RETHINKING SHAKESPEARE SOURCE STUDY

AUDIENCES, AUTHORS, AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES

Edited by
Dennis Austin Britton and Melissa Walter

Rethinking Shakespeare Source Study

This book asks new questions about how and why Shakespeare engages with source material and about what should be counted as sources in Shakespeare studies. The essays demonstrate that source study remains an indispensable mode of inquiry for understanding Shakespeare, his authorship and audiences, and early modern gender, racial, and class relations, as well as for considering how new technologies have and will continue to redefine our understanding of the materials Shakespeare used to compose his plays. Although source study has been used in the past to construct a conservative view of Shakespeare and his genius, the volume argues that a rethought Shakespeare source study provides opportunities to examine models and practices of cultural exchange and memory and to value specific cultures and difference. Informed by contemporary approaches to literature and culture, the essays revise conceptions of sources and intertextuality to include terms like "haunting," "sustainability," "microscopic sources," "contamination," "fragmentary circulation," and "cultural conservation." They maintain an awareness of the heterogeneity of cultures along lines of class, religious affiliation, and race, seeking to enhance the opportunity to register diverse ideas and frameworks imported from foreign material and distant sources. The volume examines not only print culture, but also material culture, theatrical paradigms, generic assumptions, and oral narratives. It considers how digital technologies alter how we find sources and see connections among texts. This book asserts that how critics assess and acknowledge Shakespeare's sources remains interpretively and politically significant; source study and its legacy continue to shape the image of Shakespeare and his authorship. The collection will be valuable to those interested in the relationships between Shakespeare's work and other texts, those seeking to understand how the legacy of source study has shaped Shakespeare as a cultural phenomenon, and those studying source study, early modern authorship, implications of digital tools in early modern studies, and early modern literary culture.

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Rethinking Shakespeare Source Study

Shakespeare criticism of the past thirty years has often suggested—sometimes implicitly, and at other times very explicitly—that source study is old fashioned and no longer useful. Following the death of the author and the illness of the New Bibliography, scholars working on early modern drama in particular were generally more interested in discourses of power than in questions of authorship and literary production. Whereas some critics of epic and lyric poetry found ways to use the study of imitation to explore political or cultural topics such as imperial ideology and gender, even as other scholars of these genres maintained a more culturally conservative stance and focused solely on issues of literary transmission, Shakespeare scholars rarely seized opportunities to discuss sources, literary production, and power relations in the same conversation.[1] In addition, the New Historicism and cultural studies led some scholars to focus their analysis on culture and texts at a given moment, rather than tracing the relationships of texts through time. The tide is changing, however, revealing that Shakespeare source study is neither dead nor a thing of the past. The forthcoming new edition of *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, first edited by Geoffrey Bullough (1957–75), suggests that sources are of interest once again.[2] Recent work provides new models for bringing together what might be considered an "old source study" and more contemporary approaches to textual and cultural analysis.[3] Meanwhile, databases and digital tools are making more texts available; technology is allowing us to access many more and potentially not-yet-recognized sources to find new connections among texts and to think anew about our methodologies and practices.[4] And lately, scholars of drama are recognizing that attention to sources is not incompatible with investigations of power relations; scholars are exploring the intersections of early modern political, gendered, sexual, and racial subjectivities, conditions of theatrical practice, and the materials from which Shakespeare produced his plays.[5]

The assumption that the study of sources must indicate an approach to Shakespeare, language, and culture that is outdated or incompatible with contemporary cultural inquiries is thus out of step with much current practice. Nevertheless, what a source is, the varying relationships

between Shakespeare's works and others', and the cultural politics in which Shakespeare source study emerged in the first place need further theorizing.[6] The authors of *Rethinking Shakespeare Source Study* attempt to address this lack. Collectively, we assert that how critics assess and acknowledge sources remains interpretively and politically significant; source study and its legacy continue to shape the image of Shakespeare and his authorship that our profession constructs. Essays in this collection attend to the implications of how and why Shakespeare engages other texts, articulate theoretical lacunae in previous approaches to source study and offer new models, introduce new sources for Shakespeare's plays, rethink questions of literary transmission and theatrical production, and consider the implications of digital tools and the possibility that they will reveal a vast number of sources. The essays also invite scholars to think more precisely about the varying textures of the relationships between Shakespeare's works and other texts.

Returning to the Sources: Authorship, Audience, Cultural Diversity

When considering sources, we should agree with King Lear that "nothing can come from nothing."[7] Shakespeare's plays do not come into being *ex nihilo*, but rather are created from the generative words, images, stories, and theatrical conventions that came before them. Catherine Belsey revives our attention to the fact that Shakespeare's works

> are derivative in one significant way or another. How could it be otherwise? Writing, any writing, is unthinkable outside the existence of shared conventions of storytelling or staging, genre and decorum, not to mention the language itself in which they are intelligible. In that sense, all writing finds its origins somewhere else and its limited originality resides in its difference from what has gone before.[8]

Uncontroversial as any of this seems, scholars interested in sources have had to address the critical antipathy toward source study; Stephen Greenblatt's and Harold Bloom's statements about source study—calling it and those who look for sources, respectively, "the elephant's graveyard of literary history" and "those carrion-eaters of scholarship"—are infamous.[9]

More recently, critics have argued that both Greenblatt and Bloom were doing source study without acknowledging it. In response to Greenblatt in particular, Douglas Bruster writes, "Frequently depending on source study, the New Historicism is a version of this methodology," and suggests that Greenblatt's "'Shakespeare and the Exorcist' is what source study looks like after Foucault, Clifford Geertz, Raymond Williams, and Pierre Bourdieu."[10] In her discussion of Shakespeare's sources in

criticism dealing with race and colonialism, Ania Loomba also describes the relationship between the New Historicism and source study:

> Rather than something that distilled and transcended its sources, the literary text began to be understood as existing in a similar plane and in dialogue with other historical and cultural materials. It thereby became a source for understanding history and culture. For self-avowedly political critics, to think about literature thus was to expand its contours and importance, while for opponents this approach devalued the unique properties of literary utterance.... Nowhere was this more evident than when issues of race and colonialism began to be raised. Could early modern images of Native Americans be considered sources for *The Tempest*?[11]

Loomba importantly notes that the methodology of source study was instrumental to critics interested in race and colonialism, turning as they often did to early modern travel writing.

Yet it is important to note that the "self-avowedly political critics" usually aligned themselves with the New Historicism and rarely if ever admitted that they were doing a type of source study. In part, the rejection of source study was based on the notion that its frequent or traditional goal was to find what material Shakespeare used so as to portray Shakespeare's unique genius.[12] As various essays in this collection show, however, source study acknowledged as such does not need to ignore politics and power relations. In fact, there has been a strand of source study that seeks to value the "source" texts and is interested in power since at least the eighteenth century, even though it has had a slightly intermittent history: a very early English compiler of Shakespeare's sources, Charlotte Lennox, argued in her *Shakespear Illustrated* (1753) that Shakespeare often made changes for the worse to his sources. Lennox encouraged the reading of the novellas and romances on which Shakespeare based many of his plays, and she defended women's dignity and criticized the plausibility of Shakespeare's female characters according to the Augustinian standards of her time.[13] We believe, nonetheless, that there is still much more to say about the role of source study in Shakespeare criticism. The chapters of *Rethinking Shakespeare Source Study* ask us to think more self-consciously about the relationship between current work in source study and that which has come before, about what can be considered a source and why, and about questions of authorship, literary transmission, and the heterogeneity of early modern literature and culture. Collectively, the authors of this collection therefore acknowledge our indebtedness to both older work, like Bullough's, and recent work, like that of Belsey, Bruster, and Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith in "What is a Source," that is uncovering with some precision Shakespeare's various modes of engaging sources.[14]

But why draw special attention to problems surrounding Shakespeare source study? After all, one might question whether Shakespeare's uses of sources are different in any quantifiable way from, say, Marlowe's. While scholars have certainly considered the sources of plays like *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *Doctor Faustus*, they tend to do so without trepidation. It is primarily when dealing with Shakespeare's plays that scholars find the need to justify doing source study. Some scholars may do so to avoid being associated with conservative, "old fashioned" approaches to literary study, but anxieties about investigating Shakespeare's sources are also tied to concerns about promoting Shakespeare's exceptionalism. Although it seems unlikely that today many scholars of early modern English literature would openly proclaim that Shakespeare is better than all the rest, early modern English literary studies—our publications, journals, and conferences—are nevertheless primarily devoted to Shakespeare. Unwittingly, perhaps, our anxieties about Shakespeare source study are linked to our inability (or unwillingness) to divorce our current understandings of Shakespeare from the long history of what Shakespeare has "stood" for: the quintessential genius, the greatest writer in English, and England and Englishness. His writings have been considered metonymic of literature and the humanities themselves, having been called a "secular scripture"[15] and even credited with inventing the "self" and "the human."[16] These types of claims have been used at various points on the political spectrum, from conservative humanist and imperialist arguments,[17] to feminist psychoanalytic readings,[18] to post-colonial critiques, to approaches that apply liberal humanist notions of rights and selfhood to all people, to post-structuralist and post-humanist analyses.[19] It seems impossible at this point to disentangle Shakespeare from all that he has come to stand for.

Yet it is precisely because Shakespeare continues to stand for so many things that attention to his sources becomes so important. How we understand Shakespeare and his relationship to source materials can help us rethink Shakespearean and early modern dramatic production; it replaces the image of Shakespeare as solitary literary English genius with that of a playwright who is much more collaborative, much more transnational in his interests, much more engaged with his audience, and much more engaged with the diversity of cultural texts and ideologies. A return to source study can facilitate rather than impede attempts to rethink the politics of Shakespeare's exceptionalism; a rethought source study can help revise our vision of Shakespeare.

"The Return of the Author" is, indeed, one reason why source study has returned to the forefront of Shakespeare studies.[20] Shakespeare scholars remain interested in Shakespeare's processes of composition and the writer's "intention," however difficult they may be to recover. Of course, W. K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsly's "Intentional Fallacy" and Roland Barthes's "Death of the Author" have argued for the impossibility of knowing the intention of any author. Additionally, speaking

of Shakespeare's intentions presents challenges because discussions of authorial intention often rely on making links between an author's biography and his or her literary production; with so much of Shakespearean biography being speculative in nature, delving into Shakespearean intention may seem like a ridiculous enterprise.[21] Yet, as David Schalkwyk suggests, thinking of intention "As a heuristic notion that shapes but does not seek to govern interpretation ... may well be useful, and as a way of deciding which signifiers an author wished to use, it may even be indispensable."[22]

At the intersection of biography and authorial intention, recent work by Lynn Enterline and Janet Clare, for example, reminds us that imitation was an essential part of the grammar school education that we believe Shakespeare received.[23] Their work allows us to consider how the early modern educational system and the cultural practices of translation, the keeping of commonplace books, and the retelling of well-known stories influenced creative processes.[24] Arguing that source study can help us understand Biblical allusions in Shakespeare, Hannibal Hamlin offers that "The precise intentions of an author may be ultimately unknowable, as epistemologists tell us, but we can at least approach such knowledge by studying how an author has used and adopted other works in creating their own."[25] Attention to intention, then, allows us to consider that authors choose some signifiers and sources and not others, and it allows us to examine the significances of those choices.

Several essays in this collection engage issues of intention or attempt to imagine the composition process. As they do so, they take a first step in fulfilling what Bullough hoped would be an outcome of his invaluable gathering of sources; he hoped that source study would "help us appreciate Shakespeare's craftsmanship or methods of composition."[26] These essays also add to the existing vocabulary that attempts to define the varying relationships between one text and another.

This collection focuses on Shakespeare's drama rather than his poetry, partly because the plays are where the majority of the energy of Shakespeare studies is expended, but also because Shakespearean drama's combination of plot, poetry, and personation before a live audience complicates what has traditionally been understood as a source. Drama, an oral art and embodied practice that leaves some textual traces, is "transmitted by other than merely textual means," raising questions of evidence and creating uncertainty and thus space for interpretation.[27] Although poetry coteries and print publication of prose and poetry involved some collaboration as well as co-authorship or murky authorship, early modern playmaking was arguably a more deeply collaborative practice, and therefore it creates a more complex picture of both the identities of authors and their processes of composition.

For Shakespeare source study, the playwright's authorship and modes of composition cannot be separated from audience; the success of a

commercial theater is inextricably tied to its audience enjoying and understanding its plays. Oral culture formed a significant knowledge base for both Shakespeare and his audiences, and attending to sources that were communicated orally can enhance our understanding of cultural dynamics in Shakespeare's plays. For instance, once scholars acknowledge that many members of the audience of *The Merchant of Venice* knew both the correct casket and Portia's rhetorical trick for defeating Shylock via folktales, they gain new clarity about the way the play indulges some audience members' "sense of mastery at the expense of cultural outsiders."[28] Recent changes in how scholars understand Shakespeare's audiences, their heterogeneity, and what they may and may not know are relevant to twenty-first century source study, as scholars continue to consider the interplay between what Shakespeare does to source material and what audiences may already know about a source. It is important to keep well in mind the heterogeneity of early modern audiences, which were composed of people with a diversity of backgrounds, literacies, and religious and political convictions.

Given the importance of oral culture for Shakespeare's audiences, perhaps an element of a more capacious approach to source study could be the willingness to be less beholden to positivism and entertain sources for which there is no evidence of textual transmission. We mention this even as digital tools increase the likelihood that material links can be traced. With or without big data, a suspicion that there must be a source for a particular dramatic phenomenon can lead to a recovery of new material details. Louise George Clubb's work on theatergrams, for example, has led to renewed attention to and assessment of the significance of the mobility of actors, language teachers, and books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including, for instance, the evidence of actors, including the well-known Italian actor Drusiano Martinelli and the English clown Will Kemp, travelling between Italy and England.[29] This work reminds us that sources are not only textual but also dramaturgical, circulated among theater practitioners.

We thus hold that theatrical conventions should also be included in our concept of source. This insight builds on the work of Clubb and William N. West; West has suggested that theater is "made out of other performances … belonging to a horizontally organized repertoire, never completed and slowly changing."[30] Thinking about Shakespeare's plays in terms of intertheatricality means acknowledging the ways in which a play exists as a shifting process and an assemblage of parts and set pieces, rather than a fixed thing, and acknowledging how its meanings and effects shift with audience experiences and knowledges. Several authors in this collection focus on theatrical contexts and investigate changing elements that make up plays, although the collection remains primarily focused on the unit of "the play."

Related to the issue of what can be counted as a source, Robert Miola includes the "source remote" and the "indirect influence of traditions" in

his "Seven Types of Intertextuality," a catalogue of ways in which texts may connect.[31] In *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources*, Stuart Gillespie usefully broadens what can be considered a source. He argues that "a source can be derived from 'scenic form, thematic figuration, rhetorical strategy, structural parallelism, ideational or imagistic concatenation' as well as more straight-forward kinds of 'verbal iteration.'"[32] While Gillespie retains a focus on literary texts, if we require evidence of textual transmission we may miss important oral sources and elements such as theatrical paradigms or generic assumptions that are key to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century audiences' understandings of plays, and therefore, possibly, to Shakespeare's process of composition.[33] In addition, we may miss opportunities to register diverse ideas and frameworks imported from foreign material and distant sources. Yet a willingness to look beyond evidence of textual transmission does not mean that we should jettison scholarly attention to practices of transmission; doing so would mean ignoring the material reality of past cultures.[34] As the essays in the final section of this collection show, digital databases and search technologies are among the tools we now have for seeking material evidence of practices of transmission. Search technologies have so significantly increased our ability to see links between Shakespeare's works and other texts that the questions surrounding source study—especially those concerning issues of transmission and what counts as a source in the first place—have a new type of urgency.

Choosing what counts as a source, nonetheless, is always an interpretive and political act.[35] We are forced to confront the impossibility of identifying a true ur-source,[36] and we realize that any statement about origin or source is also a claim about Shakespeare's works. As Gregory Macachek notes, cultural systems "cannot be fully understood synchronically. Part of what cultures do is select from among the works that were valued in the past, assign contemporary significance to these works, and pass them on to the next generation."[37] Source study should include within its purview not only the fact of a source being rewritten or responded to in a new text, but also a critical awareness of this process of selection; it should consider why particular stories are retold in the first place, even as it acknowledges that the critic's identification of one text rather than another as a source is subject to the process of selection that Macachek describes. What does it mean to say, for example, that the Bible is a source for Shakespeare's plays? Why not also discuss the language that translators of the Bible drew upon in establishing early English Bibles, or the narrative or mythic structures that writers of the Gospels employed? As Miola notes,

> The Bible, its stories, and its language passed into common currency of knowing, thinking, speaking, and writing by ubiquitous reference, allusion, quotation, proverb, ballad, hymn, broadside, treatise, polemic, pictorial representation (in tapestry, stained glass, painting, and sculpture), mediation, and circulation.[38]

But we might also wish to consider the import of claiming that a text like the Bible is one of Shakespeare's sources for the way it either may include or exclude potential readers and audiences—relevant when we acknowledge that the language of the Bible is not universally shared among present-day readers and audiences of Shakespeare's plays. It is at this point that the explication of Biblical links in Shakespeare becomes informative yet nevertheless politically charged.

Contemporary source study does not assume that the meaning of Shakespeare's text is determined in a quasi-allegorical manner by its sources. It is wise to consider types of relationships between texts as well as instances where one author draws on another.[39] Nevertheless, different interpretative and political effects result from identifying the Bible, or Virgil, or Boccaccio, for instance, as a source for a play rather than, say, identifying a broadsheet ballad as a source. Popular forms of culture, such as ballads and pamphlets that early modern audiences would have been familiar with, need to be recognized as important sources. Source study thus might also consider the intracultural and interclass relations that are imbedded in the relationship between source texts and Shakespeare plays. Doing so likely also means acknowledging that early modern "high" and "low" culture often were not separate (for instance, consider the reading of jestbooks by elite men and women) and abandoning—once and for all—the assumption that Shakespeare drew only on "high" culture.[40]

Source study also requires intercultural analysis, whether to understand ways in which early modern theater is "foreign" or to better understand the context of Shakespeare's sources. As Susanne L. Wofford has argued, "transportation of intercultural knowledge" can occur without authorial agency or knowledge; as well, sometimes audiences may receive foreign cultural practices without recognizing them as such, contributing to the ways in which theater is both foreign and local or of the self.[41] Intercultural analysis can also change our understanding of Shakespeare's authorship, as understanding sources in their own contexts can help us avoid misrepresenting both their significance and Shakespeare's act of authorship. For instance, as Karina F. Attar points out, many an edition and article has mentioned or included the tale of Disdemona and the Moor, tale 3.7 of the *Hecatommithi* by Giambattista Giraldi (known as Cinthio) as a source for *Othello*; yet the general consensus of many studies is that Shakespeare rewrites "a vicious morality tale into a tragedy that acknowledges the issues of race, place, and gender."[42] By reading Cinthio's tale in the context of the novella tradition, especially the representation of Moors and of interracial couples, and by acknowledging the interplay between the story, its introductory narrative, and its framing letter, Attar arrives at quite a different conclusion; she shows how the novella is already subverting expectations about race and gender. When we understand Cinthio's tale in context, we see Shakespeare's

authorship differently; we see it as building incrementally on the novella rather than as a radically more complex act of social and psychological characterization. Close and careful reading of sources means reading with understanding of their original contexts, which may themselves be multilayered, as well as with awareness of potential gaps in transmissions of contexts.[43] The authors of this collection are most certainly interested in Shakespeare, but believe that attempts to understand Shakespeare can proceed in a way that decolonizes source texts and Shakespeare's authorship from the hegemony of Shakespeare-as-unique-genius.

Source study, then, has the potential to help foster the sustainability of early modern literary and cultural diversity. Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker ask us to consider that "work that does not survive will not be read again and thus will not be written again"—and it will be lost to human understanding.[44] Or, using the terminology popularized by Richard Dawkins and embraced by several authors in this volume, "memes" ("complex ideas that form themselves into distinct memorable units") depend on "the existence of a continuous chain of physical vehicles.... As with genes, immortality is more a matter of replication than of the longevity of individual vehicles."[45] Source study can actually be used to ensure that a diverse array of early modern texts remain accessible, especially in our teaching and in the image of Shakespeare that scholars translate for popular consumption. As scholars and teachers, we make an important contribution when we make available a source that has not been acknowledged and that provides a more complex picture of early modern culture. At the same time, since source study can function to appropriate and elide or to preserve cultural diversity, it is important for scholars to theorize an ethical practice. The point is not to displace Shakespeare—both because of the genuine pleasure so many receive from his works, and also because many of our paychecks depend upon his continued popularity within and without the academy—but rather to use Shakespeare to resist the shrinking and narrowing of the humanities. Shakespeare can be used to help assure that various types of stories and understandings of the world—some other than his own—continue to have a place.

A perfect source study may be impossible at the end of the day. Like fully accounting for the intertextuality that gives meaning to any text or utterance, identifying sources is an enterprise that disperses into *différance*, spreading genealogies, and the silences of history.[46] Yet, like translation, and with affinities to that practice, which likewise may seem impossible but happens all the time, source study is something that people do.[47] A rethought source study acknowledges that describing a source is an interpretive act. It is not enough for us now to say that a source contributes to Shakespeare's vision, as if the whole point of all other cultures and texts was to create his genius. Nonetheless, because Shakespeare still stands as a great author/genius that wider publics still

deem "necessary" reading, it is valuable to trace the indebtedness of his works to texts and cultural processes, and to think carefully about how we conceptualize his relations to them.

Notes

1 See James, "Shakespeare, the Classics, and the Forms of Authorship." James describes the survival of imitation studies in scholarship on lyric and epic during the rise of the New Historicism (81–84). For scholarship on epic that combines source study with considerations of gender and/or politics, see, for example, Krier, *Gazing on Secret Sights*, Quint, *Epic and Empire*, and Watkins, *The Specter of Dido*.

2 For example, see the 2015 *Shakespeare Survey*, "Origins and Originality," especially Maguire and Smith's "What is a Source" and Belsey's "Revisiting the Elephant's Graveyard." Other works that evince a revival of source study include Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*; Martindale and Taylor eds., *Shakespeare and the Classics*; Sheen, "'Why Should a Dog, a Horse, a Rat, Have Life"'; Logan, *Shakespeare's Marlowe*; Marrapodi, *Italian Culture in the Drama* and *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality*, and particularly the latter's first essay by Miola, "Seven Types of Intertextuality" (13–25); Lopez, "Eating *Richard II*"; the essays under "How To Do Things with Sources," in *How to Do Things with Shakespeare*, ed. Laurie Maguire; Perry and Watkin, eds., *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*; Hillman, *French Origins of English Tragedy*, as well as his *French Reflections in the Shakespearean Tragic*; Hamlin, *The Bible in Shakespeare*; Guy-Bray, "Sources"; Houlahan, "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories"; and Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*. A need for a reframed approach to source study is signaled by the 2007 edition of *PMLA* dedicated to "Polyphony," which includes Macachek's article on "Allusion."

3 For instance, Macachek proposes more specific terminology for different types of allusion and argues for the need to use such terms and textual analysis (which has been frequently associated with a decontextualized literary history) in a historically and culturally contextualized practice ("Allusion," 534). In discussions of "intertheatricality," West emphasizes "analogue" over "allusion" ("Intertheatricality," 157). And Maguire and Smith discuss efforts to rename sources that do not get beyond "our limited practical understanding of what a source might be" ("What is a source?" 16–17).

4 For an example of a recent work that applies digital tools to questions of authorship and source, see *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, ed. Hugh Craig and Arthur Kinney.

5 See for example Greenhalgh, "Love, Chastity, and Woman's Erotic Power"; Chaudhury, "Circumscribed by Words"; Robinson's discussion of Othello in his *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*; Nicholson, "Ophelia Sings like a Prima Donna Innamorata"; Skura, "Reading Othello's Skin"; Wofford, "Foreign Emotions on the Stage of *Twelfth Night*"; Fox, *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion*; Newcomb, "The Sources of Romance"; Tylus, "Imitating *Othello*"; Lupton, "Paul Shakespeare"; and Britton, "From the *Knight's Tale* to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*."

6 Maguire and Smith make a similar suggestion regarding the need for scrutiny of the relationship between the Shakespearean text and potential sources in "What is a Source," 16; their theoretical intervention focuses on authorial processes and memory.

7 Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed, Foakes, 1.1.90.
8 Belsey, "Revisiting the Elephant's Graveyard," 62.
9 Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Exorcist"; Bloom, *The Map of Misreading*, 17. To be fair to Greenblatt, it appears he realized he went too far. He removed the statement about the elephant's graveyard when "Shakespeare and the Exorcist" was incorporated into *Shakespearean Negotiations*. Additionally, Bloom, who is not discussing Shakespearean source study, is describing anxiety surrounding source study rather than calling scholars who do source study "carrion eaters."
10 Bruster, 31. Hamlin also notices that Greenblatt and Bloom were doing source study without acknowledging it in *The Bible in Shakespeare*, 82.
11 Loomba, "Shakespeare's Sources," 131–32.
12 Bruster provides an extensive discussion of reasons why new historicists rejected source study; see *Quoting Shakespeare*, 27–36.
13 See Doody, "Shakespeare's Novels."
14 See also Guy-Bray, who examines Shakespearean sources alongside those of Marlowe and Jonson, and emphasizes that "the sources from which these playwrights adapted their plays are not replaced by the plays they inspired" ("Sources," 149).
15 Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, 3. Additionally, Shakespeare's texts have themselves at times been treated as offering the kind of "single, timeless, originary truth" that, as Quint argues, was associated by Renaissance writers with the kind of "source" (such as a scripture or a classical text) that could (seem to) fix meaning transhistorically and obviate historically contextualized reading (*Origin and Originality*, 23)—or with carrying this type of meaning forward from the Bible or classical literature.
16 Again, see Bloom, *Shakespeare*, 2–14.
17 See Loomba and Orkin's introduction to *Post-colonial Shakespeares* (esp. 1–3) for a pithy summary of these issues.
18 For the latter, see for instance Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers* and Stone, *Crossing Gender in Shakespeare*.
19 Schalkwyk, *Hamlet's Dreams*, 12–25, and his "Foreword" to *South African Essays*. Also see Distiller, *South Africa*.
20 See Belsey, "The Elephant's Graveyard Revisited," esp. 63, and the forum in *Shakespeare Studies* 36 (2008), "The Return of the Author," and especially James's "Shakespeare, the Classics, and the Forms of Authorship."
21 See Drakakis's "Intention and Editing," 365–67.
22 Schalkwyk, "Giving Intention its Due," 323.
23 Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*; and Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*.
24 James describes the survival of imitation studies in scholarship on lyric and epic during the rise of the New Historicism ("Shakespeare, the Classics, and the Forms of Authorship," 81–84).
25 Hamlin, *The Bible*, 82–83.
26 Bullough, "General Introduction," in v. 8, 345. Here, Bullough is expanding on Kenneth Muir's hopes for source study in *Shakespeare's Sources. Comedies and Tragedies,* 1957. It is important to note, however, that both Bullough and Muir, unlike the authors in this collection, were interested in uncovering the composition processes in order to understand "the mystery of his artistic genius" (Bullough, 346).
27 Henke, *Pastoral Transformations*, 33.
28 Artese, *Shakespeare's Folktale Sources*, 99. A further question might be how many audience members could have connected the story of the pound of

flesh and the caskets to Buddhist narrative—one might wonder if a Jesuit or a merchant who had come in contact with Buddhist narratives while in India could have found himself in the audience. *The Golden Legend*, a widely known compendium of Saint's lives, included the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, a Christianized life of the Buddha. See Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan. The stories of the caskets and of the pound of flesh also have affinities to a story told about King Asoka, who told a counselor to try to sell a human head in the market place, instigating an exploration of different kinds of value. See Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, 333–35.

29 Material traces of Kemp's travels appear in the pamphlet "An Almond for Parrat," which refers to Will Kemp as "Signor Chiarlatano," or in the 1607 play, *The Travels of Three English Brothers*, which shows Kemp and Italian actors performing together. It is not that the information about travelling actors is brand new: Chambers discusses the relevant records (see *Elizabethan Stage*, 2:261–65 and 273–75), and Cartwright's essay in this volume provides a useful overview of evidence of contact between English and Italian actors and dramatic traditions. But the comparative readings of Clubb (in *Italian Drama In Shakespeare's Time*) and others have led to renewed attention to and exploration of these connections. See, for instance, Henke's, "Transporting Tragicomedy" and *Pastoral Transformations*.
30 West, "Intertheatricality," 154.
31 Miola, "Seven Types," 20.
32 Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, 3. Gillespie quotes from Miola's "Shakespeare and his Sources," 71.
33 On other plays as sources for Shakespeare's plays, see Kay's essay in this collection and Maguire and Smith's "What is a Source."
34 See Bruster's rebuttal to the New Historicist disclaiming of source study and Newcomb's essay in this collection.
35 And in fact, attention to sources is a basic interpretive move that critics made in relation to Shakespeare's plays from the plays' first performances. As Houlahan points out in this collection, early commentary on *Twelfth Night* took the form of a kind of source study, as John Manningham compared the play to *Gl'Inganni*.
36 See Houlahan's amusing comparison to the hunt for the real source of the Nile ("Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories," 157).
37 Macacheck, "Allusion," 534.
38 Miola, "Shakespeare and the Bible," 124.
39 Guy Bray, "Source," 133; Strier, "Another 'Source,'" 226; and Quint, *Origin and Originality*. Quint discusses a Renaissance shift away from a quasi-allegorical tracing of the meaning fixed by a source text like the Bible or a classical author, towards a more historicized, contextualized understanding (21–31).
40 See for instance Brown, "Jesting Rights: Women Players in the Manuscript Jestbook of Sir Nicholas Le Strange."
41 Wofford, "Foreign," 481. And see Wofford's essay in this volume, 90–123.
42 Hadfield, *William Shakespeare's Othello*, 7; quoted in Attar, "Genealogy of the Character," 48.
43 Following Attar, Britton's essay in this collection close reads sources for *Othello* and considers them in their local generic context.
44 Adams and Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," 60n, quoted by Newcomb in this collection.
45 Dennett, "Memes and the Exploitation of Imagination," 127 and 131.

46 For helpful discussions of intertextuality, including an explanation of Kristeva's strong sense of the term as well as later uses, see Macachek, "Allusion," 523. See also Miola, "Seven Types of Intertextuality," 13–21.
47 See Ricoeur, *On Translation*, 13. Ricoeur links translation to "say[ing] the same thing in another way" (25), while also suggesting that translation highlights the "indefinite diversity" of language (24).

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Part I

Source Study, Sustainability, and Cultural Diversity

These chapters do source study through acknowledging the literary and philosophical sophistication of the sources that inspired Shakespeare, looking out for places where Shakespeare's plays incorporate or host "foreign" materials and ideologies, and highlighting the heterogeneity of early modern cultures. If earlier examples of source study sought to establish the peculiar genius of Shakespeare and the cultural superiority of Englishness, the chapters in Part 1 rethink source study so that it is more attuned to ideologies of power and issues of cultural difference.

Beginning with an examination of the history of Shakespeare source study itself, Lori Humphrey Newcomb uncovers the colonialist logic underpinning source study as it originated in nineteenth-century Germany. She argues that conceptualizing source study as intertextuality, however, provides an alternative to this colonialist logic; instead of viewing sources as primitive materials that Shakespeare transforms into modern masterpieces, source study should recognize the "recycling of cultural materials" in a way that fosters the sustainability of early modern literary and cultural diversity. Newcomb then turns to *The Winter's Tale* to show how source study as it has traditionally been conceived has not allowed critics or editors to make sense of the play's various references to Africa. She demonstrates that to make sense of them, we need to look beyond *Pandosto* to one of Greene's sources, Heliodorus's *Aethopica*.

Dennis Austin Britton's chapter demonstrates the usefulness of reviving the concept of *contaminatio*, the adaptation of one text that incorporates passages from others, for considering sources in Shakespeare. Examining *Othello*, which incorporates materials from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Robert Greene's play of the same name into an adaptation of Cinthio's 3.7 of the *Hecatommithi*, he argues that the play is Italian in a number of ways: it employs *contaminatio*, a mode of dramatic composition popular in Renaissance Italy, it draws from numerous Italian sources, and it translates to its English audience Italian concepts of race. Britton also argues that Shakespeare "contaminates" Cinthio's novella with two versions of *Orlando Furioso* in order to help an early modern English audience feel tragic pity for a black Moor.

In her reading of *The Winter's Tale*, Jane Tylus, like Newcomb, demonstrates the fruitfulness of looking beyond *Pandosto* to one of Greene's sources, in this case Plautus's *Rudens*. Yet her chapter considers the complexity through which sources may make their way into Shakespeare's play. Although Plautus's *Rudens* is a source for both Greene and Shakespeare, she suggests that that source might have been interpolated through Ruzante's *La Piovana*, written and published in the Padovan dialect, by way of Ludovico Dolce's Italian translation, *Il Ruffiano*. Both Ruzante and Dolce provide prologues that self-consciously consider the relationship of their plays to Plautus's, prologues in which the authors defend themselves against accusations of stealing materials from their sources. Shakespeare, then, might have been influenced—perhaps indirectly—by *Il Ruffiano*, a play that features various types of stealing (sources, other people's children, bags of money), and that links the dramatic adaptation of other sources to supposedly lower class, rogue activity. As Tylus considers the ownership of language, text, and land, she also traces transformations in the representations of rural life from Plautus to Shakespeare via Ruzante; her consideration of Shakespeare's pastoral scenes in relation to Plautus, Ruzante, and Dolce reveals *The Winter's Tale*'s interest in social difference and national incohesion.

Susanne L. Wofford examines how alternative knowledges enter into specific cultural spheres. Exploring scenes of veiled wives returning from the dead and issues of genre in Euripides's *Alcestis* and Shakespeare's *Much Ado*, Wofford suggests that the radical hospitality of hosting the unknown revenant, whether wife or text, is life-giving (within the terms of the comic plots analyzed) and culturally valuable (in terms of scholarly analysis and understanding of how texts interact with one another): the cultural knowledge produced through the intertextual and intercultural relations among texts—whether or not it is explicitly or consciously known by the author—creates a space not entirely contained within the particular political and cultural ideologies of a given text. Her chapter demonstrates that the intercultural and intertextual relations among texts create alternative, indeed foreign, possibilities to generically and cultural prescribed outcomes that would result from the tensions created between classical and early modern cultural obsessions with virginity, fidelity, hospitality, and the incorporation of foreignness.

1 Toward a Sustainable Source Study

Lori Humphrey Newcomb

In this self-reflective era of Shakespeare studies, source study is anomalous: a critical practice that remains unexamined yet ubiquitous, unfashionable yet not quite obsolete. Old as it is, source study lacks the elaborate narratives of birth, entrenchment, and reinvention that support most traditions of Shakespeare scholarship. Recently, however, the "undertheorized" state of source study has been noted prominently by Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith (16). Their article, "What Is a Source? Or, how Shakespeare read his Marlowe," leads off the 2015 *Shakespeare Survey* volume on "Shakespeare, Origins and Originality" (16). The convergence of that volume and the present collection suggests that Shakespeare scholars finally are ready to examine source study's history, consider its hidden costs, and imagine better options. Future source-study projects need not comprise a uniform practice, but they should reach beyond the status quo to imagine and articulate clear aims. This essay reviews the anomalous place of source study in the history of Shakespeare studies, considers why the method persists despite such devaluation, and explores the model's most problematic assumptions and then turns to my practice of source study, stating my aims and demonstrating them in action. My purpose is not to condemn source study as retrograde yet again or to forbid the term. Rather, I propose that a new frankness about the stakes of textual interchange—whatever we call it—can ensure a more sustainable scholarly future not just for Shakespeare, but for early modern cultural studies. I borrow the term "sustainable" from environmental thinkers to remind us that our scholarly practices do have systemic impact. Source study, conceived as the study of dead relics, contributes to the sense that early modern studies are moribund; source study, conceived as the study of living cultural ecosystems, points to a sustainable future for the study of the past. My own practice of source study hopes to sustain responsibility to the material record, cultural inclusiveness, and public access to the fruits of research.

Re-theorizing often starts with nomenclature, although it cannot end there. While some have proposed new names for source study, we have yet to examine the term "the source" itself, to unpack the metaphor's ecological and political baggage, or to confront the issues of access and

fair use it should raise. It can be no coincidence that "source-hunting," as the uneasy scholarly joke puts it, emerged and faded with the great European colonial empires. Source study was tied to Western territorial expansion *structurally*, for it guaranteed the cultural supremacy of the national bard by devaluing or marginalizing related texts of less impeccable genesis. It justified treating literary history as raw material for Northern European genius to exploit. To perpetuate that logic in our scholarship is neither ethical nor, in the present endangered state of humanities education, strategic. Therefore, this essay offers a preliminary genealogy of Shakespearean source study and some of its damaging effects and then proposes one more sustainable alternative. I close by demonstrating briefly how that practice might re-situate *The Winter's Tale*, a play inevitably placed alongside its immediate English source, in a longer intertextual and intercultural chain of imperial tales.

Genealogies of "the source"

The imminent demise of source study was proclaimed in 1985, when Stephen Greenblatt tarred it as "the elephants' graveyard of literary history."[1] The reference itself enacts the infinite regress of source studies: Wikipedia (today's universal source) suggests that myths of lost ivory fields arose because "elephant skeletons are frequently found in groups near permanent *sources* of water" (emphasis added). Greenblatt's clever putdown implied that scholars looking for treasure among Shakespeare's sources were chasing a mirage, or at least that the only ivory, Shakespeare, had already been extracted. Perhaps also hinted was that source scholars were a herd approaching extinction. The jibe became infamous, even as Greenblatt distanced himself from it. As Douglas Bruster has shown, when the 1985 essay "Shakespeare and the Exorcists" was incorporated in the 1988 volume *Shakespearean Negotiations*, Greenblatt excised the reference to the elephants' graveyard.[2] Bruster argues that this change suppressed even a critical mention of the source scholarship on which New Historicism relied for its thick descriptions. I would add that as Greenblatt backed away from this image of bounty-hunting, he also covered the tracks connecting New Historicism and source study alike to the global imperial project.

The "elephant's graveyard" phrase, having condemned source study as unsophisticated, furnished a handy excuse for continuing to marginalize the subfield. Thirty years after this remark, source study remains Shakespeareans' least charted territory. It is still included in, say, companion volumes on critical approaches, but its premises remain unexamined. For instance, the article on "Source Study" in *Shakespeare: An Oxford Guide* refers readers to Geoffrey Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* for "a history of source scholarship."[3] Bullough indeed launched his project in 1957 with the promise of that

history as capstone, but eighteen years and eight volumes later, his "General Conclusion" allotted just a few brisk, albeit lucid, pages to the task.[4] A history of source study must begin, then, with what Bullough reports, and does not report, in those pages.

Bullough's mini-history identified several distinct periods in the identification and study of Shakespeare's acknowledged sources. He credited Gerard Langbaine in the 1680s and Charlotte Lennox in the 1750s as pioneering compilers of sources. By the turn into the nineteenth century, scholars had read the plays so painstakingly alongside English "black-letter literature" that "most of the main sources (as we known them today) had been noted."[5] Although Bullough does not spell this out, these lovers of the plays were scrambling to defend Shakespeare from charges of plagiarism on one hand and on the other lack of learning, the neoclassicists' charge resting on Ben Jonson's "small Latine and lesse Greeke." While their project can now be recognized as source studies, that term was not especially prominent. If any concept was dominant, it was that of "dependence"—was Shakespeare dependent on foreigners for his plots, and clumsy translators for his classical references? Elevating his "black-letter" sources as artifacts of Englishness, however crude, relieved that pressure. Thus Richard Farmer, in his famous and much-reprinted essay on "The Learning of Shakspeare" (sic), wrote that Shakespeare "wanted not the stilts of languages to raise him above all other men" (5). Farmer does use the "source" metaphor, at least in passing. He signaled the absurdity of scholars' seeking Shakespeare's plots in obscure Latin texts when "our Author" had been "contented with a legendary Ballad": "the source of a Tale hath been often in vain sought abroad, which might easily have been found at home" (30–31). Like water, Shakespeare's genius flowed more logically from a native fountain than one overseas.

According to Bullough, a second wave was made up of nineteenth-century German scholars who began claiming the bard as Teutonic. Although he connected this second wave to the Brothers Grimm and the revival of fairy tale, the larger context must be Biblical and classical philology's pursuit of early, potentially purer texts, "the higher criticism." Certainly, the term *Quellenforschung* (source study) was coined by classical philologists, although apparently in America, not Germany (*OED*). German, American, and British scholars raced for the source, a struggle for spheres of influence in reverse. The first landmark of Shakespearean *Quellenforschung* was a German text that caught British attention. In 1850, James Orchard Halliwell published a translation (for the Shakespeare Society) of *Remarks of M. Karl Simrock, on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays*, commending this "curious branch of inquiry" for "exhibiting to us the simple materials from which [Shakespeare's] wonderful dramas were constructed" (ix). In fact, Halliwell exhibited only M. Simrock's "Remarks" and not the "simple materials" themselves. These "tales," he

notes, "were collected and translated by Dr. Echtermeyer, M. Henschel, and M. Simrock in 1831" (x); he refers to *Quellen des Shakspeare in Novellen, Märchen und Sagen* (also reissued in 1870), a gathering of numerous English and Continental sources that rendered all the texts in German. The collection itself has never been translated (or in some cases, untranslated) for readers of English, by Halliwell or anyone else. Halliwell's endless reprints of Elizabethan curiosities included many more probable source texts than Simrock's three volumes, but with nothing like the German scholars' "curious" and systematic vision.

Source study became a massive scholarly project with Bullough's mammoth series for Routledge and Kegan Paul (8 volumes, 1957–75). Only now is Routledge commissioning a revision, on an even larger scale. Bullough's work had, as his title suggests, a rich appreciation for the intersection of narrative and dramaturgy, but it paid little attention to the sources as bibliographic objects, their modes of circulation, or their original cultural contexts. Thus, for instance, some Italian tales were given in nineteenth-century English translation. The provided text of Cinthio echoed Shakespeare's *Othello*, but to what extent did that echo appear in Cinthio, and to what extent in the mind of a Shakespeare-soaked Victorian translator?

Even as Halliwell and Bullough beat back the German scholars' claim on Shakespeare, they exhibited source study's primary form of self-awareness: its worry that its work is already over, or at least over-extended, with uncoordinated scholarship making redundant and contradictory "discoveries." Halliwell's introduction to the Simrock translation frets that Shakespeare criticism has run out of material, then swipes at supposed parallels that "can scarcely be considered illustrative of Shakespeare."[6] Bullough constantly evinces similar exhaustion and contempt for the trivial proposals of scholars. In 1964, Kenneth Muir published a single-page article on "The Future of Source-Hunting" in the *Shakespeare Newsletter.* He remarked (no doubt making Bullough wince at his overloaded desk) that "It is, perhaps, unlikely that any major source remains to be discovered." Instead, scholars should seek a broader sense of "Shakespeare's reading." Muir recommended "a systematic combing of all the books published in England before 1613," "carried out by co-operative research" at the Folger and Shakespeare Institute. "Ten scholars could perhaps read all the relevant English books in seven years"; the Continental sources would take much longer.[7] To "discover" any new sources would require a grand international expedition.

The worry that Shakespeare source study might lose the trail never actually stopped source-hunters from debating their claims, but it clearly discouraged critical self-reflection. Concluding his eight volumes in 1975, Bullough remarked on the field's laxity and blamed earlier practitioners' inattention to the plays themselves: "Source-hunting was regarded in the early part of the present century as a form of truancy from the proper

study of the plays, an occupation only suitable for pedants, outside the scope of true criticism."[8] These "source-hunters were to blame for not realizing that their pursuit should be the first stage in an investigation of Shakespeare's methods of composition"—not an end in itself.[9] Muir, in his 1964 "Future of Source-Hunting," had articulated much the same principle: "The main purpose of studying Shakespeare's sources is to throw light on his dramatic method."[10] Bullough and Muir hoped to generate a taxonomy of Shakespeare's dramaturgical strategies, not unlike the taxonomy of genre Northrop Frye generated in the same period.

This proto-structuralist project, falling between the bad old days of allusion-hunting and the brave new world of cultural poetics, still has its contributors, but the aims of Bullough and Muir have remained largely unsatisfied. One source of frustration is that source scholars never reached consensus on what would constitute proof of source use, much less of authorial intention. What level of similarity can prove that Shakespeare "intended" a work to be a source?[11] Source study tends to diffuse these real epistemological problems into the busy-work of classification. Thus, scholars draw and defend lines between source and analogue (Bullough's terms), primary and secondary source, direct and indirect source, or (since New Historicism) source and context. In a recent catalogue of Tudor drama, Martin Wiggins differentiates between "narrative" and "verbal" sources. Gillespie queries Hal Jensen's attempt to distinguish "*Narrative and Dramatic Sources*" from "Creative and Imaginative Sources."[12] Some scholars try to delimit "Shakespeare's reading," while others posit less traceable common stock in generic, theatrical, or folk traditions.[13] In a recent videocast, Stanley Wells reports that "sometimes Shakespeare adapted dross, sometimes something rather finer." The rest of the videocast ignores the "dross" to discuss the use of "finer" sources with literary credentials. Wells demonstrates how Shakespearean source study is burdened by a history of contempt for its objects of study: sources are sought only to confirm their worthlessness in comparison to Shakespeare's reinventions.

In the last few generations, many scholars, not just New Historicists, have argued for discarding source study altogether. Traditionalists have sought to historicize Shakespeare's practices of adaptation in the period's own terminology—translation, imitation, allusion, commonplacing. However, their unsurprising conclusion is that Shakespeare did a little of each, very effectively. That method needs to be tested by examining other playwrights' practices with similar care. Post-structuralists have argued that the vague positivism of "source" should be replaced with looser terms, such as "resource" or "intertextuality" or "remediation." Maguire and Smith compile an amusing list of such proliferating terms, before adding their own ("trauma"). Frances Teague noted that as scholars turn to contemporary forms of remediation to describe earlier practices of adaptation, each usage remains metaphoric: Shakespeare's

adaptations of narrative material were *like* memes, or remixes, or appropriations. Refreshingly, Teague admits that the various metaphors do not in themselves produce a more robust account of textual circulation: changing what one calls a process does not in itself transform one's understanding of the process. In the end, many intertextual approaches repeat traditional source study by using classificatory vocabulary to paper over epistemological problems.[14] As long as the underlying principle is that truth claims for sources are higher, and more consequential, than those for intertexts, even intertextuality will keep Shakespeare's plays at the center and the intertexts on the periphery.

Such mapping of textual worth is also evident in the field of publishing. There is a long tradition of attempts to gather all the sources, whether systematically, as we saw in Simrock, or belles-lettristically, as with the collector-editor Halliwell. The fascinating 1904 *Shakespeare's Books: A Dissertation on Shakespeare's Reading and the Immediate Sources of his Works*, by South African scholar Henry R. D. Anders, arrayed literatures by type (primary and grammar school texts, continental literature, ballads and popular tales, the Bible, travel and scientific writing). In *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (1944), T. W. Baldwin followed the grammar school curriculum. Sources may be gathered play-by-play, as in Bullough, and its much-anticipated revision under John Drakakis, or surveyed in dictionary form, as in Stuart Gillespie's *Shakespeare's Reading* (2000).

More typically, sources appear as supplements to a single-play edition. A section titled "sources" is still *de rigueur* in most scholarly and teaching editions of the plays; a reprinting or at least excerpting of the primary sources is a feature in all but the cheapest editions. Most introductions have a section discussing sources; these restate the critical consensus on which materials Shakespeare used in the play, then usually argue for the superiority of the adaptation over the original. Maguire and Smith note that the Arden Third series has moved away from reprinting sources, but introductions still give them considerable space. Whatever the series, editors seldom are given space to define their terminology, explore the pedagogical uses of source study, contextualize the source texts in print culture or social history, or even refer students to external resources for contextualizing. A little more information of this type is provided in compilations for undergraduates: Norton Critical Editions excerpt "sources" and "criticism" before the play, while Bedford Texts and Contexts editions seem as a rule to exclude direct sources from their extensive contextual supplements. Collectively, the practice of the various series serves to separate sources from contextual document, once again making distance or closeness to Shakespeare a primary measure of textual significance.

This survey of source study's own origins and phylogenies raises larger theoretical questions: is bardolatry essential to source study? Is the name

"source study" available to a less axiological, more analytic study of how early modern writers turned narrative sources into play texts? If source study's only aim were to "throw light on [Shakespeare's] dramatic method," in Muir's words, or to "catch [Shakespeare] at work" as Catherine Belsey recently put it, then source study could never move beyond its function as guarantor of Shakespearean value.[15] Yet most other fields of Shakespeare study *have* moved beyond reiterating Shakespeare's "immeasurable superiority."[16] New textualists, material and gender theorists, theater historians, adaptation studies: all have concluded that their object of analysis should be early drama as a system, not just as a backdrop to Shakespeare's merit. (This is not to deny the very real pressure on scholars to capitulate to Shakespeare as the brand that sells.) Perhaps more than any other branch of early modern scholarship, Shakespearean source study still does the work of distinction, of not just assuming but demonstrating Shakespeare's superiority. A subdiscipline that began by defending Shakespeare against charges of plagiarism now seems compelled to keep proving the one literary generalization that least needs proving: that Shakespeare is great.

Back to "the source"

Such futility was built into "source study" when it gained its name, which conjures the notorious impossibility of locating the source of the Nile. As the Scottish explorer James Bruce recounted in his 1790 memoir of his expeditions up the Nile, as "far in antiquity as history or tradition can lead us, farther still beyond the reach of either, … begins the inquiry into the origin, cause of increase, and course, of this famous river." Bruce enumerates how "Ancient philosophers" and "people of all ranks" repeatedly "joined in the research with a degree of perseverance very uncommon; but still this discovery… has as constantly miscarried."[17] He concludes: "none of the ancients ever made this discovery of the source of the Nile. They gave it up entirely, and *caput Nili quaerere* became a proverb, marking the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of any undertaking."[18] The futility of seeking the "head" of the Nile was proverbial, then, from late antiquity. The English version, seeking the "source" of the Nile, appears proverbial by the Restoration—the same period when Shakespeare scholarship began. (The phrase is often invoked in Restoration drama, for instance.)

Yet the analogy is odd, and the first branches of source study, unlike the Shakespearean version, privileged source texts as points of origin. Early philological source study works to identify textual and cultural contaminations that separated a later copy from a posited source. Over larger textual sets (say, of the Pentateuch), this method allows the earliest texts, least contaminated by later interpolations, to be identified and valued as authoritative sources. Biblical source study's empirical goals

and methods, then, have much in common with the (old) New Bibliography. Steve Mentz, referring to the classical literary tradition, says that "source" and its intertextual synonyms imagine "literary culture to be a flowing river with greater power being attributed to whatever lies upstream," and that "the language of Shakespearean criticism still locates power in the external text."[19] Even if those hydraulics worked in physics, they would not apply to Shakespearean source. Indeed, beyond the classics, most literary source study, less concerned with primacy than with modernity and originality, privileges the outcome, and Shakespeare source study takes this devaluation of the source to an extreme. Gillespie quotes a *TLS* reviewer's 1999 comment that Bullough's compiled texts "interest us largely to the extent to which they fail to be Shakespeare."[20] Source study may be curious about the likeliest or earliest source of a narrative thread, but the force of the argument is nearly always that Shakespeare's interpolations improve the non-Shakespearean source. It is presumed that a Shakespeare play is in every detail more interesting than its non-dramatic raw material—unless, of course, the play is *Pericles*, and editors need to borrow prose from Wilkins to fill out Shakespeare-and-Wilkins.[21]

The German *Quelle* (plural *Quellen*) is generally translated (I gather) as "source" or "spring": the most distant welling up of a body of moving water. Fortuitously, source can also be construed as "fountain," so that the playwright's use of previous cultural resources can be affiliated with *both* nature (Shakespeare could find stories in every living thing) and art (Shakespeare took such primitive materials and wrought them into ingenious man-made wonders). Source study, then, allowed Shakespearean criticism to resolve the contradiction between Shakespeare's genius and his reliance on recycled plots. As I've argued elsewhere, "protecting Shakespeare's originality and isolating the plays from materiality go hand in hand"[22]: source study extracts the transcendent plays from the earthbound sources much as New Bibliography distilled an ideal text from maimed copies. Why then has source study not reconsidered its aims as textual editing has done? The contrast between source study's inertia and the ever-more elaborate and polemical justifications of textual editing decisions could not be starker.

Nor can we argue that source study resists reform because of proven successes. Despite the range of texts that it can encompass, Shakespearean source study has been diffident about its capacity to offer a wider window on early culture, both before and after the New Historicist backlash. Bullough modestly suggested in his first volume that a "collection such as this, therefore, is not without merit as an anthology of Elizabethan reading."[23] Gillespie, in the introduction to his 2001 dictionary of *Shakespeare's Books*, promises "a broader sense of how literary texts can relate to one another than is reflected in standard earlier studies,"[24] such as Bullough. "But," he warns, "there are still limits on what can

usefully be included" in a collection "not conceived as a general guide to what the English read" in the period, and indeed focused on "what the Elizabethans would have thought of as literary, 'letters,' a category which includes, in particular, history, but tends *not* to extend to, for example, most popular songs, chapbooks, pamphlets and tracts."[25] It is right not to take Shakespeare as typical of "the English," but ahistorical to draw a line between the "literary" and popular print culture when we know Shakespeare's plays are enmeshed in both.

The quest for sources could be as commendable and generous as any other search for knowledge; Bullough is just being wry when he calls the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake a "selfish impulse."[26] However, the elephants' graveyard should have called our attention to the elephant in the room: that source study, as a product of nineteenth-century nationalist criticism, is historically implicated in a colonial drive to own something exotic and seize it for one's nation and for the present. The drive to search out, possess, and claim authority is evident whether that object is the earliest books of scripture and classics, ivory fields, the source of the Nile, or "Shakespeare's Plutarch." Furthermore, a time-honored colonial strategy for such appropriation is to claim that the rare objects so appropriated are primitive, discarded, or valueless. The myth of ivory lying on the ground has served as an alibi for the violent appropriation of ivory by destroying whole herds. Traditional source study does something similar in claiming that the literature of the past is valueless once all the Shakespeare is extracted. Texts, even non-Shakespearean texts, cannot be killed, but they can be disinherited. They can be misrepresented as cast off, rather than as survivors; they can be wrenched out of context rather than appreciated in their historical ecosystems.

Source study is implicated in a model of cultural history that is teleological, axiological, nationalist, evolutionary, colonial, and exploitative. This model assumed that the riches of world culture were fulfilled when Shakespeare exploited them, turning raw material to a singular and wondrous (*Quellenfrage*) achievement. With the sly reference to the elephants' graveyard, New Historicism's expeditionary leader accused source study of participating in this colonial logic while disguising his own complicity. The documents that New Historicism borrowed from source study were not, of course, used up, but their cultural milieu has been underrepresented, and cries out for further reconstruction.

Looking Forward

I have implied that discarding the phrase "source study" is neither necessary nor sufficient to counter this problematic history. Instead, we have the opportunity to invent a new, more eclectic source study that consciously resists appropriation's privileges. Source study does offer irreplaceable evidence about cultural change, if we read both source and

adaptation as capturing ideas about race, gender, genre, sovereignty, and so on. We can better appreciate the process of cultural borrowing once we consider how each artifact, that is, source texts as well as plays and adaptations, emerged through specific processes of material production and distribution. That will require correcting an imbalance of reproduction: at present, while the texts we mark as Shakespearean are made endlessly available online in facsimile, transcription, and edited iterations, even their most immediate intertexts are reproduced mainly in under-edited fragments. Source texts that happen to be in Early English Books Online can be analyzed for *mise-en-page*, but EEBO texts are behind a paywall, nearly illegible, and isolated from metadata and binding evidence. A ballad source can be encountered fully in the English Broadside Ballad Archive, a pioneering resource that more Shakespeare editors and teachers should tap. For chapbook texts and works from foreign presses, access even to digital versions is patchy. As canonical literature appears on every Kindle, the deeper records of the culture seem more remote, their value all the more likely to be forgotten (albeit not literally exhausted).

It may help to define source study not as a sub-discipline but as a data set: how are these texts, non-dramatic and dramatic, Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean, linked to one another? Source study can and should be harnessed to explicit interpretive agendas, as in Claire McEachern's early work of feminist source study. We can find new ways to present sources and plays in dialogue across sets chosen to support diverse critical aims. Textual scholars are most interested in variants within the set, say, the two texts of *King Lear* in relation to early chronicles. Theater historians may be more interested in how practices of adaptation vary among different companies' repertories, the differences between a Chamberlain's Men history play and a Queen's Men history play. A scholar investigating audience response, or cultural representation, rather than aesthetics, might prefer to look at cases where nondramatic intertexts are near-twins with plays, as in the cases of *Pericles* and *Titus Andronicus*. Not just in our high-tech present, but also in the low-tech past, narrative remains intermedial, "a resource shared in varied patterns across the boundaries" of genres and media.[27] Especially for teaching purposes, we need to manage source study like textual criticism, perhaps by preparing hypertext versions, or like contemporary appropriation studies, setting source and adaptation alike in micropolitical context, or like contextual editions of the plays, treating sources as material as well as narrative artifacts.

We can reconcile source study's methods to a twenty-first-century practice, heuristic, eclectic, even idiosyncratic. I am not defining a single new source study, and what I consider sustainable in source study may not satisfy other practitioners, including those in this volume, or even

my future scholarly self. Currently, however, these tests inform my selection and study of intertextual sets:

1 Does my analysis attend to materiality and intermediality?
2 Is my analysis socially inclusive and intercultural?
3 Does my analysis help to protect and sustain cultural resources for public use?

Does My Analysis Attend to Materiality and Intermediality?

Today's source study should attend to the material forms in which source texts circulated, which govern the conditions of circulation as well as cuing interpretation through expressive form. It would help to recognize that sources have their discontinuities, much as today's theater history profits from recognizing that drama is collaborative and patchy. Tiffany Stern's *Documents of Performance* draws on period evidence to show that writers saw plotting and poesy as separate steps in play-writing. Yet Stern provides no discussion of the step before plotting, when the source text is selected or pitched for adaptation; indeed, the book never mentions source texts at all as among the "patchy" texts that feed into a play. Although we have no documents of source-selection, we have the printed play texts, and the sources themselves, as an enormous documentary pool. We have ample evidence of the material historicity of stories, by which I mean their presence as narrative texts, more or less documentary or fantastic, but largely printed, from which plots were shaped along well-understood Renaissance principles of *imitatio*.

One of the few critics who has addressed the pre-plotting stage in conjunction within material conditions of playwriting is H.R. Woudhuysen, in *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*:

> One way of dividing the work of writing might have been to allocate the source book… from which the plot was taken to one author, while the other worked on material he devised for himself or took from another source. The theatre company or a theatrical entrepreneur may have owned copies of several such source books from which plots could be extracted and lent them out to authors, so that Shakespeare need not have bought or owned copies of the books from which he adapted material.[28]

The argument here has important payoffs for thinking about, for instance, multiplot drama: each plot is drawn from a different source by a different hand. As a book historian, Woudhuysen can imagine composition undertaken by an author who holds a source text as well as the pen; he puts the source on the desk with the scene being composed, both material, both malleable.

More might be done on the cue of Paulina Kewes's important work on Restoration and eighteenth-century playwriting, when dramatists' methods of adaptation became a controversial topic. Kewes traces the emergence of a key distinction between adapting non-dramatic works, which is normative, and adapting earlier play material, which is increasingly understood as derivative (if overt) or plagiaristic (if covert). Shakespeare, not insignificantly, remains a playwright whose work still merits, nay demands, adaptation. Reading backward from Kewes, we might consider whether Elizabethan dramatists saw a qualitative difference between adapting dramatic and nondramatic source texts.

We might also remember that source texts themselves, although we encounter them in the neat package of print, also travelled from oral to manuscript to print circulation as playbooks did, if seldom as patchily and recursively. Thinking specifically about fiction, Andy Kesson comments: "the diminutive and segregated field of prose fiction criticism distorts and disrupts our understanding of early modern literary culture, in which markets for stories in books and [in] theatres" were built simultaneously.[29] Often the Stationers' Register shows ballads, prose pamphlets, and playbooks registered in close sequence, as we see in the early example of *Doctor Faustus* and the later example of *Pericles*. We have analyzed the publication and the materiality of playbooks far more than the prose and verse texts that may be their sources, progeny, or siblings, except insofar as the latter are adapted for the stage. Each of these forms makes its own appeal to readers, and together they yield a more nuanced sense of what a given story might do in the culture. The text of a ballad contains its own marketing campaign (as do early modern book titles), but with cues for oral delivery as well as silent reading. *Every* feature of a ballad invites reader participation. Play editions should include contemporary and later ballad adaptations, if possible in facsimile, to supplement their textual and performance histories.

Attention to materiality is crucial for source study because it allows comparative histories of publishing and reading across media. The work of adapting sources to dramas takes place not only in the collaborative work of plotters and poets, but also in the minds of audiences who recognize familiar material. Overly conservative literacy estimates have led us to imagine non-elite audience members as blank slates, when in fact their lives were saturated with print, and Shakespeare's sources were often (not always) drawn from widely shared reading experiences: current and recent best-sellers. To what extent did the impact of plays depend on challenging the expectations of audiences who recognized familiar material? Underemployed evidence for that question lies in the material conditions in which source books circulated. As Leah Scragg points out, modern critics tend to imagine source study as "a species of archaeological investigation, designed to explore the range of the dramatist's reading rather than elucidate the plays," but in Shakespeare's day, "the

recognition of the material used in the construction of a literary work afforded a significant element of the pleasure" it gave audiences.[30] What was recognizable to audiences, and why, and how? Those questions are connected, but not identical, to what a playwright used, and why, and how. Maguire and Smith aver that the sources that modern critics find least detectable—their example is Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *The Tempest*—might have been all the more important to the playwright for being buried (but see Brotton). They read such burying as a mark of trauma; Macachek too testifies to the deep allusion. Material evidence helps us understand how buried an allusion might be, not just for the playwright, but for Jacobean theater audience members.

In other words, while earlier work classifies sources by their immediacy to the play and the imagined playwright, a post-structuralist source study might ask about the knowledge of sources that audiences brought to theaters and reading experiences. The first question rests on textual allusion and dates of publication; the latter on the patchier evidence of performance history, generic affinities, book prices and circulation, and reading practices. We might also reverse the question: what are the conditions of possibility that would allow a given intertextual reference to be meaningful to early auditors and readers?

Is My Analysis Socially Inclusive and Intercultural?

Tracing the diversity of cultural forms helps to trace the diversity of original audiences. I believe that a materially grounded source study will disprove Erika Lin's assertion that "The history of the book offers an interesting window into the past, but, in the case of drama, it also necessarily privileges the history of the elite."[31] Lin supports this position by comparing the costs of theater admission and playbooks:

> Treating plays as books rather than performances not only artificially inflates the impact of printed drama but also effaces the experiences of those lower in various social hierarchies. The price of a playbook would have been six times the cost of standing-room admission to the yard in a public playhouse.. ... For many members of society, an afternoon's entertainment at the outdoor amphitheatres was the more affordable option. .... Treating theatre primarily as printed text skews our perception of the cultural landscape by ignoring over 99 percent of early modern encounters with plays.[32]

However, if we look at the history of popular print and popular reading practices, rather than the history of the playbook, the imbalance shrinks. The cost of standing in the yard was identical to the cost of a ballad (as Bruce Smith pointed out twenty-odd years ago); and the ballad could be shared by multiple users. To appreciate the literacies that

audience members bring to plays, we need to reexamine source texts as doing something more than "fail[ing] to be Shakespeare."

