesar" echoes Cupids Cautels's example of Mark Antony. The bestial aspects of drunkenness are discussed in both homiletic passages, too, as is usual in Elizabethan discussions of the vice.

Iago's choice of the means of drunkenness for Cassio's downfall recalls the magic potions of magicians. The Devil, also, is closely associated with this sin in all Christian literature, showing that the one who urges drink is doubly damned.¹⁷⁰ Cupids Cautels also makes indirect use of this idea in the final torture and execution of Ponifre, who seduces Floria, beautiful and chaste in spirit, by means of wine. It may also be significant that Ponifre's wife Floria is the ultimate cause of his death.¹⁷¹ Iago refers to Cassio as ". . . a man almost damned in a fair wife" (I.i.21). Although

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁷⁰ Gascoigne, op. cit., pp. 459, 470.

¹⁷¹ Wotton, op. cit., p. 122.

the Captain in Cinthio's tale has a wife, she does nothing to ruin her husband, nor is her beauty or virtue mentioned. The fact that Cassio's wife is never mentioned again is, to say the least, disturbing. In view of the similarities between Ponifre and Cassio in the drinking sequences, and in the assignment of "dreams" to both characters, Cupids Cautels may have some bearing upon this strange allusion in Othello. Certainly the themes of evil seduction and ruin by means of wine are present in both the play and Wotton's tale.

(3) Othello's Jealousy. Othello's soliloquy concerning Desdemona's "infidelity" (III.iii.258-277) echoes a wronged lover's harangue against women in Cupids Cautels. Othello reverses the order of two ideas, but they follow each other closely in Cupids Cautels. The vocabulary is remarkably similar:

Othello

Cupids Cautels

She's gone. I am abused; and
 my relief
 Must be to loathe her. O curse
 of marriage,
 That we call these delicate
 creatures ours,
 And not their appetites! I had
 rather be a toad,
 And live upon the vapour of a
 dungeon,
 Than keep a corner in the thing
 I love
 For others' uses. Yet 'tis
 the plague of great ones;
 Prerogativèd are they less than
 the base;

. . . he began bitterly to
 repent the great loue he had
 imparted to a creature so
 disloyall, as by a false sem-
 blaunt yèelded appearance of
 an incomparable chastitie,
 and like suche as comming to
 a feast with full stomachs,
 show small appetite before
 the worlde, and in corners
 fraunch in their nuntions
 franklye Alas said
 he . . . must I not terme all
 women deceyuers, sithence by
 this I haue bene abused? . . .
 . a shamefast womā . . . is

'Tis destiny unshunnable like
death. (III.iii.258-277)

a thing rarer than the only
Phenix. Neuer could y^e
mightiest Emperour y^e euer
bare crowne encounter so
great treasure¹⁷²

Othello, like the other lover, becomes a misogynist, here, because of his "abuse." He uses the same idea of insatiable appetite, and even uses the same words: "delicate creatures" corresponds to the "creature so disloyall," but of "apparance of an incomparable chastitie." The word, "corner," appears in a different meaning, but still conveys the idea of illicit appetite and insatiability. "Corner" and Othello's "dungeon," further, are concerned with secret places. Finally, both lovers speak of the fateful, ubiquitous presence of unvirtuous women, even when they are the objects of the love of great men.

(4) The Brothel Sequence and Emilia's "Feminist"

Remarks. Othello's treatment of Desdemona as a prostitute is another of Shakespeare's additions to Cinthio's tale. Othello's remarks about Emilia as a "subtle bawd" recall Cupids Cautels's incident of the old bawd in church:

Othello

Cupids Cautels

. . . yet she's a simple bawd
That cannot say as much. This
is a subtle whore,
A closet lock and key of

. . . furtherers of loue, but
in playne tearmes, bawdes . . .
for besides that he had heard
saye howe these abusers were

¹⁷²Ibid., pp. 102-103.

villainous secrets:
 And yet she'll kneel and pray:
 I have seen her do't.
Enter Desdemona with Emilia
Des. My lord, what is your
 will?
Oth. Let me see your eyes;
 Look in my face.
 (IV.ii.20-28)

Oth. . . . You, mistresse [To
 Emilia]
 That have the office opposite to
 Saint Peter,
 And keep the gate of hell!
Re-enter Emilia
 You, you, ay, you!
 We have done our course; there's
 money for your pains
 (IV.ii.90-95)

expert to make traffique of
 such miserable marchandize,
 conducting people to hell,
 like vnto Sibilla in olde
 time In this deu-
 tion one Sondag comming to
 the parish church, he boured
 an olde mother Bee, who solde
 candell of consideraunce, pray-
 ing her to giue him light in
 this business Where-
 vnto she willingly agrèed
 . . . after high Masse was
 ended: during which time
 his eyes, grèedily fired vpon
 his faire Mistresse¹⁷³

"Simple bawd" recalls ". . . in playne tearmes, bawdes";
 the "sanctimony" of both women is similar; the idea of the
 lovers' "eyes" watching the object of their love is another
 echo; and the allusions to "hell" are similar. The old beldame
 in Cupids Cautels further tells Ponifre, "But take this for an
 article of your Crede, you must be secret in all your doings,
 and neuer report any thing of a woman till hir funerall."¹⁷⁴
 So she also is a "subtle whore." Ponifre. then, gives her a
 fee for her aid in his suit; this circumstance is echoed in
 the exchange of money in Othello.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 97.

It is interesting to observe further that Emilia is married to Iago, both of whom recall echoes of Ponifre's illicit help in his love pursuits, debasing love into matters of money. Emilia is also a type of servant to Desdemona, a situation not found in Cinthio's tale. In Cupids Cautels, it is the servants who aid Ponifre's seduction of Floria, and who are executed with him. Emilia does not wittingly aid her husband, and dies (she lives on after the Ensign's death in Cinthio's novella) upholding Desdemona's honor. Too, Cinthio's device of using a young child to divert attention while the Ensign steals the handkerchief would probably not be practical in the theatre, and Emilia is the other logical means of getting the handkerchief. But the slight similarities to Cupids Cautels still exist.

In the same scene as the "brothel" situation, the use of "vessel" for "woman" occurs, as in Cupids Cautels. The use is common enough, surely, especially when referring to the weakness of women.¹⁷⁵ But here, both references are concerned with the concept of complete chastity:

Othello

Cupids Cautels

Des. If to preserve this
vessel for my lord
From any other foul unlawful

. . . the corps [of Floria]
(whilome the vessell of all
perfections)¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵Tilley, op. cit., p. 334.

¹⁷⁶Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.

touch
 Be not to be a strumpet, I am
 none. (IV.ii.85-87)

Cinthio's Desdemona repents her marriage outside her station and race, but Desdemona's vow of faithfulness to Othello in this scene recalls Floria's forgiveness of Herman's rejection of her. Floria believes her treatment to be unjust, but she reveals the same love as Desdemona does in an appeal to heaven:

Othello

. . . for by this light of
 heaven,
 I know not how I lost him. Here
 I kneel,
 If e'er my will did trespass
 'gainst his love,
 Either in discourse of thought
 or actual deed,
 Or that mine eyes, mine ears or
 any sense,
 Delighted them in any other
 form:
 Or that I do not yet, and ever
 did,
 And ever will--though he do
 shake me off
 To beggarly divorcement--love
 him dearly,
 Comfort forswear me! Unkindness
 may do much;
 And his unkindness may defeat my
 life,
 But never taint my love.
 (IV.ii.150-161)

Cupids Cautels

. . . why dyd the heauens
 predestinate so great good
 vnto me, to suffer me nowe
 to shewe my selfe so vn-
 worthy thereof? Why dyd
 they not rather grinde me
 to powder with thunderboltes
 Alas Herman, my
 deare Herman . . . I lay
 the wrong on mine owne necke,
 anc consent vnto mine vn-
 iuste punishment. Liue
 then deare friend, liue for
 euer blessed with thy
Charita, and in recompence
 of the weale I wishe thee,
 praye that God may grant a
 quick dispatche of the tor-
 ment I endure for thy sake
¹⁷⁷

At the conclusion of this scene, interestingly, occurs

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 108.

Roderigo's confrontation of Iago, which, as this study already has shown, contains echoes of Cupids Cautels.

In the scene following, Emilia's defence of wives recalls a portion of the euphuistic discussion in Wotton's tale. Emilia combines ideas from both the lady's and the gentleman's arguments in her own strong statement:

Othello

Cupids Cautels

But I do think it is their husbands' faults
If wives do fall
Why, we have galls and though we have some grace,
Yet have we some revenge. Let husbands know
Their wives have sense like them.
. . . The illls we do, their illls instruct us so.
Des. Good night, good night:
heaven me such uses send,
Not to pick bad from bad, but
by bad to mend!

(IV.iii.93-94)

. . . It were a good matter in marriage if the husband were deafe, and the wife blinde . . . but onely for feare they should see the crimes of their husbandes. And I leaue to your iudge-ment, whether they are more to be blamed that do the offence, or those that view the act to reprove it . . .
.178

. . . I pray you Mistresse, let the commendation which you would acquire vnto women, procedede of their demerits, and not be augmented by the blame of men. For if you would vse reuenge, you should be sore troubled to recite vnto vs the actes which make you women so uertuous
.179

Emilia's catalogue of women's failings as reflections of those

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 119.

of men then becomes almost a direct answer to the gentleman's challenge in Cupids Cautels, and is the perfect "revenge." Desdemona's statement echoes the idea of the virtuous woman's reproof of men's faults.

Emilia, in another scene, echoes Cupids Cautels in an observation common to the Renaissance and often found in other Shakespearean plays.¹⁸⁰ But in Othello, it becomes the most grossly expanded of all images of sexual satiety, a culmination of like images which play so important a part in both Othello and Cupids Cautels:

Othello

'Tis not a year or two shows
us a man:
They are all but stomachs, and
we all but food;
They eat us hungerly, and when
they are full,
They belch us. (III.iv.103-106)

Cupids Cautels

. . . vntil such time as
whē a mā is werie of his
owne ease (for ofte swete
meates cloye the stomacke)
the yong husband determined
to take truce with loue, &
for a season to forsake his
Charita¹⁸¹

The ideas of the shortness of the time of love and the connection of food to love occur in the same sequence, although there are no close similarities in vocabulary.

(5) The Murder/Sacrifice and Suicide Scene. Shakespeare modified Cinthio's tale in the final scene of Desdemona's murder. In the novella, the Ensign beats her to death with a

¹⁸⁰ Tilley, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

¹⁸¹ Wotton, op. cit., p. 104.

stocking filled with sand; he and the Moor then pull the ceiling down on top of her. The murder is one of simple jealousy and revenge, and the Moor is later murdered himself by her avenging kinsmen. Siegal has pointed out that the story of an "Albanoyes Captaine" in Fenton's Certaine Tragical Discourses contains many incidents found in Othello's final scene. Here, the Captain stabs his wife because of jealousy; he kisses her before the act of murder; he cuts off her final prayer; and he kills himself in despair and repentance.¹⁸² Certainly such a sequence of events does not occur in Cupids Cautels, but Floria's suicide is present basically for the same purpose as Othello's initial intention in murdering Desdemona: to free her soul from an impure body. In this final scene in Othello many phrasing occur reminiscent of Cupids Cautels.

Floria, alone with her child, prepares boiling wine (almost as clumsy a device as Cinthio's stocking full of sand), bewailing her fate. She prays, then tucks a letter in the child's bosom and kisses him weeping; she constantly watches the fire during this procedure. In Shakespeare's play, Othello enters the chamber, also lamenting his duty, speaks of his candle, obviously watching its flicker as he compares it to life ("thou flaming minister"), and bends to kiss Desdemona,

¹⁸²Paul N. Siegal, "A New Source for Othello?" PMLA, LXXV (September, 1960), 480.

weeping as he does so. Both Floria and Othello speak in the same vein. Although Othello worries about marring the body, and Floria does not, both here at least consider the body as being opposed to the soul:

Othello

It is the cause, it is the
 cause, my soul,--
 Let me not name it to you, you
 chaste stars!--
 It is the cause. Yet I'll not
 shed her blood;
 Nor scar that whiter skin of
 hers than snow,
 And smooth as monumental
 alabaster.
 Yet she must die, else she'll
 betray more men.

(V.ii.1-6)

Cupids Cautels

. . . See, see, my soule, the
 houre whein thou shalt take
 vengeance of this wicked body,
 giuing certaine testimony,
 that therwith my chaste minde
 hath preserued it selfe pure
 and vndefiled, euen to the
 ende. But thou (vile carcasse)
 bycause thou haste bin such
 a traitour vnto thy Lord,
 thou shalt die, & shalt re-
 ceiue thy death by the self
 same thing, wherby thou haste
 offended.¹⁸³

The use of a repeated phrase with "my soul," the reference to the time of night in connection with the contemplated "revenge," the imperative mood of "must die" and "shalt die," and the idea of a betrayal within the imperative statement are all common to both passages. The idea of "cause" and "testimony" both convey the theme of justice being executed for the soul's benefit. Again, in respect to Othello's intended "sacrifice," he says, "I would not kill thy unprepared spirit; / No; heaven forfend! I would not kill thy soul." (V.ii.31-32) Then, as his jealousy grows, he is led to stifle her before her final

¹⁸³Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.

prayer: ". . . thou dost stone my heart, / And makest me call
what I intend to do / A murder, which I thought a sacrifice."

(V.ii.63-65)

Emilia's immediate intrusion. also contains similarities
to the pathetic death scene which occurs in Cupids Cautels.

Floria dies, the weapon of the wine having succeeded in

. . . chacing the beautiful soule out of the painefull
body to direct it vnto glorie and eternal felicitie. Oh
straunge and vnreported punishment, euen as rare as the
uertue of this Gentlewoman. Where shalt thou finde the
like ?¹⁸⁴

In Othello, Desdemona herself begins to report the "punishment,"
although she forgives Othello before her death:

Des. O falsely, falsely murdered!

Oth. Why, how should she be murder'd?

Emil. Alas, who knows?

She said so. I must needs report the truth.
(V.ii.116-117)

A discussion. then. ensues concerning the destination of
Desdemona's soul, as Emilia tries to convince Othello of
Desdemona's steadfast chastity. She. then. calls for help, re-
porting the murder. The others, including Iago, enter, drawn
by the noise, and are shocked by what they see. This situation
is similar in Cupids Cautels to the reaction over Floria's death:

¹⁸⁴Loc. cit.

. . . This strange death was not long concealed, the famous reporte whereof engendred greate copassion in euery mans harte, who ran from al quarters to behold it, aswel as for the rareness of the facte, as to celebrate the laste honoures vnto thys vnvanquished chastitie . . .
 .185

A letter is also found in Roderigo's pocket, which reveals all preceding events, just as does the letter in Cupids Cautels. The conventions of the final scene in which everyone witnesses the crime and in which a letter is the denouement are too prevalent to be commented upon; yet in view of all the other similarities, they do hold a certain interest.

Othello's suicide is also worth noting, for he exhibits several reasons for his suicide that are also condoned in Cupids Cautels:

Othello

Whip me, ye devils,
 From the possession of this
 heavenly sight!
 Blow me about in winds! Roast
 me in sulphur!
 Wash me in steep-down gulfs of
 liquid fire!
 O Desdemona! Desdemona! dead!
 Oh! Oh! Oh! (V.ii.277 ff.)

. . . I'd have thee live;
 For, in my sense, 'tis happiness
 to die. (V.ii.289-290)

Cupids Cautels

. . . principallie when it
 cometh by the scruple of con-
 science, which fraughteth
 the Malefactour with infinite
 furies . . . to to eschewe
 infamie . . . or for the
 healing of a remedillesse
 greefe . . . or by the im-
 paciencie of loue . . . or
 to benefit the common wealth
 by their death . . . or for
 weerinesse of lothed life . . .
 .186

185 Loc. cit.

186 Ibid., p. 119.

I have done the state some
 service, and they know't.
 . . . I pray you, in your letters,
 When you shall these unlucky deeds
 relate,
 Speak of me as I am; nothing
 extenuate,
 Nor set aught down in malice: then
 must you speak
 Of one that loved not wisely but
 too well (V.ii.339 ff.)

Thus, Othello shows remorse, grief, fear of infamy, love of his state, impatience in love, and a weariness of life.

In summing up the similarities between Othello and Cupids Cautels, this study has revealed that Shakespeare's changes of his major source, Cinthio's novella, contain echoes of ten themes to be found also in Wotton's tale, as follows:

(1) Diabolic magic working against man, succeeding because of man's own initial weakness. Roderigo's lust for, and Othello's unfounded jealousy of, Desdemona echo Ponifre's lust for, and Herman's unfounded jealousy of, Floria. Iago and Roderigo are a subtlization of the Magician and Ponifre, while Iago takes on all the characteristics of the gigantic evil of men's minds suggested by Cupids Cautels's discussion of the Devil, within the context of the Magician's scene.

(2) The war between the sexes. Emilia's defence of women echoes the courtly debate in Cupids Cautels.

(3) The jealousy and subsequent misogony of a lover who believes himself wronged. Othello and Herman utter

similar denunciations.

(4) Sexual satiety. This theme is pervasive throughout Othello and Cupids Cautels, as is the frequent reference to women as insatiable lovers. The latter idea, in addition, is present in Othello as a part of the diabolic character of Iago, and as part of the evil aspects of the characters of Roderigo and Othello (the misogyny of #3). Cupids Cautels also definitely links the theme to evil within man.

(5) Drunkenness. This sin is a part of diabolism in both Othello and Cupids Cautels, and appears within circumstances of a recent wedding and a singing fest among drunken "familiar." Lust is also involved, with Iago's attempts to persuade Cassio to "confession" analogous to Ponifre's actual confession.

(6) The seduction of chaste women. Although never successful in Othello, Roderigo's suit is similar to Ponifre's wiles in Cupids Cautels.

(7) Sacrifices to the cause of chastity. Although Othello's sacrifice is really a murder and Cupids Cautels's is a suicide, the attempt to save the woman's soul is the same.

(8) Suicide. Othello commits suicide, as does Floria, although the cause of her death is the same as that of the cause of Desdemona's murder. Othello's feelings before death echo Cupids Cautels's discussion of reasons for suicide; his

great sorrow may, perhaps, also be compared to Herman's, which results in death, though not by suicide.

(9) Debasement of love into financial considerations. Roderigo's and Iago's liaison and Othello's treatment of Desdemona and Emilia echo the incidents of the Magician and the old beldame and their demands of money in matters of love.

(10) The maligned heroine's faithfulness to her lover. Desdemona and Floria remain steadfast even when they believe their lovers are treating them unjustly.

All of these themes are, of course, popular ones in the drama of the early 1600's, but the presence of all ten themes in both works, and, in addition, the presence of similar vocabulary and, often, of the same sequence of thought in phrasing are surely of much significance. Just the comparison of Othello and Cupids Cautels reveals the play to be a sermon on the sins of the flesh, as is Wotton's story. Othello, however, emerges as a tragedy of classic proportions, while Wotton's story remains a typical homiletic tale of the "patient Grissel" type, just as Cinthio's realistic tale remains basically that same type. Shakespeare's success is due, in part, to his conception of Othello as a great, noble figure. By contrasting him with the stupid Roderigo and with the diabolic Iago, Shakespeare creates a tragic hero. How much of the conception of Roderigo and Iago belongs to tradition or to Cinthio's tale cannot be known for certain, but the

recognition of the same characters within Cupids Cautels, in addition to one's knowledge of Shakespeare's familiarity with Wotton's book and use of it as a source in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, may help to illuminate the problems of evil within the world of Othello.

If Shakespeare did have Cupids Cautels before him in the period 1599-1604, as the plays Henry V, Hamlet, and Othello seem to indicate, perhaps the dates of Hamlet and Othello should be re-examined. The strong parallel of the Pyrrhus anecdote in Cupids Cautels and Henry V (1599) is a logical link between this play and the two later ones, in their emphasis on the sin of drunkenness. The other similarities within these plays strengthen the possibility that "The Second Historie" may have been the inspiration for this interest in drunkenness. Although similar themes occur, Hamlet does not contain as many close verbal echoes as does Othello. Perhaps an earlier use of Wotton's tale in Othello lingers in the Ophelia plot of Hamlet. This possibility would then place Othello before Hamlet, in accordance with Hart's speculations based upon Q₁ of Hamlet. Both plays could, also, be placed much closer to the date of Henry V. The possible date of 1601 does not seem too early for either play, in view of the echoes of Cupids Cautels. The less significant echoes in Antony and Cleopatra (ca. 1606) seem to bear out this supposition.

CHAPTER V

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

The last play in this study to show perhaps significant parallels to Cupids Cautels is Antony and Cleopatra, entered in the Stationers Register on May 20, 1608, although it was first printed in the 1623 Folio.¹⁸⁷ The date of its composition may be as early as 1606, as Chambers proposes.¹⁸⁸ Case points out that the date is either 1606 or early 1607, because of other references in plays of the period to Cleopatra as portrayed in Shakespeare's play, and because of Samuel Daniel's revision of his verse play, Cleopatra, between the editions of 1605-1607.¹⁸⁹

There are fewer echoes of Cupids Cautels in Antony and Cleopatra than in Othello and Hamlet. All echoes but one, however, although scattered throughout the drama, are contained in one passage in Cupids Cautels and are euphuistic rhetorical devices used to elaborate a wife's jealousy over her husband's departure:¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 488.

¹⁸⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁹The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra, Introduction by R. H. Case, edited by M. R. Ridley, pp. xxvi-xxx1.

¹⁹⁰Wotton, op. cit., pp. 104-107.

Ant. and Cleo.

Cleo. I'll set a bourn how far
to be belov'd.

Ant. Then must thou needs find
out new heaven, new earth.

(I.1.16-17)

Give me some music; music,
moody food

Of us that trade in love.

(II.v.1-2)

Cupids Cautels

. . . Wherefore feare not,
I pray you, that the chaunge
of ayr & countrey can alter
mine affection towards you
. . . and at my returne you
shal finde it so augmented,
as your selfe will say, I
come to traffike in this land
of loue¹⁹¹

Assuredly, "traders in love" is a common Elizabethan euphemism for prostitution, and the idea is used often in other Shakespearean plays in reference to prostitution.¹⁹²

Here, however, even though Cleopatra is frequently referred to elsewhere as a "gipsy" or a "whore," the statement is not basically mercenary, for her sole concern really is Antony's love.¹⁹³ Furthermore, she is waiting impatiently for her lover's return, a situation comparable to that underlying the use of the phrase in Cupids Cautels:

Ant. and Cleo.

. . . other women cloy
The appetites they feed; but she
makes hungry

Where most she satisfies
(II.11.241-243)

Cupids Cautels

. . . for ofte sweete meates
cloy the stomacke¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁴²John W. Draper, "Honest Iago," PMLA, XLVI (1931), 732; Bartlett, op. cit., p. 1596.

¹⁴³A Variorum Edition of Antonie and Cleopatra, edited by H. H. Furness, II.v.1.

¹⁹⁴Wotton, op. cit., p. 104.

This proverb occurs often in Elizabethan literature, as this study has already pointed out.¹⁹⁵ However, it is interesting to observe, here, that as Enobarbus reverses the old proverb, he is wishing for Antony's departure from Cleopatra, a situation which is exactly the opposite of the circumstances in Cupids Cautels, as a woman grieves for her husband's departure.

Again, in two instances, Shakespeare echoes Cupids Cautels as he expands North's statement that Antony cannot move without Cleopatra:

Ant. and Cleo.

Our separation so abides and
flies,
That thou, residing here, goes
yet with me;
And I, hence fleeting, here
remain with thee.
(I.iii.102-105)

Egypt, thou knew'st too well
My heart was to thy rudder tied
by the strings,
And thou should'st tow me after:
o'er my spirit
Thy full supremacy thou know'st
and that
Thy beck might from the bidding

Cupids Cautels

. . . And if you alleage
that they paint it with wings,
to declare that it is light
and wandering, I confesse
vnto you, my loue was suche,
but so soone as you had be-
refte me thereof . . . you
clipped his winges, so that
neuer since it coulde flye
but aboute you, like as a
yong lasse vseth a butter-
flye, that it may not flee
from hir¹⁹⁶

. . . My deare friend, you
haue full power to dispose
both of your selfe & me,
according to your discretion,
for your plesure is my only
contentment. But . . .
sithence you refuse to carye
my corps with you, my hart

¹⁹⁵Above, Chapter IV, p. 83.

¹⁹⁶Wotton, op. cit., p. 107.

of the gods
Command me. (III.xi.56-61)

& sincere affections shall
accompany you . . . yet shall
they neuer abandon your
seruice. For if you saile,
they shall rest on the poupe:
if you ride, they shall sette
on the crouper¹⁹⁷

Ridley notes that the latter echo recalls the Countess of Pembroke's Antonie, 1595: "Forgetful of his charge (as if his soul / Unto his ladies soul had been enchained)."¹⁹⁸ "Gods" and "spirits" do echo "soul," but they also echo the idea of "hart & sincere affections," as opposed to "corps." Shakespeare's very use of "heart" and "rudder" together is identical with the idea of "hart" and "poupe" in Wotton's tale. Such an association of ideas in the drama is logical without a specific source certainly, for Antony has just lost the sea battle at Actium. But so many echoing ideas in one place do seem significant. "Thy full supremacy" and "full power to dispose" are very close, as are "thy beck might . . . command me" and "never abandon your seruice." Antony's lack of manliness in this scene is further pointed up when one realizes that his speech echoes that of a jealous woman.

The scene of Octavia's tearful farewell to Caesar employs the same common rhetorical figures found in Cupids Cautels:

¹⁹⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁹⁸ Ridley, op. cit., p. 134.

Ant. and Cleo.

Ant. The April's in her eyes;
it is love's spring,
And these the showers to bring
it on.

Eno. Will Caesar weep?

Agr. He has a cloud in's face.
(III.ii.43-52)

Cupids Cautels

. . . Thus the apprehension
of this departure warmed
the tender hart of this louing
girl, no more nor lesse, then
a fierie furnace prouoked by
the blastes of bellows, and
by the vehemencie of this
heate, the scalding teares
trickled down amaine, like
a clowde in the spring time
before the summe beames . . .
199

The figure of the springtime cloud and tears is popular, especially in application to a woman. Caesar's "cloud," in fact, another figure of unhappiness at parting applied to a woman in Cupids Cautels, seems to bring on a discussion of Caesar's manly attributes (III.ii.53-58). The figure of the bellows used in connection here with the extreme passion of sorrow at parting is used in Antony and Cleopatra to show extreme passions concerned in women's jealousy:

. . . his captain's heart
. . . is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust. (I.i.8-10)

. . . then shall the sighs of Octavia blow up the fire
in Caesar (II.vi.134-135)

Lyly's Euphues: His Anatomy of Wit, however, contains a phrase closer to the first of Shakespeare's uses of bellows

199 Wotton, op. cit., p. 106.

than is Wotton's: ". . . to admonish all young Impes and Novices in loue, to blow the coales of fancie with desire, but to quench them with disdayne" ²⁰⁰ Finally, Shakespeare embroiders North's account of Antony's first meeting with Cleopatra by means of a common image of the "heart's table," found in Cupids Cautels. North describes the meeting as follows:

. . . went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can express it. . . . ²⁰¹

Ant. and Cleo.

And for his ordinary pays his
heart
For what his eyes eat only.
(II.ii.231-232)

Cupids Cautels

. . . fedde him in the firste
course of his ordinary table,
which are mute regardes, vn-
certain sighs, melancholy
conceites, with a silence
which trasporteth the spirits
a mile beyonde the world's
end ²⁰²

In conclusion, one discovers that the echoes of Cupids Cautels in Antony and Cleopatra are rhetorical devices conceived of in the euphuistic style, concerning ideas of jealousy, excessive love, and sorrow at parting. The fact that the play contains so many echoes of one short euphuistic passage in the tale may not prove Shakespeare's conscious--or even unconscious--

²⁰⁰John Lyly, Works, I, 248.

²⁰¹Quoted in J. A. K. Thomson, Shakespeare and the Classics, p. 234.