Here the colonial origins of source study may remind us to reflect on the history of cultural appropriation. Christy Desmet specifies that the "word 'appropriation' implies an exchange, either the theft of something valuable … or a gift, the allocation of *resources* for a worthy cause."[33] But if all the value is found in the appropriator, no exchange is acknowledged. I hope to respect the diversity, historical autonomy, and material specificity of all texts, not just Shakespeare's, in my work. That narrative and linguistic content is exchanged across material distances and differences, and in multiple encounters, not just the dyad of source and Shakespeare. The ballad of *Titus Andronicus* must have been read in London and other port cities with people of color visible in the work force and in theater audiences (Habib). Expanding and contextualizing narrative sets across national lines is equally important. If, for instance, we wish to track changes in racial discourse across national boundaries, we must ask: why does Cinthio's tale leave the Moor unnamed yet insist that Disdemona's name is unfortunate? What texts were precursors to Cinthio, and how did they name names? As Bruster says of quoting, I say of adaptation: "it tells us what a work is materially *tethered* to: what lines of relation tie it to texts, people, events, ideas, and discourses."[34] As I will demonstrate, a Shakespeare play, like any other "work," is materially tethered in a web of adaptation to *many* texts, many peoples, many events, many discourses that we can see best if we do not spin them all into one Shakespearean yarn.

Does My Source Study Protect and Sustain Cultural Resources for Public Use?

Remembering its past, source study should take cues from book historians and ecocritics, to remember that the survival of texts ensures both material and cultural sustainability. In their "New Model for the Study of the Book," Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker point out that a "work that does not survive will not be read again and thus will not be written again."[35] We immediately can note how many Shakespearean genres profited from relatively fresh rediscoveries: Seneca in the tragedies, Tudor historiography in the histories, medieval English literature and Heliodorus in the romances. We also can note how many intertexts (and ur-texts) appear to be lost and unrecoverable.

Like Scragg, Adams and Barker invoke archaeology in considering the process of textual transmission. In a passage that resonates with the argument of this piece, they suggest that "Scarcity of documentation presents the historian with a challenge, not a limitation. Still, imagination and determination are required to identify and interpret the sources. Archaeology recreates the way people lived from what is dug out of the

ground"; history of the book relies on "documentary" as well as archaeological traces:

> McKenzie's summons to "use *all* relevant evidence" has a special force for those who try to calculate the reception of the book. We cannot fully grasp it unless we take into account that there had to be physical confrontation before reception could take place.[36]

Textual sustainability refers not only to what we preserve for ourselves, but also to what we share with our students and other publics. Recent events in the UK suggest that the public imagination has been captured by archaeology, as new developments seal Shoreditch theater sites in glass, underneath high-rises that offer a fetishized authenticity (Osborne). Yet as the theatrical life of early drama proves, early modern plays are living things, and they cannot be put under glass. Neither should scholarship box up the plays' intertexts as secondary artifacts. Instead, our research and teaching—and digital projects such as the English Broadside Ballad Archive—can protect and advance intertexts' accessibility and, thus, their capacity to interact and generate meaning. Advancing such research and teaching sustains cherished scholarly resources: face-to-face teaching, hands-on research, library stewardship of the print record, the testing of digital platforms, and international cooperation.

A further test of sustainability is how a system, in this case source study, promises to reproduce itself. What might be a sustainable "future of source-hunting"? Robert Miola's *Shakespeare's Reading* (2000) concluded with a vision of an endless database of intertexts: "In the new millennium scholars may still dream of Shakespeare's library, but they will envision the collection differently. Stacks of books privately owned and read will *share space* with literary and cultural databases, *infinitely* flexible, *accessible*, and expandable."[37] This vision need not be an elephants' graveyard, a fantasy of the impossible or the futile, if our goal is not to capture infinitude in a single system, but to build varied spaces for the sharing of diverse knowledges across professions, generations, nations, and languages, and to understand that no text exists solely as a resource for another text.

The Sources of *The Winter's Tale*

By the time that English criticism decided to call Shakespeare's predecessor texts "sources," the word invoked a quest, the imperialism and futility of which were literally proverbial. The choice was made, too, despite the poor fit with the model of classical philology. In this as in all else, Shakespeare was exceptional: ideas flowed upriver from the source to Shakespeare. Source study has been troubled by a sense of futility in the face of infinite possible influences, but the futility recedes if we accept

multiplicity not as a problem of cultural distance, but as the condition of textual proliferation. As Kyle Johnston recently argued, "we must think of writing as always also rewriting,"[38] and thus stop looking for originals and complaining that we find a *mise en abîme*. Source study is enriched, not defeated, by acknowledging the existence of a "common stock" of stories.[39] It can be enriched further by recognizing that stories spread interculturally.

So what if we look again at Shakespeare and sources, embracing infinite regress, multiplicity, uncertainty, as desiderata? I turn to *Winter's Tale*, a play seldom mentioned without its prose source. Source study need not ask whether *Winter's Tale* or *Pandosto* is the better text, whether *Pandosto* is "dross," how heavily Shakespeare depended on Greene, or even what strategies Shakespeare used to adapt Greene. It can also ask how stories are carried through the texts, what is sustained, and how. A river is a reductive metaphor for the system of cultural exchange. Culture is never a single stream, but a delta of interconnections; neither its end nor its beginning should be sought, much less privileged. The river is time, and the study of rewriting allows us to move upstream as well as down, as Gillespie writes of "Two-Way Reception: Shakespeare's Influence on Plutarch" (*Translation*).

Jeanette Winterson reflects on bidirectional time as well, in an essay about her 2015 novel *The Gap of Time*, her "prose version of *The Winter's Tale*." Winterson comments that "Time's arrow shoots both ways until that which is lost is found." For her, this movement is backward, and she emphasizes that the play and her novel end when Hermione can "rejoin the flow of time," "let the past be over," and "discover" a less destructive future.[40] Yet surely the strong links from Heliodorus to Greene to Shakespeare are not "destructive" of Winterson's place in the chain, but add weight to her adaptation, and especially to the moment when the novel asks, "Time can't unhappen but it can be unlost."[41] Stories, unlike human actions, can flow against time. Only narrative's "arrow shoots both ways." Sadly, Winterson forgets her own lesson when she calls *The Winter's Tale* "a remix of Robert Greene's lurid and dull story."[42] Why condemn what Shakespeare appropriated, even as we celebrate what he took from it?

We can recognize the tie between *Pandosto* and *Winter's Tale* as remarkably strong without considering it dyadic. Greene's romance may be a direct, primary, and visible precursor of *The Winter's Tale*, but it is not its source in the etymological sense, not its point of origin. For *Pandosto* itself relies almost as directly on the Hellenistic prose novels whose rediscovery transformed sixteenth-century literary culture. Shakespeare's use of Greene is inseparable from Greene's use of a much older text. In 1902, Samuel L. Woolf's *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* argued that *Pandosto* relied on Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (2nd–3rd CE) for its pastoral scenes. Bullough acknowledged that "Greene had a

vast literature" of pastoral that included Longus to draw upon, but he did not include Longus as a *Winter's Tale* source or analogue; Gillespie refers to Woolf's proposal as "generally discredited."[43] More recent work on Elizabethan fiction has connected *Pandosto* to another Hellenistic romance, the *Aethiopica* (or *Aethiopian History*) attributed to Heliodorus of Emesa (now known as Homs, one of the Syrian cities recently devastated by civil war). Although the *Aethiopica* was much imitated by Byzantine novelists, it was unknown to the West until 1526, when European and Ottoman forces clashed at Buda. A German mercenary carried the Hungarian king's Greek manuscript back to Western Europe, where it was published in Greek (1534), French (1547), Latin (1552), and English (tr. Thomas Underdowne, 1569). Europe had seen nothing like its taut construction and narratological complexity, and many major sixteenth-century works in prose and verse sought to imitate it.

Pandosto (first extant edition 1588) is one of the earliest English prose fictions informed by Greek romance, and in its day England's most direct retelling of the Heliodoran love plot, although Greene simplified its narration: a princess is exposed as illegitimate, matures to idealized love in a foreign land, and is returned to her family in a spectacular, complex discovery scene. (Jonathan Crewe has explored the two prose romances as experiments in narrating complexity, narrative and cultural.)[44] Although Underdowne's preface identifies the author as "an Arabian" (5), the main text concludes, "Thus endeth the Aethiopian historie of Theagenes and Cariclia, the author whereof is Heliodorus of Emesos… which fetched his pedigree from the Sunne" (290). In his very name, the author traced his lineage to Ethiopia. That is remarkable because the Ethiopian lineage of the princess Cariclia/Chariclea is the point on which the plot turns. Her mother Persinna, Queen of Ethiopia, explains that when she conceived her child with Hydaspes, King of the Ethiopians, she was gazing on a painting of Andromeda. As a result of this sensory impression, these black parents' daughter is born suspiciously white, and Persinna feels she must give her away. Years later, on the "point of death," Chariclea is finally identified, thanks to a text written in the queen's "mother tongue" (Underdowne 71). Racial instability, too, comes full circle, as this whitest of black girls uncovers the birthmark hidden on her upper arm, "a black circle etched on the ivory of her skin."[45]

The essential Heliodoran love plot, with skin color overwritten by other grounds for suspect birth, clearly fits both *Pandosto*'s Fawnia and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*. In 1970, Carol Gesner argued in *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance: A Study of Origins* that Shakespeare "recognized" the *Aethiopica* "in the background of *Pandosto*, and thus selected it for the foundation of *Winter's Tale*."[46] However, Bullough did not even mention Heliodorus in his 1975 volume covering *Winter's Tale*, and neither do most editions of the play. Mario DiGangi's edition for Bedford Texts and Contexts discusses a Hellenistic romance tradition

that includes Longus and Heliodorus.[47] However, he does not include the *Aethiopica* as a source, intertext, or contextual document, simply noting that "*Pandosto* is the only document in this chapter that can be considered a direct 'source' for *The Winter's Tale*, although the Hellenistic romances should themselves be acknowledged as sources for Greene."[48] Thus editors of *The Winter's Tale* avoid considering Shakespeare's indebtedness to an author from the lineage of the sun. Yet Shakespeare clearly knew about the *Aethiopica* enough to cite its plot and, by implication, its construction through dramatic reversals. In the deeply Heliodoran discovery scene of *Twelfth Night*, Orsino asks, "Why should I not, had I the heart to do it, / Like to th'Egyptian thief at point of death, / Kill what I love?" (5.1.110–12). The casual mention of a minor episode assumes that audience members, too, know that story.

It is therefore surprising that only one recent article examines the intertextual chain all the way from the *Aethiopica* through *Pandosto* to *The Winter's Tale*. Simon Reynolds's study of the three texts focuses on the classical theme of *fantasia*, which fuses maternal impression and (male) mental conception. Anxiety about *fantasia* is transferred from the racialized painting of Andromeda to the unmotivated jealousy of Greene's and Shakespeare's kings. Reynolds then praises Shakespeare for replacing Greene's ending with the statue scene, a "Heliodoran spectacle upon the stage" that uses *fantasia* to its "proper and fertile end."[49] In the span of an article, however, Reynolds cannot explore the fertility of Greek romance, and particularly of this Ethiopian romance, in Elizabethan culture.

What critics have not considered is that *The Winter's Tale*, despite writing race out of the grounds for Perdita's rejection, associates the lost princess repeatedly with Africa. At climactic moments in the plot, Perdita is linked to both Ethiopia and with Libya, imparting racial and political overtones to her dual identity. These references seem unmotivated, and editors have failed to gloss them, or to admit that they demand glossing. That these overtones have gone unnoticed is surprising given the present urgency of reading the politics of empire through Shakespeare's classical allusions[50] and the overt reference to Heliodorus in *Twelfth Night*. A sustainable source study sees that they comprise a deep allusion, a distant, indirect, or buried reference to the *Aethiopica* and its African setting, a recognition that one of the things this story set has done is imagine familial discontinuity as racial indeterminacy.

In the sheep-shearing scene, Florizel calls Perdita's hand "as soft as doves-down, and as white as it, / Or Ethyopian's tooth, or the fanned snow that's blown / By the northern blasts twice o'er."[51] The New Variorum of 1898 proposes, "I should like to overlook altogether this reference to a tooth" as "the mental picture of 'minstrels' with corked faces which the simile now evokes are not cheerful. Not that it should be erased from the text, but omitted merely in reading."[52] After that, the play's

editors can find little to say about this apparently unmotivated turn to racializing language; J. H. P. Pafford cites similar references to blackness elsewhere in Shakespeare, while other editors assiduously gloss the other images as "proverbial" metaphors for "purity."[53] Sadly, the 2005 New Variorum glosses "Ethiopyan" only by citing two early 20th-century editions that report Ethiopia was "an ancient name of Africa," once "used vaguely for the whole of Africa S. of Egypt."[54] In 2010, Pitcher offers the same pointless misinformation: "'Ethiopian' was used for all black African races."[55] No edition gives any hint that Ethiopia was an independent kingdom in the Hellenistic era, in the early modern Solomonic dynasty, and again in the modern colonial era—much less that the kingdom gave its name to a uniquely influential classical text.

Again, no editor takes up the punchline, in which Florizel's father Polixenes, looking on in disguise, remarks "How prettily the young swain seems to wash / The hand, was fair before" (4.4.361–62). That is, no one connects the reference to an "Ethyopian" to the "proverbial" "washing the Ethiop," which expresses hoped-for impossibilities in a crude racial binary (Hall, Newman). Pitcher blithely explains that Florizel is making her hand, "already beautifully white, still whiter by his comparisons."[56]

While these lines deny a tie from Perdita to Africa, the final reference asserts one, apparently as an obvious lie. Newly landed in Sicilia with his supposedly lowborn love, Florizel tells the court that she is a princess who "came from *Libia*"—again glossed in Turner and Haas as "the generall name of all Africa" and a "dark, African world."[57] Her father is "the warlike Smalus" (5.1.156). Pafford traces this name, along with all the others that Shakespeare used to rename Greene's characters, to Plutarch's *Lives of Greeks and Romans*.[58] "Smalus" appears to misread a name in the life of "Dion": in a voyage from Libya, the Dion reaches a Sicilian village ruled by "Snyalus."[59] An analysis focused on spelling avoids awkward questions of geography and ethnicity. Stephen Orgel's edition cites Pafford, adding drily that Pafford's derivation would "put the warlike Smalus in Sicily, not Libya."[60]

Traditional source study (and editing) would tackle these lines by asking whether Shakespeare read Underdowne or only knew of Heliodorus via the "derived tradition" (Gesner). A sustainable source study prefers to note that Shakespeare's adaptation recognizes previous texts as themselves "derived," and offers its own derivations. If this play is "like an old tale still," then *Aethiopica* is acknowledged as another old tale, but not privileged as the oldest of tales. There is no need to claim *Aethiopica* was an origin, conscious or unconscious, for *Winter's Tale*; this buried allusion gestures, as most buried allusions do, toward origin as always elusive. Similarly, the *Aethiopica*, a foundling with the instant status of a classic, problematized Europe's sense of literary flow. Its very narration recounts a search for origins in a manner that undercuts its outcome (Black). The protagonist of the *Aethiopica* is a young woman searching

for her origins, "laden with signs and writing" that she herself cannot interpret.[61] Plot and providence return her, in the final scene, to a family she does not resemble, a homeland whose language she does not speak.

Chariclea's search for her origins is charted up and down the Nile, which provides the convoluted novel a spine and its various cultures a "sophisticated topography of power."[62] Its events span the Nile, from the lower banks of the opening scene to the upper reaches of the (Blue) Nile where the ending unfolds in Ethiopia's capital. As Chariclea is returned to her place of birth, and her fascia to the land where its language is native, her narrative is untangled, the tale's convolutions made direct, in contrast to the notoriously unmappable course of the Nile. The novel seeks to map plot out of narrative complexity, as the fantasy of finding the source of the Nile seeks to map order out of geographical complexity. Ultimately, however, the "hermeneutics of plot" outweigh the plot in significance, and the true subject of the story turns out to be the flow of story itself. In its narrative self-consciousness, the *Aethiopica* reminds us to remap literary history and geography: when distant places and inscrutable texts prove to be essential, imperial narratives are decentered.

Crucial plot details in the *Aethiopica* also question the primal force of origin tales. Consider the explanation of Chariclea's conception as explained to her father, the Ethiopian king, in the grand discovery scene. Underdowne renders it thus: "Persina conceyved such a figure by looking upon Andromeda, when you had to do with her: if you desire to bee fully satisfied herein, and be made to beleeve without deniall, the picture is at hand, looke up on Andromeda, who is as wel expressed in the maide, as in the picture without any difference" (270–71). A more recent translation reports that in the band the queen of Ethiopia

> admits to having absorbed some images and phantasms from looking at the portrait of Andromeda while having sex with you. If you want further proof, go to the *source* of the images. See how the Andromeda in the picture shows forth unchanged in the girl.
>
> (Kennedy 200, emphasis added)

Morgan's more precise translation specifies "If you desire further confirmation, the exemplar is to hand" [*ad manus est exemplar et archetypus contemplare Andromedum*], thus figuring the painting not as "source" (as modern usage would have it) but as exemplar and archetype, figures of repetition. There is no source; there is only a pattern that can be contemplated as evidence, or evidence that once contemplated might yield a pattern.

Furthermore, as Sujata Iyengar demonstrates, this supposed explanation merely summons the infinite regress of racial identity made uncertain across temporal gaps: the Queen of Ethiopia looked at a picture of Andromeda, but Andromeda herself was an Ethiopian princess, and in

classical and Renaissance texts and paintings was variously depicted as black *or* white depending on a work's context and agenda (McGrath). Persinna's explanation is thus another tale of influence by art that muddies origins. Analogously, Greek romance may itself rely on exemplars from Asian traditions. There is no flow without trace, no conception immaculate, no origin that does not stretch into the almost-forgotten or misremembered, all of which call a sustainable source study to look deeper.

Given the instability of narrative, the discovery scene demands the further evidence of Chariclea's hidden birthmark, the ring of ebony on her ivory arm. Yet even this bodily evidence is equivocal: the imprint of blackness stamps her as Ethiopian while flattering the rest of her complexion as a supersession of that non-Greek lineage. If traditional source scholarship looks for Shakespeare to shine white against the black of all other texts, as ivory against ebony, the Ethyops' tooth, Heliodorus defeats that logic with this loop of hybridity. Oddly enough, as Iyengar details, Underdowne was led astray by "elephantum", and describes the "backe spotte" above Chariclea's elbow as "a mole, much like to the strakes that Elephants have" (271). The mistranslation recalls the elephants' graveyard of source study, and suggests that in textual archaeology, ivory does not shine out in stark contrast; we uncover a more complicated pattern, ringed and mottled, of narrative and cultural value.

The *Aethiopica* helps the source scholar to read across languages and lineages because this ancient text asserts ideals of interculturalism and syncretism that neither Shakespeare's culture nor our own seem able to achieve. (It is debatable whether Hellenistic culture did any better.) Shakespeare's Perdita presses toward such a vision, and perhaps alludes again to the Heliodoran intertext, when she comments of the overbearing King Polixenes, "The selfsame sun that shines upon his court / Hides not his visage from our cottage, but / Looks on alike" (sic) (4.4.445–47). Of course, Perdita is a princess, and Chariclea is daughter of the king of the sun; these are not democratic texts. Yet collectively, this textual set imagines a brighter future.

In Winterson's 2015 version of *The Winter's Tale*, Perdita is the rejected white daughter of white Londoners, dumped by mischance in New Bohemia, an impoverished, flood-prone city in the Mississippi delta. She is adopted by a musician, Shep, and as she grows, he muses about her origins:

> She asks about her mother and I say we don't know. I have always told her the truth – or enough of it. And she is white and we are black so she knows she was found. The story has to start somewhere.[63]

Although Winterson disavows Shakespeare's debt to Greene and exhibits no interest in his cultural lineage, her retelling of Shakespeare seems

to excavate themes from more ancient precursors. Here, as in *Winter's Tale*, the binarism of race may seem intrusive, reductive, unsettling, but the reference invites us into a chain, a web, a globe of stories. Sustaining those stories is one exemplum for sustaining that globe.

Notes

1 Quoted in Bruster, *Quoting Shakespeare*, 34.
2 *Ibid.*, 36.
3 Scragg, "Source Study," 383.
4 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 1: ix–xi; 8: 341–45.
5 *Ibid.*, 8: 341.
6 Halliwell, *Remarks of Simrock*, ix.
7 Muir, "The Future of Source-Hunting," 35.
8 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 8: 342.
9 *Ibid.*, 8: 346.
10 Muir, *The Future of Source-Hunting*, 35.
11 For more on this, see Maguire and Smith, "What is a Source?"; Levin, "Negative Evidence."
12 Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, 2.
13 Artese, Shakespeare's Folktale Sources; Clubb, *Italian Drama*; and Mowat, "Theatre."
14 A point also made by Maguire and Smith in "What is a Source?"
15 Belsey, "The Elephant's Graveyard Revisited," 63.
16 Collier 1843, quoted in Newcomb's *Reading Popular Romance*, 206.
17 Bruce, *Travels to Discover*, 17.
18 *Ibid.*, 28.
19 Mentz, "Revising the Sources," 60.
20 Gillespie, "Shakespeare and the Greek Romance," 2.
21 Newcomb, "Sources of Romance."
22 Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance*, 133.
23 Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources, 1: xi.
24 Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, 3.
25 *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
26 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 8: vii.
27 Newcomb, "Sources," 22.
28 Woudhuysen, *The New Cambridge Companion*, 35.
29 Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, 21.
30 Scragg, "Source Study," 373.
31 Lin, *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance*, 14.
32 *Ibid.*
33 Desmet, "Introduction," 3.
34 Bruster, *Quoting Shakespeare*, 36.
35 Adams and Barker, "New Model," 60.
36 *Ibid.*
37 Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading*, 169, emphasis added.
38 Johnston, "Evolution, Memes and Memory," 7.
39 Michael Dobson, quoted Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance*, 181.
40 Winterson, "Jeanette Winterson on Writing."
41 Winterson, *Gap of Time*, 244.
42 Winterson, "Jeanette Winterson on Writing."
43 Winterson, *Shakespeare's Books*, 206.

44 Crewe, "Believing the Impossible."
45 Hadas, trans., *Heliodorus: An Aethiopian History*, 256.
46 Gesner, *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance*, 118.
47 Di Gangi, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 135–36.
48 *Ibid.*, 139; cites Gillespie "Greek Romance," 229.
49 Reynolds, "*Cymbeline* and Heliodorus's *Aithiopika*," 447.
50 See Maguire and Smith, "What is a Source?"; James, *Shakespeare's Troy*; Brotton, "This Tunis was Carthage."
51 Turner and Haas, eds., *The Winter's Tale*, 368–70.
52 Furness, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 227.
53 Pafford, ed., *The Winter's Tale*; Snyder, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 194; Aasand, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 156.
54 Turner and Haas, eds., *The Winter's Tale*, 408.
55 Pitcher, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 282.
56 *Ibid.*
57 Turner and Haas, eds., *The Winter's Tale*, 499.
58 Pafford, ed. *The Winter's Tale*, 163–64.
59 *Ibid.*, 142–43.
60 Orgel, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, 215.
61 Stephens, "Cultural Identity," 72.
62 Lowe, *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative*, 239.
63 Winterson, *The Gap of Time*, 23.

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2 *Contaminatio*, Race, and Pity in *Othello*

Dennis Austin Britton

Othello is one of Shakespeare's most "Italian" plays: it is set in Italy, it draws from Italian sources, it employs an Italian mode of dramatic composition, and it attempts to translate to its English audience Italian notions of race.[1] Scholars agree that 3.7 of Giovanni Battista Giraldi (Cinthio)'s *Gli Hecatommithi* is the "source proximate" for *Othello*, and some argue that Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Robert Greene's play of the same name are important sources as well.[2] In this essay, I consider how we might understand the relationship between Cinthio, Ariosto, and Greene in *Othello* and what Shakespeare's engagement with the two versions of *Orlando Furioso* might tell us about the workings of race in his play. I suggest that the concept of *contaminatio*, in which an adaptation or translation of one text incorporates passages from other texts and which was a widely used mode of dramatic composition in Renaissance Italy, is useful here. I examine one particular moment when Ariosto's and Greene's works "contaminate" Shakespeare's adaptation of Cinthio, the account of how Othello and Desdemona fall in love, and ask why Shakespeare turns to Ariosto and Greene when he does.[3] In terms of race, what does Shakespeare read in Cinthio's novella and Ariosto's romance; what does he see in Greene's play?

Recognizing the "Italianness" of *Othello* requires acknowledging how the play attempts to translate Italian attitudes and feelings about race to its English audience. But to do so we must also expand our understanding of the *what* and *why* of Shakespeare's *contaminatio*. Maristella Lorch asserts,

> if we choose to read *Othello* in the light of an Italian source, we should also allow ourselves the freedom of looking outside the recognized direct source, in this case the *Hecatommithi,* and try to consider as worthy of Shakespeare some powerful expressions of Italian Renaissance thought.[4]

Lorch's argument, that Shakespeare engages more than just the plot and character types of his primary source, should also influence how we understand Shakespeare's *contaminatio*. When considering what materials

Shakespeare incorporates into his revision of Cinthio's novella,[5] we must also consider where he incorporates those materials, why he does so at particular moments, and what modes of thought, ideologies, attitudes, and feelings are brought to the source vis-à-vis *contaminatio*.

In particular, I wish to consider how Shakespeare draws together Italian ideas and feelings about race in *Othello*. Karina Feliciano Attar argues that upon reading Cinthio's novella, Shakespeare would have seen a tale that itself raises questions about the incorporation of racial others into Christian society. It also seems likely that upon reading the novella, Shakespeare felt that Cinthio's tale had tragic potential. Yet, could an English play in which a black man kills a white woman do anything but reinforce racial stereotypes about blackness and reify the taboo nature of interracial love between white women and non-white men? Could a wife-killing Moor become a tragic hero and elicit within an early seventeenth-century English audience tragic emotions? While the situation between the Moor and Disdemona in Cinthio's tale surely has a potential to inspire fear, how can this story inspire English pity for a black Moor? The translation of Cinthio's novella into dramatic tragedy presents challenges, but they are ones Shakespeare tackles in *Othello*, attempting as he does to push the limits of tragic pity beyond their expected and conventional confines within early modern tragedy. Shakespeare contaminates Cinthio's novella with *Orlando Furioso* in order to introduce into his play a type of pity that is typically elicited by romances—romances often allow characters to pity others whose racial and religious identities are different from their own. Pity, as it is experienced in romance, is a crucial emotion for helping the English audience experience tragic pity and for feeling the complexity of Italian attitudes about race.

This essay thus revisits a somewhat old proposition, suggested early on by critics who attended to Othello's race; critics such as G. K. Hunter and Ruth Cowhig asserted that in staging a Moor as a tragic hero, the play challenges the racial prejudices of its audience by showing that a Moor could be both tragic and heroic.[6] I do not disagree with this argument, but I do see Shakespeare's tragedy as needing to borrow from the emotional resources of romance to help the audience feel pity for the Moor of Venice. I have written elsewhere on Shakespeare's use of romance in *Othello* and suggested that romance was a powerful strategy for both questioning and establishing his otherness.[7] But here I argue that attention to *contaminatio* becomes essential for understanding both the play's interest in race mixing and its expansion of the limits of pity in tragedy. If pity—according to Aristotle— requires audience members to identify some form of likeness between the hero and themselves, romance provides a means for expanding the parameters of what can be counted as likeness. In the case of *Othello*, Shakespeare draws from print and stage versions of *Orlando Furioso* to explore how pity functions in a moment that is both erotically and racially charged and to facilitate the

experience of pity. To explain Desdemona's attraction to Othello, and to facilitate the audience's, Shakespeare contaminates Cinthio's text with Ariosto's and Greene's *Orlando Furioso*.

Othello's audience thus learned something about how to feel about Moors and racial difference from Italian romance; it experienced what Susanne L. Wofford identifies as "foreign emotions," "the dramatic representation of emotions that are translated or imported from foreign plays or intertextual sources."[8] Beyond my particular argument about *Othello,* I also wish to draw attention to the fact that sources carry with them not only plots, tropes, and character types, but also their feelings and emotional tenors, which themselves become conduits of ideologies of power and difference—all of which, of course, authors, audiences, and readers may variously accept, reject, or revise. Himself a reader, listener, and viewer of tales, we should assume that Shakespeare was affected by the stories he encountered.

Race in Cinthio's Novella

To understand race in *Othello*, we must first turn to Cinthio. Meredith Ann Skura argues,

> knowing what Shakespeare searched out to add to Cinthio, and what he threw out because he didn't want it, may be the closest we can get right now [to] knowing what race meant in *Othello*, in contrast to what it meant in Cinthio, or in privateer reports, political dispatches, parish records, or other plays.[9]

Methodologically speaking, Skura asserts that we should begin with the "source proximate," or the text that we know Shakespeare read. Skura then goes on to read Cinthio's tale within the "calumniator credited" tradition of the novella, suggesting in the end "there is little in Cinthio to counter his hero's final savagery and his identity as 'hot Moor.'"[10] Attar, too, reads the tale within this tradition, but her consideration of this literary context alongside the historical context of Venetian/Turkish politics leads her to a different conclusion. She argues that

> Giraldi's novella challenges cultural expectations about race and gender by originally combining several character types common to the novella tradition: bestial Moors, noble Moors, unjustly accused women, and jilted or cuckolded men. Reading the tale against other comparable novellas reveals the complexity of Giraldi's project and suggests that Shakespeare's own interest in the narrative went beyond the basic elements of plot and character.[11]

She further asserts that "Rather than simply viewing the story as an unambiguous illustration of Moorish barbarity, contemporary readers would likely have recognized it as an original variation on the motif of unjustly accused women and gullible men."[12] Shakespeare's knowledge of the novella tradition makes it possible that he too noticed how Cinthio recombined a number of novella tropes to create a tale that questions if the Moor acts any different from white Christian husbands who find themselves in similar situations.[13] Shakespeare repeatedly turned to novella sources to create plays about jealous husbands and unjustly accused wives (*Othello, Much Ado about Nothing, The Winter's Tale,* and *Cymbeline*), and both Cinthio's and Shakespeare's Moors resemble the virtuous rather than villainous Moors of the novella tradition. Considering these two facts alongside each other makes it difficult to imagine a Shakespeare who reads Cinthio's tale as providing uncomplicated moral lessons or feelings about Moors.

In spite of their different conclusions, Skura and Attar similarly provide an important corrective to source study in general and to the source study of *Othello* in particular; we need to understand sources within their own contexts (historical and generic) before we can understand what Shakespeare does with them. I would add to the contexts that they provide that Cinthio's Moor is not only informed by the novella tradition but also by the romance tradition.[14] Publishing his *Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi* in 1554, Cinthio became a champion of romance who saw Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* as the epitome of the genre. His reasons for doing so are likely tied not only to a genuine appreciation of the genre but also to his political ambitions and a kind of hometown pride. In praising romance, Cinthio praises the genre that has deep roots in Ferrara and the Este court. His Ferrarese predecessors Matteo Maria Boiardo and Ludovico Ariosto, like Cinthio, both worked for Estes: Cinthio was Ercole II's private secretary and afterwards Alfonso II's.[15] (And, though not a fan of romance, it is noteworthy that Torquato Tasso, too, was from Ferrara.) Cinthio would later try his hand at epic romance in *Ercole* (1557), but attention to the court and literary heritage that Cinthio is immersed in—one so imbedded in epic romances that narrate interracial and interreligious desire and contact—undoubtedly informs his Moor of Venice. Within the larger contexts of both the novella and romance traditions, then, it becomes increasingly difficult to read Cinthio's tale without engaging the complexity with which Moors were treated in both of these traditions. Additionally, when reading Cinthio within his larger literary and political Ferrarese context, it seems more than coincidental that Shakespeare should bring Cinthio andAriosto together in *Othello*.[16]

Reading Cinthio's novella alongside *Orlando Furioso* thus furthers our understanding of the racial dynamics that can be seen through close

reading of the tale. From the very beginning, Cinthio asks his readers to confront different attitudes about the Moor's race:

> There was once in Venice a Moor, a very gallant man, who, because he was personally valiant and had given proof in warfare of great prudence and skillful energy, was very dear to the Signoria, who in rewarding virtuous actions ever advances the interests of the Republic. It happened that a virtuous Lady of wondrous beauty called Disdemona, impelled not by female appetite but by the Moor's good qualities, fell in love with him, and he, vanquished by the Lady's beauty and noble mind, likewise was enamored of her. So propitious was their mutual love that, although the Lady's relatives did all they could to make her take another husband, they were united in marriage and lived together in such concord and tranquility while they remained in Venice, that never a word passed between them that was not loving.
>
> (242)[17]

Absent from the first sentences of the tale is any sense of racial prejudice; that the Moor is described so unequivocally as gallant [or in Cinthio, *molto valoroso*], prudent and having skillful energy [*gran prudenza e di vivace ingegno*], and dear to the state [*molto caro a que' signori* (613)][18] suggests that a Moor could be imagined as being all of these—indeed, within the novella and romance traditions, Moors could be all of these. If racial prejudice is present here, it comes from Disdemona's parents. It is never said why they wish their daughter to take another husband, likely because there is no need to state the reason explicitly; the narrative assumes that the reader will understand that they do not wish their daughter to marry a Moor. From the very beginning, then, Cinthio's tale presents readers with a conundrum: how could parents not wish their daughter to marry a man with all of the qualities of the Moor? The tale places the praise of the Moor in dialogue with the unspoken prejudice of Disdemona's parents. Moreover, the happy life the couple lives in Venice also undermines—at least at the beginning of the tale—the assumption that marrying a Moor will only lead to tragedy.

Racial difference is at the very foundation of Cinthio's tale, but there are only a few moments of what can explicitly be identified as racial stereotyping and prejudice—two moments other than the unarticulated prejudice of Disdemona's parents. After Disdemona witnesses the Moor's anger, which is spurred by her intercession for the Captain, she says, "But you Moors are so hot by nature that any little thing moves you to anger and revenge" (245). Disdemona's comment causes unexpected reactions:

> Still more enraged at these words the Moor answered: 'Anyone who does not believe that may easily have proof of it! I shall take such

> revenge for any wrongs done to me as will more than satisfy me!' The lady was terrified by these words, seeing her husband angry with her, quite against his habit.
>
> (245)

The Moor's response to his wife's use of racial stereotypes—"Moors are so hot by nature" [*di natura tanto caldi* (617)]—is noteworthy; that he becomes "more enraged at these words" [*A queste parole piú irato* (617)] suggests that his rage emerges in response to his wife's use of racial stereotypes. Additionally, the fact that Disdemona responds "in astonishment and fright, seeing her husband's anger kindled against her so contrary to his wont" [*tutta isbigotita…veduto fuor del suo costume il marito contra lei riscaldato* (617)] implies that her words may have aroused a yet-unseen emotion in her husband. Although it may not be the Moor's custom to interact with his wife so furiously, the narrator's use of "*riscaldato*" implies that the Moor has become "heated" or maybe even "reheated" by Disdemona's words; he has become hot because his wife has accused him of being hot by nature. The narrator's use of "*riscaldato*," then, may suggest that the Moor's hot response confirms that Moors are indeed "*di natura tanto caldi*." Here the novella produces a racial conundrum that we also see in *Othello*: how do we know whether the Moor's behaviors should be read as determined by his racial identity, or as determined by the plot situation and genre conventions? Does the Moor respond the way he does because he is a Moor, or would any character in a novella or romance—Moor or Italian—respond similarly given the circumstances?

Nonetheless, the use of racial stereotypes in the argument escalates the volatility of the situation. It seems that Disdemona has employed a racial stereotype without considering its potential effects. Her words not only inspire a new type of emotion in the Moor, but they also become kindling for the fire of the Ensign's words to the Moor: "The woman has [already] come to dislike your blackness" (245) [In the Italian, the Ensign renders Disdemona "*colei a cui già è venuta a anoia questa vostra nerezza*" (617)].[19] The reader, as will the audience of *Othello*, immediately recognizes that this is not the case; this fictive aversion to blackness is used by the Ensign to play upon what Shakespeareans psychologize as the Moor's insecurity about being black in Venice. Yet, just as we should not read the aversion to blackness that the Ensign announces as Disdemona's, so too should we not read it as belonging to the tale at large. The lie the Ensign tells about race becomes the cause of both the Moor's and Disdemona's downfall.

The types of ambiguities surrounding race that critics often read in *Othello* were already present in Cinthio's novella: a Moor can be gallant, prudent, skillfully energetic, and beloved of the state, even as he can be seen as an unsuitable husband, "hot by nature," and bearing a blackness that is seen by some as uncomely. The tale presents all of these

to the reader, and, just as critics have argued is the case in *Othello*, the tale mostly aligns the negative attributes given to the Moor with the Ensign's perspective, making it difficult to take his views of race without seeing that such views originate in vice and villainy and become the cause of the tragic action. Additionally, reading the negative views of Moors in the tale against the novella and Ferrarese romance traditions makes it difficult to interpret that tale as making unequivocal statements about what Moors are by nature.

Contaminatio, Pity, and Romance

I am not the first to recognize that *Othello* contains echoes of *Orlando Furioso*,[20] but I hope to illuminate the links between Ariosto and Cinthio that likely explain why Shakespeare contaminates Cinthio's tale with Ariosto's. I also wish to highlight, like Skura and Attar, that attending to the contexts of Shakespeare's sources calls us to alter how we understand the relationship between his sources and his plays. I am also not the first to study Shakespeare's use of *contaminatio*. Louise George Clubb, for example, argues that Shakespeare would have learned the practice from sixteenth-century Italian drama.[21] But I suggest that examining Shakespeare's *contaminatio* not only reveals his use of Italian plots and theatergrams, but it also uncovers the particular Italianness of *Othello*. Additionally, *contaminatio* seems particularly appropriate for a play concerned with various types of mixing—religious, generic, and racial. (It is no wonder, perhaps, that Ariosto was such a fan of composition by *contaminatio*.) Perhaps Shakespeare also contaminates his primary source with romance because of the ideological affinities they share. *Contaminatio* rejects ideologies of purity and absolute allegiance: to engage in the practice is to deny the sanctity of any source and notions that sources should be reproduced in an absolute and unaltered form. Romance similarly rejects laws of purity and unity, just as it rejects the politics of epic through its formal structure of interlacement and its unlawful mixing of errant eroticism and Christian piety, especially manifested in its fondness for portraying relationships between individuals from different races and religions, about which I will say more below.

According to George E. Duckworth, in its original sense "contamination signifies the joining or working together of material from two (or more) Greek originals to form one Latin play."[22] The nomenclature attributed to the practice itself shows how it was viewed: as the Latin noun denotes a polluting, contamination, or defilement, playwrights who employed the practice were seen as doing a kind of violence to original Greek plays.[23] Luscius Lanuvinus's criticism of Terence is often cited as exemplifying the controversy regarding whether or not this mode of composition was considered a legitimate way to write plays—Terence defended his use of the practice in his preface to *Andria*.[24]

Despite ancient controversy about the practice, *contaminatio* was widely practiced in Renaissance Italy, especially by Ariosto: according to Clubb, "Constant as a principle from the time of Ariosto on was [play] construction by contamination."[25] Clubb also notes that Ariosto goes beyond defending the practice (as Terence had done) to actually celebrating it in the prologue to *Suppositi*.[26] *Contaminatio* was not only a primary mode of composition by dramatists in Italy, it was also seen as particularly Italian. Ridiculing Italian comedy, Montaigne writes,

> It hath often come unto my minde, how such as in our dayes give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happy in them) employ three or foure arguments of *Terence* and *Plautus* to make up one of theirs. In one onely comedy they will huddle up five or six of *Bocaces* tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to undergoe so heavie a burthen with their owne strength.[27]

Putting aside the fact that Montaigne psychologizes the Italian use of *contaminatio* as an Italian insecurity about its poetic self-sufficiency, there seems to be something particularly Italian about *contaminatio*: it was widely practice in Italy, and the example from Montaigne suggests that when one outside Italy thought of Italian drama (especially comedy), one thought of *contaminatio*.

An important aspect of *contaminatio* is that the intertextuality it creates can be cross-cultural and interlingual (Greek dramas become Roman plays) and intermodal (Boccacian novellas become Italian plays). *Othello*, then, emerges as a near perfect early modern English example of *contaminatio*; Shakespeare's *Othello* is an English dramatic translation of an Italian novella that incorporates moments from an Italian romance, along with an English dramatic adaptation of that same romance. But more important than simply noting that the play is constructed through *contaminatio* is the recognition that attention to the play's mode of composition affords the opportunity to consider how do—and to what extent can—the workings of race in the source texts transfer into Shakespeare's play. Likewise, attention to *contaminatio* opens up a space for considering how texts interact with each other, and in the case of *Othello* how the play uses *contaminatio* to employ the ideologies and emotional resources of romances in order to translate Italian feelings about race. Shakespeare may not have introduced complex notions of race into a tale about a Moor in Venice, but he still faces the challenge of translating that complexity to his English audience through the embodied medium of theater. If Cinthio's tale creates a Moor who cannot be so easily demonized because of his race, Shakespeare's play attempts to do so by way of romance.

Shakespeare draws from the emotional affinities between tragedy and romance to facilitate the audience's ability to recognize Othello as a tragic hero. Aristotle's famous statement about tragic pity in the *Poetics* and a statement in Cinthio's *Il Romanzi*, which I discuss below, suggest that pity is a point of convergence between tragedy and romance.[28] Although, as Tanya Pollard notes, scholars typically read Aristotle's famous statement—that tragedy "effecting through pity and fear [what we call] the *catharsis* of such emotions"—as having no bearing on English Renaissance tragedy because the *Poetics* was not published in England (in a Latin translation) until 1619, "new editions and translations of the text in early sixteenth-century Italy triggered an avalanche of commentaries, treaties, and literary debates, with a particular emphasis on the function of genres, and especially on the emotional transformation brought about by tragedy."[29] Shakespeare may not have had direct access to these debates, but, as essays in this very collection show, he had plenty of contact with Greek and Italian drama. Moreover, the numerous uses of the word "pity" in Shakespeare's very first tragedy, *Titus Andronicus*, and in *Othello* demonstrate that Shakespeare was interested in the role of this emotion in tragedy.

But what is pity? In the *Rhetoric,* Aristotle defines it as

> a kind of pain excited by the sight of evil, deadly or painful, which befalls one who does not deserve it; an evil which one might expect to come upon himself or one of his friends, and when it seems near.[30]

Although in Aristotle's formulation pity can be an egocentric emotion, felt when one fears for the wellbeing of the self or one's friends, it nevertheless provides the opportunity to see oneself in another. This ability is facilitated by the fact that in order to feel pity, according to Aristotle, there must already be perceived similarity between the spectator and the object of pity: "Also we pity those who are like us in age, character, disposition, social standing or birth; for in all these cases it appears more likely that the same misfortune may befall us also."[31] This type of pity may be understood as drawing the spectator and the object of pity towards each other through the recognition of similarity.

In *Othello*, Shakespeare positions pity as the emotion that inspires the love between a Venetian woman and a Moor. Here Shakespeare departs from his Cinthian source, in which Disdemona falls in love "*della virtù del Moro*" (613) [by the virtue of the Moor].[32] In contrast, Desdemona pities Othello and then falls in love with him:

> My story being done,
> She gave me for my pains a world of sighs:
> She swore, 'in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange,
> 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful!'

She wished she had not heard it, yet she wished
That heaven had made her such a man; she thanked me,
And bade me, if I had a friend that loved her,
I should but teach him how to tell my story
And that would woo her. Upon this hint I spake.
She loved me for the dangers I had passed,
And I loved her that she did pity them.

(1.3.158–68)[33]

The connection between the "strange" and the "pitiful" here initially seems at odds with the Aristotelian understanding of pity. Because the play goes to great lengths to establish just how different Othello is from Desdemona (their difference in "clime, complexion and degree" [3.3.234]), Aristotle may have found Desdemona's ability to pity Othello "passing strange." Yet, somehow, Desdemona pities and falls in love with someone whose suffering hardly seems of a kind that a daughter of a Venetian senator could imagine.

Maybe, however, Othello and his tale are not so strange to an audience that widely consumed romance tales.[34] Various critics, myself included, have discussed the ways in which Othello's speech seems to come right out of romance, and Skura, Lawrence, and Michael L. Hays make a specific link between Othello's tale and Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (1594), a play that takes characters from Ariosto's poem but departs from the original plot quite substantially.[35] Hays argues that Othello's speech is most similar to Orlando's, which successfully woos Angelica through, among other things, tales of anthropophagi and cannibals.[36] In Greene's play, Orlando describes all of the obstacles he willingly faces to court Angelica:

Although my country's love, dearer than pearl
Or mines of gold, might well have kept me back;
The sweet conversing with my king and friends,
Left all for love, might well have kept me back;
The seas by Neptune hoisèd to the heavens,
Whose dangerous flaws might well have kept me back;
The savage Moors and Anthropophagi,
Whose lands I pass'd, might well have kept me back;
The doubt of entertainment in the court
When I arriv'd, might well have kept me back;
But so the fame of fair Angelica
Stamp'd in my thoughts the figure of her love,
As neither country, king, or seas, or cannibals,
Could by despairing keep Orlando back.[37]

References to water, Anthropophagi, and cannibals all find their way into *Othello*: Othello mentions "moving accidents by flood," and "Cannibals,

that each other eat; / The Anthropophagi…" (1.3.135 & 1.3.143–44). Desdemona, moreover, is similar to Greene's Angelica; both of them respond lovingly to the tales of romance adventure.[38] Shakespeare incorporates romance material that would have been familiar to some of his audience members, and the similarities between Orlando's speech and Othello's suggest that Shakespeare "contaminates" Cinthio's tale with Greene's *Orlando Furioso* to establish the relationship between Desdemona and Othello.

Rather than from Cinthio, Desdemona's emotions are inspired by romance; Greene's comic *Orlando Furioso* becomes a source for what will become tragic pity in *Othello*. Desdemona responds emotionally to Othello's romance storytelling and the way it portrays him as a romance hero.[39] Still, one has to wonder if Aristotle's understanding of pity is applicable here. Desdemona pities despite difference, and her pity also overcomes fear. Moreover, as Heather James notes, "Othello's speech in 1.3…examines pity's uncertain origins and unlimited potential for transformation."[40] If, as Brabantio tells the senate, Othello was "what she feared to look on" (1.3.99), then Othello's tale explicitly changes the way that Desdemona sees him; her pity allows her to see past the kinds of differences that Iago insists are insurmountable.

But Greene's version of *Orlando Furioso* was not the only one Shakespeare had in mind when composing *Othello*; Desdemona's emotional response resembles that felt not only by Angelica in Greene's play but also by readers of the Italian romance. Cinthio's reading of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* demonstrates that pity is an important emotion in romances, especially those featuring conflict between Christians and Muslims:

> Besides the other common and pleasing things dispersed throughout [Boiardo's and Ariosto's] works, there were religion and the origin of the battles between the Christians and their enemies. This holds one's attention marvelously and makes the reader cheerful about the happy events of those who are of the same faith as he, and sorrowful over the adverse events. Throughout, his mind remains in suspense as he awaits for God to provide relief from the adversities and injuries suffered at the hands of the infidels. There is also much that is appropriate to the terrible and pitiable, though these two things do not hold the supreme place in such works.[41]

Although Cinthio argues that the primary work of romance is to imitate "illustrious action"[42]—Cinthio's and Othello's Moors are certainly "romantic" in this way—and not to inspire the "terrible and pitiable," he nevertheless highlights here the types of emotions that readers feel while reading romance. Christian readers pity Christian heroes who suffer at the hands of Muslims.

This religiously inflected pity may be understood as rising out of what Colin Burrow sees as an important shift in early modern romance. Discussing the rise of romance in the sixteenth century and its relationship to Virgilian epic, he writes,

> Sixteenth-century writers in the vernacular approach Virgil through a web of Christian values, and through a significant manifestation of those values: the widespread European tendency for *pietas* to shift and soften in meaning toward our word "pity." This semantic change, and the changes in mentality to which it signifies, effectively invents romance as a genre.[43]

Early modern romance emerges to do a specific kind of emotional work. Even as the genre privileges emotional connections that solidify religious affiliations, it establishes pity as the primary emotion of the genre.

Perhaps Desdemona's pity, then, responds to Othello's role as a defender of Christian Venice (and its colonial interests), as well as to his having been "taken by the insolent foe; / And sold to slavery..." (1.3.137–38), a moment in his life that may allude to captivity narratives in which European Christians described being captured and sold into slavery by Muslims.[44] These narratives both influenced and were influenced by romance: for example, "The Captive's Tale" in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605), which, coincidentally, was published near the time of the first performances of *Othello* in England and was similarly concerned with Venice's fight to control Cyprus.[45] In romances and captivity narratives, pity is a form of piety because it affirms bonds between individuals of the same faith. Maybe Aristotle's understanding of pity, arising from sameness, can explain Desdemona's emotions after all; Desdemona responds to Othello's suffering at the hand of the insolent foe just as Christian readers of romance pity Christian romance heros who are in conflicts with figures of religious difference.[46]

The genre of Othello's tale thus hopes to elicit a specific type of emotional response, one that is nevertheless rejected within the play by Brabantio upon realizing how even this pious form of pity might be eroticized. Desdemona's emotions may also be facilitated by the fact that romances, and especially *Orlando Furioso*, often establish affective bonds among persons from different races and religions. Writing of such bonds in romance, Barbara Fuchs argues,

> Individual chivalric encounters while the heroes are away from the front do not observe the same rules as collective battles, so that the Christian knights occasionally experience love or friendship for the "infidels" whom they are collectively fighting. Thus romance challenges the political mythmaking of epic, and its tight networks of obligation and belonging.[47]

Fuchs makes it clear that religion is not the only category of identity that constitutes sameness in Ariosto's poem. An example of this can be seen at the beginning of *Orlando Furioso*, when the Saracen Ferrau and the Christian Rinaldo cease fighting to work together and pursue Angelica, focusing on their sameness as men, knights, and lovers.[48] It thus appears that romances will create "networks of obligation and belonging" by exploiting varying accessible points of sameness, not just in terms of religion but also gender, class, and the similarity of desire; romance uses varying points of sameness to create bonds between characters who initially appear very different from each other.

By unapologetically accessing and privileging varying categories of identity by which sameness can be recognized, romance allows the expansion of who can be an object of pity. Perhaps the varying ways in which sameness is established explains why romances—and especially Italian ones—were so hated by English moralists. In the *Schoolmaster* (1570) Roger Ascham specifically rebukes the "English man Italianated" and condemns books "of late translated out of *Italian* into English, sold in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest manners."[49] Just a bit later, Ascham also criticizes "bookes of Cheualrie," specifically noting *Morte d'Arthur*, but he then qualifies this critique by stating, "And yet ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part so much harm, as one of these books, made in *Italie*, and translated in England."[50] Ascham does not specifically mention *Orlando Furioso*, but he likely would have seen the popularity of this Italian book of chivalry as a great evil. For Ascham, Italian tales contaminate English identity by blurring the English reader's ability to make distinctions between English and Italian sensibilities. He argues that Italian texts carry within them Popish ideas and thus have the potential to transform readers into monstrous Anglo-Italian hybrids. The Anglo-Italian hybrid then produces other types of satanic mixes: "he shall haue free libertie to embrace all Religiouns, and becum, if he lust at once, without any let or punishment, Iewish, Turkish, Papish, and Deuillish."[51] Something in romances, Ascham recognized, allowed its readers to "embrace" difference and even "becum" different.

According to Ascham, and seemingly to Shakespeare as well, Italian romances in particular have power to transform readers and spectators. This may be all the more true if pity is an emotion that romances inspire, and if romance inspires opportunities to find similarities where once difference was assumed.[52] Romances seem to teach us that the ability to pity someone different from ourselves requires us to see ourselves differently. If we believe Ascham, maybe romances transform readers and spectators to create in them varying types of otherness. Recent work on early modern anxieties about reading Italian texts and romances, as well as on the affective contagion and the emotions of early modern theater audiences, has suggested that reading affects readers and watching plays

affects spectators.[53] Moreover, when it came to Italian texts, romances, and plays, English religious moralists similarly feared that these would contaminate identity—bodily, national, religious, and moral.[54] The ambiguity in Desdemona's wish after hearing Othello's tale, "That heaven had made her such a man" (1.3.63), may signal the desire for such a transformation.

Notes

1 Jane Tylus's essay in this collection provides an important reminder that Renaissance Italy existed as a language and perhaps a region, but not as a nation: "No more a nation in 1552 than it was twenty years earlier when Ruzante penned *La Piovana*, 'Italy' too can only exist through its language" (82).

2 Miola defines the "source proximate" as the source "on-the-desk; the author honors, reshapes, steals, ransacks, and plunders" in "Seven Types of Intertextuality," 19. On *Orlando Furioso* as source for *Othello,* see Cairncross, "Shakespeare and Ariosto"; Lawrence, "*Who the Devil Taught Thee so Much Italian*," esp. Chapter 3, "Give me ocular proof," 118–76; Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, esp. Chapter 2, "Leaving Claribel," 71–81; Skura, "Reading Othello's Skin"; and my own *Becoming Christian*, esp. Chapter 4, "Transformative and Restorative Romance," 112–41.

3 I will say more about the etymology of *contaminare* later in the essay, but the English and Italian cognates of the word are worth considering because the Italian do not necessarily have the negative connotations that the English do; while English cognates denote pollution and defilement, the Italian could denote these as well as a non-pejorative notion of mixing. Nonetheless, as John Florio's 1611 Italian-to-English shows, in England the word was understood to mean "to contaminate, to pollute" (*Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 119).

4 Lorch, "Honest Iago and the Lusty Moor," 219.

5 Miola also discusses "revision" as a type of intertextuality ("Seven Types of Intertextuality," 14–15); Shakespeare's *Othello* seems to be composed through a combination of revision and source proximate.

6 Hunter, *Dramatic Identities and Cultural Tradition: Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, esp. the chapter "*Othello* and Color Prejudice," 31–59; Cowhig, "Blacks in English Renaissance Drama and the Role of Shakespeare's *Othello*."

7 See Chapter 4 of my *Becoming Christian*, "Transformative and Restorative Romance."

8 Wofford, "Foreign Emotions on the Stage of *Twelfth Night*," 142.

9 Skura, "Reading Othello's Skin," 310. Both Skura and Attar note that critics interested in race in *Othello* rarely consider the play's relationship to Cinthio's novella.

10 Skura, "Reading Othello's Skin," 313.

11 Attar, "Genealogy of the Character," 48.

12 *Ibid*., 57.

13 Moreover, in "*Who the Devil Taught Thee so Much Italian*," Lawrence returns to the question of Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian and asserts very convincingly that he did know it; he provides further evidence that Shakespeare was familiar with a wide range of Italian stories.

14 In "Reading Othello's Skin," Skura discusses the numerous ways that *Othello* draws from romance, but she does not note that romance also informs the treatment of the Moor in Cinthio's novella.

15 Tylus notes Boiardo's, Ariosto's, and Cinthio's shared link to the Estes in "Imitating Othello," 253.

16 Cairncross argues that Shakespeare undoubtedly knew Italian and observes that the phrase "*vedere cogli occhi*," to see with one's own eyes, appears in Canto 5 of *Orlando Furioso* (which is a source for *Much Ado About Nothing*), and in 3.7 of *Hecatommithi* ("Shakespeare and Ariosto," 181). Attar adds to this observation that Boccaccio's *Decameron* 2.9, too, has a suspicious lover who sees "proof" of his lady's infidelity ("Genealogy of a Character," 59). All of this suggests that 2.9 of *Decameron*, Canto 5 of *Orlando Furioso*, 3.7 of *Hecatommithi, Much Ado*, and *Othello* belong to a literary family whose plot situations, language, and imagery cut across genres.

17 The English translation of Giraldi (Cinthio)'s novella comes from Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. Citations will appear parenthetically in the essay.

18 The Italian is from Vallari's edition of Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio's *Gli Ecatommiti*. Citations will appear parenthetically in the essay.

19 The Italian renders this more complexly than does Bullough's translations. The Ensign represents Disdemona to the Moor as "the one to whom this darkness of yours has already come to be an annoyance."

20 For example, see Cairncross, "Shakespeare and Ariosto"; Prior, "Shakespeare's Debt to Ariosto"; Tylus, "Imitating Othello"; Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, 73–75; and Lawrence, "*Who the Devil Taught Thee so Much Italian*," 152–63.

21 Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 154; and Clubb, "Italian Stories on the Stage."

22 Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy*, 203. Dukeworth, like various other scholars, uses the English word "contamination" when discussing *contaminatio*.

23 Duckworth also describes the etymology of *contaminatio* (*The Nature of Roman Comedy*, 203–4).

24 *Ibid*., 204.

25 Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 6.

26 *Ibid*., 33.

27 Montaigne, "Of Books," 237–38.

28 On Cinthio's understanding of the similarities between romance and tragedy, see Britton, *Becoming Christian*, 124.

29 Aristotle, *Poetics*, 50; Pollard, "Tragedy and Revenge," 62.

30 Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, 225.

31 *Ibid*., 114.

32 Bullough translates this as "by his good qualities" (242).

33 All citations for *Othello* will be included parenthetically in the essay.

34 See, for example, Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England*; Mentz, *Romance for sale in Early Modern England*; and Werth, *The Fabulous Dark Cloister.*

35 Lawrence, "*Who the Devil Taught Thee so Much Italian*,"154–62; Skura, "Reading Othello's Skin," 311–12; and Hays, *Shakespearean Tragedy as Chivalric Romance*, 160. Greene's play deals solely with a love plot between Orlando and Angelica, who in his version is the daughter of Marsillus, Emperor of Africa. Angelica chooses to marry Orlando among suitors from Cuba and Mexico at the very beginning of the play. Orlando is tricked into believing that Angelica is in love with Medor, which drives him mad. He eventually recovers his wits, marries Angelica, and gains the throne of Africa in the end.

36 Hays, *Shakespearean Tragedy as Chivalric Romance*, 160.
37 Greene, *Orlando Furioso*, 1.1.119–125.
38 Tales of adventure and woe often lead to pity and then love. See James, "Dido's Ear," in which she argues that Desdemona's response to Othello's tale recalls Dido's response to Aeneas's.
39 I have discussed this briefly in *Becoming Christian*, 127–28. Also see Hays, *Shakespearean Tragedy as Chivalric Romance*, 159–61; and Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature*, 71.
40 James, "Dido's Ear," 371.
41 Cinthio, *On Romances*, 11.
42 *Ibid.*, 10.
43 Burrow, *Epic Romance*, 4.
44 See Neill, "'His master's ass,'" 217. Although he notes the similarity between Othello's tale and captivity narratives, Neill does not consider the significance of this similarity. More generally, Neill reads the play as engaging with a discourse of service because notions of rank and status would have been more clearly understood than race.
45 Mark Rose makes a connection between *Othello* and *Don Quixote* more generally: "one might interpret Othello as a kind of tragic *Don Quixote*" ("Othello's Occupation," 295). He provides the caveat, however, that we should not take this reading too far because Shakespeare does not seem to parody romance in the way Cervantes does.
46 In this, Desdemona is very much like Bradamante, who pities Ruggiero for the hardships he has suffered, and wishes to release his suffering through marriage, which can only happen after he converts to Christianity (*Orlando Furioso*, 22.34).
47 Fuchs, *Romance*, 69. Here Fuchs draws from Patricia Parker's study of romance deferral and dilation. For a reading similarly to Fuchs's, see Quint's reading of Ercilla's epic poem about the Spanish conquest of Chile, *La Araucana*, in *Epic and Empire*, 178–185.
48 Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 18–22.
49 Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 229.
50 *Ibid.*, 230–31.
51 *Ibid.*, 236.
52 Here we might recall Fredric Jameson's formulation that romance, in the creation of class-consciousness, erases the "sinister unfamiliarity" of the unknown knight (*The Political Unconsciou*s, 119). Ascham's fear also resonates with early modern understandings of reading as an embodied practice that happens in and potentially transforms the body. Such transformations were all the more anxiety producing because they might alter the racial makeup of the body; see Spiller, *Reading and the History of Race in the Renaissance*.
53 On anxieties about reading romances, see, for example, Werth, "*The Fabulous Dark Cloister*," esp. Part 1, "Fabulous Texts," 19–78; Fuchs, *Romance*, esp. 66–98; Spiller, 28–36. On reading in general, see Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England*. On how plays affect audiences and their emotions, see Cartelli, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience*; and Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England*.
54 On romances, again see Fuchs, Werth, and Spiller; on theater, see Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice*, esp. Chapter 4, "Puritans and Proteans," 80–131; Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle*, esp. Chapter 2, "Sathans Synagogue," 22–46; and O'Connell, *The Idolatrous Eye*.

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3 Translating Plautus to Bohemia

Ruzante, Ludovico Dolce, and *The Winter's Tale*

Jane Tylus

At the heart of Plautus's *Rudens* is a fantasy of ownership by a man who doesn't even own himself, a fisherman called Gripus. The morning after a boat has been shipwrecked on a barren North African coast, Gripus brings in his net to discover a *validium*: typically translated as "wallet" but in fact a rather large suitcase or purse that contains money as well as the tokens that link a young girl to the family from which she has long been separated—most recently by a pimp who was hoping to sell her off to the highest bidder. Here is Gripus's stunned soliloquy:

> Why, here's my case — up and doing, and now I've made such a find that I can do nothing if I choose. This is the find I made in the sea. Whatever's in it, there's something heavy in it. There's gold in it, that's what I think. And not a soul knows about it but me! Here you are, Gripus, here's your chance to be as free as any man alive! Now this is what I'll do, this is my scheme: I'll go up to master, real sharp and sly, and offer him money, little by little, to set me free [*ut sim liber*]. After that, when I am free, then I'll get me a house and land and slaves [*iam ubi liber ego, igitur demum instruam agrum atque aedis*], and have big ships and be a merchant, and known as a king of kings. Then I'll build me a yacht, just for fun, and be a second Stratonicus—sail all round everywhere. And when I've made a grand name for myself, I'll build a great big city with walls round it, and call it Gripusburg....[1]

The only one of Plautus's twenty-seven comedies situated not in the streets of Athens or Corinth but in an exotic locale, *Rudens* derives its name—*The Rope*—from the rude aftermath of Gripus's fantasy. Spied on and thus found out by another slave, Gripus has to engage in a tug-of-war, via a rope, for the trunk he has found and to which he believes he is entitled. "The sea," he protests, "is common"—even if at the end its contents will be returned to the rightful owners because of a fellow slave's intervention. The tokens of identity are restored to the young woman and the money to the pimp, whose fortune would have been the answer to Gripus's dreams.[2]

In a recent essay, Bruce Louden persuasively links *Rudens* to Shakespeare's *Tempest,* also situated on the sea and also involved with "finding" things that have been lost.[3] I'd like to extend Louden's careful analysis and make a similar case for the importance of Plautus's romance for *The Winter's Tale*. It too is a romance that happens in part on a desolate seaside—the "deserts of Bohemia" (3.3.2) as the unfortunate Antigonus calls it.[4] It too is a play with its own pimp-like ruffian, Autolycus. And it too features a lower-class figure who fishes something out of, if not a shipwreck, a sudden and furtive abandonment of a baby in the woods. What the shepherd finds is not only a child, but a "bearing-cloth" for the child, and when he opens it up, he realizes that he has found a treasure. As though echoing Gripus's comment to himself about his future freedom, the Clowne says instantly, "You're a made old man" (3.3.117).

I'd like to take things a step further, however, and argue that interpolated between Plautus and Shakespeare might well be another source, an Italian one. Much work has been done of late on the multiple connections with Italian drama in Shakespeare's England, whether by way of acting troupes crisscrossing the continent, the viability of "theatergrams" that represent a common European trove of dramatic themes and theatrical situations, or the ready circulation of printed texts.[5] One Italian playwright and actor whose career could be considered especially suggestive for Shakespeare has emerged in the last several decades as a tantalizing if virtually inaccessible source, given that he wrote almost exclusively in dialect, the Padovan Andrea Beolco (1502–42). Better known by his stage name Ruzante, Beolco wrote the majority of his plays about figures from the countryside outside Padua, and Robert Henke and Anthony Ellis, among others, have noted the striking analogies between Ruzante and his fellow actor-playwright in England who also had a keen knowledge of rural life.[6]

Ruzante's last two works, from the early 1530s, turned to a relatively new source for him with respect to his models, the "inventor" of new comedy, Plautus. *Rudens* in fact is the basis for what is thought to be Ruzante's penultimate play, *La Piovana*, in which he transfers the characters from northern Africa to a local setting—a sparsely populated coastal area just south of Venice, called Chioggia—and significantly alters a number of the play's events while retaining the plot about a lost girl, a shipwreck, and a lucky find by a fisherman. Published several times in the mid-sixteenth century—indeed, it is the only play for which Ruzante inexplicably sought permission for publication, which was granted only after his death[7]—*La Piovana* would have remained, like Ruzante's other plays, unreadable for those without a grasp of Padovan dialect were it not translated by an enterprising Venetian typographer in 1552. Ludovico Dolce renamed Ruzante's play *Il Ruffiano* in honor of its ruffian or pimp, the low-life character responsible for kidnapping and trying to sell the "lost girl" from the "Pavana." And without ever crediting Ruzante for his work,[8] Dolce translated *La Piovana* into "*nostro*

diritto, & comune linguaggio Italiano"[9] ["our rightful and common language of Italian"], thus introducing this Plautine-inspired play—in some ways uncharacteristic of Ruzante's other work, but in other ways quite representative—to a world unfamiliar with his local dialect. "*Ridirizzato alla forma moderna*"—remade for modern tastes, as Dolce says in his prologue, *Il Ruffiano* may have come to Shakespeare's attention in the ensuing half century after its first appearance in print—not least because of its lively description of the outlandish character of the pimp.

The following remarks will be quite speculative, insofar as with so many of Shakespeare's theatrical sources, there is no smoking gun—in this case, one that definitively links the Italian version of Ruzante's Padovan adaptation of Plautus's Latin comedy to *The Winter's Tale*. Indeed, one will legitimately ask why I should complicate matters, given that so much of what we find in *The Winter's Tale*, including the Old Shepherd's discovery of a baby, her tokens, and her gold, is already in Shakespeare's most direct source, *Pandosto* by Robert Greene, first published in 1585 and one of the era's best-sellers?[10] In a scene from *Pandosto* to which I will return, a "poore mercenary shepherd that dwelled in Sycilia, who got his living by other mens flockes," is missing one of his sheep. Desperate to find it because "hee was so poore, as a sheepe was halfe his substaunce," he

> wandered downe toward the Sea cliffes… but not finding her there, as he was ready to returne to his flocke, hee heard a childe crie:.. and wading to the boate, as he looked in, he saw the little babe lying al alone, ready to die for hunger and colde, wrapped in a Mantle of Scarlet, richely imbrodered with Golde, and hauing a chayne about the necke. The Sheepeheard, who before had neuer seene so faire a Babe, nor so riche Iewels, thought assuredly, that it was some little God, and began with great deuocion to knock on his breast.[11]

He ponders whether or not he should take the baby and the money and conceal both as his own, eventually bringing the baby home, where his wife too agrees to remain silent about the child's origins and the fortune that has accompanied her to shore. As long acknowledged, this is without question the chief inspiration for Shakespeare's Old Shepherd who meets "with things new-born" and who quietly raises Perdita as his own daughter. Shakespeare is so attentive to Greene's popular romance that Sophie Chiari has recently called *The Winter's Tale* a translation of *Pandosto*—albeit one "*tantôt fidèle, tantôt infidèle*," at once faithful and unfaithful.[12] But it is in part because of Shakespeare's own theft of his immediate source, in addition to the possibility that he may have come to his finished play by way as well of Plautus and his Italian imitators, that the complex of texts I have just introduced becomes relevant.

Aside from the fact that Gripus's slave might have been himself a model for Greene's mercenary wandering among the "Sea cliffes," it is

striking that Ruzante and Dolce in turn use *their* respective translations, "*tantôt fidèle, tantôt infidèle*" to their Latin and "padovan" sources, as an occasion to reflect upon their relationship to these original texts. As will emerge in the following pages, Ruzante's *Piovana*, translated two decades after its original performance by Ludovico Dolce, is one of the most compelling documents we have from Renaissance Italy about the relationship of a theatrical text to its source.[13] This is all the more the case because the romance from which *La Piovana* is derived is about loss and recovery, with its characters all the while defending themselves from accusations of theft—such as Gripus and the pimp—just as Ruzante, and Dolce, and perhaps Shakespeare must defend themselves from "stealing" their sources. That Ruzante and Dolce do so quite explicitly, in their respective prologues, is striking, as they use the discourse of theft and appropriation, the old and the new, to comment on their plays—plays which in neither case explicitly mention their most immediate sources.[14] The fact that these discourses so closely mirror the *plot* of Plautus's play, about a girl and a trunk of money that are lost, found, and claimed by others, suggests why Ruzante may have found in Plautus's play matter for thinking about his new project of turning to prior texts for inspiration rather than composing, as he had formerly done, wholly original texts based on current events and the brutal, impoverished world of the Padovan countryside.

The following remarks will consider, first of all, what in Shakespeare notably departs from Robert Greene, particularly in the scene with the shepherds, and second, what in Ruzante's text, "remade" by Ludovico Dolce, may have appealed to Shakespeare. In the end, I hope to suggest that the kind of speculative source study I am proposing here may help us return to texts one thinks one has understood by reading them within purely national traditions, only to discover what has been lost, or refashioned, in the process of translation. I thus hope to enable us to engage creatively with works in the same manner that Ruzante himself proposes in his preface, to which I will shortly turn. But first to Shakespeare and the figure who called the bard an "upstart crow," Robert Greene.

* * *

The story of *Pandosto* is in its barest elements the story of *The Winter's Tale:* a king of Bohemia, jealous of his best friend, procures the death of his son, the murder of his wife, and (unbeknownst to him) the exile, rather than execution, of a daughter, who winds up in the hands of a mercenary shepherd and his wife in Sicily, and who, when she grows to be a young and beautiful woman, attracts the attention of a young prince. The prince and the shepherdess, named Fawnia by her rustic parents, find their way back to Fawnia's homeland, where the likenesses with Shakespeare's play end: the once-jealous king falls in love with his

own daughter, puts the shepherd in jail and threatens to execute him, and commits suicide when he learns her true identity. Shakespeare's Leontes, of course, finds his own wife still alive, preserved against fate and time by the ministrations of Paulina, and *The Winter's Tale* ends with reconciliation rather than the abrupt death of the king and the elevation of Fawnia and her princely husband to royalty.

Even in this minimal plot summary, some distinctions between Shakespeare and Greene other than the ending will become apparent. Shakespeare reverses Sicily and Bohemia in *Winter's Tale*, with Bohemia becoming the land with the improbable sea-coast where Antigonus is killed by a bear and where the Old Shepherd finds the abandoned Perdita. The name "Perdita" itself refers blatantly to the princess's status as the "lost" child, and hence does not reflect the same rustic identity that the name "Fawnia" does (indeed, Greene's shepherd has a name, Porrus). Greene is in general more attentive to the details of these shepherds' lives, especially their poverty and the extent to which their cunning and careful planning allows them to emerge as land-owners and apparently prosperous villagers. Indeed, it is Porrus's poverty that motivates him to take the baby home to his wife at all:

> the covetousness of the coin overcame him, for what will not the greedy desire of gold cause a man to do? So that he was resolved in himself to foster the child, and with the sum to relieve his want.
> (422)

For years they live frugally, caring for the child, and only when Fawnia turns seven does the shepherd leave off "keeping of other men's sheep. And with the money he found in the purse he bought him the lease of a pretty farm and got a small flock of sheep," which Fawnia will oversee with such diligence "as the sheepe prospered marueilously vnder her hand," and the shepherd will grow "to be a man of some wealth and credit."[15] Hence only through quiet husbanding of his newfound wealth—he swears his wife to silence when he returns home with the baby—can Fawnia's father buy land and his own sheep, and thus attain, as it were, the dream sought by the slave Gripus.[16] Greene is thus much more explicit about what and who this shepherd is: a poor man who makes his living by tending to other men's sheep, who sees the discovery of the young child as a possible answer to his economic deprivations, and who along with his wife articulates his hopes and plans in more calculated fashion than the Old Shepherd of *The Winter's Tale*. Shakespeare's Time intervenes to mystify the process of the shepherd's elevation as Shakespeare refuses to spell out the condition of his rustics. In omitting Greene's details about the poor mercenary's scruples and plans, Shakespeare obfuscates the scheming and secrecy through which the Old Shepherd gained his "kingdom," as well as the details of his

poverty before discovering Perdita and her "fardel" to become a "made old man." Thus Polixenes's expression of wonder at the shepherd's newfound wealth in 4.2.40—he is "a man, they say, that from very nothing, and beyond the imagination of his neighbors, is grown into an unspeakable estate"—has two meanings, of which only one is available to Polixenes himself. His estate is "unspeakable," that is, because it is both "beyond imagination"—hence oxymoronic—and because the shepherd has been painstakingly secretive about his fardel.

Indeed, the "Whitsuntide" pastoral scene that is one of the longest in any Shakespeare play marks another major departure from Greene's text. The spirited and comfortable rituals of country life, as detailed recently by Phebe Jensen, depict a scene not of poor shepherds trying to make do, but one of country folk enjoying the copia of the season's offerings, with Perdita greeting her guests, dancing and song, and a servant to report on the return of Autolycus as seller and peddler of "songs for man or woman, of all sizes."[17] Significantly, *Pandosto* has no such scene. Greene suggests with only a brief sentence that on one occasion Fawnia was "bidden as the Mistresse of the Feast" at "a meeting of all the Farmers daughters in Sycilia": "who hauing attired herselfe in her best garments, went among the rest of her companions to the merrie meeting: there spending the day in such homely pastimes as shepheards vse." His shepherds, and shepherdess, that is, remain "homely"; the festivities are for "Farmers daughters" alone rather than for an entire village, and are not hosted by Fawnia's adoptive parents. Shakespeare's exaggerations take us to another world, one of "unspeakable estate," accompanied by dances, feasting, and song, in a scene that is estimated to have taken over an hour to perform.

But if Shakespeare refuses to share the details about the Old Shepherd's calculated gains, stressing only the Shepherd's insistence on secretiveness in the scene with the Clown—"This is faery gold, boy, and 'twill prove so. Up with'it, keep it close... We are lucky, boy, and to be so still requires nothing but secrecy" (3.3.120–3)—he leaves it to another figure to remind us later in the play as to the source of this "unspeakable estate." This is Autolycus, whose appearance in Shakespeare's play has long been a topic for speculation among scholars. Not a native to Greene's *Pandosto*, Autolycus is an intruder into the rural landscape of Shakespeare's play when he robs the Clown of his holiday money, sells his ballads to rustics who believe that what has been printed must perforce be true, and pinches purses.[18] On the one hand, his advent is prepared for in other works by Robert Greene on cony-catchers and rogues, as Stephen Mentz and Barbara Mowat have argued; he wrote no fewer than six pamphlets on these marginal urban figures, whose lives may have mirrored his own, before his death in 1592.[19] But on the other hand, his arrival in the Sicilian countryside is unprepared for by both *Pandosto* and the earnestness of Shakespeare's shepherds, and he thus seems to be an intruder without a history, other than the one that he himself informs

us of minutes before he robs the unsuspecting Clown: "My father named me Autolycus; who being, as I am, littered under Mercury, was likewise a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles" (4.3.24–6). He interrupts the Clown's trip to market to buy a wealth of food and spices for the festival ordered by his sister Perdita, "mistress of the feast"—

> three pound of sugar, five pound of currants, rice—... saffron to color the warden pies; mace; dates, none—that's out of my note; nutmegs, seven; a race or two of ginger, but that I may beg; four pounds of prunes, and as many of raisins o' th' sun
>
> (4.3.37–48)

—just as he interrupts the feast itself through the medium of money and the stolen "purse." If Shakespeare transforms the barren coast of Bohemia into a festive holiday site, Autolycus reminds us of the instability of that celebration, as it were: not only a trickster and a cheat, he is also an emblem of the poverty, hunger, and need that characterized rural life in the early seventeenth century—as well as Greene's *Pandosto* with its mercenary shepherds. "Yet, for the outside of thy poverty, we must make an exchange," Camillo tells him (4.4.635–6) when seeking to dress Florizel in Autolycus's ragged garb so he can make his getaway to Sicily.

But Autolycus reminds us of more than that as well. His presence affirms that the world of apparently self-sustaining pastoral festivities is directly dependent on a larger space. He can be said to demonstrate, for one thing, that this English Arcadia is hardly impermeable to the intrusions and intrigues of the world around it, long before Polixenes accuses Perdita of witchcraft and threatens to hang the poor Shepherd for treason. More importantly, his antics puncture the wondrous "unspeakability" of the Old Shepherd's estate by reducing this festive dominion to the very coins that made it possible in the first place: "Money's a meddler" (4.4.327), and the language of money permeates his conversations—"I shall there have money, or anything I want. Offer me no money, I pray you—that kills my heart": thus his exchange with the Clown seconds after he has robbed him (4.3.81–2). For the coins found in the "fardel" pay for the food, the servant, Perdita's queenly garb, the house where the celebrations are held—thus the very coins that Autolycus, with his staging of the good Samaritan, will pilfer, so enacting a circular motion that returns the money to its source in a corrupt court. Again at the fair, as we learn only definitively in Autolycus's comments when he reenters the stage after Polixenes removes his own disguise, he had

> in this time of lethargy... picked and cut most of their festival purses; and had not the old man come in with a whoo-bub against his daughter and the king's son and scared any thoughts from the chaff, I had not left a purse alive in the whole army.

Only through the intervention of charitable "faeries" and a lucky discovery of a royal fardel is the rugged and impoverished world of the English countryside transformed into a place of "enchantment" and the "unspeakable," with shepherdesses acting like princesses and the Clown's pockets full of coins to buy dates, rice, and nutmeg for the feast.

The appearance of Autolycus, in short, undermines the magical thinking that Time's soliloquy has enabled, the erroneous impression that all has come about effortlessly and that the pastoral is a world unto itself. As Charlotte Scott has recently argued, Autolycus's calls to "Buy! Buy!" turn a feast meant to be about consuming food into one about purchasing it, as he subsumes into himself "the pleasure and leisure associated with the pastoral tradition" and translates "communal mirth into individual gain."[20] But we have arguably already witnessed such individual gain through the subterfuge of the Old Shepherd, and Autolycus's thefts thus recover what has not been properly "owned." For Sicily is, in short, the real "source" of these pastoral pleasures and this supposedly solid world of rustic ownership and song, the very condition for its existence and only temporary viability. The Clown's anxious advice, delivered before a spying Autolycus with his "open ear, quick eye, and a nimble hand," is proof that he and his father have indeed something that is not their own: "There is no other way but to tell the king she's a changeling and none of your flesh and blood." That Perdita's name is never changed into a rustic or "Bohemian" translation suggests that all along she has retained her Italian identity, and so is not the Shepherd's, even in name. Even the songs that we hear in the course of the festivities thanks to Autolycus's presence are not pastoral songs but ones that silence the bagpipes of the rustic countryside; as the Servant says to the Shepherd, "if you did but hear the peddler at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and pipe; no, the bagpipe could not move you."

In reminding us of what is truly natural to the rustic world, a world depicted far more realistically by Greene with its hardships and its subjection to superiors who come from beyond, Autolycus also depicts what is *unnatural* on Shakespeare's stage: the well-off shepherdly estate with its servants and sumptuous feast is the product of a king's anger, if not his grace.[21] Far from being autonomous, the rural world with its sheep-shearing festival is derived from and thoroughly dependent on the money found by an indigent shepherd and claimed as his own—the money, ultimately, of a king. That it has taken an intruder to enforce this association, the man who deals in "trifles" as well as theft, is one of Shakespeare's revisions to a Greene whose far more explicit and detailed account of Porrus's rise to modest wealth militates against the magic of Time's intervention, his ability to "o'erthrow law, and in one self-born hour / To plant and o'erwhelm custom" (4.1.8–9). And yet the Shepherd's closing words in Act 3, before Time enters as "the Chorus," allude

to an element that transcends the self-interest of Greene's Porrus and Autolycus himself: "'Tis a lucky day, boy, and we'll do good deeds on't." Pity is the impulse that moves the Clown and Old Shepherd to bury "the gentleman" Antigonus and adopt the changeling Perdita: "I'll take it up for pity" (3.3.74–5); "O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls!" (87). It is pity again that moves the Clown to assist Autolycus when he claims to have been robbed, "Alas, poor soul!" (4.3.71), suggesting that Shakespeare gives his rural folk something that the tougher shepherds in Greene lack: a sense of compassion for those less fortunate than they.[22]

If these comments roughly sketch out Shakespeare's primary departures from Greene's rural community, they have also sought to understand what role the character Autolycus plays in highlighting those differences. In many ways the explanation proffered by Mentz is a convincing one. Autolycus, that is, harks back to Shakespeare's charged relationship with the dead Greene, someone who had accused Shakespeare of being, in Pitcher's phrase, "a money-grubbing plagiarist, an uneducated imitator who stole lines from more original writers."[23] Mentz argues that Shakespeare turns the tables in his play by making Autolycus-Greene himself the peddler and thief—and given his opening song when he first turns up in Bohemia, a possible pimp as well.[24] In returning to where we began, however, I'd like to ask if a "foreign" source—Plautus most immediately, Dolce's Ruzante perhaps less so—might have provided Shakespeare with another model for his pastoral intruder, the "touchstone" who reveals to characters and audience alike their local differences with Shakespeare's most immediate source, and one that problematizes the question of the origin itself.

* * *

The fisherman Gripus's excitement about dragging in a treasure is short-lived. He has been watched quite closely by another slave, who appears on the scene to question if what Gripus has found can really be called his. "The sea is common," argues Gripus in defense; "I know of no other owner than myself," and goes on to defend the wallet as an unusual kind of fish, available to be caught and taken by whoever catches it: the so-called "wallet-fish" frequently found in the sea. But his interlocutor not only argues with him about needing to split the proceeds, but believes that his own master, who is in love with Daemones's daughter, may find something of interest to him in the "wallet": the tokens of identity that belong to his beloved. The remaining scenes of *Rudens*—the discovery occurs in the play's midst, in Act III—involve this unlucky fisherman having to submit to Daemones, who is surprisingly fastidious about returning the money in the wallet to the pimp, even inviting him to the banquet that closes the play. The dialogue between Daemones and

Gripus when the former advises his slave as to what should be done is instructive when considering the larger issues in the play involving acts of theft:

GRIPUS: If you would be wise, be wise; keep what goods the Gods provide you.
DAEMONES: Does it seem right to you, that what belongs to another I should claim to be my own? [*aequom videtur tibi, ut ego alienum quod est?*]
GRIPUS: What, not a thing that I found in the sea?
DAEMONES: So much the better for him who lost it; none the more is it necessary that it should be your wallet. [*anto illi melius optigit qui perdidit; tuom esse nihilo magis oportet vidulum*]

(4.7)

Plautus implicitly makes the act of keeping something not one's "own" an ethical issue, as the slave's dream of freedom and rural ownership is dashed in favor of what could be considered the play's greater good, the discovery of the lost parentage of a young girl and her restoration to her family after her disappearance in times of war. And Daemones will in fact grant Gripus his freedom, paying for it with the finder's fee that he demands from the pimp. *Rudens* closes in a conciliatory mode as Daemones invites good and bad, fisherman and pimp, to come together at a banquet, telling the spectators that he

> would invite [them] to dinner as well, were it not that I'm going to give nothing....But if you shall be willing to give hearty applause to this Play, do you all come to make merry at my house some sixteen years hence

—an allusion to his own poverty, since he long ago lost his own fortune through excessive acts of charity, and perhaps an intriguing source for the "sixteen years" that pass in *The Winter's Tale*. Daemones then makes a final gesture to the pimp and to Gripus—"do you both dine here with me to-day"—before they all exit the stage.

One of the most striking things about *Rudens* is precisely this conciliation. Plautus chooses to hallmark this relationship between the scurrilous, unprincipled pimp Labrax and the forgiving Daemones—possibly as a lesson to the slave not to be too greedy for his own life—rather than devote the ending to the wedding to take place between Daemones's now-found daughter and the young man who had been searching for her as well. Louden sees this reconciliatory close as one of the principal models for the ending of *The Tempest*—another play in which a villain goes unpunished.[25] This is a villain, as Louden reminds us, whose very name means "a ravenous seafish," metaphorical for a "greedy person": one who refuses to abide by the oaths he takes in the play and who

insists that the laws of other people are not his. Labrax's outsider status as kidnapper, thief, and violator of oaths and sanctuaries—he enters the shrine to Venus without first purifying himself in order to seize the girl he has taken—distinguishes him from the other characters who are, in effect, exiles as well: victims of shipwreck, like the long-lost daughter, or of misfortune, such as Daemones. As a slave, Gripus does not own even himself and thus sees the trunk as his occasion to become free.

This is an ending that Ruzante, and subsequently Dolce, will change quite radically with respect to the fisherman now christened Bertevelo. In the corresponding scene to the "discovery" of the trunk in *La Piovana*, now set on a sparsely populated coastline south of Venice, Bertevelo entertains more modest expectations than Gripus of what he will do with his treasure:

> There's a lot more than fish entangled in this net! [looks inside] It's full of gold and treasure! How heavy it is, how this purse sings. So much treasure that there couldn't possibly be any more. Holy shit, I'm going to live well. No one has seen me take it, which is even better. Now I'm going to have to watch what I do from now on [*el besogna mo che a' me governe ben*], so that no one finds out. What will you do now, Bertevelo? I'll go home, and I'll graciously go to my padrone and tell him I no longer want to work with others, now that I want to become a man [*mo che a' vuo' diventar me omo*]. Then I'll go immediately to the Pavana and I'll buy farms and land, I'll build me a house out of stone, I'll get married, I'll have kids, I'll raise a family, they'll call it the lineage of Bertevèli, and it will be the biggest clan in Pavana. I'll buy a lot of land. I'll build lots of houses, so many that it will become an entire town, which they'll call the town of Bertevèlo.[26]

As with Gripus, Bertevelo's main desire is to "*diventar me omo*": to become a man, no longer attached to a master but free to have something of his own: farm, land, a house, a family, in that order, and perhaps eventually have a small village grow up and be named after him. Ruzante chooses to omit the more spectacular instances of Gripus's scheme, and unlike the sea-faring Gripus, Bertevelo prefers to remain local, or more precisely, to go to the "Pavana," the countryside that is inland of the coastal land where he does his fishing. Perhaps not incidentally, the "Pavana" where he seeks to lead a new life is the land where almost all the other characters have come from in search of the young girl who's been lost since the Wars of Cambrai—her father, her would-be lover, the parents of the lover, their rustic servants; all, that is, except the pimp, Slaverò, who is from the "big city" of Venice. The lost girl herself, named Nina, in fact gives the play its name: *La Piovana,* or the woman from the "Pavana." To this extent, Bertevelo's desire for land in the Pavana is

the desire of everyone in the play, uttered out of nostalgia for a place or a person who is missing, or in the hope of finally having something one's own. The Pavana is alluded to so frequently that as Mario Baratto has noted in his edition to the play, it becomes a protagonist in and of itself, although an absent one.[27] Thus the kind of scene which Shakespeare portrays in Act 4 is unthinkable, stranded as all the characters are on the coast south of Venice and east of their real homes.[28] In thus taking up a play by a Roman author that is itself about displacement, Ruzante displaces not only Plautus's characters to a contemporary Italian setting, but his *own* characters, who spend most of the comedy trying to get back, like Nina herself, to the "Pavana."

In keeping with this state of affairs, and as with Plautus's Gripus, Bertevelo's excitement about becoming his own man will not last long. Bertevelo too has been watched quite closely by another fisherman, who likewise argues with him as to whether what he's found is really his own, and Bertevelo, like Gripus, will have to submit to the will of his master, Tura, who turns out to be Nina's father. Ruzante's version of the conversation between Bertevelo and his master changes little of the original Latin:

BERTEVELO: You would have been better off holding on to the good fortune God sent you, instead of chasing it out of the house.
TURA: I don't call something good fortune if it involves being dishonest.
BERTEVELO: If I found it myself in the sea, it isn't honest to keep it?
TURA: It's more honest to restore it to whomever has lost it.[29]

Ruzante accentuates, three times, the sense of "*onestà*"—thus driving home the dishonesty involved in Bertevelo's initial secretiveness; indeed, he castigated himself earlier, when first overseen by his meddling fellow fisherman: "What an ass I was, not to look around a hundred times before drawing the net out of the water!" Here too a man's fantasy of rural ownership must give way to the play's greater good, the restoration of "La Piovana" to her family after her disappearance in times of war—prompting Bertevelo to gripe "*Che a far guera, o perdúa zà assé, con taschi catè adesso?*" [What does war or anything else that happened such a long time ago have to do with satchels found today?].

It is the ending of *Rudens*, however, that Ruzante alters most significantly, producing an edgier, less uplifting play than the romance that is *Rudens*. Despite this conversation about honesty between master and servant, *La Piovana* ends with a moment that is strikingly "dishonest," perpetrated by another servant, Garbinello. Slaverò (falsely) swears to Bertevelo that they will split his earnings, and is prepared to reclaim his wallet when Garbinello concocts a story that the entire family of Tura—"his whole clan, his cousins, the sons of his brothers, his in-laws, his entire family, all his relatives from faraway and those who live nearby, they're all coming

and they'll soon be here"—to drag him off to be hanged, even as Slaverò insists, "If they'll listen to me, they'll find out that I'm innocent, because I only found that girl, I didn't steal her." When Slaverò does rush off in a panic, Garbinello informs his honest master, eager to restore the purse to its rightful owner, that the cowardly pimp fled for fear of his life: he has, among other (exaggerated or fictional) things, "burned down churches, stolen from the altars, killed priests and friars, undone women, robbed youths; he's been an assassin and a killer, and has committed every kind of evil deed." And then Garbinello comes up with a plan:

> it's true that he's taken off, albeit against his will, but just because it's gone badly for one person doesn't mean things can't turn out well for another: now we're the only ones left to lay claim to this purse.

Tura, faced with an apparently solid argument, agrees, splitting the contents of the "*tasco*" or wallet among his three servants, leaving the once-hopeful Bertevelo still discontent: "*Sea in malora*"—go to hell—is his final line, uttered to no one in particular but clearly aimed at Garbinello. Ruzante's decidedly different ending with respect to the "*ruffiano*," who turns out to be unnaturally timid when it comes to outrageous threats, perpetuates the legacy of supposed dishonesty committed by Bertevelo when he sought to keep something not his own so that he might become his own man. And it also sidelines Nina's newfound father and Bertevelo's master, who, rather than have the last word himself in the play as does his Plautine model, cedes it to his sly servant Garbinello, who addresses the audience: "if you want to make us happy, start shouting so that the ruffian doesn't come back, for he'll think that you're the armed guards who I've told him were after him." We too, as spectators, become complicit in this fiction of illicit ownership, as the cheating Garbinello turns the tables not only on the sly ruffian but on his master. Far from respecting the conciliatory ending of the *Rudens*, where fisherman and pimp come together for a banquet, Ruzante excludes his Venetian pimp from the gathering of people from the "Pavana" and has his servant literally upstage his *padrone*, giving him the last word.

What's more, Garbinello has the *first* word insofar as he delivers the prologue, and a Garbinello whom critics suspect would have been played by Ruzante himself. It is a prologue worth considering carefully, given that it is here where Ruzante is most specific about his own engagement with "sources" and most anxious to defend himself from accusations of theft. The following passage from the prologue exemplifies the tensions at work in Ruzante's drama as he defends himself from having "robbed" the ancients:

> I'll speak in my own tongue so I don't sound unnatural [*A' favelo an con la mia per no strafare la snaturalité*], because there's nothing

> that's so pleasing to both the sexes as what's natural, and what's not your own isn't very pleasurable [*con l'è fuora del purpio, el no dà piasere*] ….This story was put together by the old ancients, by dead people who are no longer here, and it was made with words now out of use that no longer serve the living [*che no iera bone per i vivi*]; and the master who stitched this all together left the dead with their words, and he's fixed them up so those words can say what they want to the living; and in this way from a dead woman's dress he's fashioned jerkins and doublets for the living, and he's taken nothing from nobody, neither would he want to, like others do.

As with his *congedo* or leave-taking at play's end, Garbinello once again takes over for a "master" from the Plautine original: in this case, not Daemones but the northern star Arcturus, whose opening preface to *Rudens* declares why he has chosen at this moment to send a storm, thus suggesting that the entire play has been engineered by a *deus ex machina*. Garbinello is no deity, but the fact that Ruzante has chosen him to take the place of Arcturus must give one pause: it is here where he—or more precisely, given the fact that Ruzante himself played the role of this servant, the playwright—declares his own "masterful" position vis-à-vis what is to come. Rather than give us a summary of the play's events, however, he defends his choice of subject matter and the way in which he has made it his own, and his metaphor of old clothes aids him in his rationale as to why he cannot be accused of stealing Plautus's play—a play whose title and author both go unmentioned:

> …someone might think that even this comedy has been stolen, but if that were the case, we wouldn't show it to so many people, but keep it hidden. If somebody found in an old chest one of those garments that they used to wear long ago, and the material was still good while the garment itself was out of fashion… would that mean you were stealing it?

In the case of Plautus's play, it's the language that's now fallen out of fashion. Thus Ruzante/Garbinello proposes to leave

> the dead with their own words, while adapting the sense of those words for the living; and so in this vein from the clothes of the dead, *il maestro* has fashioned jerkins and vests [*farsetti e giubetti*] for the living, and he's taken nothing from nobody, nor would he want to take anything like that, as other writers do.

In thus fashioning—or as he says elsewhere in the prologue, mending—such outdated fabrics, he insists on using his own language, and thus the language of the "Pavana," refusing to "mix it up" with any other: "as

many people do these days who take great pleasure from others' languages, but so thinking to turn themselves into Florentines, they become French, or German [*infiorentinezarse, e sì s'infranzoserà o intoescher*]. And they're so intent on getting close to the others that one day they'll finish up by losing what's their own. And that's why I've come here bringing only what's natural to me, because the more you get from the stump of the tree itself, the better off and happier you'll be."

This is not the first time Ruzante would write about "*snaturalité*" or "naturalness" as a component of his theatrical work. It reflects, among other things, his commitment to his own regional culture, particularly in a moment of considerable stress on that culture—one in which, in *La Piovana,* only the pimp's Venetian slang will stand out as alien and alienating. But the other outsiders are those writers who in thinking to speak "Tuscan" end up taking on the foreign tongues of German or French. Such foreignness can only remind Ruzante and his audience of the larger political and social disruptions that have threatened the autonomy of the local: the violence and war in the Italian peninsula, particularly outside of Padua where the rich farmlands were contested by external powers during the so called wars of Cambrai. It was indeed during this war when the young Nina of *La Piovana* was first lost, as we learn in the play's third scene, as Ruzante resituates *Rudens* in a contemporary historical moment.[30]

While some critics have argued that Ruzante turned to Plautus in the early 1530s because he was tired of writing rustic plays, or to attract an educated, elite audience in Ferrara where *La Piovana* may possibly have been performed for the Este court, it is also the case as even these brief remarks have suggested that the playwright must have noticed striking parallels between a third-century romance in which war and disruption unsettle families, and recent Italian history.[31] Shortly after the shipwreck that drives the "*tasco*" or purse to shore, separating it from Nina and Nina from her kidnapper, the young lover Siton claims that he will look for his Nina everywhere, going "*per la Talia toesca, per la Talia franzosa, per lo Romanego, di là del mare*" [through German Italy, through French Italy, through Romania, across the sea] (2.2.2–3) and all the way to India if necessary. *La Talia toesca, la Talia franzosa*: those regions of Italy that in the wake of the wars of Cambrai had been taken over first by Maximilian, and then by the French, in turning twists of fortune that delivered Padua and the "Pavana" out of the hands of Venice—a fate initially celebrated, then rejected—and into those of foreigners. To the people of the Pavana, Venice, too, is a foreigner, as the only few lines of Venetian slang in the play, between the pimp Slaverò and his accomplice, an innkeeper, suggest. But by the time of *La Piovana*, in 1532, the sack of Rome had occurred and Germans and then the Spanish had fanned out across central Italy as well as the north. Italy, that is, was not Italy. More accurately, there was no Italy, but a collection of localities, fragmented

by language and political rule, and Italy itself constantly recedes beyond the horizon—not unlike the Pavana, in between the space where the play actually happens, Chioggia, and the Pavana's historically dominant conqueror, Venice, at the other end of the lagoon. If there is anything like what Bertevelo dreams of, and other characters recall—a rural life that consists of work and ownership and a community of exchange—it is there, but a there that is never represented onstage, which is dedicated instead to showing the no-man's land that is a seaside coast where, in fact, no one is really a native other than the fisherman himself, who in any case is eager to leave.

This is why Garbinello's preface is so meaningful, as well as disturbing. Ruzante's decision to rewrite Plautus in dialect is clearly linked with the loss of the "Pavana" and the compensatory desire to claim what has been lost by claiming its language. In the role of the servant Garbinello, Ruzante not only wishes his audience "health, wealth, and happiness" in his "rustic tongue" [*grossa lingua*], but presents the more ambitious project of performing a Latin play in Padovan dialect, calling it "natural" and his and his audience's own. With the larger plot of the play in mind, affirming what is one's own depends on outwitting pimps and masters alike, struggling against the ruling class's principles of "*onestà*" to claim that what is found in the sea, or in a "*cofano*" or chest, is indeed common, and that one has the right, even the obligation, to appropriate it and adapt it for "*i vivi*"—the living. In a world without a real center, where no one is or feels at home, where the unrooted life of an Autolycus is the norm, the "ethical" behaviors counseled by a Tura or Daemones are without real force. Just as the realm of the Pavana is absent in the play, so is the well-being encountered in the sheep-shearing festival of *The Winter's Tale* absent too.[32] But one might interpret Ruzante's moves in *La Piovana's* prologue and play in a more purely literary way. Having left his usual *métier* as an original playwright of country matters, he must be aggressive about making borrowed, and perhaps stolen, texts "fit." The maestro/playwright, that is, emerges as more cunning, perhaps more forceful and brazen, than the *ruffiano* or the pimp—whose own expulsion from the play perhaps takes on new meaning in this light. Blamed for his "foreignness," is he the one figure who could not be appropriated by or welcomed into the community, unlike the pimp in *Rudens*, because his actions are too unsettlingly like Ruzante's own—a Ruzante who in the prologue is just as punctilious as Slaverò will be about distinguishing between what constitutes theft, and what constitutes the mere act of finding something, be it a chest or a girl?

Such are the political and linguistic contexts that shaped the play to which Ludovico Dolce would turn in 1552 and adapt to his own "natural" needs: ones that twenty years later demanded translation into a language that was neither Padovan, nor Florentine, but "Italian." In his version of *Rudens* that is far more faithful to Ruzante than Plautus,

Dolce retains the plot and the scene divisions of *La Piovana,* including the ultimate outwitting of pimp and master alike by the sly servant, and the conversation between the fisherman and his master about the ethics of returning what one finds to the rightful owner. But in one significant alteration, Dolce has *his* fisherman, discoverer of the fardel, dreaming not of country estates but of becoming a gentleman. Bertevolo, now named Merenda, having found a "*tasca*" in the sea, says,

> Ho trovato una Tasca piena di oro; e di tanto, m'é stata la Fortuna favorevole, che non m'ha veduto alcuno. Hora bisogna, che sappia governanmi, voglio ire a Vinegia, e quivi trattenermi con que gentilhuomini, mostrerò di essere gentilhuomo ancora io, o di Puglia, o di terra di Bari, farò il Dotto, il Cortigiano, il Galantuomo.... E in in subito mi sara detto Signor Merenda, la Signoria vostra, bacio la mano, come oggi si fa a ogni furfante; e chi non mi dirà Signore e vostra Signoria non mi farà amico.
>
> (4.11)

> I've found a satchel full of gold and Fortune has been so good to me that she's ensured that no one has seen a thing. But now I need to be careful: I want to go to Venice and hang out with gentlemen there, and I too will be able to pass myself off as a gentleman, perhaps as someone from Puglia, or Bari, and I'll make myself a learned man, a Courtier, a Gentleman.... And right away they'll start calling me Signor Merenda, your honor, they'll kiss my hand, as they do today with every shyster, and whoever doesn't call me Lord and your honor won't be counted among my friends.

Dolce faithfully translates from Ruzante only the first line cited above about Fortune and the fisherman's need to "govern himself" wisely. But he then goes on to have his fisherman, "Merenda," fantasize about becoming a gentleman, sidestepping the desire found in Plautus and Ruzante alike to be rooted in the land. This is hardly the only place where Dolce cancels out the countryside in Ruzante's original; the Pavana effectively disappears as a backdrop altogether, with characters repeatedly saying that they want to leave this place of shipwreck and seaside for the city: for Venice. What had been a triangulation in Ruzante between Chioggia, the Pavana, and a Venice full of corruption is now reduced to the tension between the seacoast, where no one is from save the poor fisherman, and Venice, for which everyone yearns. Thus the local in Ruzante—the lands of the Pavana, both near and far—is not translatable, not even as an absent reference point.[33]

And, in fact, it is Venetians whom Dolce addresses in the preface as "*Nobilissimi e prudentissimi Ascoltari*"—most noble and prudent audience. In an extraordinary revision of Ruzante's politics of "naturalness,"

Dolce tells these noble listeners that the actors will not recite in their local tongue—"*in questa vostra lingua Vinitiana*"—because onstage, the Venetian dialect is primarily the language of "*buffoni*" or clowns. "*Non vogliamo partirci dal nostro diritto e comune linguaggio Italiano*," he informs them instead: "we don't want to depart from our rightful and communal language of Italian." This language is no longer local, but a single language that supersedes Venice and Florence alike, while equally negating the presence of dialects and localities smaller than these urban centers. This, Dolce informs us, is to make the play modern, a modernization that can apply as much to Plautus's text as to the Ruzante comedy, which Dolce never mentions. "Nature" now has nothing to do with rustic locality or tongue, but everything to do with a new national culture in the absence of a political or geographical one, and the language it speaks is not that of "buffoni" or clowns but of an elite class.

The transformation of dialect into Italian demands a similar transformation of the dreams of "Italians": to become, in essence, landless gentlemen. No more a nation in 1552 than it was twenty years earlier when Ruzante penned *La Piovana*, "Italy" too can only exist through its language—and perhaps through the aspirations of poor men like Bertevelo/Merenda to be called "*Vostra Signoria*." But by invoking Venice and "*Italiano*," Dolce cancels out the role of the land in constituting the characters' identities as well as the basis for their own *comune linguaggio*. Even though Dolce is further from Plautus than he is from Ruzante, he is, in effect, giving the play *back* to a Roman nation dominated by a single tongue, rather than many. For if Italy is ever to look like Rome, then it too must have one language; and that language will find its basis not in land or political systems, but in the distribution of a single cultural medium. Perhaps the (landless) gentlemen to whose lives Dolce's fisherman aspires will be the greatest beneficiaries of this culture, as well as the future benefactors of figures such as Dolce himself.[34] The fact that no pastoral or rural dream is ever articulated in Dolce's version of Ruzante's play suggests that the only alternative to the place of the stage—the coastal village where the various parties all find themselves for a fixed period of time, like the island in *The Tempest*—is the city: not a countryside with the farms and productivity of which Bertevelo dreamt, the kind of countryside that will be tangibly realized in *The Winter's Tale*.

And yet following the discovery of Perdita's real identity, Shakespeare's clown and shepherd go from being "made men" to donning the "robes" of "Gentlemen born," entering into "preposterous estate" in Sicily's court where the king will call the Shepherd "brother" and where they will weep "the first gentleman-like tears that ever we shed" (5.2.126–132). So did Dolce's fisherman long for the city of Venice, bypassing the life of the landowner altogether, expressing himself in the "*comune linguaggio Italiano*" as he dreamt of being addressed as a

gentleman. One wonders if this scene might have had some interest for a Shakespeare intrigued by such transformations, or if the sly ruffian who enables these connections between country and city and who takes to his heels when threatened with hanging is at all connected to "the most cowardly rogue in all Bohemia: if you had but looked big and spit at him, he'ld have run" (4.3.102–3). Did the prologue with its allusions to "*vecchi panni*" or old clothes perhaps inspire the notion of an "old tale," "a winter's tale," that has been refashioned and repaired for new ears? Might the first conversation found in Dolce's *Ruffiano* regarding the pimp and his merchandise—it's asked if he sells "camel's hair, velvet, cloth laced with gold, perfume, corals, and other things valued in the court"[35]—have helped to spark in Shakespeare the idea for an Autolycus interested in "sheets" and ribbons as well as ballads and songs? And might Autolycus's comment about the fools in his audience thinking "my trinkets had been hallowed and brought a benediction to the buyer" be an allusion to the pilgrims' roads which are said to converge on the stage of *Il ruffiano*—suggesting that Autolycus is not simply an intruder from the outside worlds of city and court but a Catholic tempting good Protestant rustics, so reversing the dynamic between bad Lutherans and good Catholics found in Ruzante?

If Shakespeare did know the ruffian, and thus Ruzante, it was a Ruzante robbed of the dialect he called his "own," and robbed too of the desire for the Pavana. But we are left at least with this comparison between Shakespeare and a Ruzante mediated through Dolce's translation, one that we already knew existed: Italy, or the northern Italy where both Ruzante and Dolce spent their lives, was not a country with a single king, a single court, or a single, national tradition that might find a consoling "mirror" for itself in the innocent pleasures of the countryside. The pastoral settings for Italian plays in the period preceding Shakespeare—the very plays that inspired the vogue for pastoral elsewhere on the continent as well as in England—were relentlessly mythological ones, inhabited by satyrs and offspring of and devotees to the pagan gods, distant from any "real" Tuscan or Venetian countryside.[36] *The Winter's Tale* attests, for better or worse, to just the sovereign centrality that Italy lacked, even as it locates it elsewhere. Yet the real proof of its existence is the fact that the countryside we see in Act 4 is, as many a scholar has recognized, wholly "English." Even if Autolycus—the cunning *maestro* who sings, sells, swindles, cheats, and entertains—takes back for the court what originated with it, he cannot remove the deeply conservative piety that makes the country folk different not only from their progenitors in Greene's *Pandosto* but from their Latin and Italian relations as well. If self-interest is the dominant mode for the underclass figures in all of Shakespeare's sources, speculative or not, the capacity for compassion that creates the basis for human community is ultimately what defines Shakespeare's last, great, pastoral space before *The Tempest*. And

as he makes Greene's rustic and courtly communities alike places for forgiveness—stealing what he found in *Pandosto* to adapt it to his own sense of the English literary tradition—he perhaps asks a Greene, now deceased for sixteen years, to forgive him for his sleights-of-hand.[37]

Notes

1 From the translation by Nixon, *Plautus in Five Volumes*, 4.2, pp. 374–77.

2 On the dynamics of Roman slavery and comedy, see most recently Stewart's *Plautus and Roman Slavery*; her comments on *Rudens* can be found in the section suggestively entitled "Staging Freedom," 1362ff.

3 "The absence of the usual urban context contributes to the play's exotic quality and helps align it with romance, usually set in unusual locales"; the focus, in turn, is not on the "normal preoccupations with city life" but on the morality of the main characters, tested by the less civilized space in which they find themselves. Louden, "*The Tempest,* Plautus, and the *Rudens*," 201. On Shakespeare's use of Plautus more generally, see the classic and still useful work of Salingar in *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*.

4 The edition I will be using is The Arden Shakespeare, edited by John Pitcher. See Clubb's suggestive comment about the "third space" of *The Winter's Tale* situated exactly "in the middle of the play, in a no man's land uninhabited even by the bear, between two worlds" ("The Tragicomic Bear," 27).

5 The bibliography is an extensive one, and I will not reproduce it here, but will mention only some of the major works to emerge from ongoing inquiries into Anglo-Italian connections. Clubb's *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* introduced the term "theatergrams" into the study of European theater and has been widely used to discuss theatrical influences that derive from practice and performance as well as from the more specific exchanges of actual texts. Wyatt's *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, while focused primarily on the translator John Florio, has a bracing opening chapter that details the numerous exchanges between Italian and English actors in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Marrapodi's series with Ashgate on Anglo-Italian connections has spawned a number of volumes that take up Shakespeare in particular. Finally, two volumes recently edited by Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson, also with Ashgate, feature essays by scholars such as Richard Andrews, M. A. Katritzky, and Susanne Wofford that probe both direct influences of Italian theater on English drama and "echoes" of Italian performative practices. See *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theatre* (2008) and *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theatre* (2014).

6 Ferguson was the first to publish widely on Ruzante in English, with his extremely useful analysis of all of Ruzante's individual works; *The Theatre of Angelo Beolco (Ruzzante)*. More recently, see Henke on the shared sensitivities to rustic hardship in both Ruzante and Shakespeare, prompting what Henke calls "an agriculturally-based analysis of poverty, as opposed to urban-based critiques of greed and capitalist acquisition prevalent in the city comedies of Jonson, Middleton, and others" ("Ruzante and Shakespeare: A Comparative Case Study," 172); also see Ellis, "The Problem of Old Age: Anticomedy in *As You Like It* and Ruzante's *L'Anconitana*," 137–51, who notes the ways in which Ruzante "refuses to allow" his audience "to entertain a vision of some nameless rural utopia" in works such as his *Prima Oratione*, "instead engag[ing] their vivid, often embattled experience with what Favoretto calls their own "*contado vivo* (living countryside)" (151).

7 See the recent edition of *La Piovana* by Chiara Schiavon, in *Per l'edizione del Ruzante classicista: Testo e lingua di Piovana e Vaccaria*. As Schiavon notes in her introduction, *La piovana* along with *Vaccaria* are mentioned in a "richiesta di privilegio" made for a publication in 1533, along with the information that they are both "translated … from Latin into Padovan dialect" [*tradutte… di latino in lingua padoana*."] (the play was not published until after Ruzante's death). Schiavon comments that "*sappiamo bene che non si deve intendere il termine traduzione in senso moderno*," and indeed, *Piovana* is very different from the *Rudens* of Plautus, in ways that will be discussed further on. See the introduction, 11–12. Finally, see Ferguson's excellent introduction to Ruzante's works, *The Theatre of Angelo Beolco*, particularly 142–44 on Plautine influence.

8 I believe that Salza was the first to recognize *Il Ruffiano* as a "plagiarized text"; see Gentile's review of Salza's monograph, *Le Commedie di Lodovico Dolce*, and his blunt paraphrase of Salza's argument: "*Il Roffiano* poi è un vero plagio" (472).

9 *Il Ruffiano. Comedia. Tratta dal Rudente del Plauto* (1630). Citation from A3; other citations will be in the text.

10 On the relationship between Shakespeare and Greene, see especially Mentz, "Greene: Autolycus, Robert Greene, and the Structure of Romance in *The Winter's Tale*," in which he argues that Shakespeare takes on not only the writings of Greene, but the man himself, turning him into Autolycus: "The rogue is Shakespeare's portrait of Greene, part criminal and part artist" (77).

11 Text used is from the Arden edition of *The Winter's Tale*, ed. Pitcher, 406–45.

12 Chiari, *Green(e) Shakespeare: Pandosto et Le Conte d'hiver*. Chiari argues that the issues of "filiation" in the play are closely tied to Shakespeare's own relationship to Greene.

13 See Daniele's observation that links Ruzante nonetheless to Ariosto and Bibbiena with respect to the apparent "theft" from antiquity and the extent to which one must defend one's own language ("*la propria lingua, tema caro al Ruzzante e già più volte affrontato, ma che qui nel Prologo della Piovana pare assumere un tratto di più precisa contestualizzazione, quasi di più aderente ripresa di fonte*"), 284.

14 On the frontispiece of the 1560 *Ruffiano*, published as part of Ludovico Dolce's *Commedie*, in Venice, it says under the title, "*Tratta dal Rudente di Plauto*." There is no mention of Ruzante's much more recent play. Ruzante never names Plautus directly in his prologue, perhaps thereby inspiring Dolce's line "*chi roba altrui le cose rubate, non è degno di reprensione, ma di laude*": "He who steals things that were stolen from others deserves not blame, but praise" (A3r).

15 On Greene's "servant readers" and his use of romance for a lower class audience, see Newcomb, "The Romance of Service."

16 It is perhaps notable that Greene's shepherd carries out with himself much of the same kind of interior monologue that Plautus assigns to Gripus. Applegate, in "The Classical Learning of Robert Greene," would however suggest that Greene has minimal references to Plautus in his works and no direct citations (360–1).

17 Jensen, "Singing Psalms to Horn-Pipes."

18 See, however, Mentz's work on Greene, cited above. He argues that Autolycus's antics represent various illicit activities discussed in Greene's *Cony-Catcher* as well as Greene himself.

19 See Mentz, op. cit., as well as Mowat, "Rogues, Shepherds, and the Counterfeit Distressed."

20 Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture*, 170.
21 This is also the case of Virgil's First Eclogue, arguably the most influential source for pastoral literature of the Renaissance. Tityrus has been given his *otium,* his freedom, and his land from the sovereign in Rome, Octavian: "*O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit*" (*Eclogues* 1:6; Virgil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid*, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough, I, p. 4).
22 Indeed, one way to see Autolycus as representative of a "real" rural world is to follow the suggestion of Jill Ingram that he represents "enforced charity" in Shakespeare's world, insofar as ritual celebrations were times where participants were expected to give handouts either of food or money to the legitimate poor; see her suggestive "'You ha'done me a charitable office.'"
23 Pitcher, Introduction to *The Winter's* Tale, 9.
24 "The lark, that tirra-lirra chants/ with heigh, with heigh, the thrush and the jay,/ Are summer songs for me and my aunts/ While we lie tumbling in the hay" (4.3.9–12). "Aunts" are whores, as Pitcher points out in his edition (251), and he also notes that the "hedge" where the "white sheet" is bleaching is also a reference to a prostitute.
25 Segal, *Roman Laughter*, notes that this is one of the very few Roman plays in which the villain is not punished*;* cited in Louden's essay, 231n44.
26 Edition used is Ruzante, *Teatro*, ed. Ludovico Zorz, 4.11, p. 979.
27 *La Piovana*, ed. Ludovico Zorzi, with an introduction by Mario Baratto, xi.
28 *Ibid*., xiii.
29 "Bertevelo: *Arisssi fato miegio tegnirve la ventura che Dio v'aéa mandò, ch'a paràrvela via da ca'*. Tura: *A' no tegnerè mé ventura quela, che ven fuora d'onestè*. Bertevelo: *Se a' l'he catò mi in lo mare, no èla onestè a tegnirlo?* Tura: *L'è pí onesto a darlo indrío a quelú che l'ha perdú*" (5.14; p. 1031).
30 Tura, Nina's father, recalls his lost daughter when talking to Daldura, father of the young man in love with Nina: "*che a' me son tornò a recordare de la mia tosatela, che a' perdí per la guera*" [I'm prompted to remember my little girl, who was lost during the war" (1.3.94–5).
31 On the other hand, the fact that the play may have been performed in Ferrara makes things a little more complicated: why perform in dialect for a courtly audience? Piermario Vescovo observes that the Ruzante's most radical choice in *La Piovana*—that of putting forth "the Padovan dialect as a comic, rustic tongue capable of grappling with—and restoring—the Latin of Plautus"—is in some ways similar to the work that Ariosto did in his comedies for the Ferrarese court. At the same time, "Beolco signals here his break with traditional rustic forms. This is particularly telling given that *La Piovana* is set in Chioggia, and in a geographical territory in which the choice to use Padovan dialect doesn't seem entirely justified in and of itself. This is Ruzante offering Padovan as a linguistic medium capable of expressing the full range of human behavior in all its nuances." (*Il Villano in scena*, 33).
32 This absence of the "wholesome countryside" is also a feature of Ruzante's rustic plays. In *La Betia* the older, sly Nale will recall with nostalgia the days when he went to "all the feste in the Pavana" in which he did his courting and danced up a storm and ate in such quantities that he would have called himself more than an emperor or any other great lord. And the character called Ruzante in the play *L'Anconitana* remembers such days too: once he went to the feste, and he would go to the players of the bagpipes and order them to play a dance. But those are days long gone: Nale spends the rest of *Betia* trying to steal the woman Zilio is in love with, and Ruzante is now a servant in the Padovan home of one Sier Tomao, an adulterous *senex* who drags his servant along with him on his romantic

exploits. Even these plays situated in the Pavana can only dream about what the Pavana might "really" enable.

33 At the very end of his monologue in IV.11, Ruzante's Bertevelo will imagine being called "Segnor Bertevlo" as a result of his having "*tanti dinari*" [denari], then immediately notes that this is a title that comes from the Spanish, who call each other "Signor" no matter how little money they have ("*A' se 'l fa dire tuti, sti Spagnaroli, e sì ghe n'e' che no ha un beze talun*"), 99. Ruzante's Bertevelo thus instantly ironizes the distinction of the title, while to Dolce's fisherman such a title is all-important—as it is to the Clown in the penultimate scene of *Winter's Tale:* "Not swear it, now I am a gentleman? Let boors and/ franklins say it, I'll swear it" (5.2.156–7).

34 Indeed, these were Dolce's primary resources. See Terpening, *Lodovico Dolce: Man of Letters* for an account of Dolce's career.

35 Prior to the assortment of goods the *ruffiano* might be selling—Dolce replaces Ruzante's allusion to mass cards and pardons with more material affairs—he is described in detail in lines that are closer if not exact to Ruzante: "curly hair, a smashed-in nose, a large jawbone, two tufts of hair for a beard, a crooked gaze, and black as coal" (A4–5).

36 See, among other works, Pieri's *La scena boschereccia nel rinascimento italiano*.

37 The suggestion that Shakespeare saw himself in Autolycus has been made by Greenblatt: "he seems playfully to peer out at us behind the mask of a character he added to Greene's story… As a fragment of wry authorial self-representation, Autolycus is the player stripped of the protection of a powerful patron and hence revealed for what he is: a shape-changing vagabond and thief. He embodies the playwright's own sly consciousness of the absurdity of his trade: extracting pennies from the pockets of naïve spectators gaping at the old statue trick stolen from a rival" (*Will in the World*, 371).

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4 Veiled Revenants and the Risks of Hospitality

Euripides's *Alcestis*, Bandello, and Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*

Susanne L. Wofford

How can modern and any other subsequent interpreters of early modern drama effectively take account of the profusion of factors that exist as the inter-texts, contexts, subtexts and pretexts for/of trans-national Renaissance drama? Can such plurality, profusion and abundance effectively be communicated in current scholarly analysis and/or theatrical production?

Despite the deliberate choices that were made in adapting, translating and appropriating trans- and inter-national performance texts during the Renaissance, what vestiges of such new texts' original inter-textual, inter-visual and inter-performative nexūs remain?

What processes of culturally specific filtration are possible/desirable/inevitable in the translation of one historical and cultural *genus* and/or *locus* to another?[1]

—Christian Billing

Christian Billing's call for a way to theorize the multiplicity of theatergrams and inter-cultural sources and subtexts that we have learned to discover in Renaissance dramatic texts serves as epigraph for this essay because it argues that reading with sources must also involve the uncovering of contest and potential conflicts between subtexts, invoked cultures, and revenant voices, and articulates the difficulty of estimating the cultural knowledges and theatrical experiences that multiple intertexts bring to a play. This essay focuses on what might be called the theatergram[2] of the veiled wife returned from the dead in final scenes of Euripides's *Alcestis*[3] and Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*[4] as a way of understanding how the classical past is integrated and interrogated in this early modern play, especially in relation to the contemporary (early modern) fictional source, Bandello's novella of Timbreo and Fenicia, which the play also incorporates.[5] The particular intertextuality created by this dense interweave of source materials suggests that the play creates an intercultural knowledge even if it is not recognized as such by audiences or fully by the author. This essay is resolutely

anti-intentionalist, then, using the study of how Shakespeare draws from and integrates classical and contemporary non-English materials to suggest that we should be more modest when we try to set limits to what might have been knowable or intended within a specific early modern cultural practice or politics.

As Derrida suggested in *Specters of Marx*, the presence of these revenants can allow us to identify the congruence between being haunted by a source, a role, a genre, and needing to bring the past back to life for both reasons of humanity and justice. Cultural "knowledge" that comes from intertextual and intercultural plays may not be explicit or known in a conscious sense, and therefore provides an undefined space outside of political and cultural assumptions that can allow alternative possibilities to flourish. To say that intertextual literature is in this sense below or under the radar of ideology would be simplistic, but it seems worth trying to define precisely the ways in which alternative knowledges can sometimes enter a given cultural sphere in an indirect or even furtive way.[6]

Euripides's *Alcestis* is an important source for the ending of *Much Ado about Nothing*—neither the novella by Bandello nor the Renaissance epic antecedents of the play include the veiled revenant wife.[7] Outside of the novella, the most prominent sources for the play are indeed the retellings of this plot by Ariosto and Spenser in the context of heroic romance-epics, and Spenser's even ends tragically, while Ariosto's is finally resolved through heroic jousting and the romance topos of the anonymous challenger. Spenser's version can stand as a good example: in his account, Phedon, who on the eve of his marriage has been led (by his false friend Philemon) to believe that his lady Claribell had been unfaithful to him (she had been impersonated by her "handmayd" also in a window in her lady's clothes), describes himself watching as "The sad spectatour of my Tragedie" (*FQ* 2.4.27), and upon the next opportunity in his fury he (rather more like Othello) immediately kills his beloved and then his treacherous friend and is on the way to kill the handmaid when he is caught up by Spenser's allegorical figures of Furor and Occasion.[8] Returning from the dead is not a part of this epic account, for it is in the romantic fiction that the plot of the pretend death initiated by Bandello's Lionato is introduced, as well as the requirement that Timbreo marry whatever woman Lionato chooses for him, with the consequent re-betrothal and remarriage of Timbreo and Fenecia.[9]

In an essay that is illuminating for the broader topic of this volume as well as this play, Thomas Moisan has focused precisely on the intersection between the comedy of *Much Ado* and its roots in these heroic romance materials. Proposing a way of reading Shakespeare's use of sources that steps beyond what he sees as the traditional "regard for Shakespeare's integrative powers and a Coleridgean appreciation for his ability to assimilate, to 'weave' disparate source materials into organically and dramatically coherent fabrics,"[10] Moisan describes the complex allusiveness,

"furtiveness" and "ambivalence,"[11] the "dissociative allusions"[12] in the text's dealings with the material it grows out of: "what we encounter in *Much Ado About Nothing* merely offers a paradigm of the problematically furtive and mutually revealing relationships Shakespeare's plays regularly assume with the materials that influence them." These "dissociative allusions" erupt into the texture of the play's lived community. His estimation of the ways in which the play's comic community draws on this heroic romance or romantic novella residue thus emphasizes the distance as well as the resonances that shape the play:

> Surprising us in varying degrees of incongruity, evocations of its literary background cling to the play as a kind of scattered verbal residue by means of which the play summons its antecedents only, it seems, to distance itself from them, investing their recollections with the force of ironic, parodic allusions, or elements of a foreign fictive economy intruding upon the dramatic fiction that is Shakespeare's Messina.[13]

In his emphasis on how the foreign fictive economy enters Messina, Moisan's analysis seems to propose a version of the "dialectical imitation" that Thomas Greene argued long ago characterized the most sophisticated method by which Renaissance texts imitated their predecessor texts.[14]

While Moisan focuses on the "furtiveness" and "scattered verbal residue" of heroic antecedents and larger political narratives, he ultimately concludes that the resonances are mostly a matter of contrast and distance:

> Recalling the misogyny of its narrative antecedents in its own representation of gender, *Much Ado* would seem simultaneously to distance itself from the heroic romance values and tropes those narratives embody. Yet the heroic is not absent from Shakespeare's Messina; rather, it is summoned just enough to remind us of how unheroic the world of Messina is, the foreignness of the heroic subliminally reinforced with every reference to Hero's name, a Hero with no Leander in sight.[15]

Here Moisan steps back away from his more radical sense of the furtive and we might say dialectical inclusion of source material, arguing that the intertextuality in this case is principally a matter of contrast. Yet he has suggested that "the discursive divisions asserted by recollections of their literary antecedents expose the faultlines and fissures in that community."[16] And he concludes that

> the aborted irruption of the heroic into the discursive space of the play is but a transitory reminder of a more obtrusive incursion into

> the physical and political space of Messina, that of Don Pedro of Arragon, along with Leonato, one of the two characters whom by name and position Shakespeare draws from Bandello's novella,[17]

arguing that by including these furtive resonances, the play makes "us aware of what it excludes, something rather like Don Pedro himself, something integral to our experience of the play but not fully assimilated, our sense of which gives our experience of *Much Ado About Nothing* its peculiar richness."[18]

I summarize the interpretation of Moisan in detail for two quite separate reasons. First, he outlines a way of understanding the play's use of source material that insists on the disruptive power of even furtive resonances, suggesting that both our notions of textual unity and our actual experience of the play must be subject to a much broader inclusion of cultural and generic differences, that our own sense of the very richness of the text is related to its incorporation of source materials that can be both ironized and yet also be somehow constitutive of the very poetic and political economy of the play.

Secondly, in his moment of retreat to a simpler model of contrast and distance between play and its heroic romance antecedents, he illustrates the difficulty of the very method of source study he proposes. Precisely because he wants to suggest that the play is haunted by dissociative resonances and allusions imported into the fictive space of the play from source material, and yet also wants to arrive at a stable meaning for the play and especially of its dramatic, comic community, he exemplifies the complexity of my task, and our task in this volume.[19] I will be focusing on a very different set of intertexts—Greek tragedy in and against the Italian novella—and will be looking at the cultural understandings being imported into the play by its interplay of sources, but Moisan's articulation of the ways one set of sources furtively colors the play is a crucial explanation of the kinds of complex intercultural resonances this essay will be tracing.

Combining "hauntology" from Derrida and trauma studies from Freud and Jacobus, Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith recently have taken a similar tack, arguing that source study needs to see as a model the way memories and cultural experiences can erupt unto a text (or a psyche) revealing unexpected fissures: "Both hauntology and trauma studies allow for the unconscious or unbidden irruption of past texts into the present."[20] Their stress, crucial for this reading, is on the text, not on the psychology of character:

> But in bringing trauma towards source study, the concept is useful not as an attribute of characters, but as one of plays: it is located textually, rather than psychologically. We want to understand the relationship between the plays as that between trauma and its later manifestations, and to propose this somatic and psychological model as a new kind of source study.

Part of what makes this concept of source study so useful is that it means looking for the "transformed repressed, [or] unbidden traces" of previous texts and their cultural assumptions, an understanding of the ways in which the impact of the text's antecedents is often only partly acknowledged.

These examples of intercultural, interlinguistic, and intertheatrical meanings can also be understood through the lens of translation and performance.[21] Tanya Pollard in her important new study *Greek Plays on the Shakespearean Stage* argues that the interaction of Renaissance playwrights with earlier materials through the practice of translation—classical reception understood anew—created a "diachronic collaborative community" that should be seen as another part of the collaborative nature of authorship in the period.[22] She speaks of Shakespeare as having "collaborative conversations" with his English contemporaries as well as with Ovid, Plutarch and Euripides.[23]

What Phillip Usher has argued about tragedy is also true of *Much Ado* as of drama in general. In an essay on "Tragedy and Translation," Usher describes a very similar kind of resonance and intertheatrical overlay to that Moisan attributes to the play's incorporation of somewhat dissonant sources: in Usher's account, tragedy as a genre "exercises its power by means of the interlinguistic presences that allow encounters with exemplary sufferers."[24] He speaks of how Medea and Antigone are without a doubt "among the most spectral, (un)familiar and reborn of literary heroes" (467), and he speaks of the translator as the "ghost whisperer,"[25] who imports new cultural contexts and meanings into the ancient plays that haunt them and become a part of them for us in ways we only partly recognize:

> Brecht and Fugard, Kani and Ntshona all take up and translate Sophocles's *Antigone*, and problematize specifically the meaning of certain verses in specific contexts. They see—and show us—how given words and emotions resonate with new and specific locations and cultures. This is the process by which "spectral presences" come to speak "for us." As readers and viewers, our role is to listen for translation. To read or view *Antigone* without hearing the whole range of different ways that translators have rendered *deinos*, to hear Antigone's response to Creon without hearing the other responses that other Antigones made in the same situation… is to read tragedy only by the allegories provided by theater programs and authorial intentions. Something else is needed—and that something else is, surely, awareness of the centrality of translation to the meaning of each and every tragedy.
>
> …
>
> To read and think tragedy is to read and think it *across* languages…. We cannot go back to a unitary and useful meaning of "tragedy", but we can move back and forth, constantly, between texts, translations

> and adaptations, not hierarchically but rhizomatically. To seek out in literature the spectral, the unheimlich, and the quasi-necromantic, we must indeed situate ourselves between and across linguistic frontiers and outside linear histories of literature.[26]

For Usher "translation" is the best way to talk about the inter-cultural power of drama as adapted and transformed by centuries of performance. It seems important as we consider the new ways that sources can be used to highlight the intercultural and transnational status of Shakespeare's plays that we recognize the intersection of literary source and the "source" of the previous productions and translations that speak through and within any new version.