²⁰²Wotton, op. cit., p. 92.

use of Cupids Cautels, especially when the echoes are scattered throughout the play, appearing in no similar sequence. However, the strongest verbal parallel is that of Antony's avowal of his complete submission to Cleopatra after the battle of Actium (III.xi.56-61), concerning the idea of the "heart" and the "rudder." The other echoes are widely used devices. If nothing else, however, this investigation serves to show Shakespeare's undoubted mastery of the commonplaces, as he manipulates them to fit situations opposite to those in which they are usually employed, as in Enobarbus's speech about Cleopatra's "infinite variety" (II.ii.241-243). He suits them, as well, to unlikely characters, as in Antony's speech of utter subjection and the reference to Caesar's "cloud." In these ways, Shakespeare's characters are anything but commonplace.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This investigation has pointed to the parallels between "The Second Historie" of Cupids Cautels and Shakespeare's plays of 1599-1606, in an attempt to determine the extent of Shakespeare's conscious use of the story in the four plays, Henry V, Hamlet, Othello, and Antony and Cleopatra. In Antony and Cleopatra, the latest play, 1604-1607, the figure of the "heart" and "rudder" is the most outstanding parallel. The fact that all but one echo are taken from one passage in Cupids Cautels may be significant, but the fact that the echoes are scattered throughout the play reveals, in the end, nothing positive with which an investigator may work.

The three earlier plays, however, yield, within themselves and as a group, a rather significant collection of parallels. The theme of drunkenness holds an important place in Wotton's story and in these plays, from Henry V's discussion of its just punishment to Othello's "sermons" against it and other sins of the flesh. The "Pyrrhus" anecdote, with its extremely close verbal parallels, the reference in Hamlet to cautel, "the false steward," and the parallels in Polonius's advice to situations within Cupids Cautels--present intriguing questions about Shakespeare's knowledge of the tale. Othello's abundance of parallels in situation and character, which help

to account for almost all of Shakespeare's modifications of and additions to Cinthio's tale, is especially significant in determining the extent of Shakespeare's conscious use of Wotton's tale. The "brothel" sequence, in particular, is a strong parallel, recalling three scenes of Cupids Cautels: Ponifre's visit to the bawd in church, his disillusionment in the Magician, and Floria's appeal to the heavens at being rejected by Herman. Themes of magic and commercialized love are dominant in Othello in the same way in which they are present in Cupids Cautels.

The closeness of the relationships of Hamlet and Othello becomes very apparent in this study, since each play presents parallels of themes in Cupids Cautels: an innocent maid, rejected by her lover, an attempted seduction (although in Hamlet it occurs only in Polonius's mind), sermons on drinking, and expanded sexual imagery and "antifeminist" remarks about insatiable lust. These parallels and the very number of the other parallels pointed out in the study suggest that Shakespeare did know the Wotton story well. Especially is this view plausible when one remembers that he had already used "The Fifth Historie" for The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Perhaps these plays, Hamlet and Othello, in view of their possible connection with Henry V through Cupids Cautels, could well be earlier plays than the dates of 1602-1604 assume them to be. Such close dates as 1599-1604, however, may not be any

problem in determining uses of sources, if Shakespeare did use the tale.

But, in any event, even if the many parallels cited reflect the general heritage of Shakespeare's age, this investigation shows conclusively Shakespeare's oneness with his age, in his use of the common stock of ideas pertinent to the themes of love and drinking, in particular. Wotton's Cupids Cautels is, after all, a ready source book for questions of love. But this study also reveals that in all four plays Shakespeare used the ideas and figures of speech of the age to create living characters for all ages. From Henry's merciful justice to Othello's misguided "sacrifice" and torment over Desdemona's "infidelity"; from Roderigo's stupidity to Antony's feminine subjection; from Emilia's worldly wit to Iago's transcendent evil: all have their roots in traditions found in Wotton's storehouse of "The Second Historie."

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Henry Wotton's A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels is a translation of Jacques d'Yver's Le Printemps d'Yver, 1572.²⁰³ D'Yver's work was written to provide France with a group of French tales in the tradition of the Italian novella.²⁰⁴ Five tales are presented within the frame of a questione d'amore, each tale illustrating a certain love issue and bringing up new points for discussion.²⁰⁵ It is a typical Renaissance production which was highly popular in France, serving as a "veritable school" for the century's ideas on love.²⁰⁶

Wotton's English translation is as faithful to the original as possible, except for occasional euphuizing.²⁰⁷ It is definitely within the first period of the euphuistic tradition (printed in 1578), while Petty's Petite Pallace appeared in 1576 and Lyly's Euphues, Part I, in 1578. In fact, the parallel themes and phrasings between Petty's "Sinorex and Camma," and "The Second History" of Cupids Cautels reveal many common techniques. Many points of comparison exist between

²⁰³The Dictionary of National Biography, XXI, 972.

²⁰⁴J. S. Weld, "Some Problems of Euphuistic Narrative: Robert Greene and Henry Wotton," SP, XLV (April, 1948), 167.

²⁰⁵Loc. cit.

²⁰⁶Henri Clouzot, "'Le Printemps d'Yver,'" Revue du Seizieme Siecle, XVIII (1931), 129.

²⁰⁷Weld, op. cit., p. 165.

Lyly's Mother Bomble and "The Second History," also, in the proverbs on drinking, but these investigations are beyond the scope of the present study. Wotton's book, however, does emerge as a storehouse of Elizabethan thoughts and situations concerned with the subject of love.

A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupids Cautels Containing fiue tragicall Historvyes by 3 gentleman and 2 women translated out of the French by H. W. Gentleman was printed in London in 1578 by Francis Coldocke and Henry Binneman. The text of "The Second History," which follows immediately, has been prepared from a microfilm copy of the text in the British Museum. Two other known texts are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Sion College, London.²⁰⁸ No attempt has been made to correct numerous printing errors, or to modernize spelling and punctuation. The pagination is faulty in two instances: "68" should read "86," and "311" should read "113." Pages 123-124 are missing from the original text.

²⁰⁸Pogue, op. cit., p. 42.

The seconde dayes
pastime.

Like as when two campes,
enimies, hauing appoynted a daye to
experiment howe great their desire
is of reuenge, or the loue of honour
bought with the price of much blood,
by equall force of armes doo fighte,
vntill the night, mother of confusion,
doth separate them from their blou-
die conflict, by a necessarie retreatte,
attending on both partes with impacient expectation the spring
of day, to execute to the vttermost the omitted combate: Euen
so our couragious Champions, hauing forborne the extremest
execution of the sharpe conflict of their tounge, begunne the day
passed, watched the returne of the next dawning, to be reuen-
ged: But principally the Maydens, who esteemed their inte-
rest hindered by the aduantage whiche the men had alled-
ged to suppress their iuste title: but that their libertie rested
equall to defende their cause the daye following. Which bee-
ing come immediatly, the Maydens first awaked, who tooke
the matter somewhat neare their heartes: And beeing firste
vp, with casting bottelles full of sweete waters, went to
salute their aduersaries, for their good morrowe, wyth an as-
perges of the veawe of Innocentes: and after the deliuerie
of a thousande onsettes, without all remission, and worse if
worse maye bee, in fiue, they concluded a peacible parle,
whiche gaue them leysure and meane to apparel them, whi-
che they had not so soone finished, but tyme vrged them to
repayre vnto the garden, where the Tables were couered
for dinner, vnder a triangle Arbour, at the foote whereof
was a goodly quicke set of Rose trees, enterlaced so thinke
P. as

as they resembled a bloomed benche: and at euery corner was an Image of a Satyre, holding in one hande a cuppe of Iaspar, so artificially vernished with Vermilion, as a man woulde haue thought it had béene full of Claret wine, and all the thrée seemed to drinke vnto three Nimphes, carued finely aboute a fountayne adioyning, hauing their horned heades leaning vp- on their other hands, and vnder hir taylor eche one had his Table. In the first was written,

In shrowde of shadie verdant vine,
 in wreathed braunches I
 Quaffing out cuppes of pleasaunt wine,
 with vpright face do lye:
 Approche my prettie dayntie trull,
 awhile let vs two kisse and cull.
 For as the tickell wheele doth glide,
 and force with beautie wans away:
 So youth without returne doth slide,
 and wormes vpon our fleshe shall pray.

And in the roundell of the seconde Satyre was to be read:

VVhy doo the Lillies fade away,
 and pleasant sentes resigne my graue:
 Let rather violets freshe and gay
 my tender heare enuiron braue.
 Bring heere to me my loue so faire,
 to quallifie my pining care,
 So as before the day when I
 must leade the daunce among the dead.
 All sorrowes from my sight may flye,
 and loye possesse my troubled head.

In the stone of the thirde Siluane was engraued:

Let vs conioyne in nuptiall bedde,
Citheria cladde in Roses fyne,

VVith

the seconde day.

VWith Bacchus smiling white and redde,
 and fraught our heades with drowsie wine:
 O pleasaunt deawe of flowers Queene,
 O deawe the fauour of the spring,
 Deawe deare delight of heauenly eyen,
 deawe crowning loue in euery thing.
 VWhen Bacchus giues the graces fayre
 his hande, and leades their daunces braue,
 My crest shall be of Roses rare,
 my head eke full of wine of graue:
 Then will I choose the fayrest out,
 and leade my selfe the daunce about.

In the midst of the threë drinkers, there stode a table of a rounde stone, about the whiche were many small Images of diuers formes and figures, whiche serued for stooles: but for the Cupborde was a young Shepheard, hauing his minion by the aperne, wherevpon a man might very properly set drinking glasses. The Shepheard had a fine place to set a bottell vpon the toppe of his scrippe, wherevpon was written.

VWhat thing, the elder that it growes,
 hath greater force and might?
 And stronger eke lesse malice showes,
 to harme the worldly wight?
 And most assayled most doth byte,
 Yet natures freende and loues delite?

And vpon the distaffe of the mayden, was a proper roome for a basen and ewer, whereouer these words were to be read:

VWhat can a speedie course maintaine,
 at all not hauing any feete,
 Or else still cackling noyses faine,
 without a toung for vtraunce meete,
 Yet still in earth and ayer prest,
 to spoyle it selfe for euery guest.

P. 11. The

The whole company béeing there assembled, they founde the Lady of ŷ place endeuoring by all meanes to make them good cheare: vnto whom Sir de Firme Foy and his companions dooing their duetie, sayd, Behold (Madame) how great cause we haue to complaine of you, in that you seke not to defend your friends, especially so neare vnto you (where they should finde most assurance) yet receiue neither equitie nor iustice. Howe so my friendes? (sayde the Lady.) Bicause (replied the Gentleman) that these Damoyseles féeing their causes iniuriéd somewhat by our yesterdayes talke, in place to haue reparation by iustice, haue vsed handle force, and by actuall meanes defended by the lawe, haue so outrageously made assault vpon vs this morning, as if you accuse vs, in that we haue made you so long to attende vpon your dinner: we haue iuste occasion to call them for our warrant, as the cause of our delay. No, no (sayde the Lady, smiling) if you haue somewhat lingered to come to dinner, you haue obtayned absolution by your long fasting. And touching the force & violence which might haue bin done vnto you, agaynst the right of harberage so holy and inuiolable, it is no credible matter, that two Maidens durst assaile three men: But I see who hath most cause to complaine. It were then better, Madame (sayd Syr Fleur d'Amour) that you should dismissee vs of the court, with straight defence to procéde any further, vpon payne to be punished as perturbers of publike peace. I appeale (sayd Mistresse Mary) for I will neuer consent you shall so lightly cary away the siluer game, but doo require it may be permitted vnto me to defende the cause of women, who were yesterday so greatly blamed by you. It is a great matter, replied Sir bel Aceueil, how these Maidens continually desire quarrels and contention: but as the Poets affirme, Mars the God of warre was borne of Juno, without any company of man, to declare that women alonely by their proper motion without any prouocation of men, do forge debates, which is in mine opinion, the cause wherfore ŷ Turkes would suffer no women to enter into their Paradise. Is that possible, said the Lady, I pray you report more of these news vnto vs. Then ech one tooke his place

the seconde day.

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place at the table, & the Gentleman began to declare briefly, how two Angells, being sente from God, to come and viewe how all things were demeaned here belowe, they trauailed towardes Egipt, where they sawe a woman of excellent beautie, who was walking all alone vnto hir Farme house, whose beauty so rauished them, as they estéemed the Heauens vnhappye in respecte of the Earthe. And communicating the one to the other, their newe conceyued affection, (for Spirites knowe all, and nothing maye be dissembled or hidden from them) they consented to be companions in loue. Wherefore féeling their desire to kindle, the nearer they approched vnto this burning obiecte, they coulde not so well maister their wills, as hauing ouertaken the Dame, they requyred hir not of loue, declaring vnto hir, that shée shoulde pleasure no vile persons, for they were Angells of Heauenly Nature (as they gaue hir presently certaine testimony,) and woulde not be vngratefull to acknowlege thys courtesie, and that she should finde it so, they graunted hir whatsoever she woulde demaunde. Wherevnto the dame (who estéemed not these diuinities worthy of hir fauoure, for women are of suche nature, as they make none accompte of an honeste suter, commending more some loutishe clowne, as wée see among Wolues, the bitche maketh hir choice of the moste vile, leane, and deformed dog,) made answeere, that shée thought hir person greatly honoured of so gainefull a match, and was readye to reste in all, and by all meanes at their will and pleasure, so that for their partes they woulde keepe their promise: Whereof she woulde be assured, before she woulde passe anye further, bycause she had no such power of constraint ouer them, as they had vpon hir. Nowe the requeste she made vnto them in lieu of hir loue, was, that they shoulde learne hir the prayer whiche they said to mount into Heauen. Wherevnto the Angels chafing in their harnesse, willinglye agréed, and tolde it hir worde by worde, so distinctly, as the woman pronouncing it, felte hir selfe sodainely eleuate by an vnknownen force: whereof the Angells astonied, and acknowleging their faulte, ranne after to staye hir, saying vnto hir, that Cupido dwelt not anye more in

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heauen:

the seconde day.

shew, looking now with a full face, thē w^t halfe a face, & sometime hidden, making a longer & swifter course in one moneth, than al the other heauenly bodies in a whole yere: yet sometime this curious womā spieth & prieth to vnderstad what decrees passe in y^e council of the gods, fro whence being repvlsed & deprived of hir purpose, she thundereth out threatning & iniurious garboiles, so as y^e inflamed choller of hir mischeuous mind, which she disgorgeth in hir furious madnesse, is euidently verified by the rattling thuder & flashing lightning among bs here seeng & heard, proceeding fro their enuious stomacke. And bycause y^e superior bodies haue obtained by consēt of a generall councill permission to impart vnto their friends on earth some influence of their naturall good, or euill dispositio: It ensueth therupon y^e this woman being y^e motiue intelligence of hir planet, imparteth hir naturall conditions vnto y^e inferior creatures of hir kind (which are the wome of this world,) who therupon are called Curious, Wandering, Mutable, Quarellous, & in one word to speake truly, Lunaticke. Wherefore of right they ought not to be receued into the habitatio of the blessed: for certainly al maner of other creatures shall sooner enter into this Paradise, thā a woman: for as we reade y^e entrance of heauen was denied to a woman, and the beast which carried Mahomet into Paradise, was receued in, so wonderfully the gods fear this mischief. So as by y^e which hath bin declared without prosecution of y^e Angels punishmet for telling tales out of schoole, or without discourse at large what women do in Alcorans hell, (where they haue none other pleasure or pastime, but to accuse y^e soules of poore men) we wil conclude, y^e women are only sent vppon earth, to be a plague and tormen vnto men: vnto whom God in recompence of the felicitie he hath imparted vnto them: hathe giuen thys mischief, for a strong counterpeise of so greate a benefitte: for alwayes hee mingleth the one with the other, fro whence springeth y^e whiche y^e wise Romaine said, if the world wer without wome, it shuld no more be a world of men, but of Gods: but the heaues haue decreed y^e with wome me shuld liue in paine, and without women, man cannot liue at al: thys euill is so necessarye. Whervnto maistress Margarite answered

Syr

heauen. But as when birds in enmitie pursue eche other, ^e y^e whiche maketh most forceable & swiftest wing, ouerflieth ^e y^e reste, so this woma rauished in spirit & body, through this new miracle, seeing ^e y^e soules pursue hir, had no recourse for hir safegard, but vnto hir oratio, which she babbled so by huddles, as ^e y^e angels (not hauing so nimble tungs as women) could not ouertake hir, but wer forced to tary far behind. Wherby it fortuneth ^e y^e the little deuils & spirits of ^e y^e aire, which had charge to make ^e y^e sentinell in heaue, of whom some ^e y^e watch to espie at ^e y^e lowpe holes of euery star fastened thereto with a siluer chaine, as me tye Laterns to windowes, made outcrie ^e y^e they discouered fro far some vnaccustomed thing there seen: but they knew not what, & ech one asked his fellows aduise therein: for (said they) it is no angel, nor any

of

^e y^e Tritons, or Giants, which sometime wold haue scaled heauen to win it, nor any deuill, & yet it lacketh nothing but hornes, and in these argumentes fearing to be taken vnprouided they cried for feare, Arme, arme, arme. Then a mightie Balaser whiche was Corporal, came forth of ^e y^e body of ^e y^e guard, demanding Que vala, vnto whom this terrible beast was shewed, stealing through the Watch & was staid, bicause it knew not ^e y^e watchword, vntill the counsels pleasure was knowen. The which being assembled, fel into great dispute: for (some said) it was a woman, & ^e y^e it was vnconuenient to conuey hir to the earth again, except we will haue hir disclose all that she hath seene here, for she had rather die,

thā

refraine babling, especially if she be charged to holde hir peace. Other wer of opinion to vse ^e y^e Monks order towards hir, which licence such as are priuie of the gouernnets to departe in peace. Wherevnto Destiny answered, ^e y^e the time was not yet expired. What now: (answered another) she must not be suffered to come here among vs, for by hir curiositie, she wil neuer cease to sowe dissention & debate among vs, & happily we may fal to quarreling who shal possesse hir. In fine, after many reasons alleaged of one parte & another, it was agreed, ^e y^e some place of abode shoulde be appointed for this importune woma, & ^e y^e most conuenient place ^e y^e might be deuised for hir, was the Moone, which hath bin so turmoiled by this wandering guest, as it hath had neuer since any rest, not knowing what forme to beare, or what countenance to

shew

Sir, you muste seeke eares addicted to fictions, if you desire to aduance youre fables to estimation. For if they finde no better lodging, than in thys companye, they are like to haue colde harbor. But to ouerthrowe and destroy the foundation, whiche in your iudgement you haue so surely builded: I pray you if a woman were so great an euill as you affyrme, wherfore is it that the auncientes whiche haue liued so happily, haue had more women than men, that liue at this present? for if youre saying didde beare Palme, it woulde ensue, that hauyng hadde more women, they ought to haue more harme, and that they were most fooles among them whiche woulde haue most women: whereof it must be inferred, that Salomon surnamed the wise, was very foolish to take a thousande, since hée had too much of one. But of necessitie we muste be compelled to stay vppon thys false proposition, which we might easily confute, if we would but slight-ly vnrippe the matter, yea and approue that the originall euill is entred into the worlde, by the gate whiche man hathe opened thereunto: the which, neuerthelesse hath bin locked againe, by the remedy, the woman hathe broughte in the happy houre whiche god hathe imparted vnto hir: for that it is saide, that the restorer, enemy to the maligne serpent, did spring of the seede of the woman, and not of the man. Ho loe good lorde, what an interpreter are you growne maistresse (replied Sire Bel Acoeuil) I beléeue some spirite of diuination, yea one of the subtileste is entred into you, but I truste youre glose will be founde a graine to light: for touching that you alleadge the pluralitie of women whiche were among men in times paste, it is to be noted, it was for the small accompte menne made of them. So as the Turkes by the same reaso, haue as many as they can nourish, & do vse them as their drudges: but to the end you shal not thinke that I build onely vpon the reasons and examples of Paynims, I pray you tel me, reade we in the holy scripture, that euer woman was honoured with holy baptisme? or that oure Lorde commaunded they shoulde be admitted to come vnto the holy mystery of his blessed supper? And folowing the examples of the most excellent of the Apostles, hath he not expresly forbidden them all
diuine

diuine actes, as to preach and teach, to shewe that they are vn-worthy: and imitating thys example, the wise Braemans chaced them out of their schooles. But to wade further, haue we in holy writings any testimony, that there be women in Paradyse? or haue you hearde speake of Angelesses, Cherubinesses, or Seraphinesses: the whiche notwithstanding I knowe to bee an error of the Saduceans, whom the diuine wisdom hath satisfied. But it is evidently knowen, ŷ they receiue punishment in an other world, for the mischief they haue done vnto vs: & if you demaund what, for their offences their tongues are drawne oute. Truly (said the lady) your tong hath none other thing to do, but blame others, in blaming to get comendation of wel saying: but a man cannot say wel in speaking amisse. Madam (answered the Gentleman) if I haue spoken too largely, I besech you excuse me: considering I am ŷ son of a woman, who hath left me this faire heritage. Althoughe I thinke (replied the Lady) you will neuer starte from vs, poore women, yet wil we make you holde youre peace. No, no (said ŷ Gentlewomen) hee is sufficiently punished for ŷ offence he hath done, for he hath dined byhart, for ŷ affection he had to speake euill of women. Thus you see (answered the Gentleman) that I liue not by Loue, as other do: then bega they al to laughe, & rising fro ŷ table, they walked two or three turnes about ŷ garde alleis: the went they to refresh the vnder the shadow of a Rosemary border, wher being al assebled, ŷ Lady holding a branch of Laruel, about ŷ which al kind of flowers were boud in fashion of an horne of abundace, she said vnto hir daughter. My friend, we remeber you promised to defend as largely ŷ cause of wome, as it was canuassed yesterday by these vngratious youths, which are come to make war aganst vs. And behold now ŷ houre wherein you must take your reuenge, assuring my selfe ŷ the whole copany will not deny you (curteous audience.) Wherevnto the damoyzell aunswered, Mother, (not calling hir Madam) as those that are so well taught, that to heare them, men wil say they are bastards) I humbly thanke you, that with your fauor you haue graunted me the thing I woulde haue demaunded. And since by the gifte of this scepter, you graunte and

N. permit

The second days pleasure.

Permit me to assay to succor $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ honor of women, for wante of so many good knights, which wer went to defend them (whose race is dead, & in their places are sprung vp extortures, & sworn enemies of their good right,) I shal beséech this company to supplie my default, for I cofesse the peysant burthe of this charge, & the puissance of mine aduersarie, are more than sufficient to confute me, if I were not aided & succoured by the equitie of my cause, which of it selfe defendeth it selfe. The which (if it find any place in your good iudgement, as I truste it will) I firmly assure my selfe, $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ as Ariadne with hir thréed, or Sibilla with hir boughe, I shall conduct you with this scepter vnto the Mansion where the truth so long hidden dothe inhabite, the which sage Democritus searched in the bottome of a well. Giue then I pray you more regarde vnto my reasous (which haue none other stay to vpholde them, but the simple veritie,) than to the hony of the counterfeite words of mine aduersary, (who as the crafty fowler sweeteneth his voice to deceiue:) and do not like Midas, who praised more the swéetnesse of the pipe, than the grauitie of the lute. Also bycause (you men) are in this place Iudges in your own cause, suffer not your selues to be surmounted by particular affection, as Teresias did, who was blind both in spirite, and body. And remeber what torture the son of Cirus caused the wicked iudge to endure. I beséech you also mother (whose singular prudence oughte to moderate our controuersie) to imitate the excellent Monarch, who so long as the plaintife pleaded, did stop his one eare, saying he reserved it for the defendant, equally departing his fauor. And the it shall bee easie for me to declare, that the disasters whiche holde Loue at the bay, happen only by the defaults of men, as you may clearelye perceiue by the brieve discourse of a maruellous historie, chaunced wythin a smal tyme. Then hauing made a little pause she began thus.

The second Hystorie.

It is no strange matter $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ a totall, firmly coniuēt & assēbled, should maintaine it selfe by his vnion, but also encrease in
force

force & puissaunce, as the good father at his death instructed hys children, by the similitude of a bundle of arrowes wel bound together. But it is a thing worthy of great admiration, to see one parte separate & dismembred from his totall, to shewe it selfe as puissaunt as if it were vnited, considering $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ Nature (according to the opinion of Empedocles) exerciseth none other mean to subuertere & destroy al his creatures, but discord and disiunctio. This is the cause why it ought not to seeme wonderfull, though Rome being in times paste the head & best part of the world, hath not only bin vanquished, but victorious ouer all. But all men maye with me be abashed, $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ this Romaine Monarchie (hauing conquered it selfe by diuisions and partitions, and as the head of Hidra) dismembred into so many peeces, yet the euery of the partes maintaineth it selfe so prosperously, as Almaine (where shineth the principall portion of the crowne of this Westerne Empire) is not onely feared aboue all of hir confines & neighbors, but al the partes thereof, which resemble little Realmes, dare resiste the forces of most mighty princes, being preserued by a soueraigne wisdome, of right to elect such to gouerne them, as seeme meete in their conceits, wherin these little kings behaue them so well, as they locke the gate of ambition, knowing it is $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ death and destruction of al estates and seignories: Therof proceedeth the glorie of so many victories, wherwith this natio is honored. Therof groweth the abundant wealth wherein, euerye of these seignories do flowe, & the beautifull Cities, wherw^t they bee in euery part replenished. Now among the most noble & splendant Townes, wherby Almania is renowned, Mens (in mine opinion) oughte of right to obtaine the firste place of praise, aswell for $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ beautie of the buildings, as for the neighbourhoode of the riuier of Rhine: whiche causeth the trade and traffique to enriche it meruellouslye, and yeldeth vnto it parte of the commodities of strange Countreys. There not long agone were two families of Marchauntes, notable among the rest, aswell for their gret welth, as auintient reputatio. Of whom $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ one had one only son named Herman, very vertuous, curteous, & wel accomplished.

N. ij.

wyth

with natures gifts as might be desired: the other an only daughter beautifull & wel taught, called Fleuria. These marchants (as men see ordinarily,) that like will to like (if enuie gainsay it not were destined to vnite their houses, by the alliance of their children, whervnto it seemed the heauenly decrees did lend their dub consents, hauing indued the two parties with equall age, goods, beautie, & conditions, & also like & conforme in Loue, as farforth as their childehoode could permit, the which hauyng from theyr tender youth happily planted their deepe rootes being carefullie sowed by the priuities of a mutuall conuersation, aspired to none other end for his perfection, tha to product of this flower desired fruit, & to aduace the season according to the ardent desire & deuotion of the parents. But alas, when they were at point to alter this pleasant hope into assurance, fortune was opposite to so great good hap. For you shall vnderstande (gratious companie) that in the house of the maiden there dwelt a gallant yong prentize named Ponifre, who being his maisters factour & foreman of the shop, had often tymes none other businesse but to beholde passengers, and to marke among women, whose beautie gained the principall feate in hys particular iudgement, & by hymselfe to choose what death he had lieuest dye. But after long & attentive choices, he confessed in his hart, that the saint sought so far was harde at hande: For wythout doubte his yong maistresse surpassed as far the reste of the Townish damoyssels, as y Moone surmounted the brightest starres. And indeede she contented his fantasie so exceedingly, as whether hee had fired his eis too earnestly vpon hir, (which men say serueth for the principal presage in Loue_ or whether the thing it selfe was such, as it constrained him to surrender his consent, or whether his loytering leysure induced hym to occupy hys ydle braine, and to busie himselfe, he could not do otherwyse, than from thenceforth wittout contradiction abaddon his body and soule vnto the mercy of Loue, who after he hadde for a season kepte hym at the baye, and fedde him the firste course of his ordinary table, which are mute regardes, vncertaine sighs, melancoly conceites, with a silence which trasporteth the spirite a mile beyonde the worlds ende, gaue him an
appetite

appetite vnto more delicate foode, and fed hym with more nourishing dainties. So as the faire fire of Fleuria, being so neare hym, embraced him so liuely, as it constrained him to determine a resolution too hautie for his feeble forces, that is to saye, to require of hir the guages, whiche they that fight vnder the ensignes of Loue, doe accepte for their safety. And howe muche more the mistrust of him selfe, recoyled his ententions by foolish feare, so muche more sharply this proude tamer of spirites girded him in the flanke with the spurres, as he was forced to flee all difficultie, whatsoever might be manyfest. O howe willingly he called hir Mistresse, bicause that tearme is customarie to louers: but more gladly assayed he to make his words effectuell by some seruisable dutie. Notwithstanding, the simple Maiden, who knewe not what loue ment, regarded not his courtesies, neither had the capacitie to marke I know not what particular affection: The whyche the factor considering, incontinently made his reckning that it behoued him to speake clearly, and not betweene his teeth, if he would practise surely, and made a happy conquest of hir good graces. Wherefore with newe apparell, taking newe counsayle, he made him fine and braue, he kembed, he froted, he frised, and prinked him in his glasse, and carefully set euery poynt in as neate maner as loue could instruct him: then béeing disposed vnto all hardinesse, he sought time and place to take hir alone, where finding hir, with a trembling tounge he discouered vnto hir in as good order as he could possibly, all that he had heard saye of the forces of loue, which spared no person, yea and that which is worse, without any discretio this blinde God delighteth to allie small things w^t great, forcing kings to fauor popular beautie, & for his pastime constrayneth Goddesses to abandon the heauens, to embrace the pleasure of a gentle Shepheard in his rusticall cottage. Wherefore Mistresse (sayde he) I beseeche you thinke it not straunge, if the perfections which nature hath bestowed on you, to make men meruayle at hir giftes in you, haue so subiected and forced my youthfull desires, as for my last refuge I am constrained to implore your pitifull grace? Alas Mistresse, I know
N.iiij. well