I hope here to unfold or unveil a similar multiplicity in a work that involves translations and adaptations of Greek and Italian source material in the creation of an English play. I see a similar spectral presence in *Much Ado*—voices that import into its texture emotions and cultural understandings that sometimes stand in tension with or at other times deepen the very direction of the play. Metaphors like "travel" seem apt; texts did travel and so did actors, but "traveling" and return is also metaphorical, describing the ways in which dramatic genres, discourses. and theatergrams interpenetrate and create international and inter-linguistic dialogues that can come back to haunt us. Even if audible only to some, they are nonetheless constitutive of the meaning of many theatrical works. This has impact on questions of aesthetic intention and suggests the ways in which artistic works are collectively created—co-authored in a different sense from what we usually mean. A great artist has the capacity to be imaginatively receptive to the meanings inherent in the words, text, or plotline being carried over from another culture—and maybe to magnify them even in cases where the full range of their original connotations may not be recognized.

Can we understand, then, the role of the spectral "revenant" as a model for the intercultural work of carrying plays across borders of all kinds—including time? If Euripides's *Alcestis* underlies the ending of *Much Ado*, what does that "underlying" amount to? Is it a haunting of Renaissance texts with classical models that come back across the border between the dead or lost and the living, turning out to be alive or perhaps, like Alcestis, in between alive and dead and in need of purification when we thought they were dead and gone?

Alcestis may be seen as a tragedy in the ancient sense of being a play that focuses on the tragic mortal limits on human life, but it was the fourth play performed in 438 BCE, so it occupied the position that most often the satyr play (like Euripides's *Cyclops*) would have occupied. Anne Carson writes of the play: "No one knows what convention *Alcestis* belongs to… It is not a satyr play (no satyrs) but neither is it clearly a tragedy or a comedy. Life and death blur."[27] If Euripides's play is more a tragicomedy than a tragedy, it imports into Shakespeare's comedy

something of both genres. In *Much Ado*, we are confronted, then, with the intersection of and perhaps contradiction between several kinds of foreign intertexts and genres that create a set of cultural vectors that traverse the play in multiple directions. This play can thus serve as a test case for how to read through the lens of sources when there are multiple intertextual voices imported into the Renaissance play.

So, in agreement with Moisan, Usher, and Maguire and Smith, this essay presents source study as exemplifying a different kind of transnationalism, translation, and cultural exchange—an understanding of how the spectral haunting of the play by a past play can shift its emotional registers—and to consider in particular what interpretive paradigms the rediscovery of Euripides's influence in the sixteenth century can bring to understanding Shakespeare. Euripides's *Alcestis* is an especially apropos source because the return of Alcestis, the revenant wife, also figures Euripides's play itself, returning from a forgotten state to cast some light on the early modern uses of sources. My focus here will be on *Much Ado* in an attempt to understand how its multiple sources connect and debate with one another. If new approaches to source study provide avenues for understanding not only intercultural literacy in the early modern context but also the ways a text can set its different foundational cultures in debate, it is important too to see how intertexts challenge one another, creating ripples like gravitational waves across the surface of a seemingly monocultural work.

This conjunction will allow us to investigate the mysterious dramatic economy of *Much Ado* by asking why it might be appropriate, according to a poetic or emotional justice, for Claudio to be allowed to purge himself of his violent abuse and to ready himself to be a husband again by agreeing to marry whatever wife is presented at the hands of his putative father-in-law.[28] Euripides's play explores the mysteries of a hospitality so important and so excessive that it creates the context for the victory (of a sort) over death itself and rewards Admetus even after what seems his only inhospitable act—his decision to allow his wife to die for him. Her generosity may be the ultimate act that links a kind of hospitality to death.

Alcestis is deeply invested in a mysterious sense of hospitality that somehow overwhelms the plot in order to redefine marriage precisely as hospitality to the stranger, to the non-kin—it is this act of welcome that Admetus finally undertakes at the end of the play, and by doing so, completes and repeats his marriage to his wife. In *Much Ado about Nothing*, hospitality ironically leads first to the defiling of Hero's name if not her body, and only later to the gain of what may be a truer marriage. There is a deep connection in *Much Ado* between obsessions and fears about virginity or fidelity and the high value put on hospitality. Hospitality, we might say, is not virginal—it does not keep the self or the house cleanly closed against what is outside or different or foreign.[29] In its very polymorphous adoption of ancient and early modern source

material, *Much Ado* also enacts hospitality of a different sort, revealing the risks of a union with the foreign, while also showing how essential it is to the play's capacity to find its way to an emotionally viable ending.

Euripides

One of the great scholarly projects of the past decade has been the recovery of substantial evidence for the presence of Euripides's plays in sixteenth century Europe. *Alcestis* was one of four plays to appear in the first modern printed edition of Greek plays, published in Florence by Janus Lascaris in 1495, and Euripides's plays were among the most widely read Greek dramas in the sixteenth century, widely available in bilingual Latin-Greek texts. This first edition of Greek plays printed in the Renaissance contained *Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis*, and *Andromache*, arguably only one of which is central now to our current school canons of Greek tragedy outside of a Classics department. "Soon after, the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius published editions of Aristophanes in 1498, Sophocles in 1502, Euripides in 1503, and Aeschylus in 1518, and other presses quickly followed suit," writes Tanya Pollard. "By 1600, there were at least 220 editions of these authors printed in Europe, of which at least 28 were translations into vernacular European languages."[30] Pollard, whose research on the presence of Greek plays in sixteenth century Europe has transformed the ways in which we look at Shakespeare, is one of a small number of scholars who has opened up the relation to classical drama in new ways.[31] Key to what she has emphasized is the importance of the large number of bilingual Greek-Latin editions of these plays: In 1506, Erasmus began translating Greek plays into Latin, starting with *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and the plays he translated also tended to be the ones later translated into the vernacular languages. The plays translated in the generation after Erasmus by the Scottish humanist George Buchanan (*Medea* 1544 and *Alcestis*, staged 1542 and printed 1544) also proved popular with subsequent translators.[32] (The first translation of all Euripides's extant plays into Latin had been completed in 1541[33].) The oldest known vernacular version of Greek tragedy in Europe may be the unpublished French translations of *Medea, Hippolytus*, and *Alcestis* by François Tissard (ca. 1507) dedicated to the future king François I.[34] One is struck by the repeated reference to a number of plays like *Alcestis*, which are not as commonly read today: we should emphasize that their canon was not our canon, and so "we" approach this arena of intertextual relation to sources with different knowledge and a significant degree of ignorance. What is "He to Hecuba or Hecuba to him?" was a reasonable question to ask in the early modern period, and clearly pointed to Euripides's play *Hecuba*, while the emotional immediacy of this question much less the answer to it is less likely to be clear today.[35]

The data on performance is sparse, of course, but the *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama*[36] lists *Alcestis* as being performed between 1539 and 1542 by students of George Buchanan. Fredrick S. Boas, in *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, thinks this is at the College de Guyenne[37]; others think that this refers to a performance at Westminster.[38] In addition, we have evidence that the translation by Alexandré Hardy of *Alceste, ou La Fidelité*, was performed in 1606.[39]

Euripides's *Alcestis* was a well-known play in the early to middle seventeenth century, and became even more well known as the century progressed. By the middle seventeenth century in *Of Education* (1644), Milton cites *Alcestis* as a good play for study by young boys, connecting it interestingly to notions of Economy, being understood through the notion of *oikos* (household economy) as well as duty:

> Then will be requir'd a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of Vertue and the hatred of Vice: while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those Locrian remnants; but still to be reduc't in their nightward studies wherewith they close the dayes work, under the determinate sentence of *David* or *Salomon*, or the Evanges and Apostolic Scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of Economics. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odd hour the *Italian* Tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholsome enough to let them taste some choice Comedies, Greek, Latin, or *Italian*: Those Tragedies also that treat of Houshold matters, as *Trachiniæ*, *Alcestis*, and the like.[40]

Milton also famously uses this play in his beautiful sonnet on his wife's death, where we see Aeneas's efforts to embrace the ghost of his wife Creusa blended with Orpheus's moment of loss of Eurydice. In Sonnet 23, these losses are contrasted to and then blended with the Alcestis story as Milton's dream of his wife, veiled, seeming so real and returning from the dead, is broken, and she slips away from him like a ghost:

> Methought I saw my late espousèd saint
> Brought to me, like Alcestis from the grave,
> Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,
> Rescued from death by force, though pale and faint.
> Mine, as whom, washed from spot of child-bed taint,
> Purification in the old Law did save,
> And such as yet once more I trust to have
> Full sight of her in heaven without restraint,

> Came vested all in white, pure as her mind.
> Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight
> Love, sweetness, goodness in her person shined
> So clear as in no face with more delight.
> But O as to embrace me she inclined,
> I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night.[41]

In addition to this cultural evidence of the resonance of Alcestis's story, and in addition to its printing history in the seventy-five years before Shakespeare, we also know that Shakespeare collaborated with Peele, who translated Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* in the 1580s.[42] In short, we have ample evidence of the importance of Euripides's dramas in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries and good reason to think that, whether through his connection with Peele, or because of the reputation of Buchanan, or simply because he was in fact reading the Latin-Greek bilingual translations, Shakespeare was working with Euripides's play. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Euripides's *oeuvre* became increasingly central to Shakespeare's workings out of his dramatic plots, especially his tragicomedies.[43]

It is not a new idea that Euripides's *Alcestis* may have been a source for several of Shakespeare's plays, including *The Winter's Tale*, which I mention briefly here because it helps to highlight how well known Euripides was. Indeed, as Sarah Dewar-Watson points out in her article on this issue, "the parallel with Euripides had already been registered in performance over a century earlier" as seen in an engraving dated around 1780, depicting "a scene from Garrick's production of the play, in which Elizabeth Farren, as Hermione, leans against a pedestal bearing images from the Alcestis."[44] Stephen Orgel reproduces this image in his Oxford World Classics edition of the play. He notes that in the engraving (and presumably the production)

> in place of Christian symbolism, the iconography returns the play to the classical world: the pedestal on which she leans shows *putti* performing two scenes from Euripides' *Alcestis*, Herakles leading the queen back from death, and the reuniting of Admetus and Hermione.[45]

As Fiona Macintosh has shown in her account of the *Alcestis* on the English stage, the story of the play's performance really begins in the eighteenth century, when it begins to be performed with frequency.[46]

Current research on the publication of Euripides shows (along with that of other Greek playwrights) that these plays provide a key set of intertexts, especially for the two plays about revenant wives: *Much Ado* and *The Winter's Tale*. This research has shown us that there is good reason to expect some real familiarity with Greek tragedy in the sixteenth

century and that Euripides was a more popular, pervasive, and influential tragedian than Sophocles (by a certain margin) or than Aeschylus by a very large margin. Euripides's presence in the sixteenth century made possible a new emotional experience that emerged from the intersection in his plays of irony and humor with tragic recognition. The bilingual Greek/Latin editions of the Greek plays, with their stress on translation and its difficulties, made these plays available to an extent that has not been acknowledged in interpretations of these plays until recently. The recovery of Euripides as an available source in the Renaissance also has given us a new route to the emergence of tragicomedy.[47] Although it is relatively common today to understand *The Winter's Tale* as a tragicomedy, *Much Ado About Nothing* is not usually seen in this light. I want to suggest that the *Alcestis*'s haunting of the ending of *Much Ado* brings a stronger tragicomic tone to its ending than perhaps we have seen.

Reading *Much Ado* through Euripides may give new understanding of how it ends and why it succeeds in the compromised conclusions it achieves. The centrality of hospitality to the *Alcestis* story, the fact that Herakles can have victory over death when Apollo cannot, and the strange antagonism between parents and children over mortality suggest an unusual narrative intertwining in the Greek play that may have rooted the Shakespearean comedy in a complex intersection of emotions to which Shakespeare returned in a fuller way in *The Winter's Tale* but was already exploring in *Much Ado*.

The *Alcestis* begins with Apollo on stage, who then praises Admetus for his great hospitality and explains that he has given Admetus a strange gift in return: Admetus, the husband, will be able to live past the time allotted for his death if he can find someone else to substitute for him in death. The opening confrontation between Apollo and Death (Thanatos) has Apollo insisting on a similarly strange bargain: Death will require his due, so if Admetus is not to die, someone else must (a little like the substitution of the heads in *Measure for Measure*). The play thus begins with the search for a substitute, and, in the end, Admetus's wife Alcestis is the only one willing to die for him. His parents have refused, and a cursing match between Admetus and his father bizarrely takes part of the center of the play, ending with the uncomfortable prophecy by the father that Admetus will plan to live on forever with a string of wives, each of whom would die in turn for him:

> You have found a clever scheme by which you will never die.
> You will always persuade the wife you have at the time to die for you instead.
>
> (699–701)

> σοφῶς δὲ ᾽φηῦρες ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν ποτε,
> εἰ τὴν παροῦσαν κατθανεῖν πείσεις ἀεὶ
> γυναῖχ᾽ ὑπὲρ σοῦ:
>
> (699–701)

Apollo and Death have an argument, in which Apollo tries to persuade Death that he should either give up on his request for the substitute body, or at least let Alcestis die when she is older. Although Apollo is one of the "undying ones," he cannot vanquish death even in debate. He has the power in this play to establish the option of substitution, and thereby to provide a kind of gift for his friend Admetus, but he cannot change the fact of death. He leaves immediately: "The stain of death in this house must not be on me. / I step therefore from these chambers" [*ἐγὼ δέ, μὴ μίασμά μ' ἐν δόμοις κίχῃ,/λείπω μελάθρων τῶνδε φιλτάτην στέγην*] (22–23). The stain or the "miasma" of death cannot touch him though it will touch everyone else in the play. Apollo runs from it, but he sets in motion a scheme of substitution that could be read as an allegory for tragedy or for the experience of the tragic audience: you don't have to die if you can watch someone else die for you. Over the centuries there will be a whole series of figures who will die for us. Apollo believes in the substitution and Death accepts it—Death especially likes it when the substitution gives him a better (that is to say a younger) body than was originally coming to him by the normal passage of time. Apollo then disappears: he sets the action in motion, he predicts that Alcestis will be rescued and the chain of substitution broken, and is gone.

The play then continues with a long section of mourning in which Alcestis speaks at length, explaining her motivation for accepting the substitution, and she, Admetus, and the children all weep excessively. As Anne Carson puts it, "People spend the first 390 lines of *Alkestis* asking 'Is she dead yet'?"[48] This suggests a comic quality to the structure of the play, but Alcestis's self-sacrifice gives her heroic stature, and she is fully mourned before she dies. In an extraordinary feat of heroic self-consciousness and eloquence, she herself gains the opportunity to interpret her sacrifice and to grieve over her own death. She even has performed, as Helene Foley explains, "her own preliminaries to her funeral rite (which are also the preliminaries to a marriage rite) by bathing, anointing and dressing herself, and by making dedications to the gods."[49] This linkage of the funeral and wedding rituals thus begins with Alcestis's first appearance.

Once she dies, Admetus, having promised to take no other wife, prepares the funeral and laments. At this point the play takes an odd turn with the arrival of Herakles, to whom Admetus has been hospitable in the past and who wants to stop by on his way to another remarkable feat. Admetus, not wanting to be inhospitable even given his situation, tells the servants that they must not let Herakles know about his wife's death and funeral and the house's mourning, so they entertain him, and he gets drunk and sings loud songs, garlanding his head. The play insists here on the intersection between death, mourning, the recovery of things lost, festivity and unusual acts of hospitality.

In the exchange whereby Admetus convinces Herakles that his wife has not died, his evasions and ambiguities depend on one key point:

that the person who has died (whom we know is his wife) is not a blood kin. This exchange raises again the questions of who or what can substitute for whom, who is kin and not a stranger, and how can one be the same and different at the same time (as alive and dead at the same time). Herakles comments in some frustration at Admestus's strange evasions, "Being and nonbeing are considered different things" "*χωρὶς τό τ' εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὴ νομίζεται*" (528), but the play is not sure he is right. Is the role of tragedy to remind us that we are simultaneously alive and yet are also "the dying ones," and that whoever substitutes for us on stage, no matter how distant they may seem, are our true kin, the only ones who alone are true to us (as Admetus says of his wife)?

When Herakles finally finds out the mistake, he praises Admetus for his amazing hospitality and decides to go off and rescue Alcestis from death. We do not see this rescue, but in what feels almost like a kind of afterword, or ritual conclusion after the tragic drama, the play ends with Herakles leading a silent, veiled woman and presenting her to Admetus, asking him to accept her as a guest in his house:[50]

HERAKLES: As I said, the woman is for you to keep.
She is not stolen. It cost me hard work to bring
her here. Some day, perhaps, you'll say I have done well.
(1034–36)

ADMETUS: (…) As for the woman, if it can be done, my lord,
I beg you, have some other Thessalian, who has not
suffered as I have, keep her…. (…) You lady,
whoever you are, I tell you that you have the same
form as my Alcestis. All your body is like hers.
Too much. Oh, by the gods, take this woman away
out of my sight. I am beaten already. Do not beat
me again. For as I look on her I think I see
my wife. It churns my heart to tumult and the tears
break streaming from my eyes….
(1043–44; 1061–69)

Admetus continues to resist welcoming the stranger lady throughout a long exchange, finally agreeing:

ADMETUS: I will not touch her. But she is free to come inside. [again hospitality being key]
HERAKLES: No, I have faith in your right hand, and only yours.
ADMETUS: My lord, you are forcing me to act against my wish.
HERAKLES: Be brave. Reach out your hand and touch the stranger.

Ἄδμητος
σὺ δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὴν εἴσαγ', εἰ δοκεῖ, δόμους

Ἡρακλῆς
ἐς σὰς μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε θήσομαι χέρας.
Ἄδμητος
οὐκ ἂν θίγοιμι: δῶμα δ᾽ εἰσελθεῖν πάρα.
Ἡρακλῆς
τῇ σῇ πέποιθα χειρὶ δεξιᾷ μόνῃ.
Ἄδμητος
ἄναξ, βιάζῃ μ᾽ οὐ θέλοντα δρᾶν τάδε.
Ἡρακλῆς
τόλμα προτεῖναι χεῖρα καὶ θιγεῖν ξένης.

ADMETUS: So,
Here is my hand. I feel like Perseus killing the Gorgon.
HERAKLES: You have her?
ADMETUS: Yes, I have her.
HERAKLES: Keep her. Some day
you will say the son of Zeus came as your generous guest. (he throws off the veil)
But look at her. See if she does not seem most like
Your wife. Your grief is over. Your luck is back.
ADMETUS: Gods, what shall I think? Amazement beyond hope as I
look on this woman, this wife. Is she really mine,
or some sweet mockery for a god to stun me with?
HERAKLES: Not so. This is your own wife you see. She is here.
ADMETUS: Be careful she is not some phantom from the depths.
HERAKLES: The guest and friend you took was no necromancer.
ADMETUS: Do I see my wife, whom I was laying in the grave?
HERAKLES: Surely, but I do not wonder at your unbelief.
ADMETUS: May I touch her and speak to her as my living wife?
HERAKLES: Speak to her. All that you desired is yours.
(1114–32)

Critics have commented that Herakles presents Alcestis in the guise of a Greek wedding ritual—or a parody of it. As Sarah Dewar-Watson comments,

> In the Greek, Alcestis says nothing from her entry at line 1006 to the end of the play; when questioned by Admetus, Heracles explains that Alcestis must undergo a purification ritual to satisfy the gods of the underworld before she is permitted to speak. (Euripides, ll 1144–46)[51]

What Admetus sees as a demand that he take a veiled stranger woman (*xenēs,* l.1117*)* by the hand and welcome her into his house in a gesture of hospitality leads to a union (emphasized by his taking her by the hand) and is staged as a reenactment of the wedding ritual, a moment

that defines marriage as a union that brings the foreign into the household: "Reach out your hand and touch the stranger." In emphasizing this ritualized scene in their endings, both *Alcestis* and *Much Ado* highlight how the erring husband (or fiancé) is forced to reenact the acceptance of marriage and in particular the acceptance of an unknown woman or stranger.

Bandello's Novella 22 from La Prima Parte Delle Novelle

The ending of *Much Ado About Nothing* is often felt to be unsatisfactory if not outright bizarre. I will suggest that the two ghosts that join hands in that ending make us rethink our understanding of the careful poise between genres achieved by this play. The first ghost is, as we have seen, that of *Alcestis*, the play, and with it Alcestis, the revenant wife. The second is the story by Bandello of Timbreo and Fenicia, long recognized as a source text and indeed as the main source text for the play. I will focus now on that second ghost.[52]

We should recall the two key twists in the novella's plot: (1) first, that in the deceiving vision presented to the fiancé, there is no visual evidence at all of the presence of a woman (Fenicia or anyone disguised as her) in the scene at the window;[53] (2) second, the return of Fenicia is made possible by a passage of time—a year—in which not only do we imagine she has changed as a person, but we are told that she has developed as a young woman. In the novella, Fenicia herself is as engaged in the deceit of pretending to be another woman as her father is in setting up the lie that she is someone else, a kind of punishment and perhaps test of Timbreo.

In Shakespeare's comedy, the desire for "ocular proof" and the willingness to be betrayed by a lying spectacle—indeed, the capacity to indulge in this fantasy—are demonstrated by Don Pedro and Claudio. The fact that Shakespeare does not stage the scene of deception directly—a decision the play takes from the novella—poses such a problem for directors that many choose to stage the scene anyway. (Branagh's film version stages it, as viewers will remember, as do many productions.) Shakespeare, in contrast, never puts the audience into the same position visually as Claudio finds himself. In Bandello, not only does the narrator represent the scene as a trick, but there is even less "evidence" presented by the scene than is described in Shakespeare, for there is no woman present at the scene of deception at all—it is all about theatrical deceit and jealous fantasy:

> The night was not very dark but very still. Presently he heard the sound of approaching feet, and also caught (imperfectly) some few words. Next he saw three men pass by, and recognized clearly the young man who had warned him that morning; but the other two he could not identify. As the three passed before him, he heard what the perfumed gallant was saying to the man with the ladder: "See that you

> place the ladder so carefully to the window that you make no noise, for the last time we were here my lady Fenicia told me that you had leaned it there with too much noise. Do everything neatly and quietly." These words, clearly heard by Sir Timbreo, were like so many sharp spears plunged in his heart.... Then the three, reaching the window of Messer Lionato's house on the side we have mentioned [the side opposite the section of the house where the family lived], set the ladder very softly against the balcony, and he who simulated the lover climbed up and entered the house as if he had a mistress within. When the unhappy Sir Timbreo saw it, being convinced that the man who had climbed up had gone in to lie with Fenicia, he felt himself swooning....
>
> (116–17)

> Non era molto scura la notte, ma forte queta. Ed ecco che egli cominciò a sentir lo stropiccio dei piedi di quelli che venivano ed anco sentire qualche paroluccia, ma imperfetta. In questo vide i tre che passavano e ben conobbe il giovine che la matina l'aveva avvisato, ma gli altri dui non puoté egli raffigurare. Nel passare che i tre dinanzi gli fecero, sentí che il profumato, in forma d'amante vestito, disse a colui che portava la scala: – Vedi che tu ponga la scala cosí destramente a la finestra che tu non faccia romore, perché, poi non ci fummo, la mia signora Fenicia mi disse che tu l'avevi appoggiata con troppo strepito. Fa destro e chetamente il tutto. – Queste parole sentí chiaramente il signor Timbreo, che al core gli erano tanti pungenti ed acuti spiedi. (...) Cosí i tre, giunti dinanzi a la finestra de la casa di messer Lionato, a quella banda che si è detto, molto soavemente al balcone la scala appoggiarono, e colui che l'amante rappresentava su vi salí ed entrò ne la casa come se dentro avesse avuto fidanza. Il che poi che lo sconsolato signor Timbreo ebbe veduto, e credendo fermamente che colui che salito era se n'andasse con Fenicia a giacere, assalito da fierissimo cordoglio si sentí tutto svenire.

Bandello's Italian brings out the theatrical in the scene, as the English translation does with the words "he who simulated the lover": "*colui che l'amante rappresentava*...."

Questions of theatricality and substitution are also central to *Much Ado*. The horrifying attack on Hero at the wedding scene specifically draws attention to the problem of substitution:

CLAUDIO: There, Leonato, take her back again:
Give not this rotten orange to your friend;
She's but the sign and semblance of her honour.
Behold how like a maid she blushes here!
O, what authority and show of truth
Can cunning sin cover itself withal!

> Comes not that blood as modest evidence
> To witness simple virtue? Would you not swear,
> All you that see her, that she were a maid,
> By these exterior shows? But she is none:
> She knows the heat of a luxurious bed;
> Her blush is guiltiness, not modesty.
>
> (4.1.29–40)

This famous speech pits our knowledge of the fictional Hero's innocence against our recognition that the actor before us is not a maid; that if there is a blush, it is an enacted one, not the blush of the fictional Hero. "Would you not swear, / All you that see her" insists that this is directed to the onstage and off-stage audience—"all you who see her"—and the reference to "exterior shows" only drums the point home. It connects the attacks on chastity with the medium of drama as a medium that has its own kind of "unchastity."[54]

In the Bandello novella, things are quite different: a year goes by rather than the few days of the *Much Ado* plot. Bandello tells us that in this year Fenicia (named after the Phoenix) is said by the narrator to have changed so much in one year that she had become unrecognizable:

> ed in questo tempo Fenicia oltra ogni credenza era divenuta bellissima e aveva compiti i dicesette anni di sua etá, e in modo era cresciuta che chi veduta l'avesse non l'averebbe mai per Fenicia conosciuta, massimamente tenendo quella giá esser morta.
>
> In this period Fenicia had become beautiful beyond belief, had completed her seventeenth year, and had developed so much that nobody who had seen her would have recognized her as Fenicia, especially since the latter was thought to be dead.
>
> (127)

Sir Timbreo actually marries her while he is still deceived about who she is and sits with her at dinner enjoying her company before the ruse is revealed. Like Hero, then, she serves literally as her own double: the more mature woman at the end of the tale thus serves as a deceitful double of the adolescent girl at the opening of the tale. The narrative thus allows doubling through a passage of a year, while theater must seek a more radical solution, presenting the two women as simultaneously present.

Although Timbreo's eyes deceive him, the conclusion of the novella emphasizes seeing: the moment of recognition is a moment of opening of the eyes ("*s'apersero gli occhi de l'amoroso cavaliere*"), and afterwards over and over again he gazes on her, with eyes fixed on her ("*con fisi occhi*"). The story ends with a vision of Fenicia so beautiful that the reader is asked to share it ("If you saw those fine eyes…").[55] Fenicia

is celebrated in the mode of a poetic *blazon*, description that carries so much emotional weight that she is represented almost as a divine vision with the power to release a shower of wealth: the King of Sicily provides the daughter of Lionato and her cousin with the dowry appropriate for the rank of their husbands, and the Queen invites them to be ladies-in-waiting with a generous allowance attached to their position. The two husbands, who have no longer married two poor girls, end the tale with both love and wealth, while the visionary ending seems to hide by its brilliance of illumination the darker narrative of accusation, death, and theatrical manipulation, not to mention the fantasy of marrying way above one's rank in society. We are allowed brief reminders that depending on the visual for one's measure of truth may not be the wisest act when the narrator tells us of the lover's joy:

> the two bridegrooms could not have too much of looking at, and enjoying the conversation of their brides. But Sir Timbreo it was who rejoiced most immeasurably, and could scarce make himself believe that he was where he was, in doubt whether he were dreaming or that this might be some enchantment caused by magic arts. ["*qualche incantamento fatto per arte magica*"].
>
> (133)

In emphasizing the visual both for the readers and for the characters in a story that has already revealed the danger of relying on what one sees or thinks one sees, the comic narrative affirms theatrical doubling and transgression as the mode of comic return. By this means, it also emphasizes the parallel between the various theatrical deceits, from the faked fantasy of deception of Fenicia at the window to the trick visited in the final marriage scene on Timbreo when he is misled about the identity of the girl sitting next to him, who is in fact his chaste fiancée and a great actress. In this, the play follows the novella closely, exposing the very kinds of tricky doubling that are shown to play most dangerously into the fantasy life of the male characters as also the source of the comic ending. Sir Timbreo's sudden sense that he may be dreaming or may be caught in a web of magic articulates a moment of partial recognition of the potentially duplicitous work of the plot in which he is enmeshed, a plot which created a chain of false but believable events leading through deceit to truth.

Already in the novella, then, theatrical doubling is the mode of comic return—substitution remains comic in Bandello even though it carries a risk. Timbreo's willingness to see Fenicia's trick of theatrical doubling as an almost enchanted dream will lead the way to a similar stance for Claudio, if more indirectly since the play will end rapidly after this scene and will not crown it with the folkloric benevolence of the dowries and double marriage (Don John escapes—he is no Girondo ready to round

out the marriage pairs—and the play ends with plans to arrest and torture him).

The play takes from this narrative the celebration of this deceit: luckily Hero and Claudio are in a comedy and are spared a full literalization of the scene of death and return because, though Claudio's accusation is intended as sincere, the act/performance that propels it *and* the acting that rescues Hero from slander (the theatrical deceit, and the doubling of Hero for herself) are themselves fictional, pieces of theater not actuality.[56] The play draws from the novella the value of the double cross, and thereby skirts tragedy. Like Timbreo but in a different temporality, Claudio marries both a substitution for his fiancée and the woman herself—a double that Hero can control this time (as opposed to the double created by Margaret in unwitting alliance with Don John). These theatrical scenes in both the play and the novella make clear that the sources of the comic narrative to create order and social harmony draw on the duplicities of the sexual, the figurative, and the theatrical, and that wit/deceit, which creates adulterous unions, can also make the truest marriages.[57]

Much Ado with its Two Source Endings

Let us return now to our first ghost haunting the play, the ghost of Alcestis, whose veiled return is explicitly echoed in Shakespeare's ending and is not present in any form in the novella. When Hero returns, she is veiled like the revenant wife in *Alcestis*, and yet she retains the comic role of substituting for herself:

CLAUDIO: Give me your hand: before this holy friar,
I am your husband, if you like of me.
HERO: And when I lived, I was your other wife: *Unmasking*
And when you loved, you were my other husband.
CLAUDIO: Another Hero!
HERO: Nothing certainer: One Hero died defiled, but I do live, And surely as I live, I am a maid.
DON PEDRO: The former Hero! Hero that is dead!

(5.4.58–65)

Hero substitutes for herself—she is herself, a kind of chaste metaphor or even a kind of tautology (Hero = Hero). Yet in a sense she is not substituting for the Hero that was, as that self no longer exists: one Hero died and cannot fully return. The new Hero cannot ever be the same person. The new Hero substitutes for the former Hero, creating a gap of imagined time and breaking the figure of the seeming tautology. The wife who returns in *Much Ado*, like Alcestis in her play, is not the identical

self she was. Is she a substitute wife or the same wife? On the one hand, the return of Hero to substitute for herself seems to purify the process of substitution, always associated with the possibility of deceit and theatrical deception (not to mention metaphor) and thus seems to make it less disturbing because she is actually herself: "chaste substitution" defines in this sense the plot of M*uch Ado*.[58] Although we see here self substituting for self, we know on the other hand that "the Hero that was dead" cannot be the same as the knowing woman who returns to defend herself. In the recognition that what is lost cannot be recovered—Hero can never be exactly the same Hero—the play charts a different loss of innocence from the one Claudio had accused her of. Claudio had accused her of sexual infidelity, but the play shows Hero to have experienced at his hands a different loss. Claudio has to accept the risk that Hero really has become someone else, not the simple and inexperienced young girl that he was about to marry.[59]

Something too has been lost for Alcestis—she is now a wife with the knowledge that her husband would sacrifice her for his personal need. But the Greek play retains the ritual background dramatizing her need for purification as she returns from the dead, a ritual marked by her silence until she is "purified" of the effect of death (the "stain" of mortality, but also perhaps the grief at the human condition that had led her husband to allow her to die in his place). Hero will not go through any comparable purification. The trick of the plot, like the tricking of Admetus, is that Claudio is led ritually to accept a new wife as a penance, and this new wife is the actor—a Hero who can pretend to be a revenant wife from the dead. He is asked implicitly to accept this duplicity, which is connected to comedy in two ways: the two tricks (the pretend death of Hero; the tricking of Beatrice and Benedick) lead to the generically desired marriage ending, but also the doubleness, wit, tricks, and deceitfulness that comedy itself celebrates has led to a plot that celebrates even the theatrical capacity to deceive.

One aspect of the intercultural knowledge that is imported into and contested in *Much Ado*, then, is the cultural value placed on hospitality and the heroic treatment of Herakles's feat, something beyond even the power of the gods (or at least beyond Apollo's) and Alcestis's sacrifice. The heroic treatment of the romance/mythic hero's battle with Thanatos and both his and Alcestis's contact with that which is beyond life bring an intensity of emotion and a resonance different from what we encounter in the novella, for all the repentance and tears that are described. The knowledge brought from the Greek play that mortality is defining of human meaning, but that hospitality, especially hospitality to the stranger, has the power to assert a control over death remains woven into *Much Ado* and colors our feelings about Hero. But Shakespeare keeps the comic novella source present also in the insistence that Claudio, who

had rejected Hero for deceiving him, thinking she was untrue, now must accept the doubleness and capacity for deception of this new Hero.

The resonances between the endings of *Alcestis* and *Much Ado* are clear: the veiled wife presented as another woman, and the situation where the husband is forced to accept her without knowing who she is—to accept in Claudio's case a seeming stranger as wife; in Admetus's case, to allow a stranger woman into the house only to discover the stranger is his wife. The revenant wife, who returns from the dead, crossing the border of death and life which cannot be crossed within the verisimilitude of tragedy or Shakespearean drama (a fact we are reminded of by the fact that in *Much Ado* this is not a literal return from the dead but a trick—a pretend death). The Greek stress on the foreignness of the wife—"Reach out your hand and touch the stranger"—makes available to *Much Ado* an understanding of marriage that goes beyond that of the novella, insisting that there is something truly different and potentially strange about the wife Claudio must accept in marriage at the end of the play—she is in some important sense foreign to him.

Can we consider that Alcestis also crosses over and become a part of Hero? Hero may gain some of her strength from Alcestis, strength she showed no sign of earlier in the play. She may also gain some of her silence throughout the play from this silent revenant, as we learn that the veiled woman, the returned Alcestis, cannot speak for three days in order to pay what she owes to the gods of the underworld.

The trick Admetus plays on Herakles is to say that no one of his kin has died, just a woman he has no kinship with—here he means blood kinship. Thus the wife in an exogamous marriage becomes the foreigner, the stranger who has been let into the household. Marriage is of course the precise moment, then, of what we might call transnationalism—bringing that stranger who is not kin into the household and seeing that that strangeness will now be the *unheimlich* at home. Like words as Bakhtin describes them, carrying with them many discursive othernesses that they always carry with them, here both wives and plots bring the foreign into the household.[60]

Much Ado unites these two strategies of telling how to return: like the Bandello novella, it retains the comic emphasis on deceit and doubling, while like the *Alcestis*, it insists on a ritual dimension—a dimension that suggests uncannily that there has been a real loss, certainly of a kind of youth and innocence, and perhaps of a kind of trust that cannot be fully recovered. The play presents this as a comic lesson—women should certainly not trust men the way Hero and her family had trusted Claudio since "Men were deceivers ever" (2.3.61), as Balthasar's song goes—but it also shows that Claudio cannot have his dream of purity. Hero may be a "maid," but she remains also a great actress, and he must accept this doubleness and the risk of duplicity.

A Euripidean reading of *Much Ado* enables us to ask several questions that do not spring forth in the same way otherwise: Firstly, Euripides's play highlights the relationship between marriage and hospitality. Hospitality is at the center of *Alcestis*, while in *Much Ado* it crucially sets the scene and dramatizes the class tensions. This connection—also crucial in *The Winter's Tale*—seems to be a nexus for understanding what marriage is, suggesting that marriage is about welcoming the stranger, the person you don't really know, and that the risks of marriage have to do with the need to accept, provide welcome, acceptance, and trust for this stranger that you cannot fully know or ever fully possess.[61]

Secondly, the symbolic role of the substitution plot in *Much Ado* and the discovery of a non-tragic form of substitution made possible when Hero substitutes for herself is clarified by recognizing *Alcestis* as a source. It allows us to contrast the way that the process of substitution in death (Alcestis substituting for Admetus) illuminates the tragic experience with the way that a structure of substitution that does not depend on death provides a different way out, and can position the audience differently. All theater in this sense ultimately draws on the comic paradigm in that the actor never actually dies and only pretends to do so—but in tragedies and in plays that adopt parts of a tragic scenario, like *Alcestis*, the theatrical enactment of the inescapability of mortality (in this case even with substitution) challenges the reassurance provided by theater with its bodily reminders that the death staged is only fictional, and reasserts the fact of mortality as the the human fate.

Thirdly, the Alcestis subtext emphasizes the silence of the veiled revenant—they don't tell you much! Hero does make her brief assertion of identity, but there is so much unsaid! Hero is not in need of ritual purification because she has not actually been dead, but she has shown herself capable of a degree of deceptiveness (albeit theatrical deception) that should surprise. She is metaphorically unchaste, but physically and literally chaste, and Claudio will have to accept this duality.

Lastly, in the recognition scene, we are reminded powerfully that what is lost cannot be found or be fully recovered. The Hero that stands before Claudio in the ending is not the same Hero—"One Hero died defiled" (5.4.63)—and that Hero is truly and irrevocably gone. The substitution is seemingly unthreatening because Hero stands in for herself, and yet she really is not the same person who was attacked by her fiancé at her wedding. Substitution is always complex and difficult and has its costs: Admetus learned that once he allowed a substitute to die in his place, he himself might as well be dead. And it is not clear just what he has recovered in the final scene of *Alcestis,* in part because Alcestis does not speak. Anne Carson's moving account of the taut emotional ending of Euripides's tragicomedy captures the uncertainty:

> What are we to make of the ending? Can we be sure that the veiled woman is alive? That she is Alcestis? That she will live happily ever after with her husband and children? Critics have doubted all of these. There is a kind of nuptial drama staged in the final scene—perhaps a parody of the ancient Greek wedding… Here the bride is unveiled to her husband… but will not be permitted to speak for three days due to her death-polluted condition. An eerie silence carries her into the big dark house of her unconventional husband.[62]

The uncanniness of the Greek ending articulates concerns also relevant to *Much Ado*. Like the Euripides play, which raises more questions in the ending than Herakles wants to admit,[63] *Much Ado* leaves much in question. But Shakespeare reshapes this uncomfortable ending by drawing together the Greek source with its completely distinct Italian source, and in doing so, reanimates not only its ending but its relationship to these foreign cultures and forms, its revenants. For, in transporting the Italian comic plot into this meditation on the dangers of substitution as an effort to avoid death, *Much Ado* comes to a greater acceptance of the need for doubling and a more comic if no less ironic sense of the value of the theatrical substitute.

The central problem of Euripides's play concerns, as we remember, the question of substitution: why is it that someone needs to substitute for Admetus in order for him to avoid death? Is this a morally or humanly acceptable solution? In other words, do we, like the character Death, believe that someone has to die for us on stage to protect us from death and to enable our catharsis?

Should we as audience members learn from Admetus and also not allow this structure of substitution by which someone sacrifices themselves to die for us? If we come to a play, and are ready to sacrifice the innocent fiancé or wife to experience tragic emotion, are we also living off of her? I stress this point because the poetics of substitution in the plot of the *Alcestis* are so insistent: Alcestis's willingness to substitute for Admetus highlights the process of substitution inherent in the dramatic experience by which we experience emotions and have recognition at the cost of someone else substituting for us.

So when Herakles refuses to allow the plot as planned to go ahead, interrupts it, and recovers Alcestis, maybe this is one way that he and his playwright are saying no to the dramatic structure of substitution inherent in tragedy whereby others die so we can have catharsis, whereby others die so we (and the polis) can live. He is saying no to that kind of play and rushes off to get the wife back so that we have a different kind of ending and can appreciate a different way that substitution works. That is why this section of the Greek play is like an epilogue—the play was performed as the fourth play, in the place of a satyr play, and this ending could be read as the tragicomic final moment in the tragic sequence.

Perhaps this is one way in which the comic narrative of the novella and the tragicomic ending of the *Alcestis* find sufficient congruence to be able to create a single unified if complex closure for Shakespeare's play.

The intercultural lens created by the submerged dialogue between these two sources also highlights a tension between the two different cultures drawn together in this already culturally distinct English play. Since the misogyny and fantasy of, or fear of, cuckoldry is embedded deeply in the Italian novella, its plot stands in tension with the Greek tragicomedy, which has no hint of worries about infidelity on the part of the wife. Indeed, Admetus says as he describes his future mourning for his wife, "Never, even in death / shall I go from you. You alone were true to me" (367–68):

> μηδὲ γὰρ θανών ποτε
> σοῦ χωρὶς εἴην τῆς μόνης πιστῆς ἐμοί.
>
> (367–68)

The Loeb translation more literally stresses the wish: "never even in death may I be parted from you, the woman who alone has been faithful to me" (189). If anyone is unfaithful in *Alcestis*, it is surely Admetus himself as he betrays his wife for his own interest. This difference in the position of the woman in both texts, and the fact that Admetus's hospitality redeems the implicit infidelity he has shown to his wife, suggests that throughout *Much Ado*, the cultural stress imported through the Greek source on hospitality and on the capacity to welcome the stranger create a substantial critique of the discourse of cuckoldry and the misogyny that is so profound in the middle of *Much Ado*.[64] If the Greek source allows us to see the play's treatment of the fears and fantasies of cuckoldry as standing in opposition to the hospitality that will enable the comic ending of the play, then it also prevents a comic solution to the violence perpetrated by the fantasies of cuckoldry from seeming sufficient here. This clash is also a difference in the evaluation of the costs of the comic solution.[65] It suggests that it is not as easy as the trick implies and that without the willingness to accept as a wife a stranger whose fidelity can never be fully known, there could be no true marriage.

This is perhaps Euripides's extraordinary innovation: to put aspects of a satyr play into a tragic scenario, enabling the critique of tragedy as well as a tragic statement of the insufficiency of seeing laughter and wit as a sufficient solution. What Shakespeare does, in turn, is not only adopt that innovation, but also intensify the comic doubleness at the same time. The result is a brilliant ending that manages to be both tragic and comic at once; it enables the dishonored woman to seize back both her reputation and her voice, to make her case, and to win it. It is not only because of the Greek subtext that Shakespeare in this play exposes

the violence and fantasy structure of male fears of cuckoldry, of course. But the Greek source changes the tone of the ending and emphasizes the real costs to the woman and to the society both of the fantasy accusation in the first place and of the later compromise ritual that enables the repair of the marriage. The requirement that the male characters (and Claudio in particular) must accept and indeed celebrate the doubleness of Hero is given a special meaning by the Greek tragicomic source: the need to accept and even celebrate the doubleness of Hero, of the actor, we see, is tied to human mortality. The theatrical practice—the pretend death of the actor—discovers in this Greek text that the need to accept the stranger is itself rooted in the tragic commitment to mortality as the grounding of its plot. Only through this acceptance of the stranger, symbolized by marriage, and based on hospitality and trust, not misogyny, does the comic celebration of community become something more than an ironical joke.[66]

In its ending, *Much Ado* seems to want to reclaim the wit and humor of cuckoldry as if its risks have been purged—Benedick's comic and ironic lines still come close to ending the play.[67] But we are not persuaded that the discourse of cuckoldry can indeed be purified after it is stained with the suffering of Hero. The Greek subtext makes us see in Benedick's return to this language, even in witty jest and celebration, an uncomfortable statement of both his and implicitly Claudio's anxiety about accepting the stranger—in each case the man must accept a woman he thought he knew but doesn't fully.

Both the novella and the Greek play turn in different ways to ritual and romance at their moment of ending—while *Alcestis* reenacts the purification from the dead and alludes to Greek wedding rituals, the novella turns in its penultimate section to an almost folktale celebration, where the reunited newlyweds are showered with wealth and beauty and given higher status by the King and Queen. *Much Ado* incorporates the Greek ritual, including implicitly the sense that the revenant wife may bring back with her some stain of death and may need purification. It draws on the Greek sense of what is really at stake even in a theatrical pretence of death, and so it turns away from the romance and folktale qualities of the ending of the novella. The intercultural understanding thereby imported seems to underlie the complex tonality of this doubled play that both celebrates wit and humor, and yet sees the depth of human risk and frailty in them.

One final matter about Euripides's play that may be worthy of speculation is the relation between revenant wives and revenant guests. It is because Herakles is a *returning* guest that the whole plot is really set in motion in Euripides's play. What is the relation between hospitality and the determination to welcome the guest-friend no matter how often he returns and the willingness of the wife to sacrifice herself for

her husband, a story that causes Admetus to realize only too late what he has lost? Can it be recovered by hospitality? This issue is thought through again in *Much Ado* when Claudio is invited to take another wife and asked to accept her. The welcoming of Claudio and Don Pedro back into the very marriage scene they have so violently disrupted emphasizes a repeated hospitality, suggesting that Hero (and her father) can accept Claudio as husband (again) only when he has been through a ritual transformation and has become, in a sense, a different Claudio. Shakespeare will find this an insufficient solution when he looks back on it from *The Winter's Tale*, but here the ritual acceptance of the unknown woman emphasizes the strange requirement of both *Much Ado* and *Alcestis*: that the husband accept a wife (or in the Greek, a stranger woman) without knowing who she is—that the husband accept the stranger before learning that she is the beloved wife. The novella too requires an acceptance of a "new" wife by Timbreo, but he thinks he knows she is kin to Fenecia. He is not asked to make quite the same gesture of acceptance of the completely unknown and foreign as Admetus and Claudio are asked to do, though he does mistake the woman he marries.

In discussing the addition of the Euripidean ending, I have tried to understand the ending of *Much Ado* through the lens of genre: although Apollo argues with Death to give up his scheme of substitution, he fails and has no power to stop Death, but the guest-friend Herakles, undertaking what we might call a romance or mythic action, in fact does conquer Death and, arguing based on merit that Alcestis did not deserve to be killed, rescues her from that plot and creates a new genre of mixed emotion—the tragicomic. Meanwhile Admetus is allowed to be the recipient of this victory over death at least in part because he remains hospitable to guests, to foreigners, to people who are not like himself. *Much Ado* draws strongly on this new genre because Shakespeare turns away from the Italian towards the Greek for part of his closure.

Euripides too could be said to be the revenant guest—the returning member of the family who must be welcomed in—by Shakespeare and indeed by us, as we also are hospitable in our turn to Euripides, Bandello, and Shakespeare. Euripides for Shakespeare is the revenant past, a returning dramatic tradition that may have brought a tragicomic beauty to a comic novella plot that might otherwise have seemed to suggest that it all was indeed much ado about nothing—nothing but fantasy, emotion led on by theatrical suggestion, and misogyny. If this is true, the Euripides drama marries the Italian novella and offers a tragicomic route to a comic ending, just as Euripides's plays may have offered Shakespeare a way to rethink tragedy just as he was about to enter his tragic period.

Notes

1 Christian Billing, Theater without Borders Conference Call for Papers, Paris, June 2015. https://pages.wustl.edu/theater-without-borders/conferences.

2 On "theatergram" as one term for a very specific form of theatrical inter-theatricality, see Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, who coined the term, and Henke and Nicholson, eds., *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, 13. This theatergram is echoed in the ending section of *The Winter's Tale* with the veil or curtain over the statue, and with the statue form itself serving as a kind of disguise, where the wife returning from the dead is hidden. On the related concept of "novellagram" and the idea that novellas (like plays) can import scenarios that are repeated and transferred from work to work and from narrative to drama, see Walter, "Dramatic Bodies and Novellesque spaces in Jacobean Tragedy and Tragi-comedy," in *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*; and "'Are you a Comedian': The Trunk in *Twelfth Night* and the Intertheatrical Construction of Character," in *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater.*

3 References in English to Euripides's *Alcestis* have been quoted from the Richmond Lattimore translation *Euripides I*. For the Greek text, I have relied on the Loeb Library edition in *Euripides I*, ed. and trans. David Kovacs, and also the Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu), from which I have taken the Greek. I have also consulted the translation of Anne Carson in *Grief Lessons: Four Plays by Euripides*. All references in English unless otherwise noted are to the Lattimore translation.

4 All quotations from Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* are to the new Arden edition, 3rd series, ed. Claire MacEachern. Citations from this edition will be given parenthetically in text.

5 I also make brief reference throughout to *The Winter's Tale*, a play even more deeply indebted to the *Alcestis*.

6 See my "Foreign Emotions in *Twelfth Night*" for an example of cultural transmission of emotional options through Shakespeare's incorporating of a source.

7 Bate in "Dying to Live in *Much Ado About Nothing*" discusses *Alcestis* as a source, and see also McEachern,"Introduction," 22–23. Pollard, Chapter 5, "Bringing Back the Dead: Shakespeare's *Alcestis*" (esp. 171–78) in *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stage*, 171–204. This essay was completed before this important study was published, but I have incorporated reference to Pollard's insights where possible.

8 Citations from Spenser are from *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton.

9 For surveys of the sources of *Much Ado About Nothing*, see first Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, Vol. 2; and also Prouty, *The Sources of Much Ado about Nothing, A Critical Study, together with the text of Peter Beverly's Ariodanto and Ieneura; Muir*, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, 113–15; and Moisan, "Deforming Sources: Literary Antecedents and their Traces in *Much Ado About Nothing*." I owe much to this excellent article, which will be referred to below. Finally, for more recent accounts, again see McEachern's Introduction to her new Arden edition of Much *Ado about Nothing*, esp. 4–23. See also Maguire and Smith's important theorizing about sources in "What is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read his Marlowe." As Maguire and Smith suggest, memory of school training as well as of reading creates a more complex web of associations—a return of the memorialized—that may not always attach to specific allusions.

10 See Moisan, "Deforming Sources," 167. See also p. 181, note 8, where he suggests that Humphreys in Arden 2nd edition exemplifies this view of how Shakespeare used his sources.
11 *Ibid.*, 166.
12 *Ibid.*, 168.
13 *Ibid.*, 166.
14 See Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, esp. 15–33. His four forms of imitation are reproductive, eclectic, heuristic, and dialectical. These last two categories are closely related. By heuristic imitation, Greene means the kind of imitation or translation that takes place when a text builds the prior text into its meaning by thematizing its relation to it, and by dialectical imitation, he sees this process as two ways in which the Renaissance text opens itself up to the possible violence of the prior text. Greene thinks in terms of vulnerability: the early modern text must make itself vulnerable to the prior text, while the prior text is vulnerable to the critiques posed by the later text.
15 Moisan, "Deforming Sources," 176–77.
16 *Ibid.*, 167.
17 *Ibid.*, 177.
18 *Ibid.*, 180.
19 For another important, earlier study of the play's use of the novella source, see Osborne, "Dramatic Play in *Much Ado About Nothing*: Wedding the Italian Novella and the English Comedy."
20 This quotation and the following quotations are from Maguire and Smith, "What is a Source," 24.
21 For "intercultural" readings of Renaissance drama, see the work of the Theater without Borders Collaborative represented by two volumes, *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater* and *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater*, both edited by Henke and Nicholson. For intertheatrical, see West, "Intertheatrical."
22 Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stage*, 19.
23 *Ibid.*, 171.
24 Phillip John Usher, "Tragedy and Translation," 467.
25 Philip John Usher, "The Translator as Ghost Whisperer," 468–71.
26 Phillip John Usher, "Tragedy and Translation," 476–77.
27 Carson, "Preface to Alkestis," in *Grief Lessons*, 247–48. On the question of the *Alcestis* as a play of mixed genre, and on its relation to satyr plays, see Sutton, "Satyric Elements in the *Alcestis*," and Slater, "Nothing to do with Satyrs? *Alcestis* and the Concept of Prosatyric Drama."
28 See Berger's wonderful essay, "Against the Sink-a-Pace: Sexual and Family Politics in *Much Ado About Nothing*," in which he attributes the appropriateness of this solution to both the intense misogyny of "the men's club of Messina" (310) and to the passionate male solidarity of the play. He argues that the threat of marriage is precisely that men will have to give this up: marriage "spells the death of their most precious experience: their companionship with other men" (312). I don't dispute the misogyny nor the destructiveness of the male desire to control the female body in this play, nor the stress on male-male bonding, but I nonetheless think it is important to try to understand what logic underlies the ending that makes it work. Berger thinks the ending is simply to hold off the moment in which the Men's Club must disperse and that the play ends in "the nick of time" if it is to remain a comedy. I think there is a deeper logic here that helps to explain why this ending is a return for Claudio as well as Hero, a logic drawn not from Bandello but from Euripides.

29 This connection between hospitality and fears of loss of virginity are of course also central to *The Winter's Tale*. For theory of hospitality in drama and beyond, see Lupton's succinct account of her recent work on this topic in her essay "Hospitality": "Hospitality is *bio-political* insofar as it cultivates the threshold between *oikos* or household and the *polis* or city bidding a provisional politics to pitch its tent on the scene of bodily care" (425).
30 Pollard, "Greek Playbooks and Dramatic Forms in Early Modern England." See also chapter 1, "Greek Plays in England," and the extremely valuable appendices listing all Renaissance editions of drama in Greek, Latin, or bilingual editions, of performances, and of editions and performances of Senecan drama in *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stages*, 43–88; and Appendices 1–7, 227–87.
31 See the essays in *Homer and Greek Tragedy in Early Modern England's Theaters*, a special issue of *Classical Receptions Journal*, Volume 9.1 (2017), for examples, especially the Introduction and the essay by Sarah Whittington. See also Bate, "Dying to Live"; my essay on Shakespeare and Plutarch, "Antony's Egyptian Bacchanals"; and Penelope Usher, "Greek Sacrifice in Shakespeare's Rome: *Titus Andronicus* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*" in this collection, 206–24.
32 See Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stage*, 45.
33 *Ibid*., 246.
34 According to Garland, *Surviving Greek Tragedy*, 202. Ariane Helou's MA thesis, *Translation and Performance of Greek Tragedy in the Cinquecento*, points out that this is contested and may have been a translation into Latin (14).
35 See Pollard, "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?" and now her "*Hecuba* and the Theater of Sympathy" and Chapter 3 of *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stage* (7–14 and 116–42). On the question of the gap between our knowledge of classical sources and Shakespeare's, see my "Globalization: Against our own Ignorance."
36 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/.
37 The Collège of Guienne was a famous humanist school that Montaigne attended and at which George Buchanan taught starting in 1539. Famous for the humanist curriculum set in motion by its Principal André de Gouvéa, it drew students from all over Europe. See Martyn, "Montaigne and George Buchanan,": www.jstor.org/stable/23973534.
38 Macintosh in "*Alcestis* on the British Stage" understands Bruce Smith in *Ancient Scripts and Modern Experience* to say that this was a performance at Westminster (283), Smith basing his claim on Lawrence Tanner in *Westminster School: a History* (1934), who claims it was performed in 1539.
39 *Alceste, ou La Fidélité* (1606), www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/productions/production/5465, accessed 13 July 2017. See also Pollard's Appendix 4 in *Greek Tragic Heroines on the Shakespeaream Stage.*
40 Cited from www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/of_education/; the copytext for the edition of *Of Education* is Milton's 1673 *Poems, etc.* in the Rauner Library at Dartmouth College (Hickmot 173). *Poems Etc Upon Several Occasions … with a small Tractate of Education.*
41 Cited from Milton, *Paradise Lost: A Norton Critical Edition*, 394. The sonnet is also available at www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/sonnets/sonnet_23/text.shtml, also using the copytext of *Poems Etc Upon Several Occasions*; op.cit. footnote 40.
42 Thanks to Penelope Meyers Usher for this insight.
43 This is a primary argument of Pollard's study of Shakespeare's "collaboration" with Euripides in *Greek Tragic Women on the Shakespearean Stage.*

See particularly pp. 178–79 on Alcestis's "unusual standing in the early modern tragic canon" (179).

44 Dewar-Watson, "The Alcestis and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale*," 74. See also Louden, "Reading through the *Alcestis* to The *Winter's Tale*" for an emphasis on Greek myth in the play.

45 Orgel, "Introduction" to *The Winter's Tale*, 66.

46 See McIntosh, "*Alcestis* on the British State," 283–88.

47 See Pollard, "Tragicomedy," for Euripides' centrality in defining this new genre.

48 Carson, "Preface to Alkestis," in *Grief Lessons*, 247–48.

49 Foley, 139. See her crucial account of Alcestis's achievement of a masculinized kleos and heroism in "*Anodos* Dramas: Euripides's *Alcestis* and *Helen*," and her discussion of the blending of the funeral and wedding rites. See also Slater in "Dead Again: (En)gendering Praise in Euripides' *Alcestis*" on the connection between Alcestis's concern for her children and the parade of the war orphans that was one of the rituals of the Great Dionysia. Both speak of the play as presenting a drama of "remarriage."

50 For practical reasons, I will quote in Greek only parts of this long passage.

51 Dewar-Watson, "Alcestis and the Statue," 76.

52 All citations in English of Bandello's novella 22 (from "La prima parte delle novelle") are from Bullough's translation in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* Vol. 2 with citations in parentheses after the text; citations in Italian are from https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Novelle_(Bandello)/Prima_parte/Novella_XXII, which takes as its copytext, *Tutte le opere di Matteo Bandello* (Milano: A. Mondadori editore, 1943). I have also consulted Matteo Bandello, *Le novelle*, Vol. 1, ed. Gioachino Brognoligo (Bari: Laterza e figli, 1928).

53 See Moisan, who discusses this issue at some length.

54 See Chamberlain, "Rotten Oranges and Other Spoiled Commodities: The Economics of Shame in *Much Ado about Nothing*," where she examines the metaphor of the rotten orange as a figure for shame in that rotten fruit, like shame, serves to devalue the marriage exchange and thus to highlight its economies.

55 This phrase comes right in the middle of the extraordinary blazon that celebrates her beauty, returning actively to the tropes of Petrarchan sonnets:

> Se poi vedevi quei dui begli occhi, anzi due fulgentissime stelle, anzi pur duo folgoranti soli, quando ella maestrevolmente quinci e quindi gli girava, tu potevi ben giurare che dentro a quei placidissimi lumi albergava Amore ….

56 See Howard's classic and essential article "Renaissance Antitheatricality and the Politics of Gender and Rank in *Much Ado about Nothing*," which illuminated the ways in which the play equates the seemingly benevolent theatrical deceits of Don Pedro with the malevolent theatrical tricks of Don John. My essay is deeply indebted to this foundational feminist reading of the play.

57 This reading draws crucially on the insights of Howard in "Renaissance Antitheatricality." She asks whether it is simply a matter of genre that makes us prefer the deceits of Don Pedro et al. in tricking Beatrice and Benedick into falling in love (or the deceit of the pretend death that leads to marriage) over the theatrical deceits of Don John that attempt to prevent marriage.

58 For a fuller working out of this idea, see my "Spectacular Horns: Cuckoldry, Comedy and Escape in Shakespeare and the Italians."

59 In this conclusion, I disagree with the reading of the ending proposed by Berger.
60 For Bakhtin's theory of discourse and the ways in which words import entire social contexts, see both his earlier study of *Rabelais and His World*, and especially *The Dialogic Imagination*. For a recent account of Bakhtin in the context of Wittgensteinian language games, see Schalkwyk, *Words in the World: The Bakhtin Circle*, esp. Chapter 5, "Discourse in Art and Life," 51–70.
61 Shakespeare will return to this issue in full tragic intensity in *Othello*.
62 Carson, "Preface to Alkestis," 249.
63 See Foley's interpretation of the ending of the *Alcestis* in "Anodos Dramas," as a reinscription of Alcestis into the silent, non-heroic, and subordinate figure of the Athenian wife. While I read the ending differently, this sense of diminishment, emphasized by Alcestis's silence, is matched for many critics of *Much Ado* who feel similarly that this remarriage has its grave limitations, and that the play has not successfully justified giving Hero back to Claudio. See also Suzuki, "Gender, Class, and the Ideology of Comic Form."
64 Critics often note the difference between Bandello's Lionato, who supports his daughter, and Shakespeare's misogynistic Leonato who claims it'd be better if she died than lose her honor. See Moisan for one example.
65 One character in the novella whom I cannot address here but who is profoundly changed is Girondo, whose repentance and deep remorse are central to what makes the ending of the novella emotionally satisfying.
66 In contrast to my reading here, and as an example of a critic who does not accept that the ending does go beyond a bitter, ironic representation of the power of misogyny and male fears of secondariness, see Berger, "Against the Sink-a-Pace" throughout.
67 See my "Spectacular Horns," on the jestbook and comic traditions of the discourses of cuckoldry, and their connection to wit, irony, and double meanings.

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Part II
Sources and Audiences

Scholars of early modern drama have become increasingly interested in the role audiences play in the production of meaning.[1] In Part II, Dimitry Senyshyn, Meredith Beales, and David Kay all tie their claims about sources to the knowledge base and expectations of Shakespeare's audiences. As the audience—heterogeneously constituted of individual persons—makes meaning of the play by drawing on the oral and textual cultures it participates in, its knowledges become extremely relevant to interpreting plays and their sources; we can better recognize how much audience members help to co-create the play's meaning when we attend to their knowledge base and expectations.[2] Source study's traditional insistence on identifying the presence of specific texts rather than more diffuse bodies of knowledge, however, often obscures the significance of the various units of meaning with which audiences, and indeed Shakespeare himself, may have been familiar.

One such unit is genre. Dimitry Senyshyn's chapter on *Henry VIII* examines Shakespeare's use of romance "memes" to reshape a narrative source, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and suggests that the audience's expectations of romance memes need to be understood as sources for the play. Senyshyn shows how *Henry VIII* conspicuously incorporates romance memes but thwarts the audience's expectations of how those memes usually work and what they typically do; he identifies a pattern in which the play introduces a romance meme only to show its failure to produce the expected outcome. Intervening in debates about the play's representation of providential history, Senyshyn posits that audience members' awareness of Tudor history and of Elizabethan and Jacobean political realities would have led them to see the presence of romance in the play as signaling the fictional nature of Tudor historiography, as well as the ways in which romance was used for political ends. The chapter also shows how two major sources (Tudor history and the romance genre) work against and with each other to make meaning with audiences.

Meredith Beales's examination of what she terms "microsources" in *Cymbeline* and *King Lear* reveals that knowledge of early British history was more widely shared than is often assumed, and that what to us seem like obscure allusions import a set of concerns from that history.

She argues that references to indigenous giants of ancient British history and to Cassibelan, the legendary king who united British tribes against the Romans, provide counter-narratives to the main plots of *Lear* and *Cymbeline*, respectively. By treating these elements as "sources" rather than "allusions," Beales gives more interpretive weight to them—more weight to "the margins" created by early British and Roman colonialism, and to what is not seen as obvious, central, or mainstream. Attending to microsources, Beales's work sustains marginalized histories and draws attention to the fact of their marginalization.

In his chapter, David Kay calls for a more theatrically oriented source study; this form of source study would acknowledge that Shakespeare wrote plays that were meant to compete with similar plays being staged by other companies. He argues that source study needs to take seriously the fact that Shakespeare wrote for a commercial theater that profited from appealing to audience expectation and desires and that Shakespeare adapts materials to fit popular theatrical subgenres. *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Macbeth,* he offers, are examples of Shakespeare's engagements with two popular theatrical subgenres, the prodigal husband play and the murder play, respectively, and suggests that audiences' desires for specific subgenres explains the constant revising and reusing of materials amongst theater companies. Kay's analysis also requires that we acknowledge just how much Shakespeare was influenced by his playwriting contemporaries.

Notes

1 For example, see Werner's "Audiences," in *Shakespeare and the Making of Theatre*, 165–89.
2 Artese, *Shakespeare's Folktale Sources,* 1–2.