well you esteeme me very rashe and vnaduised to plant mine affections in so hawty degree: but I can rightly aduertise you, that if you accept nothing but that which is worthy of your beautie, you muste ascende into heauen, for it is neuer to be founde here belowe. With suche and like talke this young man would haue persuaded his newe Mistresse, vntill with a cruell looke and shamefast countenance, enflamed with choler and disdayne, she closed his mouth, and after a rude threatning, gaue him suche a bone of repentaunce to chewe vpon, for his too headlong hardynesse, as béeing left alone, hauing by silence supported a pearcing rage, he resembled one of the damned soules in time past that Iupiter threwe into the bottomlesse lake by force of his vengeable lightning, séeing nowe his way closed vp by the which other louers founde the most sure accesse vnto the ende of their desires. For since Maydens which harken, and castels that consent to parle (as the Prouerbe sayth) doo easily agréé to composition, it ensueth rightly that a deafe woman is vneasie to winne. Alas, although this blinde louer séeth and confesseth these things to be true, neuerthesse resolued in his obstinate desire, he had this good determination, somewhat to season his trauayled vaynes, that he woulde neuer lose his courage, but would make full accompt, that obstinate time, whiche surmounteth all, might likewise surmount the most rebellious chastities, considering that women do gladly yéeld their fauours vnto a stedfast and faithfull suter. But what? (sayd he, comforting himselfe) the Grecians lay before Troy tenne yéeres, and yet in the ende it was taken, euen when they thought it moste impregnable, and the enimies had raised their siege. So though the takying of thys fortresse bée difficill, yet it is harde to saye, that it is vnpossible to bée wonne. Goode hearte then take courage, the victorie is so muche more glorious, as the fight is painefull and dangerous, and happily one good houre maye chaunce vnlooked for. What? is it not often séene, that the Hare which could not be taken by Grayhoundes in course, thrusteth hir head into y^e snare which is laide for hir. Under these persuasions the louer sought all meanes to bring his purpose to effect,

but

but (God saue the Moone from the Wolfe) it profited as much as if he had washed a crow to make hir white. For as the prudent Greekes stopped their eares against the enchauting songs of the pyping Syrenes: so likewise this vertuous youngling, (whose sage youth ought to be a myrror vnto y^e eldest) made hir hearing deafe vnto his sugred talke, imitating the prudent Aspe, who as the princely Prophet sayth, stoppeth hir eare with hir taylor, that she may not heare the sound of hir deceitfull enemye. The which gaue our suter cause, to thinke that which he had often heard say, that what demeanour or countenance soeuer Maidens shew, they are very easie to be loued, esteeming them selues louely. And yet shame founded vpon I knowe not what opinion of honour, suffereth them not to agr^ee vnto that which chiefly they desire, which causeth them the to craue willingly y^e men shuld force the, therby to shadow their willing consentes. Wherof the example of Medea, Helene, Ariadne, & a thousande millions moe (that haue caused them selues to be rauished) doth beare witness. For this cause he thought it great folly to consume himselfe with hope, and perpetually to languish in bel^eefe and excessiue expences, wherat his suttle Loue might happily smile in hir sle^eue, but rather to abado al cowardlinesse, and to seaze vpon his pray by a delicate force in assurance of his pretended good luck. But this vnaduised folly brued his owne bane, & put his life in hazard, for at the cry of the maiden the mother came running, vnto whom at the first blushe she purposed to accuse this violence, & to sell dearely the foolish enterprise of this importune princox. Neuerthelesse, sodenly considering the sequele and importance of the fact, she thought it better at that instaut to procede therein more gently: for if she had purchased so great mischefe to him which offended not but by too much loue, what would she haue don to hir enemye? Wherefore fayning a feare, for it was in a dark corner, by hir sage disimulation she conuerted al choler into laughter. Ah inuincible chastitie, oughtest thou to haue bin accompanied with so great curtesie as in place of c^oplaint which thy right deserued, to passe w^h ieste that which deserued cruel vengeance? Alas that thy gret bounty cost thee

thee so deare, for in sparing thy foolish friend thou haste lefte I know not what hope, which thou oughtest to haue rashed vp by the rootes, knowing that a small sparke of fyre, remayning is sufficient to renue the flame which al men supposed to be extinct. Behold now our braue Louer to al séeing ouerthrowen without recouerie, where he lyeth frustrate of all sense, séeing his sighes vanished in the ayre, his paynes vngratefully loste, and so euill successe of his attempt. Notwithstanding, hoping in despite of all hope, although he coulde catche nothing, neither at the bounde nor volue, and that this flinty chastitie (more able to repaire, than hir assailaunt to make breach,) daye by day shaped him newe businesse, determind to ayde his suite by some Dariolet, which men call by cleanly conueiaunce, furtherers of loue, but in playne tearmes, bawdes. I woulde not speake thus grossely, if the perfection of mine historie bounde me not thereto, to shew you that this prentice in Loue grewe such a graund master at the first blowe, as he forgot no practise, and was furnished of this meane, esteeming it most expedient: for besides that he had heard saye, howe these abusers were expert to make traffique of such miserable marchaundize, conducting people to hell, like vnto Sibilla in olde time, the sée- med to him very necessarie to take away the vayle of shame, which onely hindered Fleuria to say yea. In this deuotion one Sondag comming to the parish church, he bourded an olde mother Bée, who solde candell of consideraunce, praying hir to giue him light in this businesse, the mistinesse whereof troubled his braynes very sore. Wherevnto she willingly agréed, (as in deede they are no nigardes of promises) and for the effect thereof assigned him a certayne place of méeeting, after highe Masse was ended: during whiche time his eyes, gréedily fired vpon his faire Mistresse, solde vnto him (as men say) the skin before the beast is taken, assuring him selfe of the thing, wherof he was most vnassured. The houre expired, with diligence he went to finde this olde Gibbe, vnto whom in fourme of auricular confession, he vnripped the whole matter from ende to ende, crauing hir aduice what meane was moste expedient to
bring

bring to effect his obstinate conclusion, which was, eyther to dye or enjoy his Ladies loue, whervnto their dayly conuersation, béeing both harbored vnder one roofe, did neyther yælde fauour nor aduantage (as it chaunceth very oft, that those of most familiar acquaintance, willingly loue little.) Furthermore, that he had to deale with a partie whose rigorous conditions and sterne complexion, beside the diligent attendance of a mother, whose careful eye continuallye watched hir, as the Dragon the golden apples of Hesperia, gainsayde all hope. Then aunswere olde Beldame: very well, it is all one, let me deale, if she will not yælde by nature, I will compell hir by hooke or crooke. Discomforte not your selfe for the matter, for there is nothing but maye be finished trauaile. She is not more terrible than Lions or Tygres, which in time are tamed and brought to hande. But take this for an article of your Crede, you must be secret in all your doings, and neuer report any thing of a woman till hir funerall. As a healthfull medicine taken by the patient that is desirous of recouerie, driueth away the burning feuer, which scaldeth his weake lymmes, euen so this consolation did moderate the impatient desires, which like an vnbridled horse caried away their maister. And vpon this assurance Ponifre gaue a golden fee vnto his olde attorney, who watching hir time, employed all hir wicked inuentions which she had by long vse and practise collected. But in fewe wordes to shewe you, all hir sorceries serued to so small effect, and euery thing fell out so contrarie and discordant to the purpose, as in fine perceyuing she was short of the reckening which she thought to haue raised vnto hir to tal sum, she was constrained to surrender a piteous aunswere vnto hir Client, yelding him as great ioy as the sentence of death pronounced vpon a criminall offender, wherewith he was so touched to the quicke, as from thenceforth he had consented vnto his proper ruine, seeing all his deuises succède so peruersly as if he had bene borne in the wane of the Moone, but that he sodenly conceyued in his fantasie (as he that desired to leaue no stone vnturned, but to prooue euery practice) that

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it behoued him yet to obtaine the aide of a Magician, vnto whom he imagined nothing to be vnpossible: The conuierer demaunding in hand a round sum of money (which he would finger before he would meddle with the matter) assigned thys miserable loue a time & place, where by the efficacy of certain carrecters he would enforce his cruel mistresse in hir despight to yeelde hir person at his commaundement and pleasure. The leping out of his lobby in deformed order, barhead & barefoot, making diuers turnes and returnes about a churchyard, mumbling the Diuels paternoster, like an old ape, composing certaine pointes with a wand in the dust, he did so much by force of his coniurations, shewes, exorcismes and inuocatioes, as he charmed the immaginatie fantasie of his man, in such sort as he caused him to lye with a shadowe whiche by nigromancie he had intierly forced to take the shape of Floria. During this false delight, the inchaunted loue distraughtly beheld with stedfast eyes the faire semblaunce of his loue, now meruelling at the beautiful curles of hir frised heare, then at hir angelical face, now at hyr allabastrine throte, then at hir round delicate duges, nowe at hir luorine armes and al other partes which perfect beautie rendereth meruellous, so as after he had made a superficiall anothomy of thys prety miracle, al rauished wyth contentment, he would haue thrown his amorous armes about the necke of this fained beautie: but y^e inchaughtment being now approched vnto the terme appointed therunto by the sorcerer, sodainely finished, so as this beautiful body vanished away amid the imbrasing of hir amorous loue, like vnto a bubble of water caused by a puffe of winde: and all this pleasure passed like a shadowe or a dreame in the night, leauing the poore senselesse sot so astonied, as if by good fortune he had not bin laid, he had tubled backward in a soud. And I belieue this charme whose strange effecte I haue recited, shal not seeme vnto you (honourable audience,) erring fro^o truth, if you haue neuer so smal regard vnto the power whiche God hath giuen the Diuell to tempt, euen those whome he most loueth, as we haue examples in holye bookes. And if
you

you be remembred, the most auntient histories make mention, that English Merlin was begotten betwixte the Diuel and a woman: & before him deuine Plato was cocelued of a Virgine by a spirite: wherunto that agræeth which is written of the women of Gothes, who in the deserts of Scithia were gotten wyth child by shadowes & forrest Diuels. We may annexe here vnto the tale which Cardanvs reporteth of a Scotish woman who a familiar spirite vsed to accomanie carnally, by whom she was deliuered of a moster. The like happened not long sithece vnto Magdalene the daughter of Constancius. Notwithstanding, my Historie passeth not so far forth: as I wil maintayne that they can ingender, aswel bycause our religion defendeth vs to belieue that anye but Iesus Christe alone, was euer borne without the sêede of man, as also bycause nature hath not imparted to spirites distinction of kinde: but I can iustly affirme, aswel by the example of this true Historie, as by the authority of good authours, especiacly of Lactantius, that they maye haue carnall communication, to contaminate and polute humaine creatures, vnto whom they are protested and sworne enimies. Let vs not then thinke it vnpossible that the maligne serpent, who (as Saint Paul sayth) transformeth hys shape into an Angel of lighte to deceiue vs, wyll not also resemble the personage of an Harlot, to glut in the vnsatiabie delight of lubricitye, the sinner whom he had already wonne, and minister the meane vnto him to execute the wickedness first so inspired in his hart. Nowe to returne to our Ponifre. After he had long tyme remayned in a sweating extasie wythout knowledge of hymselfe, at last, by little and little he opened the eyes of hys vnderstanding, and acknowledging that since hee hadde betaken his credite vnto a deceiuer, it was no meruayle though he hadde payde hym with hys coyne, whyche is Illusion and false semblaunte. Wherefore partlye ashamed, and partely dyspyghted of hys dotishe erreure, hee arose, and in place to desyste from hys vnfortunate pursute, he entertained an enraged wyll to persyste more effectuallye than before, indyng that worse coulde not lightlye happen vnto hym.

D.i.j.

Thus

Thus hardening his heart against his owne mischief, he broched his wittes to inuent newe meanes. Firse he intended to experiment Paris herbe, or foure leaued grasse, or the composition of some witchcraft to induce hir loue, esteeming the famour meane to be true, wherwith Venus coupleth louers, or the true doue which she gaue to Iason, to winne the fauour of Medea, although Pindarus seemed to vnderstande it otherwise, or the very apples wherewith runnagate Attalanta was stayed and taken. Notwithstanding, premeditating the inconueniences which ensued such ministrations, whereby many by their vndiscrete zeale haue deliuered death for loue, as Deianira, and Lucretia, the Poets beare witnessse, by their peruerse aduentures, he woulde not hazarde hir vnto the mercy of poyson, for whome he endured a thousande deathes. But as there is nothing so malicious or vnnaturall, which findeth not place in the heart of man, and principally of him whiche abandoneth his reason vnto his vnbrideled appetites, he concluded for the last meane, to ayde his follye by a wickednesse so monstrous and horrible, as the Deuils good grace durst neuer haue premised: Whiche was, to find meanes eyther by morny or fayre promises, or by other subtill deuises to wyne the maides of the house, which without great paines yelded their good willes, so inclined to his deuotion, as they promised all their fauours and assistance so farre forth as their promise coulde intende. And vpon this wicked foundation they raysed a peruerse building, for they conspired together to make the poore virgin drunken, the next day hir mother shulde be from home, which was easie for them to do, aswell for the credite she had in these trayterous chamberers, who brewed her beuerage with some secret mixture, as also bicause the maner and custome of the countrie permitteth, yea, and accounteth it a vertue to drinke deuoutly, whiche might somewhat excuse hir. Oh howe wise were our forefathers to forbidde wyne so strictly vnto their children, and much more to their wiues, so that for drinking wine, they deserued defame, and being taken with the maner, it was lawfull to kisse their mothes,

whereas

whereas otherwise men kissed but their eyes, to shewe that wine drinkers were apt to further offence. And this vse was ordayned, as though wine wrapped secretes so, that to kisse a woman on the mouth, signified the speache of their soules by the windowes thereof. Euen so by the lawe of Moses a father alledged a very sufficient reason vnto the people to stone hys sonne to death, accusing him to be a drunkarde. For in déede if we will search the mischiefes that proceede of wine we shal conclude that sithence Noe thought he had done euill in planting the vine, Licurgus of good right caused it to be rooted vp, as finding no greater enimie of humaine reason than wyne, sithence it resembleth men vnto beastes, some vnto Lions, as Alexander, who by the only vice of dronkenesse reformed yet by a sodain repentaunce, darkened al the splendant Uertues which made him so to shyne: other into swyne, as Marke Anthonie, and many moe. Let vs not then finde it strange though the simple youth of this Almaine damosell, hauing taken too much wine, yelded hir body vnto the shamelesse luxurie of hir suter, who fynding this poore creature abandoned to hys wyll and discretion, had comodious season to glut his vnbridled and cormorant desire with the aide of the Chāberers, ministers of his infamous voluptuousnesse. And it is no cause of abashment though this wicked wretch toke pleasure to defile a masse of fleshe alienate from all sensibility, sithence that sensualitie hath oftentimes so enraged diuerse, as it hath imboldened them to quench their gredy lubricity vpon dead carcasses, which liuing made liuely resistace vnto their leudenes. Wherefore the enraged thirst of this brutall louer cause this troubled water to sême so delightful vnto him, y of this cōiunctiō proceded a conception of childe, the vnknown burthen wherof so abashed our simple Floria, ignorant from whence she had pylfered hir packe, as she supposed, that nature being offended would procreat in hir some prodigeous Monster, making hir a mother before she was a wife. And when time (which ripeneth all fruites) had so swolne hir prety belly, as she coulde no longer hide it, all drowned in teares, she declared vnto hir mother

ther that she thought hir self with child, hauing neuerthelesse neuer had the knowledge of man: wherat the mother beyng grieuously displeasid, vsed the equitie and right giuen vnto hir by nature: but seing there was no remedie in an act committed, but that according to the wise mans saying, a mischief must be prudently preuented, and being once happened, patiently supported, she assayed by threatnings, compulsion, and many other meanes, to make hir daughter disclose the author of thys infamy, to the ende shee might in time prouyde and procure some reparation of hir credite. But the poore wenche being at that instant wholly bereaued of remembrance, persisted in hir ignoraunce, affirming she knew not how she came in that case, neyther had felt any thing belonging ther-vnto. Neuerthelesse she felt right well the paines of hir tra-uaille, which she supported very couragiously, as she who being euyll experimented in so extreame passions, attended steadfastly that wished death woulde performe a violent end of hir life, and vnderued shame: for you shall note (gracious companie) that although all things were as secretly conuayed as was possible, yet was the fame therof imediately blased abroade, for birdes (as those that bewrayed the death of Paliades, or dogges (as that which disclosed and reuenged the mind of his maister, before the king of Persia) wil rather speake, than such affaires shoulde be vndiscovered. Which was the cause, that through the town all men talked of Floria hir beyng with childe, and if two persons were seene whispering together, it was easie to deuine whervpon they spake. The which so greatly grieued the yong gentleman Herman (who loued Floria feruently, and pretended to wedde hir, as I haue recited in the beginning of myne historie) as for sorowe and anger to heare such sinister reportes, he departed into the countrie, where leading a solitarie life, he began bitterly to repent the great loue he had imparted vnto a creature so disloyall, as by a false semblant yelded apparance of an imcomparable chastitie: but like suche as comming to a feast with full stomache, shew smal appetite before the worlde, and in corners fraunch in their nuntions franklye. Then remembring the
graces

graces & perfect lineaments before time invoked in his Floria, loue constrained him to accuse his rigorous opinion, to excuse hir whom euery man blamed: and lyke a blind man this loue bounde closely his eyes, least he shoulde viewe the acte which haply might blemishe his sight, so as his mynde being turmoyled in vncertaine iudgements, he surrendred the aduantage of his cause vnto peruerse equity. Alas said he (biting his tongue) must I not terme all women deceyures, sithence by this I haue bene abused? & say that what fained likelihood so euer they shew, their flitting fantasies entertaineth loue no longer than they behold the thing beloued, so as with the presence they lose all remembrance yeelding their fauours immediately to euery one as their leysures serue them, like vnto looking glasses which indifferently represent all figures and impressions so long as the bodies are opposit and obiect before the, the which, such glasses are sodainly ready to forgo, to dispose the to represent other shapes presented before them. And herein y^e testimony of the wise king of Iuda maye satisfie vs, who called the vnsatiabie gulfs. So as it is a gret ouerwening vnto a mā to promise himself a shamefast womā, cosidering it is a thing rarer than the only Phenix. Neuer could y^e mightiest Emperours y^e euer bare crowne encounter so great a tresure. True it is (according to the opinio of those y^e wish man most good) y^e shee maye be almost chast, y^e hath nothing wherfore to be required, nor hath neuer had the hardines to require. In so much (as by the prudent Romain Emperour) the good disuigured, resebleth the hen whose plumage is despised & the flesh esteemed: but the beautifull woman is like the Ermine, whose skinne is estimable, and carcas carion. So as there is so great enmity betwixt beauty & bounty, as they neuer remaine together in one mansion. And al that is reported of Lucreisie, Cassā, dra, & others, are but fayned fables. Wherfore we must conclude, that nature hath engendered the worme to gnaw vpon our dead carcasses, & wome to feed vpo our liuing bodies, our substance & renoume, giuing the fredome to liue among me as vnprofitable drone amog bees. Thus this desolate loue discharged his sorow, & vometed his venim against womākind.

Nowe this rural life in short time made him loke so pale and deformed, as it pitied al such as saw him: the cause wherof being known vnto his father, gaue him occasio to determin some meanes for the prouision of his sons health. And calling him into his closet secretely, he shewed him howe much Floria had forgotten hir duetie by a crime sufficient inough to breake of the alliaunce which before time they had attempted. Wherefore, sayde he vnto him, choose thèe one among the troupes of townysh virgins whom thou best fanciest, to recompence the wrongs of Floria. Wherefore Herman, as one wel taught, redered his will vnto the good pleasure of his father, of whose graue counsel he determined to make experience, vtterli renoucing his owne fonde fantasie: which caused the good olde man in shorte time to finde out a beautifull and riche wife for hys sonne, discended of worshipful linage, named Carita: whereof ensued a sodain mariage, with so happy entraunce into house-kepung, as all theyr couetousnesse was onely to reioyce theyr mindes with the tender imbrasings and delicate courtesies rererued in the storehouse of loue, employing diligently the good season for feare of future storms, watering the fragrant flours of the yong spring: So as after y^e example of aunti-ent Captaine Pericles, they neuer wente abroade or returned home, without billung and beaking like wanto Doues, vntil such time as whe a ma is werie of his own ease (for ofte swete meates cloye the stomacke) the yong husband determined to take truce with loue, & for a season to forsake his Carita, to the ende to imploye hys trauaile in the trade of marchandise: for whych cause he ioyned his stocke with certain of hys friends, entending to go wyth them vnto the mart at Antwerp, there to seeke his profite. But when he came to the point to imparte his enterprise to his Carita, hys wordes foltered in his mouth: Yet seing the matter required present dispatch, and that hys companions were readie, one night holding hir betwene hys armes, for possible he was not so hardye by the day light, he said: my deare friend, when I reuolue in my minde the estate wherevnto God hath called me, I cannot content me with the
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ydell life I leade frustrate of all trauayle, especially in these my youthfull yeres wherin I flourishe, in which the wise haue bin accustomed to make their prouision of substance, whereby to liue quietly at ease in their age, after the example of the pretie Ante, which laboreth in sommer, foreséeing that winter wyll come. And although we haue atchieued some smal welth, which is not yet so great, but in spending therof dayly, and increasing nothing, will soone be consumed: so it is, that as we haue bene carefully prouided for by our friends, so must we prouide for such as shall succéede vs, and it is not time to buylde the barne when the corne is ready to be layde therein. Wherefore swéete heart, it is high time, that for the maintenaunce of our porte, I vse mine endeour, and lothing this vnprofitable life, beginne to exercise some traffique, and make a viage into Englande, after the marte of Antwerpe be ended, where I may reape some benefite. And besides, by that meanes may see and learne by the frequentation of straungers, that whiche the fonde loue of my Parentes hath not permitted me to vnderstande, bicause they coulde neuer suffer me out of their sightes. Wher- vnto fayre Charita, who during this discourse had hir minde moued with many passions, answered: O God swéete loue finde you already suche annoyaunce in marriage, as you can not endure the expiring of the yere, according to the auncient custome, the whiche giueth to others priuiledge and dispensation of the exercise of their vacation? Or are you suche anemie to your selfe, as like a madde man, you séeke reste in trauayle, pleasure in payne, comfort in affliction, and safetie in perill? for if you knowe well with what wood trauaylers are warmed, and vnto what hazardes they commit their labour- some life, I can not imagine but you hate me in so earnestly séeeking your owne destruction. Alas that the estate of worlde- linges should be so miserable and vncertayne, to reape gréeffe where they searche for ioye. Alas, when I was a mayde I had no sorrowe, but that my selfe procured: then mighte I leape where I lysted, lyke a young Heyfer, which neuer felt the compulsion of the yoke: but nowe that I haue renounced

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my

my naturall freedome, to cast the anker of the pleasures of this lyfe vpon marriage, I haue bounde my selfe to receyue the torment which is giuen me by an other. O that it were so, as man and wife being but one body, I had the moytie of you, as you possesse the one halfe of me in your own right, and the other by my frée consent: I would at least require you to let me enioy the moytie due and requisite vnto me ouer you. Ah will you play the Lions parte, and dispose the totall to my preiudice and disaduauntage? Then she seased hir words with a close kisse, and taking newe heart & grace, beganne agayne: Well (sayd she) you are already glutted with one meate, and seeke to refreshe your appetite with change of diet, so as your loue ranging with you in your voyage, wil practise some new friende, who by hir newe flame may mortifie my fire, which is nowe too olde for you. In the meane season, I wil attende you here in feare, lest my euill chaunce forslow your desired returne. Alas, if you be so desirous to see strange countreys, what shal hinder me in a ladds aray to lackey by your horse, sithence the wife of Metridates disdayned not to doo the like? Otherwise, if you leaue me here, I shall esteeme the countrey wiues estate better than mine, for they at lest see their husbandes at euen, when they returne from their day labour. Thus the apprehension of this departure warmed the tender hart of this louing girle, no more nor lesse, than a fierie furnace prouoked by the blastes of bellowes, and by the vehemencie of this heate, the scalding teares trickled downe amaine, like a clowde in the spring time before the sunne beames. The yong husband felling this warme deaw fall vpon his face, said vnto hir: Truely minion, I must needs say, you loue me not as other wome loue their husbands, sithence you mistrust me in the conseruation of our loue, hauing neuer ministered the lest occasion, whervpo you may ground any such suspition, béeing a thing so far from my thought, as I desire that the fire of heauen may sooner consume me, than the loue of any other should kindle in my heart, to giue me disire to make a false bounde or mayme the fayth of our marriage: assuryng you, that your loue in respect to waxe olde in one, shall growe
young,

young, as Painters discipher it, who glue therevnto the shape of a childe. And if you alleage that they paint it wih wings, to declare that it is light and wandering, I confesse vnto you, my loue was suche, but so soone as you had berefte me therof, by the prouidence of my happie destinie, you clipped his wings, so that neuer since it coulde flye but about you, like as a yong lasse vseth a butterflye, that it may not flie from hir. Wherefore feare not, I pray you, that the chaunge of ayre & countrey can alter mine affection towards you: but imagine, that as the fire continueth hir heate vnder the cinders, so my loue shal encrease vnder the secret remembraunce of you: and at my returne you shal finde it so augmented, as your selfe will say, I com to trafike in the land of loue. Thus the good Herman coforted courteous Charita, who began to steale patiece, & clasping his neck betwixt hir languishing armes, sayde: My deare friend, you haue full power to dispose both of your selfe & me, according to your discretion, for your plesure is my only contentment. But thus far forth I wil enforme you, that sithence you refuse to carye my corps with you, my hart & sincere affections shall accopany you mauger your denial, the which although they be infinite in number, yet shal they neuer abandon your seruice. For if you saile, they shal rest on the poupe: if you ride, they shal sitte on the crouper: if you trauel on foote, they shal attend vpon you like faithfull Lackeis. Upon these spéeches, with a thousande embracings, they confirmed a determinate resolutio. The Seigneur Herman hauing prepared al thing necessary for his voyage, with much adoo tooke leaue of his newe wife for sixe moneths. But alas, if he had bin truly aduertised of his pityfull aduenture, he had saide adue for euer, as he that should neuer haue sene hir agayne: whom he left in the custodie of his brother, to see hir safe conueyed to Spires, vnto hir vncler, with whom she might passe ouer the grieffe, whiche the absence of hir loue procured.

Nowe let vs omitte the happie successe of Herman, running his course so long as it pleased dame Fortune, and returne a while to visyte Floria, who ashamed of hir childes birth, as yrked to lyue after the deathe of hir honoure, had com-

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mitted

mitted hir person vnto voluntarie imprisonment, spending hir life in so great anguise, as it was a verie lamentable case to beholde the perplexitie she suffered, principally when the auncient loue of Herman visited hir memorie. Alas (sayde she) why dyd the heauens predestinate so great good vnto me, to suffer me now to shewe my selfe so vnworthy thereof? Why dyd they not rather grinde me to powder with thunderboltes, or at least cutte the thrèede of my life amidde my felicitie? Alas Herman, my deare Herman, oughtest thou by right to haue harboured thy young affections in so leawde a lodging? My disaster hath forced thèe (I knowe to thy great grèefe) to sèeke a meeter matche. Notwithstanding, is it good reason, sithence my straunge mischance hath so conspired, that I lay the wrong on mine owne necke, and consent vnto mine vniuste punishment. Liue then deare friende, liue for euer blessed with thy Charita, and in recompence of the weeles I wishe thèe, praye that God may graunt a quicke dispatche of the torment I endure for thy sake.