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5 Traces of Knowledge

Microsource Study in *Cymbeline* and *Lear*

Meredith Beales

Cassibelan, Tenantius, Lud—such unfamiliar names dot Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, appearing only a few times, without context or explanation. Figures from the legendary history of Britain, first written down by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century, these names are largely unknown to modern audiences. Yet brief, casual references to legendary historical contexts are scattered throughout *Cymbeline* and Shakespeare's other play set in ancient Britain, *King Lear*. These references constitute what I am calling microsources; that is, mentions of names or historical figures that provide context for the play's narratives but are not direct sources for its action. Unlike traditional source study, which often concentrates on the specific antecedents of the action of a play, microsources acknowledge the broad repository of cultural knowledge from which a play's narrative is created.

The term "microsource" refers to the quick, glancing nature of the reference. While microsources share some features with the broader term, allusion, "microsource" is an attempt to describe the small glimpses of alternative plots or histories that flicker in Shakespeare's plays before being discarded in favor of dominant narratives.[1] They function both as shorthand communication between author and audience and as a means by which to call attention to subsumed or even marginalized narrative potentialities. Microsources include references to historical or legendary excerpts that form but a small part of larger sources, such as *Holinshed's Chronicles*, or concise, even indirect, representations of folktales or popular knowledge. At least some part of the audience could access some of the same diversity of texts available to the author; or in other words, microsource study considers sources as evidence of shared cultural knowledge. While not all of the members of the audience would catch every reference during a theatrical performance, the presence of these references showcases the variety of literary and historiographical resources available to both author and audience in early modern England—the sheer range of texts that could resonate on the early modern stage.

A variety of sources can act as microsources, including major, long-established sources such as *Holinshed's Chronicles*, especially when the play refers to events from Holinshed's history that are not central to a

major plotline of the play. This chapter will not suggest new, that is, undiscovered, sources for the plays Shakespeare sets in ancient Britain, as the sources for *Cymbeline* and *Lear* have long been well-mapped. Instead, I propose that some sources, including *Holinshed*, should be read as microsources, which function in two ways: firstly, they are representative of a pool of literary and historical references shared between the author and at least some members of his audience. Secondly, microsources allow the author to situate his work into a tradition of literary culture that engages, but does not faithfully adhere to, the legendary history of Britain.

In the first instance, microsources illustrate how Shakespeare situates his plays within and against his audience's preconceived knowledge of British antiquity. Some microsources reveal hidden depths to that pool, illustrating that certain stories or texts were so popular that only brief references are necessary to recall their import. The slight surviving evidence we have of some stories can disguise their importance: for example, the history of Cymbeline only takes up two pages of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but evidence of the prevalence of the story of Cymbeline has been uncovered by Tiffany Stern, who shows that Ludgate, one of the gates to the walled city of London, was known as "Cymbeline and Lud," because of the picture of Cymbeline that decorated it.[2] While the Cymbeline statue adds material evidence to the weight of the Roman ruler's story in early modern London, the importance of many microsources is not so easily illustrated. Instead, microsources are evidence of a different kind of knowledge—a knowledge of a landscape of texts or histories on which the playwright can call at will.

Second, microsources allow the playwright to evoke other, alternative narratives, which could diverge from the primary plot of the play. In *Cymbeline,* the references to ancient heroes collide and contrast with the main plot of Cymbeline's resistance to Rome. In Shakespeare's *Lear*, references to elements from British legendary history, such as Gogmagog's fall from the cliffs of Dover, illustrate the ways the play reinscribes well-known tropes of British legendary history with different, (early) modern, tragic endings. Microscopic sources suggest alternative possibilities for the playtext that mirror the action while revealing a rich historical or legendary context for the play that shows how the play both reinforces and undermines the audience's knowledge of, in this case, legendary British history. In Shakespeare's two plays set in ancient Britain, *Cymbeline* and *King Lear*, microsources provide the opportunity for Shakespeare to suggest different, even alternative, narratives from the plot foregrounded on the stage.[3] Almost all of the references to the pseudo-history first popularized in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* in the twelfth century, now known as the legendary history of Britain, that Shakespeare dramatizes or alludes to in *Cymbeline* or *King Lear* can be found in sources long-known to be primary sources of Shakespeare's plays, specifically Holinshed's *Chronicles* or Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.

The audience's familiarity with the heroes of British antiquity was deep enough that it gave rise to casual references to ancient figures that glanced lightly through the players' dialogue. One such set of references in *Cymbeline* recalls the ancient British warrior Cassibelan, the British hero who resisted Julius Caesar. References to Cassibelan in *Cymbeline* provide a counterpoint to the title character, which resonate because Cassibelan is a much more significant presence in early modern understandings of British history than he is presently understood to be. The short, brief references Shakespeare makes to Cassibelan and Terentius in *Cymbeline* demonstrate an expectation that at least some of the audience might be familiar with them, and that referencing such semi-historical figures would add historiographical heft to his reconstruction of Roman Britain. These are mighty British warriors, legendary historical figures who fought Rome in the generations just prior to Cymbeline's rule. Focused attention to references to Cassibelan reveals one way Shakespeare illustrates his ambivalence towards the historiographies of Roman Britain: his quick, short allusions both demonstrate his play's historical situatedness and undermine it.[4] Although there are a mere four references to the legendary British warrior and commander Cassibelan, or Cassibelanus, in *Cymbeline*, each reference occurs at a time when characters are attempting to manipulate British history for their own ends.[5]

Read through any historical account of the Roman invasion of Britain, from Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars* to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* to modern ancient history textbooks, and variants of a single name comes up again and again: Cassibelanus, the legendary protector and king of Britain; Cassivellaunus, who united the British tribes against the might of the Roman legions, repelling Julius Caesar twice before falling, inevitably, to the might of the Roman eagle. Cassibelan is the first named Briton in written history (appearing in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*), the first Briton whose actions impressed Caesar enough that he heaped praise upon the British warrior in recognition of his war tactics and, especially, his courage. Nowadays, Cassibelan is almost unknown, his name rarely appearing outside those dusty textbooks, hardly mentioned in literature. Even in Shakespeare's tribute to Roman Britain, *Cymbeline*, Cassibelan is referred to only four times. Although Cassibelan has now been relegated to the fringes of known history, he still casts a shadow over tales of Roman imperial expansionism and native resistance, symbolizing both the promise of that resistance and its futility.

Cymbeline has long garnered attention for its "mingle-mangle" of British and Roman histories.[6] Although much of the critical attention paid to the resulting historical hodgepodge examines the political implications of such gleeful historical mixing,[7] some recent scholarship highlights *Cymbeline*'s engagement with the historical and historiographical traditions of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[8] Valuable as this scholarship is, it tends to paint the picture of *Cymbeline*'s sources

in broad strokes, viewing from a distance the composite of historiographical traditions. When examined up close, the Cassibelan references demonstrate Shakespeare's knowledge of and engagement with the details of ancient history, and specifically his historiographical awareness of the ambivalence surrounding ancient Britain's heroes of resistance to Roman occupation.

Cymbeline is the only Shakespeare play in which references to Cassibelan appear. At first glance this may not seem surprising, as *Cymbeline* is Shakespeare's only Romano-British play, but it is far from the only play in which Shakespeare engages with the early years of the Roman Empire. The first recorded reference to Cassibelan comes from the fifth book of Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, which was translated during Shakespeare's time by Arthur Golding in 1590.[9] Holinshed's account draws on Caesar's.[10] Holinshed emphasizes that his first recounting of Caesar's second invasion of Britain, when Caesar first met Cassibelan's resistance, is sourced from Caesar's own account of his British invasions: the marginal note to Holinshed's account of Caesar's second invasion in chapter 24 of his "Second Booke of the Historie of England" reads "Caesar de *bello Gal. lib.5*" (28). In fact, throughout the eleven chapters of Holinshed's account of Caesar's invasions and British resistance (chapters 13–24 in Holinshed's "Third Booke of the historie of England"), Holinshed carefully marks each time he changes historical sources in the margins, as well as commenting on the sources of each story in the main text. While Holinshed—or rather, the collection of authors writing under that name[11]—often cites his sources, both in the margins and in the main text, the care with which each change is registered in this episode suggests a heightened awareness of the historiographical and national stakes in the tale of the colonization of ancient Britannia. In fact, Holinshed tells the story of Cassibelan's resistance to Caesar's second invasion three separate times: the first time he proffers Caesar's own account of the invasion, taken from the *Gallic Wars*; a second time, telling the story as Bede tells it; and a third time, giving the "Scottish historiographers," or, as the marginal comment explains, Hector Boece's (or as Holinshed names him, Hector Boetius's) account of the same incident. After the third retelling, Holinshed explicitly refuses to proffer a judgement about which variation might be most reliable:

> Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it here, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appeere.
>
> (27)

Holinshed's careful acknowledgement of the agreement of his Scottish and Roman sources foregrounds his graceful refusal to discredit "our

British and English writers." Holinshed represents himself as having an obligation, in this episode, to treat all versions with equal delicacy, no matter how potentially compromised by national interest or "affection." In *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare will build on that delicacy and then explode it, illuminating the difficulties inherent in the valorization of the hero who lost Britain to the Romans.

Before proceeding, it might be useful to give a short description of Cassibelan, as he appears in the Roman and British histories that recount the early Roman invasions of ancient Britain. Very briefly, the histories agree that after Julius Caesar's first, unsuccessful attempt to conquer Britain, when he was thwarted by a tempest (Holinshed 26), the British banded together under the leadership of Cassibelan, a king or commander of some lands in the southeast of what is now England. On his second attempt Caesar fought the British under the command of Cassibelan, who tried—but failed—to stop Caesar's armies by planting sharpened stakes in the fords of the Thames and resorting to other guerilla tactics. After some of the British tribes surrendered, Caesar was able to rout the remainder of the British resistance, led by Cassibelan, and arrange for a yearly tribute to be paid to Rome. Caesar suggests that he exploited tensions already present in Britain; Cassibelan had been fighting with his neighbors for some time prior to the Romans' arrival. Shortly thereafter, Caesar returned to Gaul. Roman history suggests it would be nearly a century before the Roman legions return to Britain, though the British history includes several tales of additional attempted Roman invasions.[12] Some details vary from British to Roman history, but in all the texts it was under Cassibelan's rule that Britain agreed to become a tributary to Rome. Of additional importance is his relationship to Cymbeline: the historical sources agree that the Cymbeline upon whom Shakespeare bases his play was a male relative and heir of Cassibelan, most likely his nephew.

In the first of the four references to Cassibelan in *Cymbeline*, he is cited as the archetypal hero of British resistance. The reference occurs in the first scene of the play, when one anonymous gentleman is describing Posthumus to a second anonymous gentleman:

> His [Posthumus's] father
> Was called Sicilius, who did join his honour
> Against the Romans with Cassibelan
> But had his titles by Tenantius, whom
> He served with glory and admired success.[13]
>
> (1.1.28–32)

More than simply relaying that Posthumus's father fought on the side of the British during the first Romano-British wars, the passage contains a series of subtle moves that alternately associate and dissociate

Posthumus's father with the British resistance, and, by extension, the British court. First, Sicilius Leonatus "join[s] his honour" to the venture "Against the Romans," thereby illustrating his devotion to an unsuccessful cause, yet one that speaks to his pride in national sovereignty. The text then distances Sicilius from that failure, as the source of his public honor, his "titles," is revealed to be Tenantius, (Holinshed's Theomantius),[14] Cassibelan's successor as ruler of Britain and client-king to Rome. By transferring the locus of Posthumus's family "glory" from the controversial Cassibelan—who defended British sovereignty, at the cost of also rejecting Roman civilization[15]—to the blameless Tenantius, a king who "ruled the land in good quiet" (Holinshed 32) while also maintaining a tributary relationship to Rome, Shakespeare foreshadows the solution he will present in Act V: the answer to Britain's problematic relationship with Rome is both to defeat Rome and to pay tribute to it, that is, to both be subordinate to Rome and victor over it. In the final scene, Cymbeline becomes a second Tenantius, albeit a Tenantius with the added benefit of having defeated Rome in his lifetime, thereby achieving the military victory that even the famous Cassibelan could not. At the end of the play, Cymbeline can combine the virtues of both of his ancestors, claiming the military might and nationalist pride of Cassibelan yet also the beneficial client-kingship of Tenantius.

Of course, the road to becoming a second, mightier Tenantius is not straightforward, nor is the status of tributary uncomplicated for Cymbeline's Britain. The second reference to Cassibelan appears in the form of a rebuke, part of Lucius's speech to the British court:

> When Julius Caesar—whose remembrance yet
> Lives in men's eyes, and will to ears and tongues
> Be theme and hearing ever—was in this Britain
> And conquered it, Cassibelan thine uncle—
> Famous in Caesar's praises no whit less
> Than in his feats deserving it—for him
> And his succession granted Rome a tribute.
>
> (3.1.2–8)

Caius Lucius makes several diplomatic moves in this speech: he subtly compliments the British by reminding them of the fame of the conqueror, reminds them again of their status as a conquered nation, reminds the king that it was his own relative who lost the war, compliments the king by praising that relative's "feats," which even yet were not enough to stave off the Romans, and then, finally, gets to his political request, a reminder of tribute due. However dense the web of diplomacy contained in Lucius's speech, the message is clear: Cassibelan was a valorous failure. Rome expects Cymbeline to honor his ancestor by following Cassibelan's financial example, not his military precedent.

In the space opened up by Lucius's nod to Cassibelan's "feats," the Queen leaps in, reminding the court that it was Cassibelan's military ingenuity, not his treasury, which gained Caesar's respect:

> The famed Cassibelan, who was once at point—
> O giglot fortune!—to master Caesar's sword,
> Made Lud's town with rejoicing fires bright,
> And Britons strut with courage.
>
> (3.1.30–33)

This blatantly patriotic speech by a wicked stepmother and queen, along with the equally patriotic speech by her equally wicked stepson, Cloten, has caused much confusion among scholars: why does Shakespeare place his most patriotic speeches in the mouths of the least sympathetic characters?[16] J. Clinton Crumley, in his article "Questioning History in *Cymbeline*," refers to the Queen's speech as "an untold version of the Roman invasion, which suggests that legend has obscured the actual facts of the event."[17] The problem, however, is that while the Queen adds the details Holinshed cites as coming from British sources—the fire in London, the near-victory by the British—she completely ignores the outcome, which is that, despite Cassibelan's best efforts, the British were still defeated. The Queen's exposition of Cassibelan as a triumphant British rebel turns the diplomatic competition between Britain and Rome into a contest between competing historiographies: the question is no longer who is right about who owes tribute to whom, but who can claim the most glorious version of recent history. Cloten perpetuates the Queen's delusion, insisting, in the play's final reference to Cassibelan, that "We have yet many among us can grip as hard as Cassibelan" (3.1.39–40). The Queen and Cloten are more single-minded than Lucius in their appropriation of the Cassibelan story. Lucius is willing to concede the valor of Cassibelan as long as he can place that valor in the service of emphasizing Rome's might, status, and right to tribute, but the Queen and Cloten ignore the Roman interpretation in favor of a nationalistic British interpretation that only reads the first half of the story. While the Queen and Cloten's account of Caesar's invasions may not be the most truthful one, anything resembling historical truth is subsumed in favor of the most persuasive story. And the Queen and Cloten succeed in persuading Cymbeline that their version is the most compelling: in Act III, Cymbeline chooses to extend the Queen's story of British resistance, allying himself with the vision of British history that emphasizes independent glory for Britain rather than cooperative alliances with Rome.[18]

The irony of *Cymbeline* is, of course, that in the end, the Queen's fantasy comes true. The Britons defeat Rome, giving Cymbeline the opportunity to transcend the legacy of his famous ancestor by becoming king of a Roman-less Britain. But even onstage in the legendary and

romantic playworld *Cymbeline* inhabits, Shakespeare cannot go so far. He can present an alternative history, a play in which Britain can achieve glorious and ahistorical military honor far surpassing that achieved by the historical Cassibelan whom Julius Caesar met in a chariot sometime around 53 BCE, but he cannot remove the Romans altogether. Nor, perhaps, might it be fruitful for Britain if he could; after all, Rome brought civilization, Christianity, *imperium*. The brief references to Cassibelan are a reminder of what did happen when Julius Caesar arrived on the shores of ancient Britannia: one way or another, despite the legendary willingness of the Britons to plant stakes in the Thames or scorch Lud's town, the Romans won; by the time they left several hundred years later, the Britain of Cassibelan would have been almost unrecognizable under the weight of new roads, religions, and rulers.

It cannot be assumed, of course, that much of Shakespeare's audience would recognize the allusions to Cassibelan during a live performance, any more than it can be assumed that much of the audience would have caught the Ovidian echo in Giacomo's references to Tereus and Philomela as he looms over the sleeping Innogen in Act II (2.2.45–46).[19] Those members of the audience who did envision a mighty British warrior when "Cassibelan" was uttered would be reminded of the long history of ancient British resistance to and collaboration with Rome, and the contested histories that emerged from that ancient, colonial relationship. Even for those audience members who did not recognize the name, the story, as told onstage in the historiographical competition of Act III, scene I of a long but contested history, helped to illustrate the stakes of the Roman-British contest in this scene: this is a fight over who can tell the best story, the more persuasive account of the place of Britain in the world.

The brief references to ancient British heroes in *Cymbeline* are directly cited as part of the battle between competing narratives of Roman-Britain relations. But direct reference is not the only form of microsource Shakespeare uses. In *Lear*, Shakespeare again presumes a deep understanding of legendary British history. This time, he assumes that some part of his audience would be familiar enough with the most fantastic details of the most legendary of ancient history—the aboriginal giants who populated Britain, and whom Brutus defeats upon his arrival. In the prehistory of England first recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth's eleventh-century *History of the Kings of England*, Brutus, the descendant of Aeneas, must clear Britain of a race of giants before he can repopulate it as the new Troy. One episode of his fight—described in great detail in Geoffrey—ends with Corineus, Brutus's ally, tossing the fearful giant, Gogmagog, from a cliff. Geoffrey of Monmouth does not name the location of the fight.[20] In medieval versions of the tale, Gogmagog's fall occurs at Plymouth, but, as Richard Dutton points out, Holinshed unaccountably moves it to Dover.[21] While Shakespeare uses a number of different versions of the Lear story as sources for this play, Dutton

argues that the presence of Dover as the place for a fall is one of the key reasons to assume that Shakespeare turned to Holinshed, specifically, for this moment.[22] By having Gloucester's supposed "fall" occur in the same place where an ancient giant leapt to his death, Shakespeare rewrites Gogmagog's fall, a story connected to the final gasp of ancient, but fantastical, resistance to a new regime, as a blinded man unsuccessfully trying to commit suicide.[23] The fall, in Geoffrey's version of the story, includes as much grisly detail as he could add:

> He [Corineus] heaved Gogmagog up on his shoulders, and running as fast as he could under the weight, he hurried off to the nearby coast. He clambered up to the top of a mighty cliff, shook himself free and hurled this deadly monster, whom he was carrying on his shoulders, far out into the sea. The giant fell on to a sharp reef of rocks, where he was dashed into a thousand fragments and stained the waters with his blood.[24]

Gloucester's desire to repeat that fall shows his awareness of the terror of that cliff: "There is a cliff whose high and bending head / Looks fearfully in the confined deep" (4.1.76–77). While Geoffrey's description is grotesque to the point of comedy, Gloucester's yearning for the giant's end shows his understanding of the absolute passing of generations inherent in the Gogmagog story. In the chronicles, the giants are the pre-Brutan inhabitants of the island, who are killed rather than conquered by Brutus's invading Trojans. According to a version of the story that gained popularity in the fourteenth century, the giants are not themselves native to the island of Britain: they are the descendants of Albina and her sisters, women who, after killing their husbands, are cast adrift at sea and land on the island they call Albion. Once there, they mate with local incubi, begetting the giants.[25] Holinshed's depiction of the same episode is simpler, but emphasizes the place—he comments on the location being Dover three times:

> [Corineus] cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named not long after, *The fall or leape of Gogmagog*, but afterward it was called *The fall of Douer*.
>
> (Book 2.4, *Historie of England* 10) [emphasis original]

Shakespeare's emphasis on the location of the fall echoes Holinshed's reiteration of the place name—Shakespeare mentions "Dover" some eleven times in *King Lear*. Shakespeare's reimagining of the giant's fall deflates the supernatural elements of the original story, just as Edgar's deception reduces Gloucester's suicide to a pratfall. In the aftermath of his supposed fall, Gloucester asks Edgar—who by then has put off the

disguise as "Poor Tom" and remade himself as a peasant—who was his guide at the top of the cliff. Edgar's reply recalls the giant of legend: "As I stood here below methought his eyes / Were two full moons. He had a thousand noses, / Horns whelked and waved like the enraged sea" (4.6.69–71).[26] The audience, however, knows it was none other than Edgar himself, in disguise as Poor Tom. While Edgar is able to deceive his father, the audience knows it was neither a fiend nor a giant that they saw. However much the location suggests legendary-historical import, Shakespeare has already shown us that this particular fall is not Gogmagog's death-plunge, nor indeed, anything of similar political importance. The palimpsestic effect created by Shakespeare's layering of the events in the playworld of *Lear* over similar events from other times in British history serves to highlight the difference between the powerful historical figures his allusions evoke and the diminished world he creates. Gloucester is not Gogmagog, nor is he accompanied by him; but he is a kind of fallen giant, a familiar form from ancient British legend. Shakespeare suggests, fleetingly, that his characters might partake of a different story, a different historical era, before revealing to us, instead, the ahistorical bleakness of the world he has created. In Shakespeare's Britain, the fallen giant is but a blind old man.

In *Cymbeline* and *Lear*, Shakespeare uses microsources to other legendary historical events to comment on and highlight the manipulation of historical truths the characters engage in in each play. In *Cymbeline*, an examination of the microscopic references to Cassibelan reveals that the characters' disagreement is historical as well as political. They are fighting not just about Britain's relationship to Rome, but about what it was, and should become in the future—in short, they question the place of Britain in the world. In *Lear*, Shakespeare's rewriting of the story of the ancient battle between the giants and their conquerors as a trick played on an old, blind man shows the fragility of the ancient narrative itself, the extent to which the ancient giants are themselves a mythologization, a grand telling of an ancient tale that itself is historically suspect. The use of microsources allows the playwright to comment on the narratives and histories he manipulates; the shared knowledge between playwright and audience allows for another means of communicating between author and audience. The method of microsource study opens up the plenitude of the text, the rich variety of meanings that some audience members may have shared with the author. But more than that, the study of microsources encourages submerged or even alternative interpretations to emerge. In *Cymbeline*, the manipulation of microsources highlights the fallibility of recorded history, the extent to which it is unreliable and subject to manipulation. In *Lear*, Shakespeare's half-buried echo of the Gogmagog history goes one step further, as the play stages the historiographical argument that the characters speak in *Cymbeline*. In *Lear*, acknowledgement of the microscource creates awareness of the story *not*

told; this is not a scene of triumphant ancient British conquest of Albion, but an ambivalent scene between a father and his estranged, disguised son. By subtly acknowledging what could happen at Dover—the fall of the giant—Shakespeare emphasizes, what, in his story, does happen: at Dover, the giant's fall is the blinded Gloucester falling on his face. Microsources recall what might, or even could, have happened, contrasting those alternative narratives with the playwright's chosen narrative.

Notes

1 For an overview of several different ways allusions can function, see Yaeger's editor's column on "The Polyphony Issue" in the spring 2007 issue of *PMLA* (122.2, 433–448) and Machacek's "Allusion" in the same issue (522–36). While microsources also recall another intertextual term, Clubb's "theatergram," the microsource is more suggestive of possible (and often rejected) narrative or historical possibilities than the kinds of theatrical association Clubb describes.

2 Stern, *Making Shakespeare,* 10.

3 Prior to the sixteenth century, the history of ancient Britain was widely understood to have originated with the Trojan Brutus, a descendent of Aeneas who travelled west after the end of the Trojan War, eventually settling in Britain, a land which at that time was populated only by giants, as described in Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *History of the Kings of England*. In 1534, Polydore Vergil published a history of England that used Roman classical sources to describe ancient Britain as a colonized country of warring tribes. Despite the immediate furor that greeted Polydore Vergil's work, it would take until the mid-seventeenth for Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of Britain's founding to be discredited entirely. The historiographical controversy included John Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britannia* (1544), Sir John Prise's *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio* (1573), and Richard Harvey's *Philadelphus, or a defense of the Brutes, and Brutan history* (1593), arguing for the veracity of Geoffrey's history, while William Camden (*Britannia*, 1586) and his followers, including John Speed (*Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, 1612) and John Selden (skeptical commentary on Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*), were skeptical of Geoffrey's project. As late as 1641, it was possible for Thomas Heywood to write a history of Britain that made no reference to the history of Britain found in the Roman sources (*Life of Merlinus Ambrosius,* 1641). The most detailed accounts of the effect of Polydore Vergil's work appears in Levy's *Tudor Historical Thought* (1967) and Kendrick's *British Antiquity* (1950). Recently, Schwyzer has argued that Levy and Kendrick overemphasize Polydore Vergil's impact: "What some have termed 'the battle of the books' consisted in fact of a one-sided thumping of Vergil by a host of outraged English and Welsh writers" (16). In the 1570s, for example, "no significant attack on the British history had appear in print since Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, published some forty years before, and numerous defences had been published in the meantime" ("British History," 16). See also Chapter 2 of Schwyzer's *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, "Bale's books and Aske's abbeys: nostalgia and the aesthetics of nationhood."

4 I would like to note that I am grateful for the model of Juric's 2012 article in *ELR*, "Illyrians in *Cymbeline*," in which Juric, beginning from two references to Illyrians ("Pannonians and Dalmations") in *Cymbeline*,

provocatively argues that these allusions reveal Shakespeare's interest in the non-British provincial peoples of the Roman Empire: as she puts it, these references "expand the potential hidden in the unstable space between Britishness and Romanness, barbarity and civilization, and other dichotomies that may have inspired Shakespeare's interrogation of national and individual identity" (450).

5 Cassibelan is called "Cassibellane" by Holinshed, "Cassibelanus" in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, and "Cassivellaunus" in Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. For the sake of continuity, I have chosen to follow Shakespeare in the use of the shorter form of the name.

6 G. Wilson Knight, in *The Crown of Life*, 1948, is the first reader to argue that *Cymbeline*'s engagement with history is more than a decorative setting for a romance and the first to consider the relationship between British and Roman historiography in the play (129–202).

7 Politically-oriented readings of *Cymbeline* date back to Jones, "Stuart *Cymbeline*," and extend through Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, especially pages 116–48, to scholarship that examines the play in light of its engagement with what is now known as the "new British" or archipelagic contexts, including Floyd-Wilson, "Delving to the Root" in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, and Escobedo, "From Britannia to England," among many others.

8 Recent articles on British and Roman historiography in *Cymbeline* include Curran, "Royal Unlearned, Honor Untaught"; Crumley, "Questioning History in *Cymbeline*"; Innes, "*Cymbeline* and Empire"; Meek, "More than History can Pattern"; and Juric, "Illyrians in *Cymbeline*."

9 For an account of the evolution of the story of Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain, see "The Legend of Julius Caesar's British Conquest," by Homer Nearing, Jr. Nearing traces the way the legend evolves through late antiquity and the medieval and early modern periods, starting with Caesar's own account and ending in the 1590s with Richard Harvey's *Philadelphus, or a Defense of the Brutes, and Brutan History* (1593).

10 Bergeron, in "*Cymbeline*: Shakespeare's Last Roman Play," suggests that Shakespeare was familiar with the 1603 edition of North's Plutarch, which includes an additional anonymous "Life" of Octavius Caesar Augustus, as well as speculating that Shakespeare may have dipped into Livy, Tacitus's *Annales*, and Suetonius (33–34), all of which were translated into English in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Juric adds Appian, Dio Cocceianus's *Roman History*, Vellius Paterculus's *History of Rome*, and Ortelius to that list as "contribut[ing] to the general discourse" of Rome and its colonies (429). Neither Bergeron nor Juric mention Caesar's *Gallic Wars*. Nor does the editor of the Oxford edition list it as a source in his edition.

11 The poly-vocality of the collection of histories commonly known as "Holinshed's Chronicles" has been well-established, including by Patterson in *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles*. Raphael Holinshed died in 1580, seven years prior to the 1587 version used by Shakespeare as a source for many of his plays; the collaboration begun in the 1577 edition, which Holinshed wrote with at least three others, continued in the second edition. To limit confusion, I refer to the author in the singular, as "Holinshed," throughout this essay.

12 According to Holinshed, after Britain stops paying the tribute, several unsuccessful attempts are made by Roman emperors to reconquer Britain. Twice Augustus considers invading Britain, and twice he is distracted by rebellions closer to home (including those of the Pannonians and the Dalmations, discussed throughout Juric's article), and once Caligula gets as far as

the shores of Gaul. Caligula does not cross the water, but instead orders his army to collect cockleshells, which he takes back to Rome as proof that he has "subdued the whole Ocean" (Holinshed 33). See Holinshed, Chapters 28 and 29 for further details. According to Tacitus, however, the Romans did not return until the time when they put down the rebellion led by the Iceni queen Boudica around 60–61 CE.

13 All quotations from *Cymbeline* are taken from the Oxford edition edited by Roger Warren.

14 Holinshed's "Third Booke of the Historie of England," Chapter 28 (32–33).

15 For scholarship on Britain's complicated embrace of the civilization offered by Rome, see Kahn, *Roman Shakespeare*; James, *Shakespeare's Troy*; Parker, "Romance and Empire: Anachronistic *Cymbeline*" in *Unfolded Tales*; for a reading of how the Reformation affected early modern England's understanding of its Roman heritage, see Curran's *Roman Invasions*.

16 See, for example, Warren, Introduction to *Cymbeline*, 39–41; and Mikalachki's *The Legacy of Boadicea*, 96–114.

17 Crumley, "Questioning History in *Cymbeline*," 302.

18 For a detailed reading on the historiographical sources and resonances of Act III, scene I, see Rossi's "*Cymbeline*'s Debt to Holinshed."

19 I have chosen to follow Warren's Oxford edition of *Cymbeline* in spelling the character's name "Innogen" rather than "Imogen." Warren justifies his editorial decision to alter the name from the First Folio's "Imogen" because "Innogen" is used by Simon Foreman in his account of the play, and it is also the name of the first queen of Britain, Brutus's wife, in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. See Appendix A of the Warren edition, 265–68.

20 Thorpe, the editor and translator of Geoffrey's *History of the Kings of Britain*, adds, in a note to Gogmagog's fight, the comment that Brutus landed at Totnes (73 note 1). However, Geoffrey does not give a specific location for Gogmagog's fight, just the comment that Corineus, carrying Gogmagog, "hurried off to the nearby coast." As Corineus and Gogmagog's fight is supposed to take place after the rest of the island was cleared of giants, I see no reason to assume that it had to take place at Totnes.

21 Dutton, "British History," 534–35. Mikalachki argues that Dover, in *King Lear* and chronicles of antiquity, is an emblematic location for "the vanishing point of national history" (*The Legacy of Boadicea*, 93), the point at which known and unknown history collided. She reads this in light of a sixteenth-century tradition that associated Julius Caesar with Dover Castle (91–95).

22 There are over fifty known versions of the Lear story: see Perrett's *The Story of King Lear* for details. Dutton identifies Spenser's version as having particular influence on Shakespeare's use of "Cordelia" for the youngest daughter's name, for instance (532).

23 Bullough cites Sidney's *Arcadia* as a direct source for the Gloucester subplot (*Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vii: 402–8). In Book II of the Arcadia, Pyrocles and Musidorus encounter a blind old king, led by his son, who wishes to commit suicide, despite his son's protests. Pyrocles and Musidorus eventually reconcile the young prince with his bastard brother.

24 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain,* 73.

25 The giants are not themselves native to the island of Britain: they are the descendants of Albina and her sisters, women who, after killing their husbands, are cast adrift at sea and land on the island they call Albion. Once there they mate with local incubi, begetting the giants. For a discussion of the presence of the Albina myth in sixteenth-century England, see Bernau's "Myths of Origin" in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, 106–18, and

the chapter titled "A Digression on Giants" in Arthur B. Ferguson's *Utter Antiquity,* 106–13.

26 Bullough suggests that the fiend's description is based on a "folk-devil in Harsnett" (that is, Samuel Harsnett's 1603 *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures*) (301). Bullough quotes Harsnett's description of the folk-devil, who has "oughly hornes on his head, fire in his mouth…eyes like a bason, fangs like a dogge" (quoted on 301). What the description of Harsnett's devil does not include is the same sense of scale in Edgar's account: eyes the size of "two full moons" indicate an enormous creature.

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6 Reconstructing Holinshed

History and Romance in *Henry VIII*

Dimitry Senyshyn

Traditional source study acknowledges the extremely complicated relationship between Shakespeare's plays and their myriad potential sources; I propose that a rethought source study might seek to complicate the situation further by considering certain literary or cultural traditions as constituting repositories of shared memories upon which Shakespeare could draw as conceptual sources. To the extent that theatrical/literary experience and shared cultural memory reside in audiences, Shakespeare may be seen to access these common stores of knowledge as sources in order to orient his audiences' expectations of, and interpretive engagement with, his works. While I am not suggesting that something as nebulous as a heterogeneous audience's memory constitutes a stable "source" in itself, I propose that certain literary modes or cultural traditions might be seen to have provided Shakespeare and his audiences with a common dramaturgical vocabulary, a set of recognizable tropes that could then be transformed and put to any number of uses. I recognize that suggesting that something as vast and amorphous as a cultural tradition might serve as a source for Shakespeare's plays presents us with considerable difficulties when trying to identify a specific motif and evaluate its significance to a given play, yet there is a precedent for this kind of work: in *The English Romance in Time*, Helen Cooper defines the English romance tradition, demonstrates its ubiquity in the Early Modern English consciousness, and identifies the recurrent tropes—or more appropriately, memes—by which it can be recognized in a variety of genres and subgenres of the mode. Cooper uses the genetic analogy of the meme in order to identify specific shared traits that suggest a "family resemblance" to the romance mode among generically diverse literary productions. Cooper's work demonstrates that a living tradition of romance existed as a shared cultural experience for Early Moderns, that its narrative and thematic tropes were available for appropriation to a variety of applications, and that readers and audiences could be expected to identify and infer the significance of those tropes whether they were used conventionally or innovatively.[1] Tracking the uses of modally specific memes in a given text might provide an index to its author's negotiation of what Jauss refers to as an audience's "horizons of expectations" and

give some insight into the meaning and cultural value of these variously transposed and instrumentalized tropes.[2] Given the expansiveness and fluidity of romance and its ubiquity in Early Modern culture—not to mention the recurrence of its memes throughout Shakespeare's canon—the mode recommends itself as a particularly challenging and potentially productive avenue of inquiry for a rethought source study.

My test case for this meme-centered type of source study is a reading of *Henry VIII*. The play's thematic and dramaturgical affinities with the Stuart masque and Shakespeare's late plays led a generation of critics to evaluate it as a kind of romance espousing a providential view of history that was conceived as a celebration of the Tudor myth and, by extension, James's monarchy.[3] More recently, this view has been convincingly qualified by the likes of Lee Bliss, Frank Cespedes, Ivo Kamps, and Peter Rudnitsky. Building on the work of Bliss and Cespedes, Rudnitsky figures *Henry VIII* as a history play that emphasizes the contingencies and uncertainties of history and its representation by way of encouraging in the audience a skeptical awareness of contemporary historiographical practices. He argues that "the effect of reinstating *Henry VIII* in its proper generic context, is to discover that it is as ambiguous and unorthodox as any of its predecessors."[4] While he recognizes that the play "draws upon the romantic elements of masque and spectacle and shares with other late plays the motif of succession through the female line,"[5] his efforts to supplant the traditional interpretation of the play result in a reading that does not fully engage with the text's use of romantic motifs. If the "providentialist" critics' tendency to read the play backward from Cranmer's encomium at Elizabeth's christening puts undue emphasis on its use of romance patterns and tends to construct a naïve and oversimplified interpretation that elides its complex interrogation of Early Modern historiography, Rudnitsky's view ignores the friction generated between the play's romance tropes and its historical matter. While the play's romance elements do not change its generic identity as a history play or enforce an overriding interpretive matrix, they at least supply a vital context that is kept in view in order to put the darkness and vicissitudes of the play's historical matter into starker relief while insisting on the failings of an exclusively romantic or providentialist perspective.

Drawing upon a common store of romance materials, Shakespeare and Fletcher use the thematic and iconographic resources of Tudor (and Stuart) propaganda to facilitate a critique of Tudor history and Jacobean historiography. Structuring the play around a series of "trials," they modify Holinshed's chronology and embellish his account of historical events in order to make history more closely resemble romance. *Henry VIII* invokes such romance memes as the woman on trial, courtly love, and the restoration of the rightful heir, but it also works to subtly undermine or otherwise heavily qualify them. Given the ubiquity of romance in Early Modern print and oral culture, I submit that Shakespeare and

Fletcher could rely upon their audience's familiarity with the mode's tropes and use these memes as a source to inform their adaptation of Holinshed's account of key events surrounding Henry's divorce and the birth of Elizabeth. In his romantic tragicomedies, Shakespeare used the fantastical motifs of romance in part as a kind of shorthand to draw attention to his plays' artifice and to activate in his audience a critical awareness of his dramaturgical techniques. Similarly here, the conspicuous failure of romance to convincingly subsume or transcend the play's political realities points out the speciousness of using romance as an historiographical lens and fosters a skeptical view on the construction and uses of history.

Henry VIII engages with the tropes and interpretive frames of romance as a means to effect a critique of history and romance as narrative modes or generic frames, as well as to provide a critique of the political uses of romance by the Tudors and Stuarts. The form that these conflicting generic frames impart to the play is quintessentially tragicomic. While most of Shakespeare's histories are neither particularly comic nor particularly evocative of pity or fear, *Henry VIII*'s hybridity is more antithetical, equivocal, and characteristically tragicomic than any play of the two tetralogies. Further, the changing fortunes of its large cast of characters are arguably not developed enough dramatically to allow a large emotional payoff, nor does its action coalesce convincingly or unproblematically into the romance pattern discerned by Cranmer in Elizabeth's birth as the crowning achievement of an inscrutable God working in mysterious ways. Tragicomedy would seem to be the ideal mode to encapsulate this fraught action. But this is not the violently shifting tonal gallimaufry of *Cymbeline* or the sublime tragicomedy of *Pericles* or the cyclical redemption of generations from tragedy through comedy that we find in *The Winter's Tale*. Tonally, it is closer to Guarini's formulation in the sense that it establishes a "middle mood," only instead of a pastoral setting, we are thrust into its courtly obverse, gaining glimpses of that ideal world only through the court's play: its imaginary projections of itself into the realm of green romance. One is discouraged from identifying too strongly with any of the characters; we are invited rather to judge, to interpret as circumspectly as may be, the import of their actions and the significance of their rises and falls. Inasmuch as the play elicits an emotional response that vibrates in between tragic identification and comic detachment, we are encouraged to reflect on how essentially problematic the representation of history is, especially if "all" is meant to be "true." To this end, it is appropriate that the dramatic action is punctuated by a series of trials: we are invited, as variously partial witnesses, to weigh the historicity and meaning of what is presented to us as historically true. In a manner especially alien to the second tetralogy, we are discouraged from romanticizing these historical agents while being actively encouraged to reflect on the uses of romance in constructing, coding, or

interpreting history. If Tillyard was at all right about Shakespeare's histories providing an epic apology for the Tudor myth, *Henry VIII* would seem to directly call that myth into question, especially by placing its romantic paean to Elizabeth at the end of the play as an awkward, *après coup* interpretation of otherwise contingent events: even as it calls the romantic myth into being, the encomium becomes a eulogy.

Romance and the Politics of Spectacle

A remarkable feature of Holinshed's text is just how much of the Chronicles' account of Henry's reign may be seen to resonate with romance tropes. The tropes and figures of the romance tradition played an important part in the iconography of Tudor entertainments, pageants, and entries; like the Stuart court masque, these entertainments were designed to celebrate, idealize, and legitimize royal authority while forging associative links between the monarch and mythological archetypes as well as idealized figures from Britain's legendary history. From the Field of Cloth of Gold to Kenilworth to the Stuart Prince Henry's chivalric revival, the native tradition of British romance proved a rich repository for state propaganda. In *Henry VIII*, generally acknowledged to be Shakespeare's most "spectacular" play (in this case, in collaboration with Fletcher), meticulously stage-managed pageantry is a key dramaturgical feature and is typically held to account for the work's enduring theatrical success. The play abounds with ceremonies and rituals of state, whether staged or described, and it shares with Shakespeare's late tragicomic romances a fascinated skepticism about the power and significance of spectacular theatrical effects.

From the outset, Shakespeare and Fletcher depart from Holinshed by having Buckingham claim that an "untimely ague" (1.1.4) prevented his attendance of the embassy, while in historical fact, he was a witness of the proceedings. An adept of the *Chronicles* might note that what the prologue refers to as the play's "chosen truth" (18) is tailored to suit the dramatist's ends—in this case to allow Norfolk to describe an immensely costly piece of romance-infused ceremony that was to have negligible political impact. Already, the prologue's claims to historicity are rendered suspect, and historical "fact" is revealed in part as a narrative construction. While Norfolk's description of the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1.1 works, from a narrative standpoint, primarily as a means to establish the enmity between Buckingham and Wolsey and to introduce conflicting and ultimately equivocal views on these key players, it also provides a model for the play's skeptical treatment of royal spectacle and the use of romance to shape experience. This minor departure notwithstanding, Norfolk's florid description of the sumptuousness of the event otherwise faithfully captures the spirit of Hall's account in Holinshed of the spectacular nature of the event and firmly establishes its roots in

the chivalric tournaments of romance lore. The Field of Cloth of Gold episode also works to bring the romance tropes of Tudor propaganda in direct contact with the complexities of foreign and domestic politics. When Norfolk describes the kings' feats at arms, he casts them as being so remarkable that "that former fabulous story / Being now seen possible enough, got credit / That Bevis was believed" (1.1.36–38). Norfolk's account, of course, hinges on the proverbially incredible nature of romance and may well be another instance of courtly exaggeration. Still, his observation carries the implication that if the spectacle of Henry and Francois's staged jousts appeared so fantastic that the legends of Bevis of Hampton might be thought authentic, then theatrical performance is marked as a potentially dangerous and irresponsible historiographical site. At the very least, it is suggested that chivalric romance is hardly a suitable generic framework for accurately transmitting historical truths. Further, the reference to Bevis may be seen to hearken back to the prologue's disparaging construction of those credulous playgoers "Such as give / Their money out of hope they may believe" (1.Prologue.7–8); that the prologue claims they "May here find truth, too" (1.Prologue.9) suggests that the play will present different species of truth—some more specious than others—and that the canny spectator will view the representation with some degree of skepticism. Credibility is always at issue in romance, and in his romantic tragicomedies, Shakespeare frequently draws attention to the fantastical nature of the tropes he is playing with. Whether it is through the Gower chorus in *Pericles*, the second gentleman in *The Winter's Tale*—"…this news which is called true is so like an old tale, that the verity of it is in strong suspicion" (5.1.28–9)—or the first gentleman in *Cymbeline*—"Howsoe'er 'tis strange, / Or that the negligence may well be laugh'd at, / Yet is it true, sir" (1.1.66–8)—Shakespeare insists on the implausible nature of romance. Like the seacoast of Bohemia, the presence of romance signifiers announce the piece's fictive status (and corresponding truth value), alerting auditors to be on their guard. In a play subtitled *All is True*, any instance in which romance informs history alerts the audience to the fact that the play is presenting a different species of "truth," which requires a more critical level of engagement.

In 1.1, both kings are conceived of by Buckingham as "suns of glory" (1.1.5), a typical metaphor in masque iconography that serves to forge a link between the monarchs and the divine while simultaneously registering an ambivalence about the analogy through their equal and opposing claims to greatness and preeminence on the field. Norfolk's observation that the two kings "clung / In their embracement as they grew together" (1.1.9–10) may be seen to resonate both with the image of Leontes and Polixenes as "twinned lambs that did frisk i'th sun" (1.2.66)—whose affections, Camillo notes with unwitting foreboding, "cannot choose but branch" (1.1.23)—and Emilia's wished-for fusion of Palamon and Arcite

in *Two Noble Kinsmen*: "Were they metamorphosed / Both into one!" (5.3.84–5). These instances of intertextuality, what Mark Houlahan calls "self-sourcing," suggest that Norfolk's speech is infused with the hyperbolic idealism of romance—an idealism that is quickly cast in an ironic light when it is revealed that the nonaggression pact the pageant was supposed to solidify has ultimately come to nothing: "a proper title of a peace" as insubstantial and as fleeting as the event itself, and purchased, as Abergavenny observes, "at a superfluous rate" (1.1.98–9). Given the notorious expense and dubious political impact of the masques given at James's court, it is difficult to ignore the potential for a topical critique in these lines, especially in view of Norfolk's referring to the entertainment as a "masque" (1.1.26). No matter how we interpret the tone of Norfolk's lines—as earnestly exuberant or self-consciously and sardonically hyperbolic—his speech functions as an implicit critique of the value of royal spectacle. Further, Norfolk's emphasis on the interchangeability of the "two kings, / Equal in lustre" who appear "now best, now worst, / As presence did present them" (1.1.29–30) suggests the power of spectacular, theatrical representation to exalt each king to mythic status while draining them of their specificity as ethical agents of divine and political power. Equally, it insists that presence (and presentation) is a prerequisite to power: it belongs to the ideology of the masque that the real presence of the king undergirds and ratifies the idealized representation of divinely ordained power that the masque is meant to celebrate and reinforce. The simultaneous presence of two kings, two suns of glory, equally splendid, introduces an antinomy to the heart of masque ideology and might be seen to anticipate Henry's break from that other divinely appointed monarch—the Pope.

Form and Ceremony: The Trials of Romance

Rory Loughlane describes the action of the play as consisting of a series of undulating rises and falls, a variation of the view that *Henry VIII* aligns itself with the *de casibus* tradition, in which the vicissitudes of fate are dictated by the constant turning of fortune's wheel. While this view might seem to provide an apt description of the action, it diminishes human agency in the processes of the narrative, arrogating to providence or fortune the concatenation of events and individual agencies that precipitate an action. Because the play is so careful to preserve in dramatic form the political ambivalence of Holinshed's heteroglossic account, it may be tempting to view the play's uncertainties as the workings of some external force—benign or otherwise—but to do so would be to obscure the play's self-conscious deployment of a range of historiographic methodologies, as observed by Rudnitsky. As suggested above, I would submit, following R. A. Foakes, that a more productive way to view the play's action is as being structured by a series of "trials": of

Buckingham, Anne, Katherine, Wolsey, and Cranmer, each punctuated by scenes of solemn or triumphal pageantry. While several of these may be understood as trials in the narrow, legalistic sense, the play's larger patterns and thematic preoccupations work to identify them with the trials of romance. What is fascinating is how Shakespeare and Fletcher, despite structuring their play around this series of trials, take pains to mark them as show trials, predetermined in their outcome. As trials of jurisprudence, they are figured as one-sided, politically motivated, and ultimately unjust. In romance, trials and ordeals are typically conceived of as providentially ordained revelations of chivalrous merit and heroic worth, noble birth, or the triumph of right through might. However, while the "trials" of *Henry VIII* are ostensibly framed as romantic (the loyal friend turned traitor, the virtuous maid wooed and tempted, the calumniation of an innocent wife, the temptation of a spiritual man with worldly gain, Henry's "divine" intervention on the wrongfully accused Cranmer's behalf), their outcomes are presented as foregone conclusions, which serves to mark the trials as empty ceremonies that emphasize the king's circumscriptive influence over the proceedings.

This has suggested to some critics that Henry is meant to be identified with the hand of providence, a divinely anointed Prospero of sorts, who descends as a stage-managing *deus ex machina* to drive the play's action toward its happy conclusion. While this view is potentially valid and indeed seems to be encouraged by the christening scene, it is complicated by the play's insistence on Henry's flawed humanity, his disingenuousness, and his seemingly arbitrary use of power. Long before he intervenes on Cranmer's behalf, for example, he has already given the priest his seal; he allows his council to conduct their sham inquest with Cranmer entirely under his protection. The seal functions as a surrogate for Henry's royal presence and authority, and as such, his appearing to demand that "order" and "amity" are restored amongst the council is essentially for show. The "trial" and his unnecessary appearance mark his flair for the theatrical and his predilection for forms and ceremonies demonstrating his power. It is significant that Henry is portrayed as saving Cranmer not on ideological or religious grounds but because his courtiers have failed to treat him politely, with the *ceremony* due an archbishop and peer of the council:

> Was it discretion, lords, to let this man,
> This good man – few of you deserve that title –
> This honest man, wait like a lousy footboy
> At chamber door? And one as great as you are?
>
> (5.2.171–74)

The ultimate effect is that Henry seems an arbitrary ruler, much given to putting on shows, manipulating the pomp and rituals of the court for his

own satisfaction. The fraught analogy between Henry the prime mover and Henry the political operator merely emphasizes, within its romance construct, the essential incompatibility of the modes, the failure of a romance or providential ideal to square with an historical or political reality. The extent to which the audience is encouraged to identify Henry with the divine, then, may be seen as an index to the play's skepticism about the analogy.

Subversions of Romance: Conscience and the Calumniated Woman

Although kings and courtiers like to imagine themselves in romance terms, as with the Field of Cloth of Gold, the masque of shepherds, Henry's account of his labored conscience, Katherine's vision, the trappings of the coronation, and Elizabeth's christening, the example of history belies these pretensions. The play brings the tension between aristocratic romantic fantasy and historical reality into relief by emphasizing the outcome of the peace with France, the fatal meeting with Anne, the mortal consequences of Henry's desire, Katherine's death, the lurid ecstasy of the commons, the rest of Henry's reign, and so on. Where the play most closely resembles romance, rather than simply representing its courtly characters as affecting the forms and ceremonies associated with it, is in the resonance between Katherine's trial and the romance trope of the calumniated woman. Helen Cooper's discussion of "Women on trial"[6] points out the remarkable frequency with which the calumny plot appears in romance literature. That Shakespeare appropriated the device throughout his career in plays as generically diverse as *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Othello*—which both draw heavily from romance—suggests the durability, malleability, and dramatic value of the venerable motif. Cooper discusses the trope at some length and reminds us that for Shakespeare's audiences, Henry's divorce from Katherine and his subsequent executions of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard would have served as a vital context for all of these calumniated woman plots. The association of Henry's fraught domestic life with romance in the cultural imagination carried on well into the nineteenth century: its influence on interpretation was so great that it prompted Horace Walpole to postulate that *The Winter's Tale* was conceived as a redemptive sequel to the disappointing romance of *Henry VIII*. Given the political sensitivity of the issue, it is not surprising that *Henry VIII*'s exploration of the trope is deeply ambivalent; what is surprising is how the play introduces the trial of Katherine as an exemplar of the calumny plot only to ultimately subvert some of the most fundamental features of the trope. As Cooper reminds us, within a romance scheme, the narrative inevitably takes the side of the falsely accused and long-suffering wife (286). Her innocence is never seriously questioned except by her

jealous accuser. After a considerable ordeal, she is eventually vindicated and her husband's cruelty is punished, her virtue rewarded. According to the conventions of the trope, Henry should receive some admonishment for his treatment of Katherine; this is not the case, nor is he made to suggest it might be so, as when Leontes immediately interprets Mamillius's death as the result of his defiance of Apollo's oracle. On the contrary, Henry imagines that his inability to produce a healthy male heir is a function of God's displeasure at what Henry characterizes as an incestuous marriage with "the dowager / Sometimes our brother's wife" (2.4.177–78). While Katherine's unhistorical vision might be seen in some sense to sanctify her suffering, it does so only in the next life and within a dangerously Catholic context. If Katherine's recompense for the indignities she suffers rests in martyrdom, then how are we to view Anne, the mother of Elizabeth? If Katherine is rewarded for her patience and obedience in the next life (as we may suppose from her heavenly vision), Anne herself is paid with calumny and execution. The romance pattern is invoked and then subverted in a process that will repeat itself several times more beyond the diegesis in Henry's continued efforts to get a son. Again, audience expectations concerning the romance meme are thwarted.

Following Katherine's angry departure from the court, Henry makes an affectionate speech about the virtues of his beleaguered wife. The tender, amused intimacy of "Go thy ways, Kate" (2.4.130) is followed by a brief encomium that serves potentially to establish his *bona fides* as a loving husband who is merely a reluctant but conscientious objector to the apparent illegality of their marriage. The speech may be played as genuine, but in view of his courtship of Anne comes across at best as bittersweet, and at worst as cynically disingenuous. What is perhaps most interesting about the speech and his ensuing account of the prick of conscience is the romantic language in which he codes it:

> That man i'th' world who shall report he has
> A better wife, let him in naught be trusted
> For speaking false in that. Thou art alone –
> If thy rare qualities, sweet gentleness,
> Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,
> Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
> Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out –
> The queen of earthly queens.
>
> (2.4.129–38)

Henry might just as well be describing Marina, Innogen, or Hermione, and his absolutist characterization of her qualities may be heard to resonate with Posthumus's hubristic, if entirely justified, praise of his wife's constancy. Still, his romanticized portrait of Katherine's wifely virtues

rings hollow in view of the essentially foregone conclusion of the divorce. Ironically, Henry's praise of Katherine's virtues helps to more firmly identify her with the romance trope of the falsely accused or otherwise calumniated "woman on trial." Here, the playwrights' presumption of the audience's knowledge of Anne Boleyn's fate (along with several other of Henry's wives and mistresses) is crucial to the play's strategy. A shared knowledge of a common history helps to strengthen this connection and implicates Henry within an archetypal romance pattern as the husband whose unfounded doubts about his wife's fidelity lead him to cruel acts that are somehow requited by fortune. It is, however, in keeping with Holinshed's account as well as the play's cautiously ambivalent representation of Henry that the focus shifts so that the issue on trial is not Katherine's fitness as a wife, but the heretofore unexamined legality of her marriage to her ex-husband's younger brother. The romance trope is invoked, a deliberate comparison is made between Katherine and characters like Innogen and Hermione, and then it is essentially discarded. Despite this seeming displacement or rogation of responsibility, Henry insists that the idea of divorce arose from his own tortured conscience. Unlike Posthumus and Leontes, Henry is not punished for his treatment of Katherine, but rather rewarded with the birth of Elizabeth and the realization through Cranmer's prophecy that "Thou hast made me now a man. Never before / This happy child did I get anything" (5.4.63–4): a peculiarly paternalistic and Jacobean sense of wholeness that not only displaces the memory of Katherine, but also her legacy by effecting the erasure of her child, Mary. By legitimizing Elizabeth (and in turn, delegitimizing Mary), the play's final scene plays out like a heavily qualified version of the romance motif of the restoration of the rightful heir. Though the historical Henry would go on to bastardize Elizabeth before reinstating her claim to the throne, the rapturous moment at the end of the play seeks to elide that uncomfortable history and draw an uncomplicated line of succession from Henry through Elizabeth to James.

This tendency continues in his justification of conscience in ways that anticipate the fantasy of generative masculine self-sufficiency that Henry voices at the end of the play. Just as the Phoenix asexually reproduces, James rising from the ashes of Elizabeth, the christening scene's marginalization of Anne marks Henry as the sole parent of Truth, the daughter of time. Henry's paternalism invites comparison with Cymbeline's imagining of himself as "A mother to the birth of three? Ne'er mother / Rejoiced deliverance more" (5.4.370–71). Katherine's status as the calumniated woman is further displaced by Henry's genealogy of his scruples about their marriage. First, he makes his conscience, rather than Katherine's virtue, the locus of the trial; recounting the moment when he first considered the possibility that his marriage might be incestuous, he describes the thought as having shaken "The bosom of my conscience," causing him to exclaim that it "entered me, / Yea, with a spitting power,

and made to tremble the region of my breast" (179–80). Intriguingly, he imagines himself in a feminized way, figuring his conscience as having "received a tenderness / Scruple and prick" (2.4.167–68). Shakespeare echoes and amplifies the sexual implications of Holinshed's diction—"a certeine scrupulositie that pricked my conscience" (310n)—ambivalently calling to mind Henry's desire for Anne, but also implying that, as McMullan suggests, the "prick is raping him."[7] Henry figures his conscience as a womb of sorts, besieged by unsettling knowledge, and comes to blame himself for his lack of male issue:

> First, methought
> I stood not in the smile of heaven, who had
> Commanded nature that my lady's womb,
> If it conceived a male child by me, should
> Do no more offices of life to't than
> The grave does to th' dead.
>
> (2.4.183–188)

Henry figures his "tender" place, his conscience, as a site of virtue besieged by the penetrating, phallic force of his sin; he imagines Katherine's womb as a grave for male heirs, and by taking responsibility for her failure to produce a living boy—"I took a thought / This was a judgment on me" (190–91)—displaces her once more, as his conscience is overtaken with "Many a groaning throe." Insofar as Henry's conscience is figured as a womb, his troubled thoughts lead to something like birth pangs. He goes on to describe his conscience in terms of the romance trope of the rudderless boat "Thus hulling in / The wild sea of my conscience," before taking charge of it in order to "steer / Toward this remedy" (2.4.196–98). In his speech, Henry effectively usurps the part of the calumniated woman. The entire speech plays out like a clever rhetorical ploy that subversively echoes Hermione's trial in *The Winter's Tale*: Henry recognizes his wife's virtue, he discerns God's punishment in the deaths of his sons, he absolves her of responsibility, and sets about the business of pleasing God and himself by divorcing her and taking a new wife. It is in moments like this that the uncomfortable intersection of romance and history reveals how romance narratives are instrumentalized and improvised on by those in power. In this scene, Shakespeare adopts the language and conventions of romance in order to turn them to very different ends, effectively subverting the entire calumniated woman tradition, by rewarding the cruel (or at the least, disingenuous) husband and sending off his long-suffering wife to meet with the angels. Once again, an archetypal romance trope is invoked as a means to model and interpret human action, but it is violently appropriated, subtly subverted, and ultimately proven as a disingenuous and cynical means of framing a dubiously motivated action.

A similar appropriation of romance occurs in Henry's masque of shepherds at Wolsey's banquet, in which we see the king decked out in the trappings of pastoral romance, dressed as a foreign shepherd. Though presented under the auspices of a courtly game, the scene is staged as a trial of sorts and a rehearsal for the romance meme whereby a long-lost royal is discovered by some token and restored to his noble birthright. After Henry and his masked band of revelers dance with the Cardinal's dinner guests, Wolsey says "There should be one amongst 'em by his person / More worthy this place than myself, to whom, / If I but knew him, with my love and duty / I would surrender it" (1.4.78–81). Wolsey's complicity in the fiction is playful, and his immediate identification of the King is generally thought to emphasize the "doomed intimacy" between them. Historically, according to Holinshed, Wolsey mistook for his master one Sir Edward Neville, "a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske than anie other"[8] (Shakespeare's emendation of Holinshed's account not only emphasizes the bond between Henry and his favorite, but also serves as a ritualized bit of role-playing that follows a typically romantic script). In the scene, Wolsey appears to feign ignorance as to the identity of the masquers. The guessing game he rehearses with the king plays out like a courtly idyll, a romantic allegory that uses pastoral disguise in order to showcase the self-evidence of the monarch's disguised nobility. Just as Innogen intuits that there is more to Guiderius and Arviragus than meets the eye and instinctively calls them brothers, the unmasking of Henry plays out according to the ubiquitous romance convention of the discovery and restoration of the lost heir. According to Orgel's conception of the ideology of the Stuart Masque, the idealized image of the king is purported to be self-identical with the monarch himself. But here, the king is disguised as a shepherd, a pastoral and potentially Christian image of the king as shepherd of his people. William Empson's notion of pastoral as the process of putting the complex into the simple is a useful critical frame for evaluating the significance of Wolsey's guessing game. The ambivalent king and all he stands for shines through the simple disguise and can be recognized as self-identical and extracted uncomplicatedly. The rehearsal of the "guessing game" does not serve to emphasize Wolsey's clear judgment and insight so much as the self-evidence of Henry's regal nature. The scene provides yet another example of aristocratic self-fashioning modeled on romance tropes. That the courtly game plays out like a romance trial in miniature, foregone in its conclusion, reflects metatheatrically on the structure of the play as a whole and may be seen to provide a model for how we are meant to view the play's appropriation and manipulation of romance motifs. Despite the scene's light tone and apparently innocuous nature, it is worth observing that this little pool of sunshine directly follows the accusation of Buckingham and serves to occasion the sexually charged meeting of Henry and Anne that

signals Katherine's downfall. This pendulous movement between scenes of political machination and scenes of pageantry and romanticized aristocratic fantasy is typical of the play's action and always serves to keep in view the disjunctions and contradictions of romance and history. That Shakespeare tampers here with Holinshed's chronology—Henry sought his divorce long before becoming entangled with Anne—merely serves to sharpen the contrast and to render increasingly suspect his disingenuous claims about the genealogy of his uneasy conscience concerning his marriage with his dead brother's ex-wife in 2.4.

The Christening and the Restoration of the Rightful Heir

The principal justification for viewing *Henry VIII* as a romance lies in the providentialist critics' apprehension that the play follows a tragicomic trajectory. It is supposed that its series of personal *de casibus* tragedies' culmination in the redemptive birth of Elizabeth renders the falls of Buckingham, Katherine, and Wolsey as fortunate ones insofar as they contribute to what Cespedes characterizes as an ostensibly "'good' historical process"[9] and which Cranmer's prophecy figures as providentially guided. Cranmer's visionary speech, introducing the infant Elizabeth as a figure of Truth, the daughter of time, attempts to impose a providential framework on the play's events and insists that the play be experienced, if only in retrospect, as a "romance" of sorts insofar as Elizabeth's birth may be read as a version of the romance meme of the restoration of the rightful heir. The peace and plenty promised by her arrival likewise suggests the fairytale formula: "they all lived happily ever after." In this regard, Cranmer's attempt to interpret the play's events may be seen to mimetically reproduce the paradoxical insistence of romance and tragicomedy on the *primacy* or priority of the ending in determining one's overall response to the drama. Crucially, however, it is the audience's expectations, experience, and understanding of Tudor and Stuart history that provide the essential 'intertext' for interpreting Cranmer's speech. Just like *Pericles*'s Gower's attempts to describe and moralize his play's events, Cranmer's interpretation is exceeded and undermined by the dramatic action, try as he might to circumscribe it. Cranmer's speech is radically disjunct from the play the audience has just witnessed, the fates that will shortly befall Cranmer, Anne, and a number of Henry's intimates, and the political and economic realities of Elizabeth's and James's England more generally. This disjunction gives the lie to Cranmer's romantic account and demands an alternative viewpoint. The spectacle of the christening procession and the rhetorical flourishes of Cranmer's speech seek to ground his remarks as the official account of events, the proper way to read and experience the play, but ultimately, it is his insistence on controlling the meaning of that account in futurity that encourages a skeptical attitude toward the truth value of his official report.

Cranmer reads the infant Elizabeth the way a Jonsonian footnote glosses a masque or pageant: interpreting the royal spectacle, he both invests it with meaning and works to delimit divergent interpretations. But in a play that is deeply concerned with the problematics of representing the past, Cranmer's is only one of a series of perspectives on history, and the genre in which it is framed—romantic prophecy—has already been marked as historiographically suspect. Henry's response to Cranmer's prophecy—"Thou speakest *wonders*," (5.4.55, my emphasis)—is rendered in appropriately romantic terms (wonder being the emotional watchword at the climax of *The Winter's Tale*) and is echoed in Uter's pronouncement on Merlin's prophecies of Britain's future in *Birth of Merlin*.[10] While Cranmer's speech is undoubtedly moving, its Jacobean spectators might indeed wonder at its truth value and its ability to project coherence and meaning on the contingency and violence of the events they've seen represented.