Thus the desolate Louer complayned continually, graunting no tearme or ende vnto hir teares and sighes. Wherewith hir mother grèeuously molested, whereas before she thundred out threatnings, now she assayeth by all meanes to comfort hir. Of the which the best (in hir conceyte) was to prouide hir a husbände, wherein she employed hir vttermoste power: but, as a beautyfull glasse, whiche whylome shined vpon a Cupborde for the brauerie of a banquet, as soone as it catcheth a cracke is deprived of place, and throwen into some contemplatiue corner: Euen so this beautie, whiche before was required of all men, nowe lyeth disdayned of euery man. The whiche the poore mother perceyuing, deuised to make hir factour Ponifre, (whom shèe tooke for an honest young man,) hir sonne in lawe: who vpon the firste motion, made the matter straunge, and counterfayted his knauerie so cunningly, as he woulde not bende his eare to his olde Mistresses Musicke. Notwithstanding, in fine she broughte him with much intreatie to make halfe a graunt. But the greatest paine was

was employed to win Floria, who obstinate in hir cruell purpose, entended to amend hir offence with perpetuall penaunce: Untill in fine, vanquished by the instante requestes of all hir kinsfolkes, and coniuured by the reuerence which she oughte to hir mother, she condescended to the marriage, whiche was spèedily dispatched by the good olde woman, who scholing Ponifre, shewed him what credite he was come vnto, by his means: this oughte to moue thèe, (quoth she) neuer to reprove my daughter of hir passed crime, or to beare hir any malice therefore: if thou do otherwise, thou shalte be like him that spitteth againste the winde, whose slauer flèeth in his owne face, and for my parte, assure thee of my continual displeasure. Then cooling hir daughters courage by the representation and remembraunce of hir lewde gouernement, so contrary to the good nouriture she had receiued, commaunding hir to be faithfull and obedient to hir husbände, the wedding was solemnised with great magnificence, whereat the husbände being aduance vnto his desired estate, was so rauished with ioy and contentment, that by hys example hee inuited the whole assemblie to mirth. Nowe if this marriage were begun with great pleasure, the continuance thereof was yet more delightfull, for that eche daye ensuing other, prepared newe pastimes, the seconde surmounting the firste, and so in order, vntill by mishappe the bridegrome one day making a banquet for his familiars, forgatte himselfe so dèepely, as summoning eche one to quaffe his carouse, and answering euerie one by measure, according to the custome of the country, hèe drunke so frèely, as he forgat not to call for musicke & dauncing after dinner, & so bestirred him in euery other businesse, as being throughly chaffed with heate and drinke, hèe began in slauering good faith to discouer the greate tormentes which he had endured for the loue of Floria, then how in fine w^t the aide of y^e Chabermaldes, he made hir drunk to vse hir company, omitting nothing of al which hath bin mecioned. Wherof the whole company were sore abashed, except Floria, who onely was very well contented and satisfied, for so much as the truth (whiche saued Susanna) was disclosed, as the concealement ther-

of more than the space of a yeare after the marriage. And imitating this franke confession vttered in presece of irreproueable witnesses, she requyred the aide of the Iustice for the reparati- on of the wrong and dishonour which she had sustained, so as at hir instant suite, the drunkard and seruants by him nominated, were committed to close prison, assuring you that Ponifre being sober, seeing himselfe so lodged, was more astonied than Floria, when she felte the childe stirre within hir. The nexte morning he was examined of the wordes he had spoken to see if he wold confesse the truth, but he made himselfe wholye ignorant of the matter, and denied the facte with tooth and naile: excusing hys confession vpon the alienation of hys senses caused by wine, wherevnto there was no more hēede to bee taken than to the words of Foole, from whom a Drunkarde (as wise men saye) differeth in nothing, but that he hath certaine prescribed sea- sons, which a foole hath not. And what thoughe it were so? (saide hēe) the noble minded Pirrhus pardoned those that abused him in speaches saying vnto him: We had hampered thēe more hardely, if wine had not bereaued our wittes. And the woman whome Philip of Macedone condemned after dinner, pleadyng hir cause before him fasting, was acquitted of the fact. It were extreame rigor in Iustice to impute anye wordes spoken, of impeache a man of any acte committed in drunkennesse. The whiche being considered by the Iudges, who on the one parte woulde not condemne the bottel to be hanged, and on the other side waying a mischief so notorious, put the accused chamber- maides to the racke, who being feareful of the horrible torment of the torture, according to the fragilitie of their kind, immedi- ately confessed the truth, & according to their depositions were brought face to face before the factor, who perceiuing himselfe conuict, required grace of the Iustice, & pardon of his wife. But she was so confirmed in hir vertuous sorrow, as at hir instante supplication, y chamberers wer condemned to be brēt alieue, for their liuery of the vngratious wedding, wherof they were the cause (for if the lawes of Germany punishe euery peti larsony so rigorously by death, euen for y smallest domestical pilfery, what torment might suffice a treason so horrible, conspired by these
that

that duty bounde to be moste faithfull? And by the same iudgement was Ponifre, (after hee had assisted this execution with a torch in his hand) broke vpon a wheele & halfe dead throwne into the same fire. Eue so we see that wine which had bin the occasion of his lasciuious delight, was also the cause of his cruell & infamous death, enforcing him frèely to confesse his offence. As whilome it hapned to the emperor Claudius, who in his drunkenesse declared to his wife Agrippina his maliciousnesse so long dissembled. Such were likewise the voluntary instigatiōs whiche suttile Tyrants gaue in olde time to those whom they wold haue discovered the conspiracies contriued against the: Whervpon proceeded the prouerbe, In vino veritas. And I may tel it you by way of progression, I beleue that therevpon is sprong vp y^e custome amog the Almaines, that euery one at a banquet is compelled drinke carouse, to the end the sober may not disclose y^e words or dēds of the drunken. Whervnto agreeth y^e prouerbe, drinke or be packing: or these words in old time in euery mas mouth, I hate to thinke vpo a drunke mate. Now (honorable company) y^e newes of this strange aduēture was godainely blased throughout all Germany. And being come to y^e hearing of Charita (who knew right wel what loue had bin betwen hir husband Herman & Floria, in their youth) sith y^e she was now vnmari ed, w^{ch} y^e discouermet of hir good renowme, desired to proue what cōutenace Herman wold shew at y^e news. Wherfore she caused a brute to be noised throughout Mens, y^e she was deceased in hir vncles house, in such sorte, as this false report & notorious punishment of Ponifre, at one instant wer preseted to y^e knowlege of Seigneur Herman, who was assailed with many enimies: for on y^e one side y^e grieffe of his louely Charita drowned hys hart in sorrow, on the other part y^e vnderued infamy which Floria sustained, melted y^e same w^{ch} tender pitie. Notwithstanding hir seuerē Chastitie was not conteted wth so ample satisfactio, but for y^e loue of hir honor taking vegeace of hir perso, partly by y^e death of hir husband, had pursued y^e ruine of him which had destroyed hir good name, nothing moued to desist therefro by y^e memory of y^e delightful plesures receiued in hir new mariage. And comendable

dable was hir Virginitie violate by enforcement, as it coulde not be reddeemed againe, but with the price of a sorrowfull widowhoode. Then the iust punishement of so bolde and rare a crime of a prentise and seruant for sacrifice vnto his maistresse so largely offended, reioysed him again so excèedingly as among so many assaylants, he knewe not to which to encline and attribute the aduantage, but that sodaine loue deprived his libertie of choice, vsing the aucthoritie of a Lorde towards his vassall, reuiuyng and kindlyng in hys Liuer (the naturall siege of passioned desires) the auncient flames whiche Tyme had coouered for a while, but not altogither mortified. So as he persuaded himselfe, that fortune to salue the wrong she had done vnto him before time, yeelded him nowe fauourable occasion of recompence and reuengement, ordaining hymselfe, and Floria to be widowers both at one time. And in this temper fraughted with all good hope, he departed in poste haste from Antwerpe to Mens, to the ende to winne againe the place whiche beforetime he had possessed in his maistresse hearte. And fearing to be preuented by some other, hee shewed evidently by his impatient posting, that Loue (according to the opinio of the wisest grèeks) is not pictured with wings, but bycause he giueth (as it seemeth) wings vnto his desirous subiectes.

But let vs leaue him in his hasty iourney, and retourne easly to viewe the demeanour of victorious Floria, whom euerye man thought happy now: so vnconstat are the casualties of this worlde, as we commend the thing to morrow which we blame to day. Now you may behold hir notable reuenged, but hir stomacke was not yet so satisfied, nor hir mind so contented, but néedes she must leaue eternal markes of hir integritie vnto hir posteritie. For finding hir solitarinesse single in the house of hir mother (by such meanes as she had deuised) she kindled a fire, ouer whiche she set a greate chaffer full of wine, and whilest it was in heating, after she hadde regarded with bathed eies hir preatie babe, she began to fill the chamber with pitifull complaints, and bitter bewaylings. Then taking ynke and paper, she made hir laste will and testament, whereby after thankes
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giuing to God for his gracious benefits bestowed vpon hir, she bequeathed hir soule into his hands, & sacrificed hir body for the ransome of hir renown, recommending hir son the witnesse of hir crime vnto hir mother. Then turning hir face towardes fire, she behelde the wine which boyled amaine. Wherfore she closed the paper, the summe wherof was signed with hir name, and with a dying hand she hid it in the childs bosome, in kissing wherof a thousand times, she bedewed the face with warme teares: and rising from it, she said: See, see, my soule, the houre wherin thou shalt take vengeance of this wicked body, giuing certaine testimony, that therewith my chaste minde hath not bin violated, but hath preserued it selfe pure and vndefiled, euen to the ende. But thou (vile carcasse) bycause thou haste bin such a traitour vnto thy Lord, thou shalt die, & shalt receiue thy death by the selfe same thing, wherby thou haste offended. Then with an enraged constantnesse almost mad, shee tooke the vessell of boyling wine & drunke it vp to the last drop, without anye mouing at the extreame paine, vntil hir entrailles, euen parched by this vnmeasurable heate, shronke together and braste with such violence, as of necessitie death approched, to set an vnion amo them, chacing the beautifull soule out of the painefull body to direct it into glorie and eternall felicitie. Oh straunge and vn-reported punishment, euen as rare as the vertue of this Gentlewoman. Where shalte thou finde the like? for that of the Prince, who for payment of hys ambition was drowned in a Butte of Malmsey is farre different, yet here are two straunge deathes, the one of Audebunt King of Britaine, who caught hys bane by drinking too muche, the other of Maister Ophil Basteleur, who surfetted of drinking too hot. This strange death was not long concealed, the famous reporte whereof engendred greate copassion in euery mans harte, who ran from al quarters to behold it, aswell for the rareness of the facte, as to celebrate the laste honoures vnto thys vnvanquished chastitie. In fauoure whereof, al the townish Dames apparelled like Mourners both in bodye and minde, wyth greate pompe conducted the corpes (whilome the vessel of al perfections) vnto hir sepulchre: wher
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vppon for a perpetuall memorie of a facte so couragious was erected at the townes charges a sumptuous & stately Tombe. O happy monument, the Christall skies mollifie thy graue-stone with the deawe of Manna, and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thée, as a crown vnto the beautie which is lodge within thée, and lette the Bees and gallant Butterflies make their perpetuall abode therein to accompany the graces whiche inhabite in thee. But lette thornes and thistles wither, rather than take roote neare thee, and lette all venemous and filthy wormes feare to approche the entrance of this holy Temple of Chastitie, sithence thys beautifull dame hated vice so hartily. The brute of this piteous death (courteous company) fleeing into euery coaste, stayed not vntill it sounded in the eares of Herman, who was nowe within halfe a dayes iourney of Mens, making full accompte at his returne to finde the worthy recompence of his trauailes.

When he was assured by one that mette hym on the way, of the famous death and buriall of hir, for whome heretofore hée liued: at these wofull newes, the miserable louer fell from his horse in a sowne vnto the greate amazement of euery one, who after they had chaffed his temples with vineger, throwne colde water in his face, clapped hym aboute the cheekes, wrong hys little finger, and ministred all the remedies they coule imagine, in fine they perceyued their labour loste. The cause wherof, was a sodaine alteration out of exceeding ioye into extreame sorrowe, the which by the opinion of the Phisitions therevnto called, engendred a mortall convulsion, caused by the restraint and suppression of the ventricle of the braine, whereby the way was stopped_vnto al the vitall spirites, enforcing them to bée sequestred fro ȳ body. Ah infortunate louer, oughtest thou to haue made such hast, as by thy disordinate haste to hasten thy death? Ah (saide graue Dionisius) howe happy is he, that in his youth learneth to be vnhappy? The Bull (saide he) tollerateth his yoke more easily that is broken therto in due season. The wise Greeke spake very prudently, saying: The gretest misery ȳ may be, is disabilitie to suffer misery patiently. Alas how extreame grieffe deliuereth feruent loue by ȳ losse of ȳ thing beloued, sithence
thence

thence pearcing sorrow could giue his passioned hart no leisure to receiue cofort by any means. For as \bar{y} Phisition doth loth to receiue any drug to cure him in sickenes, except \bar{y} same bee vrged vpo him by another; so selfe coforte in sorrow is a very difficult matter without \bar{y} consolation of some friend. The which Phalerius confessed he had experimented, by \bar{y} moste soueraine remedy in distresse, after he met with Crates, whe he was miserably banished out of his realme. The teares of the funeralle of Floria remained yet vpon \bar{y} peoples cheekes of Mens, when \bar{y} seruant of Herman arriued with news of the lamentable death of his maister. Whose determinations he declared, being a faithfull secretarie of his loue, wherat euery man meruailing, could not coniecture otherwise, but that death was become aduersary to loue, & \bar{y} in despight & enmitie of it, was desirous to destroy \bar{y} moste affectioned subiects of Cupid, for the performace whereof it had begon with Herman & Floria, determining to finish the exploite with Charita, who remained. Charita I mean, who as I tolde you, by curiositie or rather ielousie, gaue out notice of hir death, to view if \bar{y} olde loue of hir huspad had any strength to reuiue. And now behold, it reuiued after \bar{y} decease of Herman, whiche she testified not by rashe deathe, esteeming hir sorrow ouer great to take so short end, but to make it endure as long as it was possible. And although there appeared an euident folly on the behalfe of hir husband, who like one touched w^t Circes rod, or as he had eaten some enchaunted herbe, was so soone transformed fro a loyal husband into a wauering louer: Neuerthelesse, the whole blame was laide in hir necke, as hauing opened \bar{y} gate to this mischief, for the which she performed perpetuall penace, neuer intending to marry again: esteeming the (as Chilon saith) very foolish, \bar{y} beeing by painful swimming preserued fro shipwracke, wil any more adueture their liues vnto the mercy of \bar{y} sea. Nowe she lefte none other guage of Hermans loue, but a daughter, who by \bar{y} ordinance of \bar{y} blessed fates, was after many trauailes wedded to \bar{y} son of Floria, the history of whom pertai-
neth nothing to our purpose, but to declare, \bar{y} in fine (maugre \bar{y} enuy of fortune or me) by diuine permission they marched togither, and vnited the two famous families of Herman and Floria.

Thus by this true Hystorie, you may clearly perceiue that all disasters which chaunce in Loue, do euermore procéde by the mans default: for I pray you, what more loyall and sincere Loue may be desired in any, than was apparant in these two vertuous dames, testified by so outward tokens, as they seemed to contend who best deserued the highest seate, among such as loue most faithfully. For Floria would not liue after the losse of hir Chastitie, (the treasure of all hir wealth and felicitie) and so much esteemed hir honor, as for the loue thereof, shée pardoned not hir husbände, whom she loued right well, and of whome shée was well entreated, wherein she far surmounted the commendation of hir that with poyson drunke betwene hir and hir louer Sinaryx by equal moities, cried quittance for hir husbands death to hir own defamation: Or of hir, who subtilly tumbling the souldior into a well, reuenged the violation of hir honour. To be briefe, she excéded the constancie of the Romaine dame, who eating burning coales pursued by extreame loue hir deade husband. And Charita by a perpetuall widdowhoode solemrized the sorrowe of hir goodman, yélding hir consent to liue the widdowe of all delight. Wherin she agréed very well with the vertuous zeale of beautifull Valeria, who affirmed that hir husbad was dead vnto others, but liued eternally vnto hir, and that she rooted him more effectually in hir harte, that the Quèene Artemisia, who drinking the ashes of hir husbände, edified a pretous tombe for him in hir breaste. Thus me thinketh that those which marry the second time, attribute no great honour vnto their first husbads, with whom it sèemeth they bury their loue, wherein the Turtle that neuer maketh but one choice, oughte greatly to shame them. Whervpon the Prouerbe saith, the firste marriages are made in Heauen, and the seconde in Hell, so as, if they proue good & lucky, ¶ deuill is much deceiued: wherefore Rodopa daughter vnto ¶ mighty K. of Arsa iustly slewe hir Nourse, bicause she perswaded hir to marry againe, for the agréementes of second marriages, are more difficill to encounter, thā it is vneasie to match a nutte shel with any other, than that frō which it was first seuered. I speake thus bycause this
vulgare

vulgare comparison seemeth more familiar than the auntient philosophie of Plato. But to proceede, sithence the singular vertue of women so euidently appeareth in these two Dames, behold I beseech you, on the contrarye part, the malice of men practised so nimbly by Ponifre and Herman. Whervnto Sir Fleur d'Amour exclaiming in gracious maner, sayd, Be not displeas'd gentlewoman, although I interrupt you, for it maye suffice you that I haue patiently harkened vnto the commendation of wome, without burdening me with the peysant pack of mens infamie, which you meane to bring in question, nothing to the purpose, for so much as Ponifre in mine opinion deserued no reproche, hauing played but the good fellows part in seeking his good fortune: yea, and I commend him in folowing his businesse effectually, whereas on the contrarie part I cannot excuse Flo-ria, bicause she wanne nought by his death, considering by marrying hir he had amended and repayred his offence: but therein she shewed the extreme desire of vengeance, which naturally is common to women, as the Poet testifieth, saying: The wild Bore purseud by doggs, the sterueling Lionesse, the Tigre that hath hir whelpes stollen, nor the Viper when his tayle is troden vpon, are not more terrible than a woman offended. And as for Herman, what could he doo lesse, hauing lost his wife as he supposed, than in good season to seeke an other, and not like a childe to cry for an apple, as though there were no moe in the world? As for me, I thinke it great simplicitie to remayne long a widower, except a man will marry no more: for surely the dead pretende great interest, and are very carefull if the liuing marry, or no. Truely (answered Mistresse Mary) you haue reason. But I pray you ought he not to haue taried the ende of the yere, which our forefathers tearmed, the yere of sorrowe? It must not be sayd that onely women are accepted in the lawes, to the ende that if they married againe so quickly, and chanced to be sodenly with childe, the infant should be supposed to haue an vncertayne father. But the sacred lawes established for the perfection of good ordinaunces, haue notified the yere of sorowe for a publike honestie, whiche toucheth aswell men as women.

N.iiij.

Against

Against the which Herman hath notoriously offended, deliuering a seconde testimonie of his legeritie and inconstancie. For first béeing wēery of too great ease, he would nēedes go sēe the Mart at Antwerpe, where in fine, he turned his loue backwarde, and had better to haue belēued his wife: yet to shewe you that I speak without affection, and as the truth leadeth me, I wil giue halfe an ounce of blame vnto Charita, in that she was inquisitive to know if hir husband were amorous. And this curiositie hath deceyued many, who in the end haue found y^e thing they sought, wherof the lamentable loue of Cephalus and Procris is sufficient testimonie. But what? as there is no Saint in Paradise but hath his feast, so is there no creature liuing but hath some fault. And in truth women are to be detected of no imperfection, iealousie onely excepted, which foloweth them like their shadows. Thus spake the gallant king Alphonsus, It were a goodly matter in mariage, if the husband were deafe, and the wife blinde. Wherein he hath in my fantasie excused women, to blame men: for why wished he they shoulde be blinde, but onely for feare they should see the crymes of their husbandes. And I leaue to your iudgement, whether they are more to be blamed that do the offence, or those that view the fact to reprove it. So as when all is sayd, sithence iealousie procéedeth but of too feruent loue, it is necessary that women be iealous, bicause they loue more truly than men. But touching the excuse, whereby you surmise to couer the fault of Ponifre, as with a wet poke, I had willingly pardoned him, if he had made choyse of his equall, and obtayned hir by lawfull meanes: but to shoote without the leuell of his bow, was great temeritie. For although men say it is no vice to loue the best, yet me thinketh, imitating the aduice of Dianira in Quid, that to drawe a Cart currantly, it behoueth to payre the Oxen as equally in bignesse, height, and strength, as maye be deuised, to the ende they maye take their labour alike: Euen so, in mariage most perfect equalitie is requisite, and as intier vnanimittie as is possible: otherwise the one serueth but as a shoone on the others foote, to hinder their forwardnesse. And that whiche you attribute for constancie in Ponifre, I repute it
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an importunitie too intollerable. Wherevnto replied Sir Fleur d'Amour, I pray you Mistresse, let the commendation which you would acquire vnto women, procéde of their demerits, and not be augmented by the blame of men. For if we woulde vse reuenge, you should be sore troubled to recite vnto vs the actes which make you women so vertuous. For so muche as sith the one slewe hir selfe, and the other not, it ensueth there was a fault in the one and the other. And although the Historians affirme, that Sardanapalus neuer dyd any vertuous déede vntill he slewe him selfe, bicause such actes require great outrage: so it is that the very Pagane lawes haue allowed suche death, principallye when it commeth by the scruple of conscience, which fraughteth the Malefactour with infinite furies, as we reade of Orestes: or for feare to fall into the enemies hands, as Haniball dyd: or to eschewe infamie, as it chaunced vnto the Poet Gallus: or for the healing of a remedillesse gréeffe, as Portius Latro, to cure a quartayne feuer: or by the impaciencie of loue, as it befell to Fyramus and Thisbe: or for despite of béeing preuented of an intended purpose, as Mereta, seeing hir Louer married to an other Mayden: or for any other displeasure whatsoeuer. True it is, the Paganisme also pardoned those that slewe them selues for anye allowable cause, as for the sauegarde of their virginitie, lyke Dido, Sophonria, and Democles: or to knowe what men dyd in the other worlde, lyke Cleombrot and the Millesians: or to benefite the common wealth by their death, as the Knighte Martius, and the Emperour Othon dyd: or for feare to hurte them selues, as Themistocles was constrayned to doo: or for wéerinesse of lothed life, like Pompeius Atticus. To conclude, worthy Plinie affirmed, that the greatest benefite whiche nature hath bestowed vpon man, is to dye when he pleaseth, the which neuertheless is farre from the good opinion of Plato, who denieth that a matter of so great importance ought to be in mans power: but that whosoever killeth himselfe, is punishable as a souldier that departeth without his captaines pasport: or as the prisoner that
breaketh

breaketh the gayle to escape, which maketh much agaynst your Floria, and yet we woulde not haue gainsayde you, although we perfectly perceyue, that to excuse hir you haue charged Ponifre with making hir drunken. So as if this were probable, I affirme that therupon could hardly ensue any rauishmet of virginitie, and least of all, any conception: for I suppose no drunken woman can conceyue. So as when you touched this point, you passed ouer it lightlye without satisfying me fully therein. I haue (sayd Mistresse Mary) done it, partly bicause I would not abuse your fauourable audience with the tediousnesse of my discourse: and also to auoyde the displeasure wherwith an acte so enorme maye molest your mindes, without calling in question an argument which I knowe hath bene very doubtfully disputed by those that haue exactly ransacked the secrete lawes of Nature: besides that, it appertayneth not vnto me to enter into subtill and deepe considerations. But lest my Historie shoulde rest maymed in this behalfe, sithence it is your pleasures, I will speake thereof as a student of warre, and will tell you what I thinke, vnder correction neuerthelesse of your better iudgement, wherevnto my simple opinion shall appeale. I knowe for truth, that euery man iudgeth wine moderately taken to be a great pricke vnto pleasure, imitating the auncient Romaine Prouerbe, Sine Baccho & Cerere friget Venus. Whiche was the occasion that Anarchasas béeing checked bicause he had married a foule woman, sayd, Fill me wine, that she may seeme beautifull vnto me. But if wine be vnmeasurably poured in, it maketh the body lasie, dull, venomined, pensieue, and witlesse to loue, drowning the stomacke in rawe humours, wherof ensueth debilitie of the brayne, trembling of the sinewes, and dissipation of the senses, whiche are all contrarie motions vnto generation, which requireth great temperature and harmony of humours: so as we may say with Pithagoras, that the Wine beareth three grapes, whereof the first altereth, the seconde troubleth, and the thirde intierly dulleth, which causeth great drunkards to be commonly no great lechers. And drunkennesse accustomedly accompanieth age, but lecherie leaueth a man
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when youth faileth, the which I confesse frely, but I agrée not that drunkennesse yeldeth in al persons disabilitye of generation, for reason and examples make me to credite the contrary. And yet I admit not the distinction which some make of the agent and the patient, saying that a drunken man cannot engender, although the woman be sober, but the contrary may be very well, bycause the dominant in generation which gyueth the essentiall forme, being euil disposed, doeth adnihilate altogether. Whiche is contrarye to the Histories, that make mention that the daughter of Siracusus named Ciana, and a Romaine Dame named Medulilla, were gotten with child by their drunken fathers: but I will defende (as an impregnable bulwarke for the resolution of this point) that when there is but the one or the other drunken, there may ensue generation, the which notwithstanding is imperfect, bycause the defecte maye be somewhat amended but not clearely abrogated: Which is the cause, that the children so created are weake, vnhealthy, & slender witted, as witnesseth Diogenes, who seeing a very doctish child, called him the sonne of a drunkarde. But if the man and woman be both drunken, I am persuaded there can not possibly insue any generatio, for the peruersnesse of the qualities, the intemperancie of humours, the dissipation of the vitall spirites, the imbecillitie of the appetent habitude which worketh by the imaginatiue. And by the same reason we may conclude, that two cholericke or melancholy persons, in extremitie are vnprofitable together, omitting the most vrgent arguments tending towards generation, and the causes therof, bycause they are better seeming in the eare than in y^e mouth of a maiden. So as that whiche I haue touched, sufficeth (as I coniecture) to shewe it not to be impertinent, that Floria conceiued being drunk, hir husband being otherwise. For my part saide Sir Bel Acueil, I thinke that sithence generation is made by the force of a liuely apprehension, wherof ensueth an intention of sēde in a receptacle wel disposed, that if the woman taketh no pleasure (as she doth not) being drunk, she shal neuer conceiue, what good temperature and consistance soeuer
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be in the sēede, neyther shal any woman with child euer make-
mee belieue that shee was rauished: for though it bee no
midwiues rule, yet is it very true, that the woman whiche is
gotte with child by night, shal be deliuered with delight. Sa-
uing your reuerence, sayde mistresse Margarite, if ŷ were true
a great absurditie would arise therby: for you wil easily con-
fesse that the pleasure of men differ from the maner of beastes
for so muche as men by the benefite of the exteriour senses
make discret election of the beautye whereof loue is ingen-
dered, the which is the only cause of coniunction whervvpon
cometh generation. Wherefore we must conclude ŷ they inge-
der not that loyne not, they loyne not that loue not, they loue
not that view not some beauty worthy to bee beloued. Then
by this reconing the blinde aswel men as women shal neuer
haue children, seeing nothing that may procure them to doe.
Furthermore it wold insue ŷ where most pleasure were, there
should be generation soonest, and yet we sēe some can haue no
children the first and second yeare after they be married, yea &
long time after, who at last, euen in their age haue many. As
we reade of Massinissa, and Cato the Censor. Wherefore your
reasons cannot hinder but it must nēedes appeare clearely by
the truth of this historie, that the bounty of women surmoun-
teth the malice of men. Now I pray you what a matter had
it bin if these two dames had foud husbands according to their
merits and of like Vertue (at least if any such might be foud)
but rather tel me, replied sir de Firmefoy, how happy had these
twoyong men bene, whom their cruel wiues exceeding loue
caused to dye, as they did, who desired to doe some good in
their life time, or such as haue bin so wise as to do ŷ like, haue
experimented to their cost, how great disturbers women bee
of vertuous actions, be it in war as Darius and Metridates do
testify, or in Philosophy as Socrates complained him, whiche
maketh me to belieue, that if men woulde neuer marrie, they
could not fayle to attain great felicitie: This is ŷ cause wher-
fore men say comonly when talke is had of a yong mans ma-
riage, (he must be staid) for in dēede I belieue we shoulde flie
into