Critics who view the play as a straightforward romance that ultimately charts a comic and redemptive trajectory tend to take Cranmer's prophecy as an earnest declaration on the paradisiacal nature of Elizabeth's reign, wherein "every man shall eat in safety / Under his own vine what he plants, and sing / The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours" (33–35). A slightly more tempered view suggests that the speech relies upon and appeals to the audience's nostalgia for Elizabeth; this is very likely the case, and it would certainly seem that Shakespeare's Jacobean revival of dramatic romance (or the history play, for that matter) similarly appealed to Elizabethan nostalgia. Having established the glories of Elizabeth's reign, Cranmer, through the metaphor of the phoenix, compliments James as the direct inheritor and even more brilliant rebirth of Elizabeth's greatness, while securing his place within a mythic Tudor genealogy. What is generally overlooked, however, is that Elizabethan nostalgia presupposes Jacobean discontent. The Edenic future Cranmer promises through Elizabeth is thus irrevocably compromised by the failure of the idealized romance vision to come to fruition in contemporary England or to entirely redeem the troubling events of the play itself. Again, it is the audience's lived experience that serves as the interpretive lens through which the scene is viewed. Of course, the only place that romance may be sustained is within fiction, and nostalgia, a homesickness for a place and time that never properly existed, is especially suited to a romantic view of things. Given that so much of the play's political action is decidedly unromantic, Shakespeare and Fletcher seem to be insisting on the essential incompatibility of the two narrative modes. Here romance does not subsume history—it stands as a genre (or way of seeing the world and interpreting or constructing history) that reflects upon and purports to structure, but ultimately fails to redeem, the main action or history itself. In this respect, *Henry VIII* invites comparison to Shakespeare's earlier histories and prompts the question, to what extent

did those plays identify with romance? A case could certainly be made for the Hal plays, and to the extent that Shakespeare follows Hall, they could be seen as propagating the Tudor myth, but this view has been effectively qualified by several generations of scholars who agree that Shakespeare (not to mention Holinshed) presents a far more complicated and problematized view of history than the likes of Tillyard ever imagined. Nevertheless, romance motifs and feelings enter into the two tetralogies at various points, and a general trajectory ending with Tudor peace can be extrapolated from the movement of the historical narrative. As a retrospective play, *Henry VIII* reflects upon and explores these possibilities. It provides us with a romance ending, but its "feeling" fails to square with its audiences' knowledge of the history that Cranmer's prophecy elides. The scene forcefully juxtaposes the "official," canonized, romantic vision of Elizabeth's birth and Henry's reign with an immediate reality and recent historical events that are anything but romantic. In a way, the inherent or supposed escapism and conservatism of romance in general comes under heaviest fire in this scene, where the *facts* of the situation require an audience to recognize romance's inability to encode or elide what *actually* happened.

Conclusion

While *Henry VIII* is hardly a romance, it is deeply and self-reflexively concerned with the ways that that the rich traditions of romance can be instrumentalized in order to imagine, shape, and interpret historical action. Its tragicomic form gives it the scope and flexibility to accommodate a range of attitudes towards the appropriation of a mode that held significant purchase on the early modern cultural imaginary, and the play uses its motifs to critically examine historiographical practices and aristocratic fantasies of self-representation. It draws upon the symbolic weight of romance memes in order to invest its action with a mythological significance, even as it subverts those memes and insists on their essential incompatibility with the complexities of human experience. It suggests that the ways in which we imagine ourselves, the ways in which we imagine history, are deeply implicated in the narrative tropes and archetypes of a ubiquitous cultural mode but simultaneously stresses the inability of those forms to square with the messy, contingent, and ultimately inscrutable nature of the past. The play's preoccupation with theatrical spectacle as a powerful mode of expression that is simultaneously artificial, ephemeral, and devoid of substance may be seen to resonate with its preoccupation with the ideal forms of romance. The pageants, masques, and trials of *Henry VIII* all aspire to the mythological stature of romance but remain merely fanciful projections of a desire for a green world that cannot be realized or sustained in a fallen one.

Notes

1 For another example of early modern scholarship on the relation between audience expectation and genre, see Lopez, *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response.*
2 In this respect, a meme-centered approach to source study bears a striking resemblance to the concept of theatergrams, explored elsewhere in this volume.
3 See Richmond, "Shakespeare's Henry VIII: Romance Redeemed by History"; Foakes, *Shakespeare, the Dark Comedies to the Last Plays*; and Felperin, "Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*."
4 Rudnitsky, "*Henry VIII* and the Deconstruction of History," 46.
5 *Ibid*., 45.
6 Cooper, *The English Romance in Time*, 269–323.
7 McMullan, Introduction to *King Henry VIII,* 311n. The scene is generally considered to have been written by Shakespeare.
8 Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles…Augmented* (1587), 922, in McMullan, *King Henry VIII*, 264n.
9 Cespedes, "We Are One in Fortunes,'" 415.
10 McMullan, "Introduction," 432n.

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7 Shakespeare's Transformative Art

Theatrical Paradigms as Sources in *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Macbeth*

W. David Kay

My starting point for this chapter is an insight about source study offered by Brian Gibbons in his New Cambridge edition of *Measure for Measure*. Arguing for the need to include as sources for Duke Vincentio's behind-the-scenes intrigue such disguised duke plays as Thomas Middleton's *The Phoenix* and John Marston's *The Malcontent*, Gibbons notes:

> The question of what constitutes a source for a play for Shakespeare is complex. Traditionally in such studies pride of place is given to written texts and specific verbal parallels, but in shaping a play a dramatist may well adapt structural patterns and stagecraft from other plays, features not of a verbal, but of a physical and visual language of theatre.[1]

Gibbon's insight is sound, but it is not followed often enough by literary students who think primarily in terms of texts rather than theatrical patterns of action. Despite the broadening of the concept in recent years, accounts of Shakespeare's sources are still largely fixated on the origin of the stories behind the plays. Following Gibbons, I suggest that source study needs to take Shakespeare more seriously as a working actor and dramatist seeking to give his theatrical company a commercial advantage by adapting fictional and historical materials to the patterns of popular dramatic types. A theatrically oriented source study would conceptualize Shakespeare not simply as "the author in his study" nor as "a teller of tales from the vast library of folk-tale archetypes," but as a remarkably thoughtful and creative actor-playwright revising and transforming Elizabethan dramatic models while avoiding the didactic sermonizing conventionally supplied. It would extend the concept of a "source" beyond the immediate fictions that Shakespeare was dramatizing to include theatrical paradigms borrowed from other Elizabethan playwrights. It would point to the particular value of his dramatic models as a touchstone for evaluating his dramatic poetry and rhetoric, his presentation of character, his choice of themes, his effectiveness in building a scene and evoking emotional responses from the audience. And it

would offer a richer and more accurate understanding of dramatic kinds than the broad categories of comedy, history, and tragedy that are the organizing scheme of the First Folio and the focus of most academic discussions of genre.

One factor that has prevented the development of a more theatrically oriented source study is the persistent belief that Shakespeare was a dramatic innovator who influenced other playwrights more than they influenced him. Fortunately, this view is beginning to change as his immersion in the competitive world of the Elizabethan theater is increasingly recognized. Shakespeare was a performing actor from the early 1590s through at least 1603, when he was among the "principal tragedians" who performed in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, and from 1594 on he was the house playwright for the Lord Chamberlain's/King's Men, writing two plays a year in most years until his retirement.[2] Martin Wiggins has remarked that "everything we know about the occupational circumstances of play-writing" in Shakespeare's time militates against "the myth of his absolute originality and effortless superiority" and invites us to consider his work in the context of Elizabethan theatrical practice.[3] And that practice, of course, often involved imitating successful works staged by his own company or by rival troupes. Analyses of their repertory by Andrew Gurr and Roslyn Lander Knutson have shown that particularly after the establishment of the "duopoly" in 1594, the Lord Chamberlain's Men and the Lord Admiral's Men, many of whose records we possess thanks to the Henslowe papers, put on competing versions of the same subjects or subgenres and that Shakespeare and his company were not always the leaders.[4] Shakespeare may have been largely responsible for the development of the Elizabethan history play, but much of his work is reactive. In *Titus Andronicus*, for example, he provided the Chamberlain's men with a Senecan revenger and an alien villain, Aaron the Moor, to compete with those in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, then being played at the Rose. *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* adopt the witty boy roles and cross-dressed pages of John Lily's earlier comedies for the child actors, while *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Twelfth Night* respond to the comedy of humors introduced by the Admiral's Men and to the gulling comedy of the revived boy companies. Shakespeare's Henriad develops the outline of the Queen's Men's earlier history, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, which may or may not have been the "harey the v" staged by the Admiral's Men on 28 December 1595.[5] *Julius Caesar*, usually dated 1599, followed a two-part *Caesar and Pompey* introduced by the Admiral's Men in 1594 and 1595.[6] *Troilus and Cressida*, whose references to Gilbert's *De Magnete* would seem to place it after 1600, was preceded by a play of the same name for which Henslowe paid Thomas Dekker and Henry Chettle in 1599.[7] The list could go on, but this sample should make it clear that the assumption that Shakespeare and his company customarily led, rather than followed, dramatic fashion is not borne out by the theatrical record.

As the above pairings demonstrate, Elizabethan playwrights looked for narrative materials that could be shaped according to dramatic patterns familiar to contemporary audiences. The theater or cinema of any given period or place engages in a continuous process of appropriating and reworking both small-scale and large-scale dramatic formulas that appeal to the lived experience and imagination of that theater's culture.[8] The Elizabethan acting companies, like modern movie studios and television networks, developed their repertories around a kaleidoscopic array of dramatic kinds as changing tastes and topical issues led to the invention of new forms, often complicating them by combining several subgenres into multiple plots. Shakespeare glances amusingly at this practice when he has Polonius describe such hybrids as "pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, [and] tragical-historical-pastoral."[9] However, even these combinations inadequately describe the variety of current theatrical types—moralities of youth, estates moralities, devil plays, conjurer plays, disguise plays, conqueror plays, English and Roman history plays, rise-and-fall tragedies, revenge tragedies, domestic tragedies, romances, farcical comedies of "errors," humor comedies, citizen comedies, gulling comedies—to name only a few. A source study closely in touch with Elizabethan theatrical contexts needs to highlight the way Shakespeare manipulates type characters and plot formulas characteristic of popular subgenres to achieve his purposes, for narrative sources by themselves, as the statement by Gibbons quoted above reminds us, provide only part of the material with which a playwright works. Each of Shakespeare's plays is in fact the product of a complex creative negotiation between the materials for its story and the dramatic paradigms governing its stage adaptation, a negotiation in which Shakespeare bends both sources and theatrical forms to his distinctive purpose.

In the pages that follow I have chosen two examples—the impact of the comedy of prodigality on *All's Well that Ends Well* and the influence of Elizabethan crime drama on *Macbeth*—to illustrate Shakespeare's practice of fitting narrative sources to popular dramatic patterns while treating those forms with creative freedom. These examples also have special value as evidence that Shakespeare's acting career impacted his playwriting, for three of the plays we shall mention—the anonymous crime drama *A Warning for Fair Women* and the two prodigal plays *The Fair Maid of Bristow* and *The London Prodigal*—were definitely in the repertory of the Chamberlain's/King's Men. John Astington has observed that it is worth asking

> how Shakespeare may have drawn on a very large bank of words and dramatic situations he had stored up over a career of professional memorization, and of listening, on stage and from the tiring house, to many thousands more lines of dramatic writing.[10]

The answer, as we shall see, is: "Very substantially."

All's Well that Ends Well and the Comedy of Prodigality

Failure to appreciate the dramatic paradigms Shakespeare employed has been particularly troublesome in the case of a so-called "problem comedy" like *All's Well that Ends Well*, which is frequently written off as an "experimental" step in Shakespeare's progress toward his late romances.[11] In fact, however, it has been linked by several studies—largely ignored in subsequent discussions of its sources—to a clearly defined group of public theater plays that one could call either "prodigal husband" or "virtuous wife" plays.[12] In contrast to private theater prodigal plays, like *Eastward Ho* or *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, which subversively glorify their trickster heroes or parody the form, these prodigal husband plays examine male behavior more critically.[13] G. K. Hunter describes their formula neatly as one in which "a Griselda-type wife … reclaim[s] her husband to domestic virtue at the end of the action, when his anti-social violence has brought him to dire extremity, yet, paradoxically, marked him as worthy of care and rescue."[14] Surviving plays of this kind, in which Shakespeare's company specialized, include: *The London Prodigal*, published in 1605, "as it was played by the King's Majesty's Servants. By William Shakespeare"; *The Fair Maid of Bristow* (King's Men, Q1605); George Wilkins's *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (King's Men, Q1607); *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (Worcester's Men, Q1602); and Thomas Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (Queen Anne's, Q1638, performed 1604?).[15]

Plays of this type have a double focus. Their male prodigals appealed to contemporary audiences because they represent young men of good families led astray by the temptations to extravagance and vice in an emerging commodity culture. Their female heroines personify an ideal of wifehood characterized by absolute devotion to and acceptance of one's husband in all of his faults, which are amply demonstrated in the course of the action.[16] Abusing and abandoning their wives, these young prodigals plunder their dowries or their wardrobes to lavish on high living and then fall into crimes ranging from robbery to the attempted murder of their spouse. Despite outrageous mistreatment, however, their virtuous wives are forgiving and loyal, sometimes (like Luce in *The London Prodigal*) even assuming disguises to help their husbands in their distress. The prodigals may also be protected by a disguised friend, like the loyal Herbert in *The Fair Maid of Bristow*, or a parent, like Old Flowerdale in *The London Prodigal*, who prevent the protagonists from doing real harm while bringing them to judgment. Rejected by the whores on whom they have squandered their wealth, driven to beggary or arrested on suspicion of murder, these prodigal husbands persist in evasion and lying but find themselves cornered and their secret faults exposed. The accusations against them are resolved by the reappearance of their wives, whose virtuous example, together with the salutary

shame caused by the public revelation of their own misbehavior, moves them to a sudden conversion and a happy ending made possible by the fact that they are actually innocent of the crimes they intended. Thomas Heywood offers a comical version of this paradigm in *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, where the enterprising Luce tricks the rakish Chartley into marriage while exposing his attempts to debauch one London maid and to court yet another for her dowry. However, the tone of most of these plays is serious, and the fact that their protagonists believe they have committed deeds deserving punishment establishes them as tragicomedy of a homegrown kind.

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Shakespeare alters his narrative source to follow this pattern closely. I have discussed the play at greater length elsewhere, but for the purposes of the present argument, I wish to revisit it with a greater emphasis on Shakespeare's changes.[17] His source, Boccaccio's story about Giletta of Narbon found in translation in William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure*, is a variation on the "Impossible Task" motif in which Giletta will be accepted as Beltramo's wife only if she can get her reluctant husband's ring and appear at Rossiglione with a child conceived by him. Like Bertram, the class-conscious Beltramo scorns to have "a Phisition to wife,"[18] but otherwise his character is undeveloped, and we hear from the poor widow who houses pilgrims in Florence only that he is "a curteous knight, and wel beloved in the City, and that he was marvelously in love with a neighbor of hers" (2:393). Shakespeare may have found the story appealing because its scornful protagonist reminded him of the young man of Sonnet 94, one who "moving others" is himself "as stone, / Unmoved, cold, and to temptation slow," but as a tale of a runaway spouse, it fits the paradigm of the prodigal husband plays enjoyed by contemporary audiences.[19] Shakespeare moves it even closer to the pattern by portraying Bertram as a deceptive seducer whose false promises to Diana, like those of the handsome aristocrat of *A Lover's Complaint*, are highlighted dramatically during the scene of their negotiation about his ancestral ring in 4.2, which has no counterpart in Painter. Again, the differences between narrative source and dramatic treatment are significant. In Painter's tale, Diana's equivalent has even less presence than Beltramo: she never speaks, she is described only as "a gentlewoman, verye poore and of small substance, nevertheless of right honest life and good report, and by reason of her poverty was yet unmarried" (2:393). The countess's subsequent dealings are all with her mother, also confusingly called "the gentlewoman." By putting her onstage to be wooed by Bertram, Shakespeare characterizes his attempted seduction as the action of a high-status male who exploits lower-class women sexually and then denigrates them for their lack of chastity. Diana's comment that once "you have our roses, / You barely leave our thorns to prick ourselves, / And mock us for our bareness" (4.2.18–20) proves to be prophetic when Bertram later slanders her as "a common

gamester of the camp" (5.3.188).[20] His disgraceful treatment of Diana (and also of Helena) is emphasized by the First and Second Lords' comments on "the spoil of her [Diana's] honor" and on the shame he will incur because of Helena's reported death (4.3.67–70).

Shakespeare also drastically transforms Painter's ending by bringing Diana back onstage to confront him and by introducing the double exchange of rings during the bed-trick, which would make his relationship with the woman he bedded a valid marriage. Diana's equivalent never reappears in Painter, and there is only good feeling when the Countess presents Beltramo with his twin sons. Instead, in *All's Well* as in the prodigal plays, Bertram becomes increasingly tangled in his lies about his relationship with Diana, incurs suspicion about having caused Helena's death, and experiences the shame that is the common lot of all the male protagonists in this group. The audience's attention is directed to his embarrassment by the observations of his elders: the Countess remarks that "He blushes, and 'tis hit" (5.3.195) when Diana produces his ancestral ring, and the King comments, "You boggle shrewdly, every feather starts you" (line 232) when he is forced to confess that he received Helena's ring in return. Bertram's entrapment here is closest to the final scene in *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, where Chartley's false stories are exposed as each person he deceived steps onstage to contradict him, causing him to exclaim, "My conscience doth more blush inwardly, then my face outwardly, and now I dare confidently undertake for my selfe I am honest."[21] In *How a Man May Choose*, the shame of Young Arthur, who had tried to poison his wife, is communicated more indirectly by Mistress Arthur's speech, "Nay shun me not, be not asham'd at all, / To heaven not me, for grace and pardon fall. / Looke on me *Arthur*, blush not at my wrongs" (1602, L1v).[22] In *The London Prodigal*, which Shakespeare may have acted in, if not composed, Young Flowerdale is shamed first as Luce, his "wonder among wives," undisguises and frees him from suspicion of her murder:

> Thy chastity and virtue hath infused
> Another Virtue in me, red with defame,
> For in my blushing cheeks is seen my shame.
>
> (13.261–64)

He is shamed again when Old Flowerdale removes his disguise: "My father! O, I shame to look on him. / Pardon, dear father, the follies that are past" (13.345–46). The sudden change wrought by Bertram's exposure is thus not unique, but is characteristic of all these plays, which are the product of an honor-shame culture in which the revelation of one's faults before one's elders and social peers is viewed as being sufficient to bring about a credible alteration in character.

Audiences in the early 1600s, therefore, would probably not have found this play experimental at all, though they might have noticed that

Shakespeare deepens his characterization and alters its social perspective. First of all, Bertram's reformation, expressed in his willingness to accept Helena at last, is prepared more gradually, beginning with his receipt of his mother's letter announcing Helena's death, which the Second Lord reports changed him "almost into another man" (4.3.5). In the closing scene, Diana's troubling riddles trigger in him a growing realization of what may actually have taken place in Florence and prepare him for Helena's appearance, which finally frees him from guilt and moves him to ask Helena's pardon.[23] Bertram's conversion not only reconciles him to his marriage to Helena, but also to the community of his elders gathered onstage, confirming G. K. Hunter's observation that the goal of these comedies of prodigality "is not marriage as the fulfillment of desire but the reinstatement of marriage as the gateway to social integration."[24] At the same time, Shakespeare avoids the conventional sermonizing, in large part because Bertram's fault is not induced by external temptation. Where other plays of this type conclude with moralistic warnings about the dangers "Of riot, swearing, drunkenness, and pride" (*London Prodigal*, 13.358) or catalogue the difference between good and bad women (*How to Choose*), the cold and disdainful Bertram learns a lesson in true nobility through Helena's quiet example.[25] Secondly, Shakespeare presents a different view of gender and sexuality than is customary. In contrast to the virgin-whore opposition in works like *How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* and *The Fair Maid of Bristow*, the play affirms Helena's desire for Bertram and presents their consummation as "sweet" even as she and Diana speak out against the way men use women. Moreover, as Gary Waller notes, *All's Well* also affirms women's solidarity and collective power through the cooperation of Helena, Diana, and the Widow and through the understated, but pointed, reunion of Helena and the Countess at the end.[26] Yet while *All's Well* does not follow the prodigal paradigm in every detail, recognizing its affinities to other plays of the type can help modern audiences and readers appreciate the relative sophistication of Shakespeare's dramaturgy and his thoughtful critique of contemporary social attitudes.[27]

Macbeth and Elizabethan Crime Drama

If Shakespeare's use of the prodigal play paradigm explains the seemingly atypical comic form of *All's Well*, his assimilation of the crime drama paradigm in *Macbeth* serves more to engage us with Macbeth's inner struggles. The play's larger structure repeats the pattern of *Richard III*, where the protagonist murders his way to the throne and then is deposed by opposing forces claiming providential support.[28] However, although Malcolm describes the Macbeths as "this dead butcher, and his fiend-like queen" (5.9.35), Macbeth is not a villain-hero like Richard, but a potentially nobler figure whose fall into crime brings a tragic loss of inner peace and social connection. Peter Lake and Michael Questier have

recently linked Shakespeare's depiction of this process to contemporary crime drama in their study of Elizabethan murder pamphlets, a journalistic subgenre that treats the experience of temptation, sin, and murder in sensational fashion. As they describe it, the genre emphasizes "the interiority of both temptation and remorse, the workings of God's providence and Satan's wiles through the consciousness and conscience of the felon," while mixing "large doses of titillating license and mayhem with a heavily condemnatory strand of providential moralism."[29] Lake and Questier's initial focus is on cheap prose pamphlets, but they enlarge the scope of their analysis to include stage plays, including *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, which they describe as "an almost perfectly realized murder pamphlet" (378, 380). The witches provide "a palpable demonic presence," while the exchanges between Macbeth and his wife dramatize "both the process of temptation and the toll of conscience" (380), and the central notion of "the chain of sins" is reinforced by "their determination to plunge on in sin and murder in a desperate bid to achieve this-worldly security" (381). Macbeth's conscience-stricken alarm at the ghost of Banquo and Lady Macbeth's tormented sleepwalking are also linked to "another central theme in the murder pamphlets, the notion that murder will out" (382).

Lake and Questier's reading of *Macbeth* highlights Shakespeare's peculiar combination of spiritual and political themes and points us to possible new theatrical influences, but they are not finally interested in literary genetics and so do not pay any attention to the ways in which Shakespeare has altered his historical sources and blended them with other literary materials, such as the Senecan borrowings that pervade the play. Nor are they interested in arguing for a direct connection between *Macbeth* and particular murder plays, though they do observe how it shares with others a general focus on "the interiority of remorse" (33). Read alongside Shakespeare's work, however, Lake and Questier's analysis of Elizabethan crime dramas is evocative and invites further attention to possible interrelationships between *Macbeth*, Shakespeare's historical sources, his classical models, and this group of plays.

The main episodes of *Macbeth*'s plot, of course, come from the account of Macbeth's usurpation and increasingly tyrannous rule in Holinshed's *History of Scotland*, supplemented by details from Holinshed's descriptions of Donwald's murder of King Duff and of the voices King Kenneth heard after murdering his nephew. Donwald's murder of Duff suggested Macbeth's killing of the inebriated grooms, his ineffective efforts to divert suspicion from his murder of Duncan, and the natural disorders that follow. Lady Macbeth's characterization as the force that overcomes his reservations is indebted to Holinshed's statements that Donwald went forward with the murder of King Duff "through instigation of his wife" even "though he abhorred the act greatlie in his heart" and that Macbeth's wife "lay sore upon him to attempt" the murder of Duncan since she was "burning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of a queene."[30]

Shakespeare's artful reorganization and development of this material is a striking act of creative adaptation that brings it closer to the pattern of Elizabethan crime drama, but his task was made easier by the fact that Holinshed's narrative reflects the same mentality as the murder plays. Both share the common assumption that for all but the most hardened criminals, murder is a traumatic experience that immediately induces guilt and fear. For example, Holinshed gives a highly moralized account of voices that told King Kenneth his crime was known to God, which may have suggested both Macbeth's belief that he heard a voice cry "Sleep no more!" (2.2.34)[31] and his later description of "the affliction of these terrible dreams. / That shake us nightly" (3.2.18–19):

> For so commeth it to pass, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, have ever an unquiet mind.... The King, with this voice being striken into great dread and terror, passed the night without anie sleepe comming in his eies.[32]

Moreover, as Kenneth Muir points out, Holinshed's marginalia—containing such items as "A guiltie conscience accuseth a man ... Donwald a verie dissembler ... Prophecies move men to unlawfull attempts ... Mackbeth's guiltie conscience ... Macbeth's dread ... His crueltie caused through feare"—"read almost like a running commentary on the play" (Arden ed., xxxvii) and may have encouraged Shakespeare's depiction of Macbeth's deed as one that violated his conscience and brought terror in its wake.

Holinshed's moralized history also suggested features of another Elizabethan crime play that influenced *Macbeth*. His account of the 1551 murder of Arden of Faversham by his wife and her lover Mosby became the source for *The Lamentable and True Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham in Kent* (1592), which is echoed in *Macbeth* and is now suspected, on stylistic grounds, of being a collaborative work in which Shakespeare may have had a part.[33] Once again, Holinshed's marginal notes underscore the murder's motives ("Love and lust"), attribute it to satanic influence, emphasize the guilty anxiety of Arden's servant Michael, a partner in the crime ("Note here the force of feare and a troubled conscience"), and stress the dissembling of Arden's wife ("Marke what a countenance of innocencie and ignorance she bore after the murdering of hir husband").[34] The *True Tragedie*'s anonymous author amplifies Holinshed's suggestions of the criminals' inner distress by adding such elements as a soliloquy in which Mosby describes the "disturbèd thoughts" and the "continual troubles of my moody brain" (8.1–6), a speech by the villainous Shakebag describing how "black night" and "sheeting darkness" "obscure [the murderers] from the eyesight of the world" (5.1–5), and Alice Arden's expanded speech of repentance when she sees Arden's body bleed afresh (16.3–11). Especially evocative in relation to *Macbeth*

are two soliloquies in which Michael reports the "conflicting thoughts encamped in my breast" (4.59) as he weighs his opposing obligations to his master and the conspirators. In the first, analogous to Macbeth's soliloquy at the beginning of 1.7, he reflects on Arden's innocence and kindness to him:

> Ah, harmless Arden how, how hast thou misdone,
> That thus thy gentle life is leveled at?
> The many good turns that thou hast done to me
> Now must I quittance in betraying thee:
> I that should take the weapon in my hand
> And buckler thee from ill-intending foes,
> Do lead thee with a wicked, fraudful smile,
> As unsuspected to the slaughterhouse.
>
> (3.197)

Michael's sense of the role he "should" play in defending the "gentle" Arden is reminiscent of Macbeth's awareness that as Duncan's host, he "should against his murtherer shut the door, / Not bear the knife myself" and that Duncan has been so "meek" and "clear" from faults that his virtues "will plead like angels … against / The deep damnation of his taking-off" (1.7.14–20). In the second soliloquy, spoken as he awaits the villains who will commit the murder, Michael hesitates between the conflicting thoughts that "my master's kindness pleads to me for life," his remembrance of the "forced … oath" he made to Mistress Arden, and fear of "that grim-faced fellow, pitiless Black Will / And Shakebag, stern in bloody stratagem," who have sworn to kill him if he infringes his vow. His imagination of the two villains is powerful:

> Methinks I see them with their boltered hair,
> Staring and grinning in thy gentle face,
> And in their ruthless hands, their daggers drawn,
> Insulting o'er thee with a peck of oaths,
> Whilst thou, submissive, pleading for relief,
> Art mangled by their ireful instruments.
>
> (4.63–78)

Michael's fearful vision, reminiscent of Macbeth's alarm at the apparition of "the blood-boltered" Banquo's ghost in the banquet scene of 3.4 and at Banquo's reappearance in the Witches apparitions at 4.1.123–24, leads him to call out in fear for Master Arden and so prevent his murder. Macdonald P. Jackson and Arthur Kinney conclude that scenes 4–9, in which this passage occurs, show the strongest evidence of Shakespeare's hand, and it is quite possible that an early collaboration prepared him to develop these same motifs later in *Macbeth*.[35] However, whether

speeches and soliloquies like these represent Shakespeare's early efforts or independent sources of possible influence, they illustrate how the troubled imaginations and inner conflicts of those involved in crime are presented in the Elizabethan theater with more dramatic immediacy than in narrative accounts.

Shakespeare's emphasis on the internal conflicts of his murderers can also be paralleled from two other plays that seem to have direct connections with *Macbeth*. The first, *A Warning for Fair Women*, which Shakespeare surely knew and may in fact have performed in, was published in 1599 "As it hath beene lately diverse times acted by ... the Lord Chamberlaine his Servantes." Based on Arthur Golding's account *A Briefe Discourse of the Late Murther of Master George Saunders* (1573), it stages the murder of one George Sanders by George Browne, a lover of Sanders's wife Anne, aided by Anne's friend Mistress Drury and her servant Roger. Like other murder plays, it shows both the process of temptation by which Browne and Drury win Anne's consent to the murder and the progression of guilt, repentance, and punishment that follows it. The second, *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, was published in 1601 as by Robert Yarington, a scribe, but it is more likely a conflation of two plays commissioned for the Admiral's Men in 1599—one a tragedy by William Haughton and John Day depicting the murder of a London chandler named Beech by one Thomas Merry, aided after the fact by his sister Rachel, and the other the "orphanes" or "orphenes" tragedy by Henry Chettle, whose title would fit *Two Lamentable Tragedies*'s second plot depicting "a young [orphaned] childe murthered in a Wood by two Ruffins, with the consent of his Uncle."[36] In its published form, the play alternates scenes from both plots, introducing and interspersing them with commentary from a chorus formed by the allegorical figures of Truth, Avarice or Covetousness (both names are used), and Homicide, who seeks to "bath[e] my greedie handes in reeking blood" (A2). Together, these works may have suggested many details of Macbeth's spiritual torment. His troubled meditation in 1.7 on the contrast between Duncan's virtues and his own "vaulting ambition," his vision of the "air-drawn dagger" that leads him to Duncan in 2.1, his inability in 2.2 to bless the grooms in Duncan's chamber with an "amen" when they say "God bless us" (lines 30–31), his guilty delusion that a voice cried "Sleep no more!" (line 34) and his sensitivity to the Porter's knocking, his unwillingness to return the bloody daggers to the scene of the crime, and the "restless ecstasy" that follows his crime (3.2.22) all find parallels in the spiritual anxieties of figures like Thomas and Rachel Merry and George Browne, for whom murder immediately brings guilty fear, robbing them of rest and peace.

Though directly indebted to Holinshed's account of King Kenneth, for example, Shakespeare's depiction of Macbeth's alarm at the voice announcing that he has murdered sleep is very much like Browne's

experience when, after stabbing Sanders, he believes that Sanders has expired and interprets his dying prayer, "Jesu receive my soule into thy handes," as the dreadful alarum of his own conscience:

> What sound was that? It was not he that spake,
> The breath is vanisht from his nostrils....
> Who was it then that thundred in mine eares,
> The name of Jesu? Doubtlesse twas my conscience,
> And I am damn'd for this unhallowed deede.
> O sinne how hast thou blinded me til now,
> Promising me securitie and rest,
> But givest me dreadful agonie of soule?
>
> (1390–91, 1394–99)

Browne's illusion of an inner voice is the anonymous playwright's way of dramatizing his prose source's statement that "Browne (as he himself confessed afterward) was thereat striken with suche a terrour and agonie of hart, as he wist not what to doo."[37] The sense of restless torment attendant on murder is emphasized again in *A Warning for Fair Women* when Tragedy, introducing the third dumbshow, announces that after their deed, Sin unveils the sight of murderers, producing "gastly thoughts, and loathing discontents: / So that the rest was promist, now appears / Unrest, and deepe affliction of the soule" (1794–96). Even closer in wording is the parallel between Macbeth's "To know my deed, 'twere best not know myself" (2.2.72) and Thomas Merry's remorseful exclamation in *Two Lamentable Tragedies* at the horror this "chief of sinnes, this selfe accusing crime / Of murther" brings in its wake: "now I shame to know my selfe, / That am estrang'd so much from what I was, / True, harmlesse, honest, full of curtesie, / Now false, deceitfull, full of injurie" (D2v). Macbeth's reluctance to look again on the murdered king's body ("I am afraid to think what I have done; / Look on't again, I dare not" [2.2.50–51]) is paralleled by Rachel Merry's refusal to help her brother put Beech's butchered trunk into a bag ("My heart will not endure to handle it, / The sight hereof doth make me quake for feare" E2v) and by Browne's fear of looking at his second victim, Sanders's servant John Beane, who bleeds again when his murderer is brought near: "Me thinks he is so fearfull in my sight, / That were he now but where I saw him last, / For all the world I would not looke upon him" (2008–10). In an unusual parallel, Macbeth's fear as he goes to murder Duncan that the "very stones prate of my where-about" (2.1.58) echoes *A Warning for Fair Women*, where Anne Sanders insists that she and Browne cannot conceal their acts because "If nothing else, yet will the very stones / That lie within the streetes cry out vengeance, / And point at us to be the murderers" (1668–70), a concept that A. R. Braunmuller in the New Cambridge edition calls "uncommon." The thought is varied

later by Macbeth's anxiety that his murder will inevitably bring retribution: "It will have blood, they say: blood will have blood: / Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak" (3.4.121–22).

Murder in all these plays is bloody business, and Macbeth's belief that "blood will have blood," with its metonymy of blood for both murder and its retribution, is part of the play's extensive pattern of violent imagery, from the opening question in 1.2, "What bloody man is that?," to Macduff's appearance at the end "*with Macbeth's head*" (5.9.19). Yet the extraordinary bloodiness of *Macbeth*, which contains over thirty-nine uses of "blood," "bloody," or "bloodier," as well as six variants of "bleed," is trumped by the even denser language of blood in *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, where there are some fifty-two uses of the same terms, and where, as in *Macbeth*, the imagery is dramatized by the appearance of property blood on the weapons, hands, and faces of the actors. Merry directs Rachel to "wipe up the blood in every place above" (D2v), and in order to dispose of Beech's body, he cuts it up on stage, separating the head and legs from the trunk—property parts that, like Macbeth's head, surely must have been bloodied in some way. As in *Macbeth*, also, *Two Lamentable Tragedies* links the challenge of cleaning up blood to avoid detection with that of erasing guilt when Rachel Merry exclaims, "Oh, would to God I could / As cleerely wash your conscience from the deed, / As I can cleanse the house from least suspect" (D3).

Of course, the inspiration for Shakespeare's sanguinary imagery may have come from any number of sources. Holinshed describes King Duff's bed as "all beraied with bloud" so that "cakes of bloud" were found "in the bed and on the floor about the sides of it," and Macbeth is characterized several times in *The History of Scotland* as a "bloody tyrant."[38] Given his gift for creating patterns of iterative imagery, it is always possible that Shakespeare's "secret'st man of blood" was his own invention, developed imaginatively from these few hints in his historical sources. Moreover, the imagery of blood and of bloody hands is part of the general baggage of Senecan tragedy, and Shakespeare's most notable use of it seems to have been influenced directly by Seneca's *Phaedra* and *Hercules Furens*, where he found the pattern for Macbeth's query "Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood / Clean from my hand? (2.2.59–60).[39] Nor do we need necessarily to look to Rachel Merry as the stimulus for Shakespeare's brilliant elaboration of the difficulty of cleansing one's conscience in Lady Macbeth's great sleepwalking scene. No doubt Shakespeare's own sense of dramatic development would have been sufficient for him to conceive of a scene in which the difficulty of laundering the memory of crime is staged directly. Nevertheless, there are enough verbal links between *Macbeth* and these contemporary stage models to suggest that both the play's bloodiness in general and the Macbeths' language in particular was influenced by their dramatization of the psychological shock of murder and of how one criminal act begets

another, trapping their protagonists in a cycle of violence and remorse. In all three works this is suggested by the metaphor of wading in blood. Macbeth's declaration that "I am in blood / Stepp'd in so far, that, should I wade no more, / Returning were as tedious as go o'er" (3.4.135–37) varies Shakespeare's earlier usage in *Richard III* where Richard states "I am in / So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin" (4.2.63–64), itself a bloodier variation on Clytemnestra's principle in Seneca's *Agamemnon* that the safest way through crime is crime. However, the image of wading in blood as a metaphor for immersion in violence has a double counterpart in *Two Lamentable Tragedies*. First Avarice tells his fellow Homicide, "Let my confounding plots but goe before, / And thou shalt wade up to the chin in gore" (C3); then in an even closer parallel, Merry soliloquizes before killing Beech's boy to prevent him testifying about his master's murder, "I am knee deepe, ile wade up to the wast, / To end my hart of feare, and to attaine, / The hoped end of my intention" (C3v). In *A Warning for Fair Women* Browne also employs the metaphor as he stiffens his resolution to commit the murder of Sanders:

> Oh sable night, sit on the eie of heaven,
> That it discerne not this black deede of darknesse,
> My guiltie soule, burnt with lusts hateful fire,
> Must wade through bloud, t'obtaine my vile desire,
> Be then my coverture, thicke ugly night,
> The light hates me, and I doe hate the light.
>
> (910–15)

I quote the full context here because this passage employs both the idea of wading in blood and also the conceit of hiding one's deeds of darkness from the light, a conceit that Macbeth uses twice: first in 1.4, where he implores, "Stars, hide your fires! / Let not light see my black and deep desires" (50–51); and then again in 3.2 in his invocation, "Come, seeling Night, / Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful Day" (46–47). As Gordon Braden and Robert S. Miola have shown, this topos also has Senecan precursors in the hyperbolic rhetoric of willful protagonists like Atreus and Medea who attempt to impose their commands on the extra-human order, yet the final effect of these speeches by Browne and Macbeth is not to glorify their will, but as Miola notes "to suggest an implicit moral order, one that registers shock at man's wickedness and threatens consequences."[40]

The parallels quoted above make it seem likely that *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, and *A Warning for Fair Women* either echoed in Shakespeare's ear or lay open on his desk as he composed *Macbeth*.[41] However, even if they are not accepted as direct sources, these earlier crime dramas clearly offered a dramatic paradigm for Shakespeare's adaptation of history. Though murderers in this tradition are conceived of as hypocritical

figures seeking to hide their deeds of darkness from the light, they are not conscienceless psychopaths like Iago. Initially, at least, Macbeth shares with the protagonists of these Elizabethan murder plays a basic morality that makes his entrance into crime a torturous experience. At the same time, while Shakespeare employs crime drama's emphasis on the spiritual impact of murder to sustain our engagement with his protagonists, he avoids its reassuring conversions and overt didacticism. At the end of *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, Rachel Merry, having made a public confession, confidently ascends the gallows as a "m[i]rror to ensuing times" (K2v). Lady Macbeth, however, goes from a Medea-like ferocity to a desperate suicide haunted by guilt, while Macbeth hardens his conscience until he loses all sense of human connection. In effect, Shakespeare returns to the pattern of *Richard III*, where Richard is an increasingly isolated tyrant, followed only out of fear and aware that "there is no creature loves me, / And if I die no soul shall pity me" (5.3.200–1), and like him, Macbeth gathers his energies for one last fight.

Shakespeare's refusal to treat Macbeth as a conventional penitent has invited contradictory judgments. To Robert Heilman, Macbeth's failure to follow the example of the first Thane of Cawdor, who "very frankly … confess'd his treasons, / Implor'd … pardon, and set forth / A deep repentance" (1.4.5–7), shows a reprehensible unwillingness to engage in "the soul's reckoning."[42] To Lake and Questier, by contrast, "the play ultimately represents a celebration of the glamour of evil or, if you will, the charisma of a reprobate soul who recognizes and defiantly embraces his fate" (388). Neither view seems quite accurate. Macbeth's willingness to "try the last" when he realizes that Macduff is his fated opposite earns a grudging respect, but it hardly demonstrates "glamour" or "charisma"; on the other hand, Macbeth does face moral responsibility by admitting his life has become a wasteland:

> I have liv'd long enough: my way of life
> Is fall'n into the sere, the yellow leaf;
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but in their stead,
> Curses, not loud, but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.
>
> (5.3.22–28)

As Miola points out, the inspiration for the first half of this speech comes from the passage in Seneca's tragedy where Hercules laments that his life is now meaningless because he has killed his son while mad: "Expressing Hercules' … belief that no ocean can wash clean his bloodstained hands, Macbeth expresses moral outrage at what he himself has become. His eloquence resonates with the Herculean music of despair,

loss, and isolation" (117).[43] Shakespeare, Miola suggests, thus engages in "a creative intermingling of traditions" in which "Christian ideas regarding despair, sin, and conscience … recontextualize Senecan configurations" (118). In that creative synthesis, contemporary crime drama like *Arden of Faversham*, *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, and *A Warning for Fair Women* seems to have played a significant role, engaging audiences empathically with the Macbeths' inner transformation as murder exacts its psychic cost on their souls.

* * *

Shakespeare's appropriation of the dramatic analogues discussed here has occasionally been hinted at by editors' citation of parallel lines, but has not generally been acknowledged in discussions of his sources even when, as we have noted in the case of *All's Well*, their significance has been pointed out by earlier specialized studies. The failure suggests that our conception of what constitutes a source is too restrictive, preventing us from fully perceiving how engaged Shakespeare was with the theater of his time as reviser and rival. If his works seem more worthy of publication and preservation than those by most of his contemporaries, it is not necessarily because he was more innovative or original, but because he responded creatively to popular dramatic forms, deepening their characterization, enriching their poetic and thematic texture, improving their stagecraft. As Shakespeare fused the narrative materials that engaged his interest with the dramatic paradigms by which he shaped their design, both were transformed in the crucible of his imagination. A theatrically oriented source study that takes both elements into account can best help us appreciate his creative achievement.

Notes

1 Gibbons, 20. What Gibbons is describing is analogous to what Clubb, in the preface to her *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, has called a "theatergram," but for the purposes of clearer communication in this essay I have used such terms as "dramatic paradigm" or "pattern" or "formula" to describe a play's or scene's skeletal elements—the combination of character types and essential actions that shape the underlying structure of a dramatic fiction.

2 In *Shakespeare in Company*, Van Es endorses Lukas Ernes's view that "Shakespeare should not be characterised at the outset as 'a man of the theatre'" (74) and argues that Robert Greene's famous reference to him as an "upstart" player merely expresses the disdain of a university man for "grammar-school-educated writers" (51). However, Henry Chettle's defense of Shakespeare as "excellent in the quality he professes" confirms that he was known as an actor-playwright. See Schoenbaum, *Willliam Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 154, and Kesson, "His Fellow Dramatists and Early Collaborators."

3 Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of His Time*, 4.

4 Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company*; Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*; and Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company*, particularly chapter 1, "The Repertory System and Commercial Tactics." Gurr claims that "the Admiral's company was markedly more inventive than their opposites at the Theatre" (*Shakespeare's Opposites*, 36).

5 Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 219, n. 48, argues that it is not *The Famous Victories*.

6 See Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 211, 216.

7 *Ibid*., 243. For further examples of borrowed theatergrams and company competition, see the essay by McInnis on "Lost Plays and Source Study" in this volume, 297–315.

8 To take a current example, A. O. Scott, writing on "The Death of Adulthood in American Culture" in the *New York Times* for September 11, 2014, noted that the representation of traditional adulthood as it used to be portrayed in "the formerly tried-and-true genres of the urban cop show, the living-room or workplace sitcom and the prime-time soap opera" had been replaced by shows depicting adults behaving immaturely.

9 *Hamlet*, 2.2.397–400, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. Evans et al., 2nd ed. All citations to Shakespeare's works are to this edition unless otherwise noted.

10 Astington, "The Globe, the Court, and *Measure for Measure*," 140. Astington points in particular to the possible impact on *Measure for Measure* of one of the prodigal husband plays, *The Fair Maid of Bristow*, which features such details as a character disguised as a friar who visits prisoners, a wife's plea to excuse her husband because "intents are nothing till they come to acts," and the surprise unhooding of a character thought to have been murdered, thereby enabling the accused prodigal's forgiveness.

11 Wheeler suggests that *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure* share formal characteristics with Shakespeare's earlier comedies while anticipating the comic mode of the later romances (*Shakespeare's Development and the Problem Comedies*, 4). Snyder calls them products of a "generic adventure," ("The Genres of Shakespeare's Plays," 95); for Gleed they are the result of an "experimental move" to "overturn dramatic and generic orthodoxy" ("Tying the (K)not," 96).

12 See Wilson, "Dramatic Emphasis in *All's Well that Ends Well*"; Turner, "Dramatic Conventions in *All's Well that Ends Well*"; Beck, "Terence Improved." In the 1993 Oxford Shakespeare edition, Snyder dismisses Turner and Wilson's articles in one sentence (43–44, n. 5); in the updated New Cambridge edition (2003), Leggatt briefly discusses the play's links with prodigal plays, but concludes that Shakespeare's practice is "adversarial" (5). Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, discusses some parallels as evidence for the "mixed quality" of Shakespeare's writing, connecting "the new cynical and misogynistic comedies of the boys' stage and the more gynocentric drama of the adults" (222). For a recent contrasting example of the exclusively literary approach to the play's sources, see Mentz, "Revising the Sources."

13 See Shapiro, *Children of the Revels,* 212–17. I am grateful to Professor Shapiro for suggestions that have clarified my argument.

14 Hunter, *English Drama 1586–1642*, 381.

15 The King's Men's production of four such plays supports McInnis's call for "a repertory studies approach" that focuses on a play's theatrical origins as well as its authorship (see below, 297). *The London Prodigal*, long a part of the Shakespeare Apocrypha because of its title-page attribution, has

recently been reprinted in William Shakespeare and Others, *Collaborative Plays*, but stylistic analysis has not found strong evidence of Shakespeare's hand. See Sharpe's discussion of the play's "Authorship and Attribution," 697–704. All references to *The London Prodigal* are to this edition.

16 For the religious background to these self-denying wives, see McManus, "Marital Infidelity and Christian Self-Sacrifice," 156–75.

17 Kay, "Reforming the Prodigal."

18 From Bullough, 2:391. References to Bullough will be given parenthetically hereafter.

19 Warren, "Why Does It End Well?" and Wheeler, *Shakespeare's Development*, 57–75.

20 Diana's reflection on male behavior is echoed later by Helena when she comments on how "lust doth play / With what it loathes for that which is away" (4.4.21–25). Observations like these are paralleled in comments by Duke Hercules in Marston's *The Fawn*, by Franchischina in Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan*, and by Bellafront in Dekker's *2 Honest Whore*. See my discussion in "Reforming the Prodigal," 114–19.

21 *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 5:352.

22 Reprinted in the Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. Farmer.

23 Wilson, "Dramatic Emphasis," 236–37, comments on the "growing pressure upon Bertram."

24 Hunter, *English Drama 1586–1642*, 387–88.

25 The King's speech on the relationship between virtue and honor at 2.3.118–44, of course, serves as a standard against which Bertram's disdain for Helena's low birth can be measured, but he (and we) are left to draw our own conclusions from it.

26 Waller, *New Critical Essays*, 48.

27 Unlike Turner ("Dramatic Conventions," 502), who concludes pessimistically that "*All's Well* seems to have been endowed with conventions that have lost their savor," I assume that prodigal husband plays might have new interest for an age that questions male privilege.

28 Similarities between the two plays are discussed by Lull in her introduction to the New Cambridge edition of *Richard III*, 16–19. Lull locates the difference in Shakespeare's decision to alter the external perspective from which we view Richard III and to place the audience inside Macbeth's consciousness, which is, as we shall see below, also consonant with the perspective of many Elizabethan crime dramas.

29 Lake with Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 378–79.

30 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 7:482, 496.

31 Citations from *Macbeth* are from the Arden edition, ed. Muir.

32 Bullough, 7:485–86. Muir has argued that Buchanan's description of King Kenneth's remorse is closer to Macbeth's than Holinshed's:

> His soul disturbed by a consciousness of his crime, permitted him to enjoy no solid or sincere pleasure; in retirement the thoughts of his unholy deed tormented him; and, in sleep, visions full of horror drove repose from his pillow. At last, whether in truth an audible voice from heaven addressed him, as is reported, or whether it were the suggestion of his guilty mind … in the silent watches of the night, he seemed thus to be admonished.
>
> (Arden ed., xl)

33 See Sharpe's discussion in *Collaborative Plays*, 650–57. Knutson has suggested that it may have come to Shakespeare's company via Pembroke's Men. See her essay on "Shakespeare's Repertory," 349.

34 See the Revels edition of *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, 148–59.
35 See Kinney, "Authoring *Arden of Faversham*," and Macdonald P. Jackson, "Gentle Shakespeare and the Authorship of *Arden of Faversham*."
36 See Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites*, 248–49. Gurr speculates that Chettle's play was a classical tragedy on the subject of Orphe, rather than the second work described on the title page of *Two Lamentable Tragedies*.
37 Reprinted in Simpson, *The School of Shakespeare*, 2:223.
38 Bullough, 7:483, 499, 501.
39 Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy*, 111–16.
40 See Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy*, 93–94, where Browne's speech is quoted, and Braden, "Senecan Tragedy and the Renaissance."
41 Two other miscellaneous details of *Macbeth* seem to have been suggested by these two murder plays. The first is the "serpent-flower" image like that in Lady Macbeth's advice to Macbeth to "look like th' innocent flower, / But be the serpent under't" (1.5.65–66). This is also used by Avarice at the beginning of *Two Lamentable Tragedies* when he identifies as likely subjects for Homicide's influence two apparent innocents who "seeme to beare the markes of honestie, / But snakes finde harbour mongst the fairest flowers, / Then never credit outward semblaunces" (A2v). A second is the description in both *A Fair Warning* and *Macbeth* of revolt by domestic animals to suggest an ominous disorder. In *A Fair Warning*, this is expressed in a lower mimetic mode as the farmer Old John and his maid Joan, searching for their livestock, comment on the "dismall daie" just before they find the badly wounded John Beane: "Now by my fathers saddle *Joane* I think we are bewitched, my beasts were never wont to breake out so often: sure as death the harlotries are bespoken" (1431–33). Shakespeare elevates this to a higher level to suggest the violation of political and natural hierarchies attendant on the killing of an anointed king, as Duncan's horses "turn'd wild in nature" after his murder and "broke their stalls, flung out, / Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would make / War with mankind" (2.4.16–18), a detail not in Holinshed' account, which only reports that Duncan's horses ate their own flesh (See Bullough, 8:484).
42 Heilman, "The Criminal as Tragic Hero, 37.
43 It is worth noting that Hercules's losses are personal: "my mind, my weapons, glory, wife, sons, hands" (Loeb ed., line 1260). Macbeth's, by contrast, are social ("honour, love, obedience, troops of friends") and confirm his early fears of losing his newly won honor and "golden opinions from all sorts of people" (1.7.31–35).

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Part III

Authorship and Transmission

The authors in Part III confront questions of compositional process in light of new approaches to textuality and culture, and in so doing they develop implicit portraits of Shakespeare the author. Comparatist approaches that identify similarities in texts, especially across temporal, geographical, and cultural borders that had formerly been considered less permeable, sometimes have been influential for understanding the development of early modern drama. Yet these valuable approaches to early modern drama can have a vexed relationship with a particular apparatus of Shakespeare editions, as editors have traditionally been called upon to include a section entitled "sources" in their introductions. Although this requirement is changing in some cases, editors are still perhaps the scholars most likely to be asked to account for the materials Shakespeare used in the composing of his plays in a positivistic way.[1]

As well, the "return of the author" has led some scholars to concern themselves with the choices and selections from other texts made by Shakespeare, the way in which he deployed or transformed those texts, and the reasons for those choices and transformations. Some of the authors in this section are editors, and as a group they take a range of perspectives regarding the significance and relevance of theatergrams, memes, or motifs to source study, as well as in how they imagine the author (Shakespeare) and his processes of composition.

Kent Cartwright, grappling with questions of transmission and temporality, examines the plusses and minuses of newer approaches to sources from the point of view of the editor of a play, in this case *The Comedy of Errors*. Arguing that scholars need to think carefully about "what we consider to be sufficient evidence and reasonable inference" in identifying sources, he questions the influence of *commedia grave* on *The Comedy of Errors*, while accepting the "synchronic" influence of the language of debtor's pamphlets on the play only for lack of any better explanation. His portrait of Shakespeare the author is nevertheless of a man immersed in transnational theatrical culture.

Penelope M. Usher similarly sees Shakespeare's authorship in a transnational light, but finds that the representations of Greek sacrifice in *Iphigenia at Aulis* should be considered a source for the killing of children in *Titus Andronicus* whether or not Shakespeare ever personally read the Greek play. She demonstrates that *Iphigenia at Aulis* was well known in the English Renaissance, and this, along with the fact that we know that George Peele (who is commonly believed to have authored some parts of the play) translated *Iphigenia* while at Oxford, suggests that there are numerous ways that Shakespeare could have had contact with the Greek play. Yet what motivates her argument is not so much an imagined scene of Shakespeare sitting down with his source book next to him, as a sense of what is to be gained interpretively by reading *Titus* in light of a Greek influence that has been under-recognized. What is gained is a play (and by extension a Shakespeare) that is more skeptical about pieties and hierarchies, both familial and political, and a sense of the author as a vehicle for ideas and narratives, the sources of which he or she may or may not be explicitly aware.

Meredith Skura and Mark Houlahan both model Shakespeare's compositional practices, but with quite different effects. Skura's chapter on *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* argues that "identifying the raw material for a play…facilitates sketching out a likely process of composition" and traces how the interaction of several sources, including minor ones, contribute to the play's ultimate focus. Looking in Shakespeare's other plays and poems, "internal sources," Skura finds reasons why Shakespeare uses his "external" sources in the way he does. As a result, she builds up a picture of Shakespeare's concerns, a kind of textual portrait, or if not that, a reason why Shakespeare develops the "relationships" with his sources that he does.

In his chapter, Mark Houlahan, who has edited *Twelfth Night* for Broadview/Internet Shakespeare Editions, emphasizes the playfulness with which Shakespeare takes up sources, analyzing the play with reference to postmodern ludic approaches to intertextuality and early modern parades of mock learning. Houlahan first examines Shakespeare's use of the cross-dressing meme that finds itself often reproduced through Renaissance novellas. The consideration of memes (and theatergrams as well) raises questions about how we know which exact texts can be considered sources for the play. But Houlahan then playfully undercuts the import of this question by considering Feste's quotation of "Quinapalus," a non-existent source. Instead of imagining a scholarly Shakespeare, a grad student in overdrive, he imagines sources "playing through" the author in a more open-ended, less controlled manner; in other words, the author is conceptualized more as a conduit through which sources ludicly reproduce themselves. Houlahan asks us to laugh at ourselves and to question the studious image of Shakespeare and our own perhaps over-earnest methods.

Note

1 Under the pressure of new approaches to texts, authorship, and culture, however, this expectation has changed somewhat. Recent third series Arden editions, for example, have moved toward including a section in the introduction titled or subtitled "sources and contexts" (McEachern, *Much Ado About Nothing*, vii) perhaps to elide the problem of transmission, or including no section on sources but discussing influences on the play under topical headings like "Pastoral" (Dusinberre, *As You Like It,* vii) or "The Early Modern Discourse of Friendship" (Carroll, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, vii).

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8 Diachronic and Synchronic

Two Problems of Textual Relations in *The Comedy of Errors*

Kent Cartwright

Editing *The Comedy of Errors* for the Arden Shakespeare, Third Series left me struggling with two puzzles, one involving an old and the other a new model of source study.[1] Both raise questions about what we consider sufficient evidence and reasonable inference in analyzing sources and intertextual relations (and in studying literature more generally). Although they start from different conceptions of the study of sources or intertexts, each puzzle leads towards the other. One model, the diachronic, focuses on predecessor texts that leave distinctive linguistic traces in subsequent works as markers of allusion, borrowing, or adaptation; this is the field of traditional source study. The other model, the synchronic, attends more broadly to the loose matrix of plot devices, character types, and themes that, in the case of *Errors*, adumbrate Renaissance comedy as a culturally recombinant and expansive contemporaneous genre; this is the field that we shall treat as "intertextuality." The two models suggest a contrast between a lineage and a culture grid, between genesis by ancestor or by network. The first model works up-close, at the level of highly specific words and images, as in the case of biblical allusions. The second works at a remove, at the level where patterns and aggregate features emerge, as with the widespread Renaissance narrative device of the bed-trick. Both of these models can be enormously sophisticated and revealing, and each can complement, even supplement, rather than negate, the other.

For *The Comedy of Errors*, my first puzzle puts the linguistic-traces model into relief. What does it mean when highly specific phrases and images in *Errors* apparently draw upon a recognizable source text (in this case, from English pamphlet literature), even though Shakespeare could not have been acquainted with it? How much specificity or density of language is required before we can claim that a resemblance is more than just an accident or coincidence? Such questions arise over the imagery of arrest and imprisonment in Act 4 of *The Comedy of Errors*. My second puzzle has to do with *Errors*'s relationship to Italian drama. As analyzed by Louise George Clubb, *Errors* shares so many features in common with late sixteenth-century Italian comedy that a fundamental resemblance cannot be denied. If Clubb is correct, should we then

take Italian comedy as a "source" for *The Comedy of Errors*? Given the fact that we have no evidence of Shakespeare's first-hand knowledge of Italian comedy at the time of *Errors*'s composition, how do we account for the play's affinity to that drama? The critical terms that we have for understanding this kind of influence (e.g. Clubb's "theatergrams"[2]) can be liberating and invigorating, yet the synchronic model can feel tenuous for the same reason that it is attractive, in that it puts in abeyance empirical questions of the means of access and circulation. So, we confront two cases of problematic transmission and two models, one of local linguistic vestiges, the other of fungible dramatic devices.

Our first, diachronic model introduces the familiar realm of textual allusions. Our second, synchronic model addresses the way that texts speak to each other within a commonly shared semantic or semiotic system. Here, contemporaneous narratives might employ similar ideas and devices without one being the "source" of the other. Numerous critics now term this phenomenon "intertextuality," though the original Kristevian sense of the term encompasses all relations among texts, be they linguistic allusions across centuries or evocations of the common cultural practices of a given moment.[3] To keep differences clear, urges Gregory Machacek, critics might accept the changed meaning of "intertextuality" and emphasize the difference between diachronicity and synchronicity — although, as we shall see, those terms can be less transparent than they might appear.

The Comedy of Errors and *The Compters Common-wealth*

Act 4 of *The Comedy of Errors* presents the first puzzle. In 4.1, Angelo the goldsmith employs an Officer to arrest Antipholus of Ephesus for debt over a necklace, or chain, meant for Adriana, which Angelo insists is in Antipholus's possession (earlier, Angelo had mistakenly given it to the Syracusan twin brother). In response, Antipholus of Ephesus sends his slave—or, rather, his slave's twin, Dromio of Syracuse, whom Antipholus believes in error to be his man — home to Adriana for bail money that is to release him from arrest. Reaching Adriana and her sister Luciana (4.2), Dromio describes the Officer in agitated terms. Later when Dromio attempts to take the money back to Antipholus of Ephesus—but unwittingly gives it to Antipholus's Syracusan brother—he will unleash another volley of overheated epithets for the Officer (4.3). Twice, then, Dromio expatiates upon the sergeant who has arrested Antipholus. (The Officer participates on-stage in 4.1 and 4.4, so that his presence, in person or by reference, sifts through all four of the scenes of this act, after which he disappears.)

Act 4 constitutes the most contemporary and urban section of *The Comedy of Errors*. It focuses on a financial obligation between a

merchant and a sea-trader; an arrest for debt and threatened imprisonment under conditions recalling those in Shakespeare's London; an Officer reminiscent of the London sergeants who carried out such arrests; a businesslike Courtesan; two pseudo-exorcisms; an Elizabethan "cunning man" in the person of the quack conjurer Dr. Pinch; and the capture, binding, and prospective imprisonment of two madmen, again recalling practices in Shakespeare's city. The fourth act, more so than any other in the play, is also riddled with allusions to the London pamphlet literature of Robert Greene, Thomas Nashe, and others, and to Nashe's quarrel with Gabriel Harvey (who is sometimes seen as the object of parody in the figure of Dr. Pinch).[4] Dromio's descriptions of the Officer reflect popular London writings about arrest and imprisonment for debt—dark narratives evoking the surreal horror of such attachments, the venality of the officers who perform them, and the degrading and corrupt conditions of debtors' prisons. Since London functioned on a credit economy in which individuals were chronically short of cash, the existence of widespread private debt and the fear of arrest or legal action for debt were ongoing concerns for much of the population.[5] Such fear, profoundly evident in the early seventeenth century, was beginning to find expression in the 1590s, as the speeches under consideration suggest.[6] Dromio describes the Officer to Adriana this way:

> No, he's in Tartar *limbo*, worse than hell:
> A *devil* in an everlasting garment hath him,
> One whose *hard heart* is **buttoned up with steel**;
> A fiend, a fury, *pitiless* and rough;
> A ***wolf***, nay, worse, a fellow all in *buff*;
> A backfriend, a ***shoulder-clapper***, one that *counter*mands
> The passages of alleys, creeks and narrow lands;
> A ***hound*** that runs *counter* and yet draws dry-foot well,
> One that before the Judgement carries poor souls to *hell*.
> (4.2.32–40; italics and boldface added)

The satirical treatment of the Officer here echoes the condemnatory characterization in Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (London, 1592) of a pitiless and greedy sergeant who arrests debtors and carries them off to imprisonment in the hellish Counter.[7] Given the italicized words above, one might wonder whether Dromio had just been reading *Quip*, for Greene's sergeant is dressed in a "*buffe* leather ierkin" and has "worne his mace smooth, with onely *clapping* it on [a man's] *shoulder*" in order to bring him "to *Limbo*," "to the *counter*." He is "eager… as a *dog*" and ravenous like "a butchers *cur*," with "his *hart* robd of al remorse & *pity*." He "was framd by the *Diuell*, of the rotten carion of a *woolfe*, and his soule of an vsurers damned ghost turned out of *hell*

into his body" (*Quip*, 249, 253–54; italics added).[8] The correspondences between *Errors* and *Quip* can be set side-by-side thus:

Shakespeare, *Errors*	Greene, *Quip*
Limbo (32)	Limbo
Devil (33)	Diuell
hard heart (34), pitiless (35)	hart robd of al remorse & pity
buff (36)	buffe leather jerkin
wolf (36), hound (39)	dog, cur, woolfe
shoulder-clapper (37)	clapping on shoulder
countermands (37), counter (39)	counter
hell (40)	hell

Dromio's linguistic parallels to *Quip* argue that Shakespeare drew upon Greene's pamphlet as a source-text. Such satirical representations of sergeants caught on: Luke Hutton's 1596 pamphlet, *The Black Dog of Newgate*, for example, likewise addresses cony-catching abuses by officers who arrest individuals on false grounds and then bilk them for securing their releases. So far, so good.

Yet Dromio's description of the Officer to Adriana shows affinities with another pamphlet, this one written by William Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth*, perhaps the most sustained treatment, in this genre, of arrest and imprisonment. In the *Errors* passage, one might notice the Officer's shoulder-clapping action and his realistic steel buttons (in bold-face above, as are other correspondences to *Compter*) and then consider Fennor: "those **peuterbuttond**, **shoulderclapping** Catch-poles that seazed on my body" (sig. B1^{v}).[9] It is possible that Dromio's "One whose hard heart is **buttoned** up with **steel**" (4.2.34) employs the metaphor of the sergeant's hard-case (steel-like) heart; in that vein, Hutton's black dog of Newgate has a "hart of hardest Steele."[10] But a reference to actual metal buttons, appropriate to a sergeant's leather coat, seems at least as likely. Greene's *Quip* lacks that odd and distinct detail, so that Fennor's pewter buttons make for a similarity (though not an exact match) to the steel ones mentioned by Dromio. Regarding the image of "shoulderclapping," Fennor will remark on "that long suspected blow upon their [i.e. debtors'] shoulders" (sig. A3^{v}). For Dromio's "wolf" and "hound," Fennor has this: "a brace of **Bandogs** ... came snarling behind me, and fastened on my **shoulder**" (sig. B1^{v}). Fennor's recurrent images call attention to the action of shoulder-clapping by the currish catch-pole. *Compter*'s description thus offers a second set of interesting parallels with Dromio's speech, but perhaps not enough so far for Fennor to earn a cigar as a source alongside Greene—although those metal buttons linger in the imagination.

But Dromio's second, later description of the Officer (in 4.3) improves the case for *Compter.* Speaking to Antipholus of Syracuse (to whom he has given the bail money from Adriana), Dromio recalls the Officer and his leather coat: "he that goes in the calf's skin that was killed for the **Prodigal**" (4.3.16–17). In the mid-nineteenth century, the editor James O. Halliwell glossed this line with the suggestion that Dromio may "imply that the sergeant is dressed from the funds allotted to prodigals, those who generally fill his prison."[11] Uniquely among the debtors'-prison pamphlets, Fennor reports a prison wall adorned with the Prodigal Son story: "the story of the **Prodigall** childe" (*Compter*, sig. B3[r]). Addressing Syracusan Antipholus a few lines later, Dromio will add that the Officer "went like a **bass viol** in a case of leather…he that sets up his rest to do more exploits with his **mace** than a morris-pike" (20–23). The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes a "bass-viol" as a rotund-looking, deep-sounding stringed musical instrument transportable in a leather case (*CE* marks the term's first occurrence). Likewise, Fennor describes an attendant in debtors' prison as "grumbling vp staires" "like a **base violl**" (*Compter*, sig. B3[v]) (Halliwell notes this verbal resemblance). The shared association of the unusual bass-viol image with a sergeant is striking, even though the contexts in Shakespeare and Fennor are different. Earlier, Fennor refers to arresting sergeants as "**Mace**-mongers" (sig. A4[r]). Greene never mentions the Officer's mace. Here is a summary of resemblances between Shakespeare and Fennor:

Shakespeare, *Errors*	Fennor, *Compters Common-wealth*
buttoned up with steel (4.1.34)	peuterbuttond
shoulder-clapper (4.1.37)	shoulderclapping blow upon their shoulders fastened on my shoulder
wolf (4.1.36), hound (39)	Bandogs… snarling
killed for the Prodigal (4.3.16)	story of the Prodigall childe
bass viol (4.3.23)	base violl
mace (4.3.27)	Mace-mongers

Compared to eight images shared between Greene and Shakespeare (in one speech), six are shared between Fennor and Shakespeare (spread over two speeches).

How, then, do we understand the relationship between Dromio's descriptions of the Officer and Fennor's *Compters Common-wealth*? Some of the images—the dog, the clapping on shoulders—overlap with Greene (although the phrase "shoulder-clapper" is common only to *Errors* and *Compter*). They were also probably part of general knowledge; indeed, the sergeant's shoulder-clapping and his mace are mentioned in various publications. Those similarities are too common to offer a case for

influence or allusion. Yet the metal buttons on the sergeant's coat stand out as an unusual and rather specific connection between *Errors* and *Compter*, the shared Prodigal Son image more specific, and the bass-viol image perhaps most specific and unusual of all. These links just do not seem coincidental; indeed, they are less wispy than those sometimes claimed as allusions in Shakespeare.

It is always difficult, of course, to describe which way influence flows. *Errors*'s relationship to Greene is unproblematic, since *Quip* precedes *Errors* in composition by about two years, so that Greene could reasonably operate as a source for Shakespeare. In the case of Fennor, if one were simply considering the two texts, *Errors* and *Compters Common-wealth*, most scholars, I think, would hypothesize that the latter influenced the former, much in the way that Greene's *Quip* presumably influenced *Errors*. Fennor's pamphlet is a sustained, complete, and detailed description of arrest and imprisonment for debt based on personal experience. While it may employ certain conventions of description that appear in Greene's *Quip* and other works, it possesses a fullness and concreteness well beyond Greene's few pages on the subject (indeed, Fennor's pamphlet is known for those qualities); it also expresses a passion bespeaking first-hand experience and personal grievance. Dromio's descriptions, by contrast, are scattered, frenzied, and comic, with hyperbole built so upon hyperbole as to be incomprehensible to his auditors in the play and, perhaps to some extent, to the audience. It seems reasonable to argue that the dedicated text would be the source for the piecemeal, cherry-picked, slightly hallucinatory phrases and images. But there is a devastating problem: Fennor's *Compters Common-wealth* was published in London in 1617, twenty-three years after Dromio of Syracuse first ran back and forth between the Antipholuses and Adriana![12] Without the problem of dating, *Compter*, like *Quip*, has the hallmarks of a source that would leave editors salivating.[13]

If we rule out coincidence and lost ur-texts, what explanation is left for the resemblances between *Errors* and *Compter*? One possibility might be that the language in question that Dromio speaks was added later, sometime in the relatively narrow window between 1617 and 1623 (when the First Folio was published); that is, after *Compter* was published and before *Errors* debuted in the First Folio.[14] In that case, *Compter* could have influenced any rewriting of Dromio's speeches. The idea of revision is tantalizing. Indeed, could a play have been performed initially on the commercial stage in the fall of 1594, given a subsequent Inns of Court performance, likely been revived twice on the commercial stage (in the late 1590s and early 1600s),[15] and played at court in 1604, without undergoing some alteration before its publication in 1623? In the abstract, revision seems likely, but in the specific case of our speeches it remains doubtful. We have no evidence for any performance of *Errors* between 1617 and 1623, and it is difficult to imagine the circumstances for which

Dromio's phantasmagorical descriptions of the Officer would have been the right material to add. A revision would be more likely if we were discussing, for example, a whole scene that could have been added later, which is not the case here. A reviser could not simply have dropped in a set-piece speech, since the descriptions of the Officer appear in two acts. In 4.2, moreover, the characterization is tied into Dromio's subsequent dialogue with Adriana, where the frightening figure of the Officer recurs (e.g. 55–56). Likewise, in 4.3, Dromio's biblical references in relation to the Officer and Dromio's likening of him to an "evil angel" anticipate, indeed condition, the two Syracusans' responses shortly thereafter to the Courtesan, whom they take as demonic and attempt to exorcise. In the same scene, Dromio's use of words and phrases, such as "liberty" (18) and "case of leather" (21), echo ideas and language present earlier in the play (e.g., 2.1). For good reasons, then, revision looks improbable as an explanation for the seeming connections between Shakespeare's *Errors* and Fennor's *Compters Common-wealth*.

With this example, perhaps the first model of source study, the tracing of diachronic linguistic descent, is coming to look surprisingly like the second, the linking of contemporaneous intertexts. In Elizabethan London, arrest for debt was a well-known public danger and a cony-catching trap. In popular writing, such as that of Greene and Fennor, sergeants of the court were perceived as opportunistic, mercenary, and susceptible to bribery; certain images of them became common, such as the likening of them to snarling hunting dogs. In Dromio's speeches, we may be seeing descriptive fragments that emanate from the shared repository of cultural images, comparisons, and associations for officers, debtors' arrest, and imprisonment, fragments perhaps first introduced or crystallized in Greene's *Quip* that then swell into a shared word-horde of images upon which writers might draw.[16] We can infer that Shakespeare read Greene closely as a kind of cultural bellwether and took cues from his extravagant predecessor that could be put to comic use. We may also infer more generally that the dangers of arrest, imprisonment, and official victimization were lively, popularly shared, and recurrent concerns among Elizabethan Londoners, concerns imminent and horrific enough for writers to search for terms both vivid and satirical by which to express the emotions aroused. But can the notion of synchronic intertextuality accommodate the metal buttons, prodigal depictions, and sounds of the bass-viol? Clubb includes "figures" and "speeches" in her catalog of theatergrams (see footnote 2), but discussions of theatergrams—for example, in transnational literary traditions, such as Italian and English Renaissance comedy—tend to focus on generalized matters: character types such as wily servants and mooning young lovers, plot devices such as bed-tricks and cross-dressing, and topical matters such as magic. The intersecting images of *Errors* and *Compter* fit the synchronic model awkwardly, for they are not obvious

variations upon the sergeant theme: pewter buttons, perhaps, but the prodigal son and the bass viol? Their apparent rarity and unconventionality work against the notion of common circulation. While the diachronic model leads in the present instance to a false chase, the synchronic model reveals difficulty in addressing the small and specific theatergrams of "figures" and "speeches," although it remains perhaps the best explanation other than coincidence.

The Comedy of Errors and Italian *Cinquecento Commedia Grave*

Mention of the synchronic model introduces our second source-study puzzle, the relationship between *Errors* (and Shakespeare's comedies more generally) and contemporaneous learned comedy from Italy. Louise George Clubb argues that Italian comedy changed significantly in the second half of the *cinquecento* into what became known as *commedia grave* (or *erudita*).[17] That turn in Italian comedy—which departs from a more buffoonish earlier form—was characterized by increased seriousness in aestheticism, moralism, and emotionalism. It expressed itself in esteem for marriage and the church, in ethical debates (e.g., about love vs. honor), in the sanitizing of compromised stock figures such as the courtesan, and in heightened tensions, deepened characters, and elevations of sadness and vulnerability. As Clubb puts it, "Whatever the proportions, there was always a mixture of sentiment, pathos, and danger with lively comic action" (*Italian Drama*, 55).[18] With devices of endangerment, such as shipwrecks, and with corresponding evocations of pity and wonder, *commedia grave* pulled closer to potential tragedy than had earlier Italian comedy. The new comedic plots, Clubb notes, also featured intricately developed knots of error and confusion, built on the Donatian principle of protasis, epitasis, and catastrophe, with a frequent doubling of characters and of misunderstandings (as with multiple sets of lovers, parents, servants, and the like).[19] These plot intricacies were united thematically by overarching conflicts among siblings, lovers, and friends. A frequent motif was supposed magic, often conjoined with the theme of madness; another was the ultimate subsuming of fortune, chance, and accident under the greater power of providence.

While Clubb considers *The Comedy of Errors* indebted to no particular *commedia grave*, she argues that it was influenced by the type:

> The addition of pathos and a hint of tragedy; the moral deemphasizing of the courtesan's role to play up the wife Adriana and her sister; the dialogue of these two on the topos of jealousy in marriage; the weaving of multiple sources into a newly complicated pattern of errors with something like a unifying theme in the threat

> of feared madness and sorcery; Aegeon's evaluation of "the gods" at the beginning, proved false at the end, when the maddening errors and nearly fatal sentence become instruments to reunite families and confirm loves—the combination of these elements, characteristics of late Cinquencento commedia grave, could not have been suggested by Lyly or Gascoigne, for both *Mother Bombie* and *Supposes* belong to the earlier type of comedy.
>
> (*Italian Drama*, 62–63)

The elements of *Errors* itemized above constitute theatergrams; that is, conventions of character, situation, action, tone, dialogue, and the like. They arise from the practice of borrowing and adapting from previous texts—not only Roman and Italian plays but also medieval romances or prose narratives—and of combining elements from them into a new work, the process of *contaminatio*. That practice

> demanded the interchange and transformation of units, figures, relationships, actions, *topoi*, and framing patterns, gradually building a combinatory of theatergrams that were at once streamlined structures for svelte play making and elements of high specific density, weighty with significance from previous incarnations.
>
> (6)

Concerning *The Comedy of Errors*, Clubb concludes,

> It cannot be proved that Shakespeare read Italian plays, or saw commedia dell'arte troupes or Italian amateurs perform commedie gravi at Elizabeth's court, or heard about them from a friend ... It is next to certain, however, that the brilliant upstart crow knew something about the latest Continental fashion in comedy.
>
> (63)

Clubb's concept of theatergrams and her attendant arguments have been influential.[20]

While Clubb sees grounds for inferring literary influence by both direct and indirect cultural contact, Robert Miola emphasizes the domain of indirect, synchronic intertextuality "*in which the originary text may never have ever been read by the author at all*"[21] (with "*never*," "*ever*," and "*at all*" underscoring the point). Citing Clubb, Miola concludes,

> Once Ariosto, Bibbiena, Machiavelli, and others had written, cross dressing, garrulous nurses, and witty, wondrous women passed permanently into the vocabulary of European theatre. Shakespeare may have read none of these dramatists in Italian or in translation yet he could no more have escaped them in the practice of his craft than

> moderns can escape Freud or Marx, though only a relatively small percentage of people have actually had direct contact with those seminal thinkers.
>
> (21)

Clubb sees resemblances between *The Comedy of Errors* and late *cinquecento* Italian comedy as sufficient enough to infer a process of transmission; going further, Miola proposes that Italian models of comedy became almost immediately a part of the aesthetic air that Shakespeare breathed. Clubb's and Miola's perspectives on synchronic intertextuality are attractive (although objections to them must also be considered). They make good on the methods of *imitatio* and *contaminatio*—imitating classical models and combining them in innovative ways—that were central to Renaissance humanism.[22] Even better, they take us out of the elephant's boneyard of specific literary allusions and into the rich, expansive vistas of trans-European culture and literary tradition, now freshly available for comparative exploration.[23]

Interest in the Italian influence upon English Renaissance drama has grown in recent years, and scholarly knowledge has increased accordingly.[24] Clearly, theatrical commerce developed between Italy (and the continent) and Elizabethan England. An Italian playing company visited England in 1573–74, for example, performing several times before Elizabeth while on progress and in the city of London (Thomas Norton complained about the "unchaste, shamelesse and unnaturall tomblinge" of the Italian female performers).[25] An Italian troupe played at court in February 1576; another performance is recorded at Durham Place in April 1577 (Chambers, 262). From mid-January to the week before Lent, 1578, an Italian company was allowed to perform in London—a substantial stint—and apparently acted at court as well (Chambers, 262). Such companies would have offered both *commedia dell'arte* and *commedia erudita*, according to Chambers (264). Conversely, a number of Elizabethan actors visited the continent, especially the northwestern locales associated with Protestantism. English players apparently were in Denmark in 1579–80 and 1585, and in that latter year an English company performed in Germany. The celebrated comedian Will Kemp, patronized by the Earl of Leicester, performed in Holland and Denmark in the spring and fall of 1586; he was later in Italy in 1601 (Chambers, 272–73).[26] Kemp was the leading comedian in Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, from 1594 to about 1599[27]; it is reasonable to infer that he would have shared whatever knowledge he had gained of continental theater. In 1586–87, another English company performed in Denmark and Germany; two of its members, Thomas Pope and George Bryan, later became members of Strange's Men and in 1594, with Shakespeare, the Lord Chamberlain's Men (Chambers, 273)—bringing to three the number of Chamberlain's actors in 1594 with theatrical

experience on the continent (although their travels had not extended to Italy). Another English actor, Robert Browne, associated with the Admiral's Men, visited northern Europe multiple times in the early 1590s, and other thespians were also abroad (Chambers, 273–75). Some knowledge of continental theater would have reached London theatrical professionals from such exchanges, although what information was imported specifically about Italian comedy remains unknown.

Meanwhile, from another direction, Italian plays were also being translated or adapted into English, especially at Gray's Inn in the 1560s, where some were also performed. Those plays include George Gascoigne's *Supposes* (1566), a rendering of Ludovico Ariosto's influential comedy, *I suppositi* (1509); Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh's tragedy *Jocasta* (1566), based on an Italian translation (Lodovico Dolce's *Giocasta* [1549]) of Euripides; and the manuscript comedy *The Bugbears* (c. 1564), derived from Anton Francesco Grazzini's *Spiritata* (c. 1561) and attributed to John Jefferay (or Jeffere), associated with Gray's Inn.[28] Indeed, the Inns of Court in the 1560s had become something of a center for literary translation. Some thirty years later, in December 1594, Gray's Inn would be the site for the first known performance of *The Comedy of Errors*. Also associated with the Inns of Court was George Whetstone, who, in 1578, published his prose play *Promos and Cassandra*, based on an Italian novel in Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatomithi* (1565); the play influenced Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Whetstone's "Epistle Dedicatorie" alludes knowingly to continental drama:

> For at this daye, the *Italian* is so lasciuious in his comedies, that honest hearers are greeued at his actions: the *Frenchman* and *Spaniarde* folowes the *Italians* humor: the *Germaine* is too holye: for he presentes on euerye common Stage, what Preachers should pronounce in Pulpets. The *Englishman* in this quallitie, is most vaine, indiscreete, and out of order....[29]

At Cambridge, in the late 1570s and beyond, Italian drama was performed in Latin translation (Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 49–50), and the presence of Italianate comedy is further confirmed by *Fidele and Fortunio: The Two Italian Gentlemen* (1584), presumably by Anthony Munday, drawn substantially from Luigi Pasqualigo's play, *Il fedele* (1576).[30] A number of Italian comedies were also published in French translation in the later decades of the sixteenth century.

So, in the years leading up to 1594, a distinct Elizabethan interest had developed in Italian drama (and novellas, too), a trend consistent with the argument by Michael Wyatt that Italian works, along with "the idea of Italy" (7), took hold on the Elizabethan imagination, partly through the small but influential Italian community in London.[31] Regarding Shakespeare, Jason Lawrence argues convincingly that by the time of

his writing of *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1593–95?), Shakespeare had learned some Italian phrases from John Florio's Italian-English dialogue books, *First Fruites* (1578) and *Second Fruites* (1591).[32] Shakespeare may even have become personally acquainted with Florio in 1593–94 through the Earl of Southampton (see Lawrence, 119–21). *Shrew* marks Shakespeare's "deepening engagement with the Italian language and literary tradition," although when *Shrew* was composed it is not likely that Shakespeare could have read Italian drama directly (Lawrence, 123); *Shrew*'s subplot is drawn from *Supposes*, Gascoigne's translation of Ariosto. Of *The Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596), Lawrence observes that it is Shakespeare's "first play with an Italian source for which no contemporary translation exists," that source being Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il pecorone* (125; see also 127). Altogether, recent scholarship gives proof of the prominent influence of Italian literature in Elizabethan England (thanks to the work of scholars such as Lawrence, Wyatt, Keir Elam, Robert Henke, Eric Nicholson, Michael Redmond, and especially Louise George Clubb and Michele Marrapodi).[33] Elam notes, for example, the rise in translations of Italian literature in the 1590s and, even more striking, the impressive number of texts in Italian published in England by printer John Wolfe in the 1580s and 1590s, all of which posit an audience for Italian literature and an accompanying knowledge of Italian language among a sufficient segment of readers in England.[34] Regarding Shakespeare, Lawrence sees evidence of his increasing facility with Italian in the 1590s, begun with the study of Florio's dialogue books and "of his ability to read Italian prose unaided by the latter 1590s" (126).[35] Clubb adds that Shakespeare might also have learned something about Italian drama from court musicians or musical Italian families in London ("How Do We Know," 282).

Altogether, the evidence for the influence of Italian theater on Elizabethan England looks strong, but, in the specific case of *The Comedy of Errors*, one must consider possible reservations. To take Miola's argument first, his synchronic intertextuality imagines the possibility that "*the originary text may never have ever been read by the author at all*." Shakespeare, as Miola puts it, may have had no direct knowledge of "Ariosto, Bibbiena, Machiavelli, and others," but their theatergrams had "passed permanently into the vocabulary of European theater," and Shakespeare "could no more have escaped them than moderns can escape Freud or Marx."[36] Miola mentions three theatergrams: cross-dressing, garrulous nurses, and witty, wondrous women. But would simply the presence of a garrulous nurse in a Shakespeare play, for example, constitute formal evidence of an Italian theatergram? Probably not. The list of potential theatergrams is variable in content and open-ended: same-sex desires, twins, blocking fathers, venal priests, charlatan magicians, foolish elderly husbands, seducible married women, servants' deceptions, bed-tricks, ring tricks, balcony scenes, lock-out scenes,

discovery scenes of long-lost children, and more. What kind of specific density of theatergrams is needed to claim their impact? As with many other literary arguments, we lack shared protocols of proof here, partly because individual cases can present very different situations and problems. But we might reasonably expect some critical mass.

Further, in treating the cultural presence of Italian comic conventions in late sixteenth-century English dramatic circles as analogous to the presence of Marx and Freud in the modern world, Miola takes a position that might be open to question. The English audience for plays by Ariosto, Bibbiena, and Machiavelli was probably limited and coterie, albeit serious; in England in the 1560s and 1570s, one center was the learned set at the Inns of Court. Not all readers would probably agree that the influence of the three playwrights mentioned was comparable, even within a limited circle, to the modern influence of the "seminal thinkers" Freud and Marx (leaving aside differences in how ideas circulated in the sixteenth century as opposed to the modern world). Ariosto, Bibbiena, and Machiavelli, of course, were writing comedies in the first two decades of the sixteenth century—and Miola makes no claim for their influence on *The Comedy of Errors*. Even if such Italian playwrights were in the air of later English theater, that possibility somewhat misses the case of *Errors*, for Clubb claims the influence of late *cinquecento* Italian comedy (or tragicomedy) on *Errors*, not that of early Italian comedies. Miola's synchronic argument regarding Italian plays in the first half of the sixteenth century has the virtue of allowing time for cultural transmission, while the argument, when focused on Italian drama later in the century, becomes more difficult. That is, diachronic considerations linger in the background of the case for synchronic intertextuality.

While Clubb concludes that "It is next to certain" that Shakespeare "knew something about the latest Continental fashion in comedy," her argument derives less from data or historical documents than from her analysis of Shakespeare's plays and their "family resemblance" to Italian comedy. Besides her hypothesis about *The Comedy of Errors*, Clubb makes a compelling case for the relationship of *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598) to Giambatista della Porta's *Gli duoi fratelli rivali* (*The Two Rival Brothers*) (c. 1591), and she proposes Italian influences beyond *Much Ado*'s immediate source, the twenty-second story of Matteo Bandello's *La prima parte de novelle* (1554).[37] (*Much Ado* editors accept that Shakespeare read Bandello in Italian.[38]) Della Porta's play was based on Bandello's story, but it was not published in Shakespeare's lifetime. Clubb argues that

> When each of these plays is read as a control for the other, with greater weight given to dissimilarities than to similarities, *Much Ado* yields up theatergrams not to be found in *Fratelli rivali* but

> which are characteristic of Italian comedy as a genre; conversely, in *Fratelli rivali* there appear theatergrams which are absent in *Much Ado* but present in other plays of Shakespeare.[39]

For Clubb, Shakespeare's use of the balcony constitutes one such latter example. Clubb concludes that Shakespeare "was familiar not merely with one Italian drama but with a repertory of dramatic structures" (38).

Yet if a play such as *The Comedy of Errors* employs certain Italian theatergrams, it departs from Italian models in various significant ways. Italian *cinquecento* comedies often register as matter-of-fact about sex, cynical towards the intoxications of romantic love, and disenchantedly accepting of human venality: the tone of these works differs fundamentally from Shakespeare's play. The bed-trick offers a point of comparison. Devious bed-tricks are common in Italian comedy—for example, in Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena's *La calandria* (c. 1512); Pietro Aretino's *La cortigiana* (1525); Anton Francesco Grazzini's *Frate Alberigo* (1540–41); and Della Porta's *Gli duoi fratelli rivali*. Such actions typically proceed forthrightly (sometimes even audibly!), and the sexual adventurers involved remain unrepentant.[40] *Errors*, too, contains a variation of the bed-trick (though not in a dark room), when Antipholus of Syracuse, mistaken by Adriana for her husband, dines, and possibly sleeps, with her. But the text teasingly invites contradictory inferences, never confirming adultery, while overall the play explores marriage from a bemusedly positive, even romantic perspective (represented especially by Adriana). *Errors* embraces the magnetic power of love—even though a lover may not quite know who the beloved is.[41] *Errors*'s ending likewise renders Adriana's husband, Ephesian Antipholus, uncertain (and in some productions, suspicious) about what happened between his wife and his twin brother. Such rich climactic doubt, which the text imposes on the audience as much as upon the husband, is not a feature of Italian *cinquecento* comedy. Where *Errors* is evasive about sex, most Italian comedy is frank; where *Errors* is romantic (if comically so), Italian comedy is typically anti-romantic; where *Errors* enjoys doubt and ambivalence, Italian comedy does not. Thus, although *Errors* may share the theatergram of the potential bed-trick with Italian comedy, the differences in tone—and, behind it, world view—are perhaps more profound and telling than the commonality of the gimmick.[42]

When we narrow attention to the Italian comedy in the last third of the sixteenth century, the focus of Clubb's argument, other problems arise. The farcicality of *Errors* recalls Ariosto and Bibbiena, for example, but is inconsistent with late *cinquecento* comedy. *Errors* lacks decidedly the strong didacticism that develops in *commedia grave*; Adriana's brief exchange on marriage with Luciana is ironic and inconclusive, and the play's few other solemn pronouncements are likewise undercut by comic misperceptions. *Errors* as a whole simply lacks any didactic "lesson."

Similarly, the emotional conditions of its characters do not resemble the highly wrought melodramatic states or the wild emotional gyrations in a representative play such as della Porta's *Gli duoi fratelli rivali*. Women in *Errors* are not presented as quasi-religious wonders (a feature more typical of late Shakespearean comedy and romance), and marriage is affirmed with a worldly wise understanding of its limitations. The near-tragic pathos that Clubb sees in *commedia erudita* can be traced, in *Errors*, to the influence of medieval narratives such as the Apollonius of Tyre story or to biblical apocalypticism as easily as it can be linked to Italian comedy.

Overall, the argument for Shakespeare's generalized acquisition (that is, without an identifiable source) of theatergrams reaches broadly but not always deeply, has trouble weighing negative against positive evidence, and, in some instances, cannot dispel alternative explanations. That is, the more the argument applies to a loosely construed group of Italian plays, the less it can account for the special features of a play like *The Comedy of Errors*. The physical theatrical contexts of Italian and Elizabethan comedy make for a final dissimilarity. In the famous Italian comedy *Gl'ingannati*, the analogue to *Twelfth Night*, the traditional Italian urban stage set of buildings and perspectives (as in Vicenza's 1585 Teatro Olimpico) embodies, according to Charlotte Pressler, a fixed world of values that must eventually be accommodated by the action of *Gl'ingannati*. The play's typical Italian mise-en-scène differs considerably from the fluid, open space of *Twelfth Night* and the values that such a space makes available.[43] Shakespeare's unlocalized bare stage invites allegorization and allows a fictional setting such as *Errors*'s Ephesus to seem, at times, as if it were suddenly modern London (this effect is especially noticeable in the comedies). Could Shakespeare have borrowed theatergrams from Italian drama in some abstract way without also taking on more than we see of the ethos in which they are used? Perhaps so (as Andrews argues for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), but the argument tends to limit the impact of theatergrams. Theatergrams may turn out, in some instances, to be most useful for revealing contrasts between plays that take us into the special character and power of a specific work, such as *Errors*. Regarding *Gli duoi fratelli rivali* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, Clubb observes, "the contrast is as revealing as the resemblance" ("Italian Stories," 43).

Clubb describes theatergrams as "streamlined structures for svelte play making and elements of high specific density, weighty with significance from previous incarnations." In that view, theatergrams facilitate the work of *contaminatio* because they offer detachable units, "streamlined structures," of dramatic architecture that can be combined into a new context and because they gather significance, much in the way that allusions do, from "previous incarnations." The first part of the

argument, however, may work against the second part: that is, the more detachable and mobile theatergrams become (and the argument is that they are highly so), the less significance they can bear from any previous individual incarnation. The more often a theatergram recurs, the more it forfeits the context of a specific earlier work. As a device passes into the generic, it no longer evokes its local inspiration. Here, theatergrams would function not as allusions but rather as constitutive elements of the genre of comedy in a given historical period, significant less individually than collectively, such that, to paraphrase Clubb, the contrasts in how they are employed are as revealing as their repeated presence.

In arguing that "A richer harvest of connections appears when general Italian theatrical practice and repertory, rather than specific sources, are surveyed" ("Italian Stories," 35), Clubb has made a seminal and influential contribution to Shakespeare studies. The claim makes most sense when the "something" is understood as having come to Shakespeare from novellas, *commedia dell'arte* performances, a number of translations or adaptations of Italian plays, miscellaneous reports, and, in the late 1590s, Shakespeare's own reading in Italian. In the instance of *The Comedy of Errors*, the claim of Clubb and others that Shakespeare "knew something about Italian drama" seems convincing, but Clubb's argument for the specific influence of *commedia grave* faces difficulty, in part because *Errors* was composed only a decade or two after the Italian plays that Clubb sees as influential and before Shakespeare would have been able to read them himself in Italian. As an editor, I find myself embracing generally the arguments of Miola and Clubb for synchronic intertextuality but not quite ready to take the leap in the case of *The Comedy of Errors*. Synchronic intertexts can function as analogues that allow for the comparison of cultures, ideas, and ideologies: Clubb makes a credible and compelling argument. But the particular example gets tangled up in questions of diachronic transmission and of differences between artifacts.

When one looks back at both of the problems discussed here, their relatedness emerges. A traditional problem in diachronic source study, the chasing down of words and phrases in antecedent texts, leads us to an awareness of the multiple caricatures of a character-type, the Officer, whose recurrent satiric representation speaks to us about widespread Elizabethan fears and anxieties concerning debt and arrest. That sounds a lot like synchronic intertextuality, the nagging question of *Compter*'s relation to *Errors* notwithstanding. Likewise, the intertextual argument, the claim for theatergrams shared generally between late Italian *cinquecento* comedy and *The Comedy of Errors*, leaves us with questions best dispelled by the kind of identification of specific sources and means of transmission that are the province of traditional study. Both of these models make important contributions, one regarding allusive resonance, the other regarding generic composition, neither supplanting and each helping to complete the other.

Notes

1 *The Comedy of Errors*, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series. Subsequent references to *Errors* will be to this edition. The "Arden Shakespeare, Third Series Editorial Guidelines" (April, 2004) asks editors to address Shakespeare's use of sources (13d3), although approaches vary. The Arden *Errors* contains a section on "Sources and Influences," in order, first, to acknowledge *Errors*'s close adaptation of a farce by Plautus, *Menaechmi*, as well as part of his *Amphitryuo*; and, second, to highlight sources and influences, such as Italian sixteenth-century comedy and London urban pamphlets, not treated in prior editions.
2 See Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, esp. 1–26. Clubb describes in the development of sixteenth-century Italian comedy "the interchange and transformation of units, figures, relationships, actions, *topoi*, and framing patterns, gradually building a combinatory of theatergrams" (6). She explains theatergrams elsewhere as "a variety of interchangeable structural units or 'theatergrams' (characters, situations, actions, speeches, thematic patterns) which could be combined in dialogue and visual encounters to act out the fiction with verisimilitude" ("Italian Stories on the Stage," 35). The idea of the theatergram bears resemblance to the idea of the meme; for an influential early discussion of memes, see Dennett, "Memes and the Exploitation of Imagination."
3 For discussions of the problem of defining intertextuality see Machacek, "Allusion," esp. 523–25; see also Allen, *Intertextuality*. For an illuminating taxonomy of the subject, see Miola, "Seven Types of Intertextuality."
4 On the play's relationship to such literature, see van Elk, "Urban Misidentification." On Pinch and Harvey, see Tobin, "Dr Pinch and Gabriel Harvey."
5 See Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society* and Bailey, *Of Bondage*.
6 Concerning the date of *Errors*'s composition, Henning proposes that the play was written in mid-1594, perhaps not long before the theaters reopened in the fall (*The Variorum Comedy of Errors*, 304). I agree with that dating and also concur with Henning that *Errors* was composed likely for commercial performance at the public theater and not for private performance at the Gray's Inn Christmas revels (see Henning, 281); see Cartwright ed., *The Comedy of Errors*, Appendix 1. The text of *Errors* derives exclusively from the First Folio of 1623.
7 *Quip*, published in the year of Greene's death, offered the first extended satirical depiction of an arresting sergeant, although the figure had appeared, sometimes with negative connotations, in earlier Elizabethan publications. *Quip* was an instant success and enjoyed some six editions (with alterations) in 1592.
8 *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, vol. 11.
9 Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth*.
10 Hutton, *The Black Dog of Newgate*, sig. B3v.
11 James O. Halliwell, ed., *The Works of William Shakespeare*, vol. 2.
12 *Compter*, while reflecting a generic kind of writing, is the most developed of its type; no one proposes an ur-text. For Fennor to have been influenced by *Errors*, he must have had access to it, yet it was not published until 1623 and no performances circa 1617 are known.
13 The relationship between a Shakespearean play's date of composition and the play's sources can be vexed. Editors use likely sources to establish the date, and the date to rule in or rule out possible sources, so that a circular-like dependency can develop between the two.

14 Fennor, a Jacobean writer, was apparently imprisoned for debt in 1615–16, the inspiration for his *Compters Common-wealth*. Shakespeare died in retirement in 1616. For comments on *The Compters Common-wealth*, see Anhert, *The Rise of Prison Literature*, 198–99.
15 Knutson argues that *Errors* was revived in the public theater in the 1597–98 and 1602–3 seasons; *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company*, 62, 143.
16 Negative or stereotypical references to sergeants and officers occur, for example, in Robert Greene, *A Notable Discovery of Cosenage* (London, 1592); Luke Hutton, *The Black Dog of Newgate* (c. 1596); Everard Guilpin, *Skialetheia* (London, 1598); Thomas Middleton, *The Last Will and Testament of Laurence Lucifer* (London, 1604); Thomas Dekker and George Wilkins. *A Paradox in Praise of Sergeants* (1607); Thomas Dekker, *The Gull's Horn-Book* (London, 1609); and Samuel Rowlands, *Martin Markall, Beadle of Bridwell* (London, 1610). Some of those references are fleeting, but altogether they suggest widespread social awareness. In addition, venal officers or sergeants appear as characters in George Walpull's *The Tide Tarieth No Man* (London, 1576); John Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (c. 1590); Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part 2* (London, 1606); Thomas Dekker's *Westward Ho* (London, 1607); Thomas Middleton's *The Phoenix* (London, 1607); and Robert Wilson's *Ram Alley* (London, 1611).
17 See Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 49–63.
18 See also Herrick, *Italian Comedy in the Renaissance*, 165–209.
19 For Donatus's "On Comedy" and "On Drama" (the latter apparently written by Evanthius), see Preminger, *et al.*, eds., *Classical and Medieval Literary Criticism*, 301–9.
20 See, for example, Marrapodi, ed., Hoenselaars, assoc. ed., *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama*; Marrapodi, ed., *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality*; Marrapodi, ed., *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare & His Contemporaries*; Henke and Nicholson, eds., *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Drama*; Henke and Nicholson, eds., *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater*.
21 Miola, "Seven Types of Intertextuality," 20.
22 See Marrapodi, "Introduction: Intertextualizing Shakespeare's Texts," *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality*, 1–2; also Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 1–26.
23 On the elephant's boneyard of literary study, see Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Exorcists," 163; see also Bloom, *The Map of Misreading*, 17.
24 The leading edge of this movement has been Ashgate's Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies Series under the general editorship of Michele Marrapodi.
25 Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, *Vol. 2*, 261–62; on "Italian Players in England," see 261–65. Chambers speculates that the troupe may have been from Florence and Venice, 263.
26 See also Duncan-Jones, "Competing with Continentals," esp. 223–26.
27 See Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642*, 231–32.
28 On Jefferay as the probable author of *The Bugbears*, see Clark, 23–30.
29 Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, sig. A2v. Given his remark on lasciviousness, Whetstone seems to be referring to early rather than to late Italian *cinquecento* comedy.
30 Munday's play bears resemblances to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and may have influenced Shakespeare as he wrote *Macbeth*. On *Il Fedele* and *Dream*, see Louise George Clubb, "How Do We Know When Worlds Meet?," 282, n. 6. Giorgio Melchiori argues provocatively that Munday's adaptation provided the model for Shakespeare's romantic comedy; "In fair Verona," 100–111.

31 Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter.*
32 Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee,'* 121–23; for Lawrence's full discussion of Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian, the most comprehensive to date, see 118–76. Lawrence's argument for *Shrew*'s debt to Florio is anticipated by Elam, "Introductory Remarks," 17–18. On Italian inductions as predecessors and analogues to those in *Shrew*, see Fernando Cioni, "Italian Comedy in English Habits."
33 Besides those works already cited, see Redmond, *Shakespeare, Politics, and Italy.*
34 See Elam, "Introductory Remarks," 20–24.
35 Miola concludes that "Shakespeare probably read Ariosto, Giraldi Cinthio, Bandello, Fiorentino, Florio's conversation manuals and some plays in Italian"; *Shakespeare's Reading*, 168. See also Shaheen, "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Italian," 161–69.
36 Miola's argument stands in here for the perspective of synchronic intertextuality; it should be noted that he makes no claims regarding *The Comedy of Errors.*
37 See Clubb, introduction to Giambattista Della Porta, *Gli Duoi Fratelli Rivali / The Two Rival Brothers*, 30–40.
38 See, for example, Mares, introduction to *Much Ado About Nothing* (1988), 1. Humphreys, among other editors, notes Shakespeare's closeness to Bandello; see his introduction to *Much Ado About Nothing* (1981), 8–13. Unfortunately, recent editors of *Much Ado* have tended not to address its relationship to della Porta or to Italian comedy more generally.
39 Clubb, Introduction to *Gli Duoi Fratelli Rivali / The Two Rival Brothers*, 33.
40 The bed-trick also occurs in Italian novellas and, of course, in Plautus's *Amphitruo*, one of Shakespeare's sources for *Errors*.
41 A similar coyness occurs in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* over the question of how intimate the relations between Titania and Bottom become. Young denies sexual contact between Bottom and Titania; *Something of Great Constancy*, 157. Carroll rejects Young's conclusion; *The Metamorphoses of Shakespearean Comedy*, 142. Such matters are typically adjudicated in production.
42 For a thoughtful analysis of similarities and differences between the Italian comic tradition and a specific Shakespearean play, see Andrews, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Italian Pastoral," esp. 57–62. Andrews observes that although "the experiences offered to the audience by these two types of drama have little in common, they are nevertheless constructed out of theatergrams which are substantially the same" (61).
43 Pressler, "Intertextual Transformations." Pressler argues that the English-translated Italian novella may have served as the intermediary between *Twelfth Night* and *Gl'ingannati*, offering a middle ground that eases the differences between the two plays. In "Italian Stories," Clubb discusses the distillation of theatergrams from *commedia erudita* into *commedia dell'arte* scenarios and the cross-pollination of novellas and plays, each providing material for the other.

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9 Greek Sacrifice in Shakespeare's Rome

Titus Andronicus and *Iphigenia in Aulis*

Penelope Meyers Usher

Titus Andronicus is perhaps the most Greek of Shakespeare's Roman plays. To be sure, the title pages of the 1594 First Quarto and the 1600 Second Quarto announce the play as "The Most Lamentable *Romaine* Tragedie of Titus Andronicus" (my emphasis). And yes, the play opens in Rome, with the entry of the Roman Tribunes and Senators. As Bassianus makes his opening speech, he addresses "Romans, friends, followers, favourers of [his] right," meta-theatrically extending the site of Rome from the stage and into the London playhouse by including the play-goers as part of the audience for his speech ("Romans…").[1] The play's setting, in other words, is not ambiguous: we are reminded in every way possible that the scene is Rome. Throughout the play, Shakespeare not only draws on Roman political and legal contexts, but also on the literary heritage of Rome. He quotes Seneca, Ovid, and Horace and includes references to Virgil and Livy.[2] At first glance, *Titus* seems a purely—and emphatically—Roman play. Nonetheless, this chapter will argue that Greek tragedy has infiltrated unnoticed into in the midst of Shakespeare's Rome.

While critics are increasingly demonstrating the importance of Greek sources—and of Greek tragedy in particular—to early modern English playwrights, a play such as *Titus* that so explicitly announces itself as Roman seems an unlikely place to turn for Greek source study.[3] While *Titus* never overtly quotes Euripides, as it does Seneca, the depiction of ritual sacrifice and the killing of children in the play draws on specifically Greek literary conventions—in particular those of Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Why should we turn to Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* in connection with *Titus Andronicus*? An initial point of contact between the two plays comes via Shakespeare's (probable) co-author of *Titus*, George Peele, who produced a vernacular translation of Euripides's *Iphigenia* roughly a decade earlier and whose work is deeply marked by the models of Greek sacrifice in Euripides.[4] In addition to Peele's likely collaboration on the play, the literary forms and discourses in circulation in early modern England, permeating and inflecting drama even when not directly quoted or adapted—that is, early modern intertextuality—render *Iphigenia in Aulis* an important text to consider in conversation

with *Titus*. Considering the relation between *Titus* and *Iphigenia* gives new context to the way in which sacrificial violence is depicted in Shakespeare's play, revealing it to be more complex and troubled than critics have recognized thus far.

Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* was one of the most popular Greek tragedies in the Renaissance—appearing in twenty-two individual or partial editions (in addition to its inclusion in complete editions of Euripides), second only to Euripides's *Hecuba*, which appeared in thirty-seven.[5] *Iphigenia in Aulis* received four vernacular translations in the sixteenth century, second again only to *Hecuba* with seven.[6] It was one of the first two plays to be translated into Latin, alongside *Hecuba*, by Erasmus, who published the two plays together in a 1506 edition that would be frequently reprinted, and was very influential in England, and it was also the first Greek tragedy to be translated into English (ca. 1550–53) by Lady Jane Lumley as *The Tragedie of Iphigeneia*. All this to say: Euripides's *Iphigenia* was fairly well known in early modern England at the time *Titus* was composed.

The widespread exposure (whether first- or second-hand) of authors to Greek sources means that many plays carry the trace of these readings and thus interact and engage in dialog with their literary precedents. As a result, source study must work not just to "prove" sources, or examine sources explicitly referenced, but also to think about the open and fluid nature of early modern intertextuality. Whether or not Shakespeare read *Iphigenia* (although it is certainly possible that he did), whether or not he collaborated with Peele, who was deeply influenced by Euripides's play (although it is very likely indeed that he did), and while *Titus* is by no means a simple rewriting or adaptation thereof, *Titus* engages in complex ways with the depiction of sacrificial killing in Euripides's play. In other words, there are multiple ways in which Euripides's *Iphigenia* may have been transmitted and influenced *Titus*, whether via collaboration with Peele, or the general familiarity with Euripides's play in the period. My aim is not to argue definitively for what the avenue of transmission was, but rather to shed light on the various possible modes of transmission, and above all to show that regardless of how it was transmitted, there is a clear influence of Euripides's *Iphigenia* on Shakespeare's play. *Iphigenia in Aulis* acts as a tacit source, one exerting an unsaid—perhaps even unrealized—influence upon *Titus*.

On the level of plot, both Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Titus Andronicus* depict parents sacrificing their children. In Euripides, the seer Calchas tells Agamemnon that he must sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis in order that the Greek troops might set sail from Aulis and wage war with the Trojans for the return of Menelaus's wife Helen. Agamemnon and Menelaus debate the matter at length, and despite his distress, Agamemnon decides to go ahead with the sacrifice, calling on Iphigenia to come to Aulis under the pretense of being

married to Achilles. Upon arrival, the intended sacrifice is revealed, and Iphigenia, her mother Clytemnestra, and Achilles all attempt (unsuccessfully) to intercede and prevent the killing. The play concludes with Iphigenia going to her sacrifice.[7] In *Titus*, too, there are multiple sacrificial child killings: the play begins with the killing of Tamora's son Alarbus, followed by Titus slaying his own son Mutius, and concluding at the end of the play with Titus sacrificing his daughter Lavinia in the final scene. While the deaths of Mutius and Lavinia are the only two in which children are slain by a parent, there are many other instances in which characters weigh up the decision to sacrifice the children of others: namely, Titus's killing of Alarbus, Chiron, and Demetrius; Tamora's killing of Quintus and Martius; and Lucius's declared intent to kill Aaron's baby. Via these various killings (Alarbus, Mutius, Lavinia, Chiron, Demetrius, Quintus, Martius) *Titus* shows itself, much like Euripides's *Iphigenia*, to be interested in what it means to sacrifice a child.

My aim is not to deny the Senecan influence or the importance of Roman sources to *Titus*, but rather to argue that we should also seek out and evaluate possible Greek influences on the play, and that *Titus* might in fact draw more directly on the Greek tradition than most scholars have thus far considered. The recognition of these points of engagement between *Titus* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* will allow us to bring different ideas to bear on our understanding of Shakespeare—in this case, to our understanding of the meaning of sacrifice and of ritual killing in revenge tragedy.

George Peele's *Iphigenia*

There is continuing debate amongst scholars as to whether George Peele collaborated with Shakespeare in writing *Titus Andronicus*, and as to the extent of their collaboration.[8] However, enough critics are convinced of Peele's participation in composing *Titus*, myself among them, to warrant discussion of his classical background and his connection to *Iphigenia*. George Peele (1556–90) was born into an academic environment, with a father (James Peele) who taught at a London grammar school and who was well known for composing two important works on bookkeeping.[9] After attending the grammar school where his father taught, Peele went on to read for his BA (1577) and MA (1579) at Christ Church, Oxford, where he continued residence until 1581.[10] It was at Oxford that Peele became active in university drama and translated Euripides's *Iphigenia* into English.[11] Though the text of Peele's *Iphigenia* translation is lost, we know of it from an epistle written by William Gager, a neo-Latin dramatist and fellow student at Oxford. In his epistle, entitled "In Iphigenia[m] Georgij Peeli Anglicanis Versibus Reddita[m]," Gager urges Peele to "go on binding the ancient poets to [himself]… each of these languages [Latin and Greek] is beyond a great number of men."[12] The poem praises

Peele and his translation without providing any specific details about its content. Gager does, however, explicitly refer to Euripides, confirming that it was one of Euripides's *Iphigenia* plays that Peele had translated. Gager writes that were Euripides alive, he would give thanks to Peele for his Iphigenia: "viveret Euripides, tibi se debere putaret, / Ipsa tibi grates Iphigenia daret" [were Euripides alive, he would consider himself very much in your debt, / Iphigenia herself would give thanks to you].[13] Though we do not know definitively which of Euripides's two *Iphigenias* Peele translated (that is to say *Iphigenia in Aulis* or *Iphigenia in Tauris*), it is most likely to have been *Iphigenia in Aulis* because of its popularity in the period, as discussed earlier.[14]

Peele knew Greek very well. He was unquestionably familiar with the Greek tragic corpus from his studies at Oxford and his translation of *Iphigenia*. Thus, if Peele did collaborate with Shakespeare in composing *Titus* (which seems very likely), it is important to consider Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* as a text that informs its action. Even if Peele did not collaborate in composing *Titus*, Shakespeare's own familiarity with Peele's work still makes the latter's connection to Greek tragedy relevant to our study of the play. Jonathan Bate, who has dismissed Peele as co-author of *Titus*, has argued instead that Shakespeare was imitating Peele's work.[15] If this is the case, Shakespeare is (perhaps unknowingly) drawing on the depiction of sacrifice in *Iphigenia in Aulis* as it comes up multiples times in other works by Peele, such as *The Battle of Alcazar*.[16] While scholars have debated Peele's role in *Titus* since the seventeenth century, knowing of his connection to Euripides, only Tanya Pollard, who has recently argued that the allusions to Hecuba in *Titus* suggest Euripides's influence, has placed Euripides alongside *Titus* to see how closely the two line up.[17] Studying the representation of sacrifice in *Titus* will reinforce the play's Euripidean influence, and perhaps also provide further reason to consider Peele's role in its composition.[18]

Hiketeia and Tragic Supplication

Acts of supplication frame the various moments of sacrificial killing in *Titus Andronicus*: parents beg for the lives of their children to be spared. These moments conform strikingly to the conventions of *hiketeia* (ritual supplication) in *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Supplication, defined most simply, is a form of desperate or intense pleading or begging. It is a ritual in which desperate people compel the ones they supplicate to save them.[19] In Greek tragedy (as well as epic), supplication involves a set of physical and rhetorical gestures of self-abasement. The physical gesture is most commonly represented as follows: the suppliant crouches (kneeling or sitting) and touches the knees of the person being addressed—a type of physical contact that is unique to supplication.[20] This physical posture is coupled with a set of rhetorical gestures: the suppliant expresses his or

her inferiority verbally, stressing both his or her own defenselessness and their lack of any claim to *timê* (honor or worth), while at the same time exaggerating the *timê* of the person being supplicated.[21] In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Euripides repeatedly stages acts of supplication—ones that are met with ambiguous success, since Iphigenia is led off to the sacrifice at the end of the play. The failure of *hiketeia* in Euripides serves to dramatize the horror of sacrifice; it brings a father to put his innocent child to death, to the great dismay of the play's Chorus, its protagonists, and (arguably) its audience. In taking up this model, Shakespeare's play looks to Greek tragedy for a way of articulating, in turn, the horror and the violence of sacrificial killing.

Hiketeia features throughout the tragic corpus of Euripides—it occurs twenty-five times in his nineteen extant plays.[22] His *Iphigenia in Aulis* presents several important instances of this practice—indeed, the various moments of supplication in Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis* are exemplary models of this mode. The structure of *hiketeia* detailed in the previous paragraph is carried out very carefully and attentively in the play. I will describe two examples. From early on in the play, before Clytemnestra and Iphigenia enter the scene, Agamemnon is aware and anxious about being addressed in supplication, saying "I think that she will supplicate [ἱκετεύσειν] me" (l.462).[23] Agamemnon's fears come to be realized once mother and daughter learn of the sacrifice that he intends. In the play's first instance of supplication, Clytemnestra goes through the various steps of supplication, addressing Achilles. She first carries out the physical gesture of crouching, abasing herself, and making contact with Achilles's knees, saying "I shall not be prevented by a sense of shame from falling at your knees (προσπεσεῖν τὸ σὸν γόνυ). I am a mortal and you are a goddess' son: why should I give myself airs?" (l.900–901).[24] In this line, she exaggerates the *timê* of the man she supplicates while emphasizing her own lack of *timê*: she contrasts Achilles's great stature as a "goddess' son" (θεᾶς γεγῶτος—born of a goddess) and her own humble stature as a mere mortal (θνητός).[25] Next, she emphasizes her defenselessness, saying "I have no other altar to flee to except your knees, and no friend stands near me" (l. 911–12), [26] and continues to emphasize her helplessness and to call for his pity by saying that "if you bring yourself to hold your hand over me in protection, I am saved. Otherwise, I am lost" (l.915–16).[27] Clytemnestra as suppliant places herself (and Iphigenia) in Achilles's hands in order to appeal for his mercy—they will either be lost (σεσώμεθα) or saved (οὐ σεσώμεθα, literally "not lost") depending on whether he responds to her supplication. Achilles in turn responds appropriately, vowing to do everything in his power, even give up his own life, to protect Iphigenia.

The second act of supplication occurs between Clytemnestra, Iphigenia, and Agamemnon and follows the same rhetorical structure. In order to help save Iphigenia, Achilles instructs Clytemnestra to supplicate Agamemnon, advising her to "first beg him not to kill his child" (l.1015).[28] The

verb Achilles uses here is ἱκετεύω, as above, to approach as a suppliant, thereby urging her to engage in the same formal ritual by which she addressed him. While Clytemnestra does not engage in a formal supplication of her husband, as she does with Achilles, she does beg and plead with him more informally. In a speech lasting roughly sixty lines, Clytemnestra presents a series of arguments to Agamemnon for why he should spare their daughter. This speech is followed, then, by a more formal act of supplication by Iphigenia. Iphigenia addresses her father, saying "as a suppliant I lay my body at your knees, the body she gave birth to. Do not kill me before my time... so have a care for me and take pity on my life" (l.1216–46).[29] Here, Iphigenia invokes her physical gesture of supplication, "laying her body at his knees"; she also appeals to her father's pity by invoking her youth ("before my time") and her kinship status (her body to which Clytemnestra gave birth). The appeal for Agamemnon to "take pity on [her] life" (κατοίκτιρον βίου) is important: literally meaning "to have mercy," the verb κατοικτείρω is a very strong appeal to Agamemnon to save her life. Agamemnon, however, refuses his daughter's supplication. This refusal of supplication is a rare occurrence in Euripides, the only other examples being Menelaus in *Andromache*, Odysseus in *Hecuba*, and Teiresias in *Phoenecian Women*, and it is even more striking in that it involves the refusal not of an enemy, but of a daughter.[30]

The act of supplication in *Iphigenia in Aulis* is rooted in the devotion to protecting one's child and the powerful bonds of parenthood. When supplicating Achilles, Clytemnestra asks "is there anything for which I ought to be more in earnest than my daughter?" (l.902) and the Chorus later echoes, "Being a mother is strangely powerful, and it exercises a great charm on the heart. To toil on behalf of one's children is a trait everyone shares" (l.917–18).[31] Euripides dramatizes the natural instinct for a parent to attempt anything in their power to protect the life of their child—and supplication is the most viable means to do so.

This same parental desperation, motivating supplication in the face of a child's death, appears in *Titus Andronicus*. The first instance of supplication in *Titus* occurs in Scene 1, in which Tamora, the captive Queen of the Goths, pleads with Titus to spare the life of her son Alarbus, who is to be sacrificed for the sake of the Andronici who died in battle. Tamora is in many ways a parallel figure to Clytemnestra: not only are both women in the position of losing their child to sacrifice, and vowing revenge upon the offending party, but both women have been subjected to violence by the men they supplicate. Like Tamora, who is brought back to Rome as a captive in the wake of violent warfare, Clytemnestra has suffered a similar violent capture. In her address to Agamemnon, Clytemnestra invokes this violent past, saying "my first reproach to you is this, that you married me against my will and took me by force, killing my former husband Tantalus. My baby you hurled to the ground, tearing it violently from my breast" (l.1148–52).[32] Tamora, like Clytemnestra

before, begins her supplication of Titus by recalling the violence that he has inflicted upon her: “Sufficeth not that we are brought to Rome, / To beautify thy triumphs and return, / Captive to thee and to thy Roman yoke…” (1.1.112–14). Having evoked her position of defenselessness, and victimization at his hands, Tamora goes on to beg Titus as follows:

> …Gracious conqueror,
> Victorious Titus, rue the tears I shed,
> A mother’s tears in passion for her son:
> And if thy sons were ever dear to thee,
> O, think my son to be as dear to me!
> … draw near [the gods] then in being merciful;
> Sweet mercy is nobility’s true badge
> Thrice noble Titus, spare my first-born son.
>
> (1.1.107–23)

Tamora praises Titus, exaggerating his honor (his *timê*), as we saw in the Euripidean supplications, by addressing him first as “gracious conqueror” and “victorious Titus” and later as “thrice noble Titus.” As she delivers this line, Tamora probably kneels as suppliant. Indeed, her subsequent line (“what ‘tis to let a queen / Kneel in the streets and beg for grace in vain” [1.1.459–60]) implies that she is kneeling as she pleads, and Henry Peacham’s famous drawing depicting the staging of this scene likewise pictures a kneeling suppliant Tamora.[33] After completing the first two elements of supplication (physical abasement, and the exaggeration of Titus’s honor), Tamora then pleads with Titus to be merciful and take pity (just as Clytemnestra pleads with Achilles), calling on him to “draw near [the gods] then in being merciful; / Sweet mercy is nobility’s true badge / Thrice noble Titus, spare my first-born son.” Tamora’s appeal to Titus to “draw near the gods” in being merciful calls to mind Clytemnestra’s appeal to Achilles’s status as son of a goddess (θεᾶς γεγῶτος). Her repetition (twice) of “noble”/“nobility” continues to stress Titus’s *timê*, and her repetition of the words “mercy”/“merciful” recalls Iphigenia’s plea for mercy (κατοικτείρω). Finally, Tamora invokes her parental love and devotion to her sons, through which she hopes to find sympathy in Titus—her son is as dear to her, she claims, as Titus’s are to him. The comparison “thy sons to thee” and “my sons to me” serves as a basis for audience involvement and sympathy as well—Tamora’s supplication, directed at Titus, would resonate with the other parents in the playhouse. (We might think here of the Euripidean Chorus’s claim, quoted above, that “to toil on behalf of one’s children is a trait *everyone* shares.”) Her “mothers’ tears in passion for her son” recall those of Clytemnestra and the motherly love stressed by both Clytemnestra and the Chorus in Euripides. Like Clytemnestra’s supplication, however, Tamora’s falls upon deaf ears, for Titus dismisses her pleas and takes her son offstage to be hewn apart and sacrificed.

Titus, in turn, will later engage in an act of supplication that falls upon deaf ears. In Act 3, Scene 1, Titus petitions the Roman tribunes to spare the lives of his sons Martius and Quintus, who have been wrongly accused of murdering Bassianus. As with Tamora's Act 1 supplication, Titus's supplication on behalf of his sons closely follows the Euripidean model:

> Hear me, grave fathers! Noble tribunes, stay!
> For pity of mine age [...]
> Be pitiful to my condemned sons,
> Whose souls is not corrupted as 'tis thought [...]
>
> *Andronicus lieth down and the Judges pass by him.*
>
> For these two, tribunes, in the dust I write
> My heart's deep languor and my soul's sad tears [...]
> [...] O reverend tribunes, O gentle aged men,
> Unbind my sons, reverse the doom of death,
> And let me say, that never wept before,
> My tears are now prevailing orators.
>
> (3.1.1–26)

Titus not only crouches, following the physical self-abasement required in Greek supplication, but goes so far as to lie down on the ground before the Tribunes he supplicates. Like Tamora, he emphasizes and exaggerates the *timê* of his audience, calling them "grave fathers," "noble tribunes," "reverend tribunes," and "gentle aged men." He asks them "for pity" of his age, and to "be pitiful" to his sons—this repetition in calling for pity again evokes Iphigenia's "κατοικτείρω." Titus emphasizes his passionate tears and desperation, as we have seen done by the other suppliants thus far examined, and evokes "his heart's deep languor" and his "soul's sad tears." His claim that his tears are now his "prevailing orators" recalls Iphigenia's words when supplicating her father: "But now all the skill I have is in my tears, and these I will give you: that is all I can do" (l.1214–15).[34] Of course, both Titus and Iphigenia prove, through the rhetoric of their supplication, that they know how to exploit words, as well as tears, to plead their cause. Supplication is a procedure both for the hapless pitiable and the intelligently manipulative; it is a ritual act, but also a practice that is highly rhetorical. Titus seems conscious of this, as did Tamora earlier, as do their Euripidean predecessors. The tears of both Titus and Iphigenia, and the claim that the suppliant has only tears to speak for them, serve to reinforce a position of helplessness and desperation. As was the case with Clytemnestra, Iphigenia, and Tamora, however, Titus's supplication falls upon deaf ears; the Tribunes walk past him without responding, and later in the same scene, Titus receives the heads of his two sons as proof that they have been killed. Titus's failed appeal—unlike those of the female suppliants—conveys

a sort of poetic justice, punishing him for failing to respond properly to Tamora's earlier supplication. Even if there is some sense of poetic justice, the failure of supplication in *Titus* calls attention to the danger of sacrificial violence taken to an extreme. Even if Titus must be punished for disregarding Tamora's supplication, his dead sons Martius and Quintus are innocent victims in this exchange of ritual violence. The scenes of failed supplication in both *Titus* and *Iphigenia*, in which suppliants prove powerless to stop the impending violence, convey the sheer horror of sacrifice without constraints.[35]

Irreligious Piety: The Radical Ambiguity of Sacrifice

In addition to its staging of Euripidean supplication, *Titus* seems to draw on the model of Greek tragedy to question in various other contexts whether and when violence is justified and what ends it serves. Whereas Senecan tragedy—most often looked to as a model for *Titus Andronicus* and for early modern revenge tragedy in general—stages conflict between forces that have often been seen as unambiguous, Greek tragedy opens debate and stages problems that are much harder to resolve in clear terms.[36] With the exception, perhaps, of Aaron, *Titus*, likewise, does not always make it easy to determine who is justified and who is unjustified in their acts of violence, sacrifice, and revenge. Instead, *Titus* raises complicated questions about legitimate versus illegitimate violence; revenge as "wild justice" (as Francis Bacon refers to it in his essay "On Revenge") versus an ordered series of sacrifices.[37] *Titus*'s tragic model is not Senecan—it is Greek.

Both *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Titus Andronicus* stage a debate about when piety becomes impious. Euripides questions Agamemnon's decision to sacrifice his daughter, presenting prolonged debates between Agamemnon and Menelaus. As Nancy Rabinowitz puts it, their dispute over motives leads to "a radical ambiguity of right and wrong."[38] Euripides presents this ambiguity through his choice of words used to describe the sacrifice as well. As Horst-Dieter Blume points out, when the Old Servant reveals to Clytemnestra that her daughter is to be killed, "he does not speak of a ritual sacrifice to a goddess, but states categorically that Agamemnon is about to commit an act of murder. The father will kill his child with his own hands!"[39] In fact, Blume argues, Agamemnon most often uses secular and legal terms to describe the sacrifice, obscuring the language of ritual; Iphigenia, likewise, refers to her impending death as murder. Rabinowitz, too, comments that "merely counting the play's uses of the words for murder and sacrifice reveals… that the interpretation of the event is not stable, and that from Agamemnon's point of view as well as Iphigenia's it is frequently a murder."[40] Euripides's play is not a clear-cut staging of right and wrong, but rather an inquiry into when it is right to sacrifice to the gods—or even *if* it is

right to do so. It interrogates the fine line between lawless killing and lawful sacrifice, between murder and sanctioned violence.

This same radical ambiguity appears in Titus's "irreligious piety" and *Titus*'s struggle to contain and regulate violent sacrifice. When Titus justifies the killing of Tamora's son Alarbus in the first scene of the play, he states that "for their brethren slain, / Religiously [the dead Andronici] ask a sacrifice" (1.1.126–27). Tamora famously responds to this, "O cruel, irreligious piety!" thereby condemning and highlighting the hypocrisy of Titus's "religious sacrifice" (1.1.133). Piety, from the Latin *pietas*, was a Roman virtue by which one respected responsibilities to the gods, country, and kin. This is very much the lens through which Titus conceives of his actions; Alarbus must die, he claims, "t'appease [the] groaning shadows [of his sons] that are gone" (1.1.129). While Titus claims to make his sacrifice religiously, he nonetheless asks Tamora to "pardon" him (1.1.124), thereby acknowledging sympathy with her position, or perhaps recognizing himself the irreligion of his own piety. By referring to Titus's piety as "irreligious," Tamora points to the conflict between the horrific violence of murder and the idea of justifying this killing by posing it as a form of virtue, right, or justice. The inherent contradiction of these ideas, as demonstrated in Tamora's line, allows the play to ask whether sacrifice is, or can ever be justified, even within the ancient context in which the audience is asked to frame its judgments. The juxtaposition of the sacrifice of Alarbus with Titus's killing of his own son, Mutius, several lines later also calls attention to this conflict. While it is easy to write Tamora off as a villain in the play, as she enacts her cruel and vicious revenge over the subsequent acts, her supplication in the first scene and her identification of Titus's own questionable use of violence ("irreligious piety") position her also as a victim, as a mother who has lost her son. The play, in this way, leads us to ask whether she is any less justified in her revenge than is Titus. Or rather, whether Titus is any less unjust than Tamora in enacting his.

Other moments in *Titus* stage a similar debate over whether and when sacrifice is just, resonating with Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis*. In Euripides, Iphigenia is to be killed so that Menelaus and the Greek army might go to Troy to retrieve Helen. Because of the infidelity and wrongful behavior of his wife, Menelaus's innocent niece is expected to give up her life. Throughout the play, various characters profess the injustice of sacrificing Iphigenia's life for this cause. In his debate with Menelaus early in the play, Agamemnon states "I will not kill my children. It shall never be that you enjoy undeserved happiness because you have punished your wicked wife while I am worn away by nights and days in tears because of lawless and wicked acts against my own children" (l. 396–99).[41] While Agamemnon here emphasizes his own suffering (in contrast with Menelaus's "undeserved happiness"), rather than the suffering of Iphigenia, he points to the injustice of killing a child that has no part in the wicked deeds of Menelaus's wife; to kill Iphigenia would be "lawless and wicked."

Later, Menelaus changes heart and states, "besides, pity for the poor girl entered my heart when I considered that she is my kinswoman and is about to be sacrificed for the sake of my marriage. What does your daughter have to do with Helen?" (l.491–94), yet again stressing that Iphigenia has no part in the battle over Helen and to sacrifice her for the sake of Menelaus's marriage is unjust.[42] Finally, Clytemnestra herself berates Agamemnon, saying (ironically) "What a fine thing, to pay for a bad woman in the coin of your own children, buying what is most hateful at the cost of what you love best" (l. 1169–70), claiming that Iphigenia is mere currency, being treated as an object of unfair exchange.[43] In all of these cases, the motivation for killing Iphigenia is professed to be unfit or inadequate to justify her sacrifice.

The killing of Mutius by his father in Act 1 of *Titus* receives much the same response. When Bassianus snatches Lavinia (to whom he has been betrothed) after Titus has agreed to marry her instead to Saturninus, Mutius blocks Titus's path in order to protect the fleeing couple. Titus responds in rage, asking his son to move, and then stabbing him.[44] Though Titus stands behind his action—criticizing Mutius for having opposed him—all others around him condemn it. Lucius tells Titus, "My lord, you are unjust, and more than so, / In wrongful quarrel you have slain your son" (1.1.297–98), and Marcus echoes these same words, saying "O Titus, see, O, see, what thou hast done! / In a bad quarrel slain a virtuous son" (1.1.346–47). The reference to Mutius as a "virtuous child" recalls Clytemnestra's language regarding Iphigenia's virtue and innocence. Both Marcus and Lucius explicitly condemn Titus for the killing, calling it a "wrongful quarrel" and a "bad quarrel." The play condemns not just the crime of killing a child, but the error of doing so for the wrong reasons.

The question of consent and self-sacrifice, as it concerns the two daughters Iphigenia and Lavina, also troubles the distinction between just and unjust killing. In the final moments before she is taken to be killed, Iphigenia ceases to supplicate her father and becomes a consenting victim to her sacrifice.[45] She proclaims, "I am resolved to die; and want to do so gloriously, banishing all ignoble thoughts from my mind…I give my body to Greece. Sacrifice me, sack Troy!" (l.1375–98).[46] Indeed, Iphigenia goes on to metatheatrically "direct" her own sacrifice around line 1470. She chooses to be glorified for sacrificing herself for the sake of Greece and becomes a consenting victim to her death that is to follow. Nancy Rabinowitz argues that "by willingly sacrificing herself, Iphigenia seems to avoid her passive status as sacrificial object, and it is precisely the allure of such an expression of her individuality that appeals to her."[47] It seems indeed plausible that Iphigenia is attracted to the prospect of exerting some agency in what seems more and more likely to be inevitable, thereby gaining glory and respect for aiding Greece. Nonetheless, she consents to her sacrifice only after her supplications have fallen on deaf ears and when she will be forced to die anyway. Her

statement "κατθανεῖν μέν μοι δέδοκται" (l. 1375), translated above as "I am resolved to die," is indeterminate between "it has been decided for me to die, so I will go along as a passive victim and do it as well as I can," and "I have chosen/it seems best for me to die, and I will continue accordingly as an acting, deliberate person."[48] Her willingness to die is thus problematic, and rather than providing closure and justifying Agamemnon's decision to kill her, it raises further questions about how we are to feel about her death.[49]

Lavinia's death, likewise, poses questions about what it means to consent to sacrifice and how we are to read the agency of the sacrificial victim. Her death occurs in the play's final scene, when Titus kills her in order to repair his honor and absolve her shame after her rape. While Lavinia does not express an emphatic desire to be sacrificed, as Iphigenia does, there is arguably an element of consent on her part. Lorraine Helms is one of several scholars who see Lavinia as a consenting victim to being killed by her father's hand, claiming that Lavinia's silence "proclaims the victim's consent."[50] I find Helms's claim to be problematic, however; Lavinia has no choice but to be silent, having lost her tongue and her means to object vocally to her sacrifice. Furthermore, the killing takes place in a split second, rather than in a long, drawn-out process as in Euripides, giving Lavinia less time to react or object. It is not clear either, however, that Lavinia objects to being killed. In other words, Lavinia's consent to sacrifice is problematic and difficult to read. Whereas earlier in the play Lavinia seizes the determination to articulate her story (she writes with her mouth when she can no longer speak with it, inscribing the names of her rapists in the sand with a stick and pointing to the Procne and Philomela story in Ovid), by the end of the play her silence when her father sacrifices her is difficult to interpret. The text provides leeway in interpreting Lavinia's response to her sacrifice depending on how it is performed. In Deborah Warner's 1987 production, Titus abruptly snaps Lavinia's neck; in Mark Rucker's 1988 Santa Cruz production, in contrast, Lavinia steps towards Titus as he holds out a knife, "actively embracing both her father and death"; and in Julie Taymor's 1999 film adaptation of the play, Lavinia walks to her father and gently lays her head on his hand, and he caresses her before suddenly breaking her neck.[51] Some of this ambiguity is perhaps resolved, however, or at least complicated by the specter of Iphigenia in the play. Allowing Iphigenia's consent—problematic though it is—to inflect Lavinia's sacrifice by her father at the end of *Titus* changes the implications of the killing. In the shadow of Iphigenia's resolution to die, Lavinia's death potentially suggests agency and choice, rather than passivity; it implies glory in sacrificing herself for the honor of her family, rather than gratuitous death. But like Iphigenia's, Lavinia's death also refuses a clear-cut legibility. It refuses to be read purely as either

victimization or choice, as irreligious murder or pious sacrifice; it raises questions rather than resolves them.

To conclude, sacrificial violence in *Titus Andronicus* proves more problematic than we thought in light of the influence of Greek tragedy and Euripides's *Iphigenia*. Euripides opens up debate about the sacrificial killing of children—about its ethics, its stipulations, its consequences—without providing any easy answers. Bringing *Iphigenia in Aulis* and Euripides to bear on our reading of *Titus* highlights the extent to which Shakespeare's play in turn problematizes sacrificial killing. In view of its Greek roots, *Titus* seems not just to participate unthinkingly in a formulaic tit-for-tat revenge plot, but instead to present a complex and confused web of right and wrong, of ritual and violence. *Titus* seems to ask whether sacrifice can ever be justified, how we are to feel about the sacrifices we witness, and how those being sacrificed feel about it. Tamora becomes not just a villain, but a victim;[52] Lavinia's death becomes a confused mixture of self-sacrifice and irreligiously pious killing. The tragedy in *Titus* thus becomes more complex, rather than adhering to a Senecan model that is ultimately more moralistic and much less ambiguous about right and wrong than that of Euripides and the Greeks. In this light, taking Greek tragedy into account in discussing Shakespeare's sources seems important. More than allowing us to identify the source of a given quote or reference, an awareness of the play's Greek inheritance fundamentally changes our reading and perception of the play's action. The play's many Iphigenias—Alarbus, Mutius, Lavinia, Chiron, Demetrius, Quintus, Martius—haunt the stage as children sacrificed in a "wrongful quarrel." The blood-stained hands of the parents that sacrifice them elicit a mixture of sorrow, sympathy, and horror at the act.

Notes

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1 William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 1.1.9. All subsequent citations will be to this edition.
2 On the Roman sources in *Titus*, particularly Seneca, see Chaudhuri, "Classical Quotation in Titus Andronicus"; Law, "The Roman Background of 'Titus Andronicus'"; Liebler, "Getting It All Right"; Brower, *Hero and Saint: Shakespeare and the Graeco-Roman Tradition*; Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy*, 11–32; and others.
3 For scholarship that is working to bring Greek texts to bear on our readings of Shakespeare, see Pollard, "Greek Playbooks and Dramatic Forms"; Pollard, "Conceiving Tragedy"; Pollard, "Romancing the Greeks"; Pollard, "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?"; Hutchins and Lofgreen, "More Greek than Jonson thought? Euripides' *Medea* in *The Merchant of Venice*"; Nuttall, "Action at a Distance"; Silk, "Shakespeare and Greek Tragedy"; and others.
4 On the Euripidean influence in Peele's work, see especially Boyd, "Mutius: An Obstacle Removed.'" Boyd observes that Peele was "notorious for his

repetitions of subject not only within plays but from work to work…and ever after [translating Euripides' *Iphigenia*], from his earliest extant work, *The Tale of Troy*, seemed predisposed to write of sacrifice, and even of the sacrifice of children by parents" (203). See also Reeves, "The Cause of the Trojan War"; Gilbert, "The Source of Peele's 'Arraignment of Paris'"; and Beard, "The Dramatic Art of George Peele," 46.

5 Pollard, "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare," 1064; Saladin, "Euripide Luthérien?"; and Hirsch, "The Printing Tradition of Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes."

6 Pollard, "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare," 1064; Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, 512–15.

7 Though Iphigenia goes to be sacrificed, the play's ending is ambiguous: the girl's body disappears at the altar, replaced by the body of a slain deer. On the ambiguous ending, and the problems of textual transmission and missing fragments surrounding it, see Blume, "Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*," 186–87.

8 On Peele's collaboration on the play see, most recently, Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, esp. Chapter 3, "*Titus Andronicus* with George Peele." Vickers argues that Peele composed Act 1, and that he probably wrote 2.1 and 2.2, and possibly 4.1, as well. Bate, in contrast, has argued that the play was composed wholly by Shakespeare. Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 79–83.

9 Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 139.

10 Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 139; Horne, *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele*, 37.

11 Vickers assumes that Peele translated the play from Latin (rather than Greek) into English, but I disagree with this assumption, given that Gager praises Peele's Greek in his poem. Furthermore, Peele would have learned Greek while at Christ College, as it was part of the standard curriculum (Horne, *Life and Minor Works*, 35).

12 "perge precor priscos tibi devincire poetas […] graeca quide[m] doctis, etia[m] Romana legantur: / sed tamen innumeros utraq[ue] lingua latet." Full text qtd. in Horne, *Life and Minor Works*, 43–44. Autograph manuscript, BM MS Add. 22,583, fols. 48–49.

13 My translation.

14 Horne, Boyd, and Pollard all argue that Peele's translation was *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Horne, *Life and Minor Works*, 42–43; Boyd, "Mutius: An Obstacle Removed," 203; and Pollard, "Hecuba."

15 Bate writes, "the problem with all the arguments based on verbal parallels is that imitation is always as likely as authorship… [it] seems likely that Peele coined the word 'Palliament'… What follows from this need not be that Peele wrote the first act of *Titus*, but rather that Shakespeare read the poem and snapped up the word." Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 82.

16 On this theme of sacrifice in Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, particularly as it echoes the depiction of child sacrifice in *Titus* and Euripides, see Boyd, "Mutius: An Obstacle Removed," 203.

17 In *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, Vickers summarizes all of the critics who have argued for Peele's authorship since the Restoration. Pollard has written about *Titus*'s debt to Euripides in the context of its two references to Hecuba. According to Pollard, the allusions to Hecuba in *Titus* suggest Euripides's influence both because of the reference to the revenge taking place "in his tent" (1.1.138), for Ovid does not depict Hecuba's violence taking place in a tent, and no other classical author represents her revenge at all,

and because of their emphasis on how loss can instigate revenge, rather than focusing merely on her suffering and grief. Both Tamora and Lavinia, she argues persuasively, imitate Hecuba in "converting grief to anger and revenge, escalating the passionate action that animates the play." Pollard also notes that the references to Hecuba in *Titus* appear in the sections now widely attributed to Peele, and that Peele's depiction of Hecuba in his *Tale of Troy* suggests that he was familiar with her revenge in Euripides's play. Tanya Pollard, "Hecuba."

18 While arguing definitively for Peele's co-authorship of *Titus* is not my aim in the current chapter, the points of connection between *Titus* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* that I will discuss in the coming pages might indeed add further weight to the notion that Peele collaborated in composing the play, and thus contribute to the larger scholarly debate on this topic. Source study in this case might help to resolve the question of Peele's collaboration.

19 The most thorough study of supplication in the works of Euripides remains Mercier, "Suppliant Ritual in Euripidean Tragedy," 2. On Greek supplication, see also Gould, "Hiketeia"; Naiden, *Ancient Supplication*; Rehm, "The Staging of Suppliant Plays"; Brill, "Violence and Vulnerability in Aeschylus's Suppliants"; and others. On the English Renaissance reception of classical supplication see Whittington, "Milton's Poetics of Supplication"; and Whittington, *Renaissance Suppliants*.

20 While supplication at times takes place without any of these gestures, this is nonetheless the most common form. It is possible to go through the verbal form of supplication without the physical act, though the nature of the act seems to depend essentially on the physical contact with parts of the body that have a particular sanctity. Gould, "Hiketeia," 76–77. In its standard form, the ritual requires continual, literal touching. This touching is not present textually in *Titus* (although it may well have been staged this way).

21 Gould, "Hiketeia," 94.

22 Mercier, "Suppliant Ritual in Euripidean Tragedy," 1.

23 οἶμαι γάρ νιν ἱκετεύσειν. Unless otherwise noted, all citations and translations from the Greek are from Euripides, *Euripides Volume VI*.

24 οὐκ ἐπαιδεσθήσομαι 'γὼ προσπεσεῖν τὸ σὸν γόνυ/ θνητὸς ἐκ θεᾶς γεγῶτος· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ σεμνύνομαι;

25 Clytemnestra exaggerates Achilles's honor at other points in her supplication, saying for example "Ah, ah! How can my words avoid praising you excessively? How can I avoid falling short and losing your favor?" (l. 977–78) (φεῦ· πῶς ἄν σ' ἐπαινέσαιμι μὴ λίαν λόγοις, / μηδ' ἐνδεὴς τοῦδ' ἀπολέσαιμι τὴν χάριν;). She also emphasizes at other points the suppliant gesture of physical abasement, asking Achilles if he would have Iphigenia supplicate him and abase herself as well—"do you want her to grasp your knees as a suppliant?" (l. 992) (βούλῃ νιν ἱκέτιν σὸν περιπτύξαι γόνυ;).

26 οὐκ ἔχω βωμὸν καταφυγεῖν ἄλλον ἢ τὸ σὸν γόνυ, / οὐδὲ φίλος οὐδεὶς πέλας μοι.

27 ἢν δὲ τολμήσῃς σύ μου / χεῖρ' ὑπερτεῖναι, σεσώμεθ'· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ σεσώμεθα.

28 ἱκέτευ' ἐκεῖνον πρῶτα μὴ κτείνειν τέκνον.

29 ἱκετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν / τὸ σῶμα τοὐμόν, ὅπερ ἔτικτεν ἥδε σοι· / μή μ' ἀπολέσῃς ἄωρον· [...] ἀλλ' αἴδεσαί με καὶ κατοίκτιρον βίου.

30 Mercier, "Suppliant Ritual in Euripidean Tragedy," 158. For a detailed analysis of these two supplications in the play, see Mercier, "Suppliant Ritual in Euripidean Tragedy," 153–60.

31 ἢ τινος σπουδαστέον μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τέκνου πέρι; and δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα / πᾶσίν τε κοινόν ἐσθ' ὑπερκάμνειν τέκνων.

32 πρῶτον μέν, ἵνα σοι πρῶτα τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσω, / ἔγημας ἄκουσάν με κἄλαβες βίᾳ,/ τὸν πρόσθεν ἄνδρα Τάνταλον κατακτανών· / βρέφος τε τοὐμὸν σῷ προσούρισας πάλῳ,/ μαστῶν βιαίως τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποσπάσας.

33 See Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 134, n. 107. The Peacham illustration of the supplication is labeled, "enter Tamora pleadinge for her sonnes going to execution," and Bate argues that Peacham would have read the play and sketched a quasi-emblematic representation of it, thereby highlighting the importance of supplication to contemporary reception of the play. Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 38 and 41. This first supplication in 1.1 is in a scene now widely thought to be composed by Peele.

34 νῦν δέ, τἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ σοφά,/ δάκρυα παρέξω· ταῦτα γὰρ δυναίμεθ᾽ ἄν.

35 On the "horrific" nature of sacrifice in Euripides, see for example Gregory, "Euripidean Tragedy," 262: "what stays with the audience is a sense of divine vindictiveness and of the waste of young lives."

36 In Seneca "characters are white or black, right against wrong, and not one mixture of right and wrong against another mixture of right and wrong, as in Greek tragedy," according to Hadas in "The Roman Stamp of Seneca's Tragedies," 222. According to Phillip John Usher, writing about the early modern French reception of Seneca, "Senecan tragedies tamed the infinite meanings of the ancient tragedians" ("Tragedy and Translation," 471–72). Latin adaptations were not translations, writes Usher, but rather "Stoic appropriations" framing tragic conflict in terms of distinct oppositions and clear-cut binaries. Other critics, writing about the English reception of Seneca, have voiced similar reactions. Spearing, for example, describing Seneca's *Medea*, writes, "there is none of the subtle development of character which we find in Euripides... In Euripides' play, she is by no means fully horrible; at first we sympathize with her against her foes, and though at last we shudder at her crime, we feel that the guilt is Jason's as much, nay perhaps more, than hers. But in Seneca's play she awakens no sympathy, for she is nothing but a savage from beginning to end..." (*The Elizabethan Translations of Seneca's Tragedies*, 8–9). One reason for the more clear-cut boundaries between right and wrong is that Seneca's tragedies were closely tied, particularly for early modern English readers, with his moralizing prose. On this subject, see Winston and Ker, eds., *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, 10–13. It is true, however, that not all scholars agree that Seneca's tragedies present a more simplistic binary between right and wrong. While Hadas reiterates this claim in his 1958 *Stoic Philosophy of Seneca*, stating, "Seneca's Stoic universe is...controlled by an all-pervasive and exigent intelligence and is also sure of its categories of right and wrong" (4). Pratt, for example, contradicts Hadas, arguing that "actually, Seneca's material is more varied...there are mixtures of right and wrong" though he qualifies this by noting that "the moralistic formulation the mixture has to be within the character, and it is not a true mixture because Vice and Virtue exclude each other," *Seneca's Drama*, 129. Harrison, for another, in stark contrast with Hadas, argues that "in Seneca...no characters or situations are straightforward," Harrison, "Characters," 597.

37 On "wild justice" in *Titus*, see Callaghan and Kyle, "The Wilde Side of Justice."

38 Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, 42.

39 Blume, "Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*," 186.

40 Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, 42. Rabinowitz tracks the use of both terms in her footnote.

41 τἀμὰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀποκτενῶ ᾽γὼ τέκνα· κοὐ τὸ σὸν μὲν εὖ/ παρὰ δίκην ἔσται κακίστης εὔνιδος τιμωρίᾳ,/ ἐμὲ δὲ συντήξουσι νύκτες ἡμέραι τε δακρύοις,/ ἄνομα δρῶντα κοὐ δίκαια παῖδας οὓς ἐγεινάμην.

42 ἄλλως τέ μ᾽ ἔλεος τῆς ταλαιπώρου κόρης/ ἐσῆλθε, συγγένειαν ἐννοουμένῳ,/ ἣ τῶν ἐμῶν ἕκατι θύεσθαι γάμων/ μέλλει. τί δ᾽ Ἑλένης παρθένῳ τῇ σῇ μέτα;

43 κακῆς γυναικὸς μισθὸν ἀποτεῖσαι τέκνα,/ τἄχθιστα τοῖσι φιλτάτοις ὠνούμενον.

44 Boyd discusses the killing of Mutius in the context of Peele's composition of Act 1, suggesting that we situate it within Peele's interest in the sacrifice of children. He references the *Iphigenia* translation, but does not devote further attention to exploring it. Boyd, "Mutius: An Obstacle Removed," 203.
45 For a more detailed analysis of Iphigenia's choice than I will include in what follows, see especially Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, esp. Chapter 1, "The Sacrificial Virgins: Iphigenia and Others," 21–66. See also Foley, *Ritual Irony*, esp. Chapter 2, "The *Iphigenia in Aulis*," 65–105; and Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*, 37–48, esp. 43.
46 κατθανεῖν μέν μοι δέδοκται· τοῦτο δ᾽ αὐτὸ βούλομαι/νεὐκλεῶς πρᾶξαι, παρεῖσά γ᾽ ἐκποδὼν τὸ δυσγενές. [...] θύετ᾽, ἐκπορθεῖτε Τροίαν·. The translation cited is from Euripides, *The Bacchae and Other Plays*, trans. John Davie, 216–17, because it captures the phrase more concisely than the Loeb translation.
47 Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, Rabinowitz goes on, however, to argue that this freedom is deceptive.
48 I am grateful to Charles Mercier for pointing out these two indeterminate meanings of Iphigenia's "κατθανεῖν μέν μοι δέδοκται."
49 Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, writes that Euripides "represents [Iphigenia's choice] as a difficult decision, difficult for the audience and difficult for her" (40).
50 Helms, "'The High Roman Fashion,'" 557–58. See also Ray, "'Rape, I Fear, Was Root of thy Annoy,'" Williams, "'Silence, Like a Lucrece Knife,'" Harris, "Sexuality as a Signifier for Power Relations.'"
51 Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Bate, 267. In the DVD commentary to the film, Taymor describes Titus as breaking Lavinia's neck "intimately, lovingly." *Titus, Special Edition*.
52 Pollard points out that Tamora is likened to Hecuba as part of an "urgent appeal for sympathy" when, like Hecuba, she loses a son to murder. Pollard, "Hecuba."

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10 Multiple Materials and Motives in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*

Meredith Skura

This paper will suggest that attention to Shakespeare's departures from his primary sources in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and his use of other sources besides "Titus and Gisippus" and *Diana* allow us to revise critical commonplaces not only about this early play but also about early Shakespeare's compositional process. Some of the difficulty in talking about sources is due to terminology. As we develop new theories about literature's multiple intertextualities, it is useful to remember that, with a few exceptions, traditional one-to-one source study remains itself, as Richard Levin remarked years ago, "undertheorized."[1] The word "source" tends still to retain its original meaning of a major plot source linked directly to a given Shakespearean play. Even in that simple case we have tended to gather information more about *what* Shakespeare used than about *how* he used it. Too often, naming a source is the end of an inquiry when instead it should open new questions about why Shakespeare might have chosen the prior text and about how and why he changed it to accommodate other contributing traditions, conventions, contexts, texts, themes, theatergrams, scenic forms and so forth; and there always are other contributions. As the essays in this volume suggest, there are many more sorts of material in a Shakespearean play and more ways of using it than traditional source study suggested.

I am particularly interested in the ways in which "minor" sources diminish and reorganize Shakespeare's debt to his supposedly "main" sources. Even if a source like Arthur Brook's *Romeus and Juliet* (1592) seems to have contributed nothing but a few verbal echoes to *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, all of it is still available as part of a network of narratives that needs to be considered as a whole. The verbal echoes are mere footprints that betray a larger presence. Brook's tale of young love confined by parents colors the stories of Titus and Gisippus, who love the same woman, and of Felismena, who follows her fickle lover to court in disguise. As Leo Salingar says,

> it is impossible, or at least, artificial, to isolate one thread in the composition of [Shakespeare's] plays from the others. The richness of his mental world, the sense it gives of familiarity-

> together-with-strangeness, springs from his extraordinary power to bring out parallels and affinities between stories and dramatic devices from separate traditions.[2]

Often a conjunction of sources can illuminate the final text, as the psychological pain in Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603) pairs with the simple morality of the old *King Leir* play to elaborate the terrible suffering of experience on Lear's heath.

In his proposal to map out the wide range of intertextual transactions evident in early modern literature, Robert Miola has helpfully clarified the definition of traditional source study, and I will use it here as a starting point.[3] For him, a source is a type of intertextuality comprising specific books or texts mediated directly through the author: "Source texts provide plot, character, idea, language, or style to later texts" and "The source functions [either] as the book-on-the-desk ['source proximate']" or "all that an author previously knew or read ['source remote']." The author actively

> honors, reshapes, steals, ransacks, and plunders. The dynamics include copying, paraphrase, compression, conflation, expansion, omission, innovation, transference, and contradiction.[4] The evidence is verbal iteration or echo, or other matching verbal concatenations such as the image clusters identified by Caroline Spurgeon, as well as the non-verbal repetitions of scenic form, rhetorical and stylistic figuration and thematic articulation.[5]

This definition takes account of a range of relationships that expand the older more restrictive sense of source study. I would add to it only in three ways. First, I would stress that even a seemingly minor prior text needs to be considered carefully.[6] Second, I would emphasize "omission" as a vital part of what an author can do to a main source. I will be arguing that Shakespeare's changes to his main sources in *Two Gentlemen* leave odd gaps and juxtapositions that have been misunderstood in the play. The third change would be to add as source material not only everything Shakespeare previously knew or read but also all Shakespeare's inner concerns in his other texts-topics, themes, characters, or scenic forms that are prominent in his earlier and current work.[7]

Early plays like *Two Gentlemen* are of particular interest for a challenge to the vagueness of the term "source" because critical accounts tend to define them in terms of their dominant "sources" in the form of literary tradition or genre. Thus the early comedies are sometimes called experiments in Plautine comedy, Roman tragedy, or romance, while the less conventional later plays avoid such categories. *Two Gentlemen* is often seen simply as the product of the friendship and the romance traditions available in the 1590s, and its

limitations are attributed to the limits of those two traditions. No one denies that this early play has its strengths: it can gently mock as well as merely repeat Shakespeare's inherited conventions. It includes moments of lyric power and moments of surprising psychological depth in characters like Julia and Proteus, as well as scenes of comic mastery like those with the clowns. Nonetheless, stretches of awkward language and action suggest that Shakespeare did not yet have full control of his material—particularly when, with breathtaking quickness in the last act, heartbroken Valentine saves his mistress Sylvia from Proteus's attempted rape, denounces Proteus as "thou friend of an ill fashion" (5.4.61), accepts his brief apology, and in response gives Sylvia (who has not been consulted) to Proteus.[8] This one scene has dominated critical attention and focused interpretation on the role of friendship and romance traditions exemplified by the play's two main sources.

Not everyone agrees on the relative roles played by the traditions. Some critics, like the editor of the second Arden edition of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Clifford Leech, assume that the classical ideal of friendship was the "starting point" for the play,[9] particularly in the tale of "Titus and Gisippus," which illustrates friendship in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governor* (1531). Other critics claim rather that *Two Gentlemen* is shaped primarily by the romance tradition. "The main outline of *Two Gentlemen*," argues G. K. Hunter, "comes eventually from the immensely popular play *Gl'inganatti* (1551)… as it was re-handled in Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diana* (translated 1598)," in the tale of Felix and Felismena.[10] Still others, focusing on the problematic scene noted above, emphasize the difficulty of incorporating two such different models of experience in a single play (Geoffrey Bullough, "The main basis of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is the conflict between the duties of friendship and of love" [103]).[11] Finally, at least two critics subordinate the contributions of both "Titus and Gisippus" and "Diana" to what they see as the play's more inclusive pattern of education in *both* friendship and love.[12]

Whatever their emphasis, however, nearly all writers agree that the two primary sources account for much of the play, and their claim is understandable. The first major source, "Titus and Gisippus," is the story of two noble friends so devoted to each other that Gisippus offers Titus his betrothed's love when he learns that Titus is sick because of his (Titus's) love for her. Shakespeare's Valentine and Proteus, like Titus and Gisippus, are close friends, loathe to be parted ("I knew him as myself," says Valentine to the Duke [2.4.57]). And, once Proteus repents for betraying his friend and trying to rape Sylvia, Valentine, like Gisippus, not only forgives Proteus but yields his right to Sylvia in words that echo those of Gisippus. Proteus announces, "All that was mine in Sylvia I give to thee" (5.4.83). Gisippus makes a similar claim: "Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest that I nowe haue or mought haue in that faire

mayden."[13] The second main source, the story of Felix and Felismena in *Diana,* tells how Felix went to court, forgot his beloved Felismena and wooed someone new, while, unbeknownst to him, the devoted Felismena followed him disguised as a page and even helped him woo her rival. Like Felix with Felismena, Proteus courts and wins his first love, Julia, through letters, is forced to leave home for court, and there devotes himself to another woman. Like Felismena, Julia is coy at first but loves Proteus deeply; disguised, she follows him to court and arrives only to hear Proteus wooing another, but like Felismena, she determines to serve him anyway.

However, these sources certainly do not account for everything in the play, particularly some of its most problematic, even bizarre, passages. Such passages are easy to dismiss as a novice's clumsiness. Instead they can revise our understanding of "early" Shakespeare and his composition process. Four examples will follow.

(1) The most well-known of these passages is the one already noted, in which Valentine notoriously cedes his love to Proteus. Most critics have argued that Shakespeare's friendship source *is* operative here—too operative. Whether read as "a nervous recourse to tradition" or an original challenge to tradition, the scene, it is argued, is determined by the ideal friendship in "Titus and Gisippus."[14] But is it? The differences between play and source are at least as important as the similarities. True, Valentine echoes Gisippus when offering Sylvia to Proteus, but there the resemblance ends. Elyot's Gisippus, unlike Valentine, never feels betrayed; Titus, unlike Proteus, never means to betray him; and, unlike Sylvia, their contested bride does not care which groom she gets. If Valentine's magnanimity is problematic, it is not due to the source: Shakespeare created the problem himself, and it resembles the discord in Shakespeare's sonnets more closely than that in the friendship literature. The similarity between the triangular love in *Two Gentlemen* and that in Shakespeare's sonnets, however, although long recognized, has remained oddly separated from source study. If the sonnets were treated as a source, critics might pay more attention to self-sacrificial aspects of Valentine's seeming generosity that are easier to see in the sonnets and less attention to his motive in the supposed main source. Nor have most critics followed up on Inga-Stina Ewbank's promising suggestion that Valentine's baffling generosity may have to do more with Shakespeare's profound concern with forgiveness in the later plays than with the friendship tradition.[15] The rhetoric of penance rather than the rhetoric of romance is behind the two friends' exchange. When chastised by Valentine, Proteus answers:

> My shame and guilt confounds me.
> Forgive me, Valentine; if hearty sorrow
> Be a suffcient ransom for offence,
> I tender't here.
>
> (*Two Gentlemen*, 5.4.73–76)

A similar rhetoric of penance can be heard in the *Book of Homilies* that was read out in each parish church. The third part of “The Homilie of Penentance, and of true reconciliation vnto God” begins its summaries of the penitent’s duties by prescribing “heartie contrition,” close enough to Proteus’ “hearty sorrow” for Valentine to take it as a form of achieved penance:[16]

> Then am I paid;
> And once again I do receive thee honest.
> Who by repentance is not satisfied,
> Is nor of heaven, nor earth; for these are pleas’d:
> By penitence th’Eternal’s wrath’s appeased.
>
> (*Two Gentlemen* 5.4.76–80)

The later plays explore penitence in more depth, but we miss an important part of Shakespeare’s development if we look only to external sources like the friendship and love traditions in the early plays and not to the internal concerns like forgiveness that are just beginning to make themselves felt.

(2) The difference between Elyot’s Titus and Shakespeare’s Proteus in the scene just discussed affects Proteus’s two important earlier soliloquies as well. Here, too, Shakespeare ignores the primary source in order to dramatize his own internal concerns. The virtuous young men in the friendship literature nearly all act selflessly when love threatens their friendship, but Proteus cannot live up to the ideal. When Elyot’s Titus falls in love unwillingly with Gisippus’s mistress, he tries desperately to subdue his feelings. Failing, he succumbs silently to illness rather than disclosing his predicament.[17] By contrast, Proteus’s battle with his feelings is soon lost; his oaths to both friend and former mistress are easily outweighed by thoughts of himself: “If I lose them, thus find I by their loss....I to myself am dearer than a friend” (2.6.21, 23). His words stand out in a play that, unlike Elyot’s tale, is as much about young men discovering their own identities, an issue elsewhere in Shakespeare’s early comedies, as it is about the traditional ideals of love and friendship that are only part of that discovery. Here again, departure from the external source points to a new Shakespearean context in which to understand the play.

(3) Shakespeare departs from his sources again in the strange encounter when Proteus follows up on the decision to betray Valentine and woo Sylvia. True, the general model here is Felix in *Diana,* who betrays his first love to woo another woman, but *Diana* provides no basis for Proteus’s specific caddish behavior. Instead, Shakespeare invents a courtship “so feeble,” says Leech, summing up the opinion of many critics, “that it reflects from the incompetence of Proteus to that of the dramatist” (*Two Gentlemen* 4.2.109 note). Whether or not it reflects Shakespeare’s incompetence, the scene does reflect his own interests intruding awkwardly

into both the friendship and romance traditions—and, as I shall argue in a moment, reminding us more of other contemporary Shakespearean figures than of *Two Gentlemen*'s sources. Proteus visits Valentine's Sylvia, who now knows about Proteus's betrayal of his former love:

SIL: What's your will?
PRO: That I may compass yours.
SIL: You have your wish: my will is even this,
 That presently you hie you home to bed.
 Thou subtle, perjur'd, false, disloyal man
 Think'st thou that I am so shallow, so conceitless,
 To be seduced by thy flattery,
 That hast deceiv'd so many with thy vows?
(*Two Gentlemen* 4.2.89–95)

To which Proteus unexpectedly replies, "I grant, sweet love, that I did love a lady, / But she is dead." When Sylvia objects that Valentine is yet alive, Proteus remains undaunted: "I likewise hear that Valentine is dead" (*Two Gentlemen*, 4.2.102–3, 109).

Proteus's love, the road to which is paved with "dead" rivals, has less in common with Felix's love in *Diana* than with the love that Shakespeare's protean King Richard III claims to feel in the eponymous play (ca. 1591?). The latter notoriously courts Anne in the midst of the funeral procession for her father-in-law, King Edward VI, whom Richard killed, as he had killed Anne's husband.[18] Proteus's invented deaths link him as well to another of Shakespeare's carelessly homicidal suitors created at this time in the Shakespearean portion of *King Edward III* (ca. 1592–93). When King Edward tries to coerce the Countess of Salisbury into becoming his mistress, she finally pretends to give in, provided that "yourself remove those lets / That stand between your highness' love and mine." The "lets," she reveals, are the lives of their spouses,

 Your Queen and Salisbury, my wedded husband,
 Who living have that title in our love,
 That we cannot bestow but by their death.
(*King Edward III* 2.2.141–43)

The king, willing to swim through "a Hellespont of blood" (*King Edward III* 2.2.154) for her, is still ready to forge ahead until the Countess dissuades him by vowing (as Sylvia will when Proteus tries to rape her) to kill herself first.[19]

Proteus's death reports may seem "incompetent" to Leech because they don't fit his situation as well as Richard's and Edward's, but they are competent enough to cast tragedy's shadow over both the love and the friendship in the supposed primary sources. Rather than random

lapses, they suggest Shakespeare's early effort to perform the purposeful darkening in *Two Gentlemen* that he would accomplish much more effectively in the counterfactual deaths of "Pyramus and Thisbe" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (ca. 1595). They link this early comedy to the later tragicomic configurations in the problem plays and romances about the life-giving power of forgiveness.

(4) All the passages discussed up to here have concerned Proteus, who has garnered most of the play's critical attention. Valentine's story, however, deserves its own attention because, while it owes little to either "Titus" or *Diana*, it adds a vital third dimension to the two gentlemen's experience. Here love is thwarted, not horizontally by friendship, but vertically by family and community. For this conflict Shakespeare drew in part on Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* (1562). Brooke is often treated as an almost accidental source of a few verbal echoes and some confusion about geography in *Two Gentlemen*, but it can be seen as no less deliberate a choice than the others, one that points to a Shakespearean concern not usually associated with this play.[20] Valentine, like Romeus, falls in love with a young woman whose father, the Duke, combines the authority of Brooke's Capulet and his Prince of Verona. The Duke, like Capulet, prefers another suitor for his daughter (praised in similar terms in both texts); Valentine, like Romeus, reaches his forbidden love by means of a cord ladder thrown up to her window (it's described four times in *Two Gentlemen*!); both Romeus and Valentine are banished, both suffer in similar outbursts, and so do their mistresses. Both, unlike the young men in the two favored sources, are blocked, as Romeus is, by parental figures.

Shakespeare alters Brooke's *Romeus* to increase the generational conflict in his own play. He makes Valentine's rival an older man (Brooke's Paris was Romeo's peer). More important here, he adds an odd dialogue in which young Valentine offers love advice to the older Duke as if they were equals. The Duke, having learned about Valentine's plans to rescue Sylvia from her locked tower, pretends that he needs a device to reach a similarly barricaded lady in Verona. When Valentine naïvely reveals that he happens to have just such a ladder, the Duke exposes Valentine and calls him a Phaeton, as if, like that young rebel, Valentine meant to take the Duke's place—and, perhaps, his Lady as well as his daughter.[21] The Duke's fictional courtship spins youthful rebellion toward Oedipal rivalry. No wonder Valentine later claims to have been exiled for killing a man.

In Brooke's tragic poem, the young people die for flouting society's expectations. In Shakespeare's generically promiscuous play, everyone escapes to an alternative society of outlaws where they can redeem themselves.[22] Neither major source provides a model for this version of a pastoral retreat—or festive release as C. L. Barber would call it.[23] One of the play's best critics, in fact, complains there is "little reason

why Proteus's final recognition of himself and all men as imperfect and fallen must take place in this particular forest."[24] But the reasons would appear to lie outside the main sources in a pattern of reformation. The pastoral impulse was perhaps suggested by Romeus's unfilled wish, in Brooke's poem, to escape the city, while some outlaw particulars could have been influenced by the Robin Hood interludes in plays like *The Pinner of Wakefield* and *Edward I* of the early 1590s.[25] Its generational theme, however, is Shakespeare's own. This forest is particularly suited to encourage growth from rebellious youth to civil gentlemen. It is peopled by young men—like Valentine and Proteus—"who make their wills their law" (5.4.14), including one who has killed a man, as Valentine claims to have done, and another who stole away the Duke's heir, as Valentine actually did. In addition, many of the outlaws, again like Shakespeare's two young protagonists, are "gentlemen"; it was not outlaw status but only the "fury of ungovern'd youth" (4.1.45) that thrust them from the company of lawful citizens. In other words, Valentine, like bad boy Max in Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are*, finds images of his own youthful rebelliousness in the forest, where he is immediately elected king of the outlaw band before returning to family and to civilization. Valentine earns his return by reforming everyone else, something the two main sources are silent about. When he first enters the forest, he has "much to do / to keep [the outlaws] from uncivil outrages," but he succeeds, nonetheless, and can later report to the Duke that "they are reformed, civil, full of good" (5.4.154).

Valentine similarly reforms Proteus when the latter arrives at the forest threatening rape ("Let go that rude uncivil touch," says Valentine, "Thou friend of an ill fashion!" [5.4.60]). Even the tyrannical Duke winds up in the forest, to be reformed by Valentine. The young man first saves the Duke from the outlaws ("Forbear, forbear, I say: it is my lord the Duke" [5.4.120]); he then makes an open bid for Sylvia—nothing hidden under his cloak this time—and reveals his rival's cowardice. In response, the Duke abandons his stubbornly held goal of marrying Silvia to a wealthy fool and repeals his snobbish grudge against Valentine's supposed baseness. The court itself has been reformed.

Here Shakespeare seems to have taken a hint from still other sources. Valentine's rescue of the paternal Duke finds an intriguing parallel in Thomas Heywood's *Four Prentices of London,* which was published in 1615 but may be based on a much earlier play.[26] Heywood's "Valentine" not only civilizes the outlaws when he takes over their leadership but also discovers that they previously kidnapped "Valentine's" own (disguised) father, usurping his place in court. He immediately releases the old man, saving him as Valentine saved the Duke. Was Shakespeare influenced by an earlier version of the rescue in Heywood? Or was Heywood the borrower, in which case his overt version of the father-son rescue may tell us something about how *Two Gentlemen* was originally read? Either

possibility may help explain Shakespeare's generational reunion that has no part in either "Titus and Gisippus" or "Diana."[27] Richard Edwards's *The excellent Comedy of the two most faithfullest Friendes, Damon and Pythias* (1565), usually noted only as a repository of verbal echoes for *Two Gentlemen*, could also have provided further inspiration for the reunion between generations that leads to courtly reform.[28] In Edwards's play, the two friends' mutual devotion inspires the tyrant King Dionysus to repeal the law threatening Damon, to repent, and to reform his court: "Tyranny, flattery, oppression, lo, here I cast away; / Justice, truth, love, friendship, shall be my joy" (vv. 1693–94).[29]

When *Two Gentlemen* is seen only in the context of its two primary sources, critics can focus on the problematic gift of Sylvia from friend to friend as the culmination of the action: "At the [source's] *end*, Gisippus, like Valentine, offers his mistress to his friend" or "The controversial *ending* of *Two Gentlemen* presses the social demands of male friendship to their absurd limits, resolving but unsettling the audience" (italics added).[30] A more inclusive network of sources suggests that, far from ending with the friendship conflict, the action isn't over until the Duke and his courtiers arrive to ratify the individual friends' forgiveness, reunite the generations, and bring the whole community together. Looking beyond the two major sources encourages a new interpretation of the play's whole structure. There is no feast or celebratory dance to mark communal closure in *Two Gentlemen*, as there will be in later plays. All the main characters are on stage, however, and all acknowledge the friends' and lovers' incorporation into a larger society that is sanctioned by as well as sanctioning them, once they have resolved their individual conflicts. There is even the promise of transforming a private exchange of penance and forgiveness between Proteus and Valentine into the public secular ritual communion that we find in late plays like *The Winter's Tale*.[31] As the characters gather, Valentine puns on and thus calls attention to the word "grace" ("Your grace is welcome to a man disgraced, / Banished Valentine" [*Two Gentlemen* 5.4.121–22]), and he welcomes Proteus into the community by announcing his repentance, "'tis your penance but to hear / The story of your loves discovered" (5.4.168–69).

All of these details come from sources other than the primary ones, other models, even other genres. Of a similarly early play, *Titus Andronicus*, one critic wittily suggested that Shakespeare wasn't trying to get it right so much as to get it all in: the history of the Roman republic and the Roman Empire and whatever else the playwright knew of Rome. Something similar might be said about the multiple elements elbowing each other for room in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Attending to the minor sources (or "microsources" as Beales calls them) among them can affect interpretation both of the form and the content of the play.

Notes

I would like to thank Dennis Britton and Melissa Walter for their helpful suggestions for revising this essay.

1 Levin, "Another 'Source' for *The Alchemist* and Another Look at Source Studies," 220.
2 Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, 190.
3 Miola, "Seven Types of Intertextuality," 13–25, 14, 19, 20.
4 Here he resembles Baxandall, who agues against the use of "influence" as in statements like "X influenced Y" and would reverse the agency by exploring what Y might have done to X, as in "draw on, resort to, avail oneself of, appropriate from," *Patterns of Intention*, 59.
5 Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us*.
6 Beales's essay on "microsources" in this volume argues for a similar emphasis.
7 This is a form of the "self-sourcing" that Houlahan discusses in this volume.
8 All quotations from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are taken from The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series, edited by Carroll.
9 Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* ed. Clifford Leech, xliv.
10 Hunter, *English Drama, 1586–1642*, 128. There was also a lost play related to each main source. The Queen's Men performed "Felix and Felismena" at court on 3 January 1585, and Paul's Boys performed "The History of Titus and Gisippus" at Whitehall on 19 February 1577. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 2:106, 4:160; 4:93, 152.
11 Bullough, *The Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 1:103.
12 I have learned much from both these critics. Lindenbaum argues for a religious education in "Education in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*"; Slights counters by showing the extended influence of courtesy books in "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and the Courtesy Book Tradition (1983)."
13 Sargent makes this point in "Sir Thomas Elyot and the Integrity of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*" and quotes the original. (Elyot, "Titus and Gisippus," in *The Boke named The Gouenour*).
14 Barton, in her introduction to "*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*," 143–46, offers "nervous recourse to tradition" as a possible motive (146). Carroll suggests, by contrast, that the problematic offer deliberately pushes the tradition to extremes in order to unsettle the audience: see *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. Carroll, 3.
15 Ewbank, "'Were Man but Constant, He Were Perfect,'". Although she is interested in a different topic—the play's relative use of dramatic rather than verbal action—her argument about forgiveness as the motive for Valentine's offer is the starting point for the argument here. Two exceptions to the general silence about Ewbank's point are Hunter, *Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness*, who argues that Proteus truly repents his sins, and Velie, *Shakespeare's Repentance Plays*, 20–22, who argues that the penitence is merely a superficial plot device.
16 *The Second Tome of Homilies of Svch Matters as were promised, and entituled in the former part of Homilies*, 271. Reprinted in Rickey and Stroup, *Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read*, 271.
17 In Elyot's version, "Titus all tormented and oppressed with love, threw himself on a bed and there rebukyng his owne most despiteful unkindness: he cursed his fate and began to waste away" (Elyot, "Titus and Gisippus", 2:136).
18 Sylvia's "Thou subtle false and perjur'd man" seems to echo the ghost's haunting address to Clarence, also found in *Richard III*: "Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjured Clarence" (*Richard III* 1.4.55).

19 Quotations are taken from William Shakespeare, *King Edward III,* ed. Melchiori.
20 The fullest account is given by Allen, in "Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* as a Source for the Valentine-Silvia Plot." Allen finds an impressive number of verbal echoes but makes no claims about Valentine's plot beyond the parallels. Bullough seems to speak for most critics in his assessment of Brook's role: "Obviously Shakespeare had been reading Brooke's poem before writing *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; and maybe the Verona setting [and some verbal echoes] may be ascribed to this" (Bullough, *Sources*, 209).
21 Melissa Walter points out another source for this scene, apart from "Titus and Gisippus" and *Diana,* in her draft manuscript, "The Italian Novella and Shakespearean Comedy," 39–40: "In 3.2, when Valentine thinks he is giving the Duke advice on how to woo, the Duke is like the jealous husband in *Il Pecorone* 1.2, the Bolognese Doctor who teaches the young scholar how to seduce his own wife." I am grateful for her generosity in sharing the manuscript with me.
22 Allen, however, argues that lines in Romeus's response to banishment parallel Valentine's response. Valentine says, "This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods, / I better brook than flourishing peopled towns" (5.4.2–3); "The exiled Romeus also carries his grief to secret places," says Allen: "But if in secret place he walke some where alone, / The place itselfe, and secretnes redoubleth all his mone. / Then speakes he to the beastes, to feathered fowles, and trees" (Allen, "Broke's *Romeus*," 41–42).
23 Barber, *Shakespeare' s Festive Comedy*. Barber does not treat the play, but it meets the definition he works with in other plays.
24 Lindenbaum, "Education in *The Two Gentlemen,*" 243.
25 The outlaw sources usually suggested, e.g., by Bullough, are Antony Munday's *Downfall and Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598) and other late Robin Hood plays. Bullough (*Sources,* 207) also speculates about the possible influence of the lost *Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John* (S.R. 14 May 1594).
26 For arguments about earlier versions of Heywood's play, see Mary Ann Weber's introduction to Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentices of London*, vii–xv.
27 Leech first identified a large number of verbal and narrative parallels that make a relation between the two plays likely, whoever was the borrower; he does not, however, mention the paternal rescue parallel (Leech, *Two Gentlemen*, xlvi–vii).
28 Leech discovers many verbal parallels between *Two Gentlemen* and *Damon and Pithias,* but mentions no thematic connection or other interpretive result of the parallels (*Two Gentlemen*, xxxviii).
29 *Damon and Pithias* explores the difference between good and bad courtly counselors and may be responsible for the Duke's apparently random reference to Proteus as a potential "emperor's counsellor" (*Two Gentlemen* 2.4.72).
30 William Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ed. Norman Sanders, 12; Carroll, *Two Gentlemen*, 3.
31 See Beckwith, *Shakespeare and the Grammar of Forgiveness*, for a description of the ways in which the old religion's rites of penance were transformed into actions between people and within communities.

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11 The Curious Case of Mr. William Shakespeare and the Red Herring

Twelfth Night in Its Sources

Mark Houlahan

There is an excellent herring in *Twelfth Night*, the one Sir Toby blames for his belching: "a plague o' these pickle herring" (1.5.101–102).[1] It is not the custom to bring any of these herring on stage, but, through the actor's embodiment of the discomfort to which they have brought him, they are vividly present to the audience. This, though, is not the "red" herring I am looking for here, as this "pickle" herring is quite readily explained. Sir Toby appears drunk before his niece, the Countess Olivia. It is early in the day, and even in a society much less bound by liquor laws that specify time of day and locations for public insobriety than ours tend to be, this is considered unacceptable. "By mine honor, half drunk" (1.5.98), Olivia rebukes her kinsman, ever alert to threats to decorum in her household.[2] Sir Toby pretends not to be drunk, so he blames his belching on the herring. Either he has been drinking as well as eating herring, or the herring is a front for his persistent "problem drinking," as we would put it. Keir Elam fills in a probable insider allusion here to the haplessly prolific Robert Greene who, according to Francis Meres in his 1598 *Palladis Timia*, "died of a surfet taken at Pickeld Herrings, & Rhenish wine"; Elam notes also that the "Pickle Herring was a type of clown in the … 'English comedies and tragedies'… and the musical … *Pickelherrings-spiele* … in early seventeenth-century Germany,"[3] as if "pickle herring" was a distinctive aspect of the English carnivalesque. This is the kind of usefully stabilizing glossing that editors of scholarly editions can happily provide readers, though this level of detail can be difficult to realize on stage when the audience cannot directly access this kind of annotation.

In the double edition of *Twelfth Night* (online for the Internet Shakespeare, ise.uvic.ca, and in the Broadview Internet Shakespeare editions) that David Carnegie and I have recently published, we have of course provided similar guidance at many points, bearing in mind the concision of glosses readers might need for quick consulting online and especially in the classroom (where it is hoped the Broadview Shakespeares will be adopted); but then, at the same time, we have used the standard Broadview series format, where readers are provided with extensive appendices (as in a Norton single text) amplifying the cultural

background and critical and performance history of the play; further amplification is available online via the main Internet Shakespeare Editions site.

For the purposes of both editions, we have also reconsidered the issue of the sources of the play, which have been the subject of commentary since John Manningham first saw *Twelfth Night* on February 2, 1602. There are other direct witnesses to early performances of Shakespeare's plays, such as the report of the 1594 *Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn, or Simon Forman's discussion of the plots of *Macbeth* and *Cymbeline*, but Manningham is unique as an early witness in his attribution of possible sources for the comic plot to Plautus and to Italian Renaissance comedies. In one sense reviewing the play's source texts is refreshingly direct, since it is well acknowledged where core elements of the plot come from. Yet this is also, I think, a deceptively simple approach to take. Part of the play's appeal lies in its ability simply to charm and entertain audiences (and this is evident from the very first commentary on the play). Meanwhile, it can also suggest quite other purposes or, even more troubling for interpreters, that its design is to frustrate all commentary or analysis of its purposes. To reflect on this further, I will review what we can say with some certainty about the play's sources before reviewing some of the core issues around this straightforward approach. The second half of the chapter will then discuss some of the most prominent "red herring" the play seems to make available, inviting us to make sense of what in his eponymous book Stephen Booth brilliantly describes as *Precious Nonsense,*[4] leaving us, potentially, baffled as well as delighted. Patricia Yaeger and Gregory Macachek are prominent among recent scholars who suggest that the intellectual ground between terms such as allusion, source, and intertextuality has become blurred.[5] They call for greater clarity in the way in which these terms are used; at the same time they show, as many chapters in this book do also, the productivity of dancing with these terms, making generative meanings out of specific examples, resourcefully exploiting all the "sources" for sources we can currently access online and in print. Discussion of *Twelfth Night* might then be opened out and pursued in many different directions. Insisting on new rules for source study that must be followed, in this light, would seem to be too limiting.

There is one direct source for the play, on which it clearly draws (and which Manningham does not note): Barnabe Riche's novella length tale "Apollonius and Silla," which is the source of the main love plot, the maid disguised as a man, her twin brother; both are pursued (and beloved) by a lady and a lord. Accordingly, in our edition we present a version of the whole of this tale in modernized spelling and punctuation both online and in an appendix for Broadview. Beyond *Apollonius*, however, the situation becomes much more complex and quickly heads into territory as baffling in some ways as the links Kent Cartwright explores in his chapter on *The Comedy of Errors*, to which, of course, *Twelfth Night*

is affiliated in many ways. Manningham notes the link to the earlier twin play, though he seems to have started by scrawling "mid" (as if he had in mind *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) before correcting to recall *Err* (*Errors*) instead. Though *Dream* does not show the confusion of identical twins, it does involve the ready mistaking of one eligible Athenian youth for another as if they were identical, so Manningham's first thought is not entirely without foundation.

It is worth noting that while watching the play without being able to read a text of it, Manningham's strategy for grasping what he had seen was to think of sources (as later scholars would); and then further, that his approach was via genre. He thinks laterally in terms of other plays he can compare *Twelfth Night* to rather than prose fictions from which its story line might have been crafted. Thus, he goes on to note, quite correctly, that the twin plot in *Twelfth Night* descends eventually from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, a staple of Latin reading and performance in Renaissance schoolrooms, a source common to both twin comedies. Manningham also notes that the plot was "most like and neare to… *Inganni*,"[6] an Italian Renaissance comedy; but it is possible the comedy he recalled was actually the Sienese classic *Gl'ingannati* (*The Deceived*), first performed in 1532. Versions of story of *The Deceived* circulated in plays and prose and in multiple languages: evidently, it spoke in important ways to the cultures of Renaissance Europe.[7] We could think of this process as distributing through the media of print and live performance a cultural "meme." "Examples of memes," as Richard Dawkins famously extrapolates beyond his home field of evolutionary biology, include

> …tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation.[8]

Here I suggest we add to Dawkins's list of "cultural memes" the gender crossing plotlines of the stories and plays to which *Twelfth Night* is linked, all of which explore the variation where the woman dresses not as a fictively constructed male (such as Rosalind's Ganymede) but as her twin brother. These share elements of Louise Clubb's useful term "theatergram": the plot elements used are disseminated also in Italian, French, Spanish, and English language prose fictions, an assemblage of genre-crossing story attributes that travel together and allow writers both of prose fictions and plays to be both resourceful in devising variations on the main story line, and at the same time reassuringly familiar. The twins, boy/boy or boy/girl, spend a lot of stage or story time apart

being mistaken one for the other. Readers or audiences will feel sure that some plot device will eventually unravel these mistakes. The boy/girl/brother/sister combination is miraculously attractive. Separated by some form of fortune's ill hap (a shipwreck, a plague, the sack of a city),[9] they are beloved by nearly all who behold them. The girl dresses as the boy she knows best, her brother. This allows her to travel safely, but also results in the confusions of desire and the consummations of sex that all the versions make amusing and that Shakespeare makes so beguiling. These various complications are central to all these early modern forms of the story.

In traditional approaches to locating a source, the immediate question would be "Which versions did Shakespeare have access to?"[10] All the currently identified sources predate the first known performance of the play in 1602, but for Shakespeare to have consulted or known of all of them you have to assume an impossible kind of Shakespeare, one who devoted himself to the sources he would use for a single play for several years. The best example in the early modern canon of such a writer so devoted to a single task would be John Milton, preparing for so many years to write *Paradise Lost*, but without the support of a small inheritance such as Milton enjoyed, this could never have been Shakespeare's way. Rather, in the years prior to 1602 when Shakespeare must have been writing *Twelfth Night*, we know that he was writing plays prolifically and, among others things, dealing with the complexities of his theater company building, perhaps illegally, the new venue of the Globe on the south bank of the Thames.[11]

Traditionalist source studies might tackle this problem of knowing how much "book" learning underpins the play in a manner that is both too linear and too reverent of Shakespeare. They are still haunted by the relationship between Biblical source study and the analysis of secular texts. Biblical scholars hypothesize a text known as Q (for *quelle*) that underpins the four gospels in the New Testament. Q is presumed to be chronologically prior and closer to the world and sayings of Jesus. Everything descends in a direct line from this source. A direct reverse of this spurious linearity can often simplify discussions of Shakespeare sources. Once you have identified borrowings from *Apollonius of Tyre*, your work is done. Shakespeare made this out of that. You have arrived at Q. We need not to think of Shakespeare so much as an ultimate end of all the source material, as if the point of all "prior" texts was, all along, to lead to him. A Stoppard character puts this perspective well in *The Real Thing*: "Shakespeare out in front by a mile, and the rest of the field strung out behind trying to close the gaps."[12]

Shakespeare's text takes up and resonates with so many other things that a linear model between source and text seems too simplistic, unable to account for the quicksilver switches of tone and register, an effect at times of overpowering signification, or an effect that shifts too rapidly for

us to fully engage with it.[13] A good example comes from the comic subplot of *Twelfth Night*. There is no known source for the Malvolio takedown, but there are analogues for the sequence binding Malvolio in a dark room to tempt him further into thinking he is mad. Had he read further from tale two (*Apollonius*) in Riche's collection, Shakespeare could have come to tale five, *Of Two Brethren and Their Wives*. Here a brother attempts to cure his shrewish wife by making believe that she is mad:

> He tied her in a dark house that was on his backside, and then calling his neighbours about her, he would seem with great sorrow to lament his wives distress, telling them that she was suddenly become Lunatic.[14]

I would not insist on this as a direct source for the famous tormenting of Malvolio, but given its proximity to material we know Shakespeare really did source, it is too tempting to ignore. Did he read this story in detail or just happen on it while thumbing through the book? Should we think of him using an early modern version of the process we think of as cut and paste, drag and drop from one file to the next? The analogy we can now so readily grasp (as we spend so much of our work time at computers daily engaging in these procedures both in our "work" places and our sociable use of media) suggests that, rather than a playwright grimly and dutifully reworking sections from sources (like self-consciously industrious doctoral students determined to show examiners how much they have read), instead we might think of a playwright scampering through a range of sources picking up ideas, plotlines, names, discarding, rearranging, sometimes willfully, sometimes randomly.

Such an approach is certainly suited to a play like *Twelfth Night*, a play that invites us to play in this way with its sources, seeing how they float through the text, elusive, ineffable. I will suggest in the second half of this chapter that the play then plays with and mocks our desire to pin those motifs down to specific theme-linked "meanings."

It is Shakespeare's elusiveness that underpins this chapter. Researching every conceivable aspect of *Twelfth Night* (the editor's self-chosen burden) has been deeply engaging, a fascinating exercise in historicizing a canonical text. Much of the information garnered this way is reassuringly stable; and part of the appeal of editing is that the glosses and introductory matter are havens for unembarrassed historicism. As a teacher, critic, and sometimes actor of Shakespeare, I had grown accustomed to trusting his plenitude. So many meanings on offer, so many ways of playing a part or construing a sonnet: surely the text would guide you, if only you trusted it. So often a Shakespeare text declares its obsessions. Consider, for examples, the thematic threads that lace many of Shakespeare's other comedies: "Of Government the properties to unfold/ Would seem in me to affect speech and discourse" (*Measure for*

Measure I.I. 3–5); "Now go thy ways, thou hast tam'd a curst shrow" (*The Taming of a Shrew* V. ii. 188); "Are you sure/ That we are awake? It seems to me/ That yet we sleep, we dream" (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* IV.i. 192–194). The play, in these instances, is already preparing a thematic term paper on itself. And yet this apparent generosity of idea and rhetoric, the sheer abundance of thematic *copia* throughout, allows a trickier, more deceptive Shakespeare to be at work, who not only does not tell you what he is up to but who, through these apparently overt means, tricks you into perceiving "real" things while "real" meaning or purpose may be conducted elsewhere. And this is what I mean by the "red herring" of my title, a term made famous through golden age detective fiction of the mid twentieth century, but operative, *OED* tells us, since 1807 as a term for a "clue or piece of information which is or is intended to be misleading, or is a distraction from the real question."[15] *Twelfth Night,* I suggest, embeds a series of red herring as non-source sources, as if the play was designed to mock and undermine in advance our subsequent debates around what does or does not constitute a source or a reading. The play could be taken as endorsing the drive linking all the chapters in this book, frustrated that previous accounts of source study are too limiting and, at the same time, determined to unsettle the determinism of any new claims we make here.

I would distinguish these effects from the ways Shakespeare clearly self-sources in the play from earlier work such as *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Two Gentleman of Verona*. He rethinks and restages the twin plot, generating a quite different set of errors, and then replays the farcical and romantic possibilities unleashed in Illyria by the arrival of the boy/girl twins, Viola and Sebastian.[16] Tracking the memes through these variant plays seems genuinely productive for accessing what the plays might "mean" for us now. With the red herring "sources," however, the play swallows itself and appears to mock any such attempt at interpretation and consolidation of "meaning."

* * *

Late at night, somewhere within Olivia's mansion, Sir Andrew Aguecheek fondly recalls the routines the Clown treated him and Sir Toby to the night before:

> In sooth, thou wast in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spok'st of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians passing the equinoctial of Queubus. 'Twas very good i'faith.
>
> (2.3.19–21)[17]

This sounds as though the Clown had been drawing deeply on some Renaissance compilation of learning from the ancients, or summoning

memories of the anthologies of Greek and Roman classics from which Renaissance schoolboys were taught. At the Middle Temple Hall, crammed full of lawyers in training, surely a very knowing audience (where Manningham saw the first performance on record), this kind of allusiveness would have gone down well; rather like being a Shakespearean laughing at all the in-jokes that salt *Shakespeare in Love*. It is amusing when the young man the script calls "Urchin" praises *Titus Andronicus*: "Plenty of blood. That is the only writing."[18] The subtlety that this "Urchin" is John Webster, already conceiving the gruesomely intricate death scenes staged in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil*, seems designed to elicit coterie belly laughs from Renaissance drama obsessives, an excellent example of a reference "integrated unobtrusively into the alluding text, so that uninformed readers will generally not be aware that they are missing anything."[19] The moment is amusing, but doubly so if you know the future of Webster's career.

When we first meet the Clown in *Twelfth Night*, he engages in a similar rhetorical strategy with which, again, that audience would have been well familiar: "For what says Quinapalus? 'Better a witty fool than a foolish wit'" (1.5.30–31); the play's first legal audience, we can assume, would be trained in the respectful citing of authorities. Editors (Carnegie and Houlahan included) play along with the Clown's game by providing quotation marks, as if the Clown were directly quoting a prior source. Of course, he is not; but the Clown and Shakespeare clearly hope we will be seduced into thinking he might be. Sources for these riffs cannot be found. You could either engage in a fruitless search for the authorities, which even digitized databases (such as the Text Creation Partnership version of *Early English Books Online*) could not discover; or be drawn, as Elam is in his edition, into the kind of game Lewis Carroll draws his readers into, treating these terms as portmanteau coinages (Quinapalus springing to life from Quintilian the rhetorician, well known to learned members of the original audiences).[20] A further Derridean tactic here might be to read the name as written French disguised as spoken Latin: "qui n'a pas lu" (who has not read), a kind of double writing, overlaid by the third element of the spoken English in which the play was first performed. That would be to generate a written meaning, unavailable in public until the text was first printed in the 1623 *Folio,* playing against the oral register of performance.[21] This line in any case "no longer gets a laugh"[22] or at least not an easy one. In a performance in Auckland, New Zealand in 2006,[23] the actor playing the Clown, Oliver Driver, was given license to improvise away from Shakespeare, and at this point turned to the audience, spread his hands wide and riffed: "Quinapalus? Anyone? No?" before returning to the dialogue with Olivia, neatly turning an unjoke into a fail-safe gag line.[24] The joke in this instance would have worked whether the allusion was to something most modern audiences would not readily recall without a text to consult or an authority

so bogus that nobody could ever have known what, if anything, was really "meant."

Driver was deploying the economy of wit stand-up comedians and talk-show hosts prize now, and it is hard not to think that the play's first Clown Robert Armin would have admired it. Bart Van Es argues that the tactic deployed here, of sourcing a non-source, is very close to that practiced in his own writings by Armin, whose compilation *Fool upon Fool* was published in 1600, a precursor of the books of jokes and extended routines any successful comedian now seeks to publish as part of his or her promotion strategy. Van Es suggests we need to attend more closely to the links between Armin and Shakespeare, the Company's only two actors who were also writers.[25] In terms of this chapter, he effectively suggests another source for the play in Armin's writing, and it is at least plausible that the jokes here were in fact Armin's own improvisations and scripted into the book of the play, though only a manuscript of the playbook with clear evidence of additions would show this for sure.[26] To read or enact these lines as a co-creation would certainly align with current approaches to repertory, company, and authorship studies, as well as sharing the impulse common to several chapters in this book, which work to further dismantle the Romantic construct of Shakespeare as a lonely genius. Whichever of them wrote or conceived of the term, Armin and Shakespeare can be seen (or heard) working in consort here, concocting a plausible yet spurious source, a defensive screen to distract interpreters.

There are numerous other traps of spurious learning (or learned spuriousness) in the play, such as the "Old Hermit of Prague" with whom the Clown taunts Malvolio, who spoke "very wittily … to a niece of King Gorboduc" (4.2.12–14);[27] or the "Lady of the Strachey" who, Malvolio optimistically recalls, married the lower status "yeoman of the wardrobe" (2.5.35–36). No one has yet located convincing correlatives in the "real" world for these two figures.[28] James Joyce once boasted that he had "put … so many enigmas and puzzles [in *Ulysses*] that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant."[29] Shakespeare's red herring seem to serve a similar purpose.

Surely the reddest of these is the play's title. We know from Manningham that the play was known from its first performances as *Twelfth Night or What You Will*, the same title and subtitle as we find twenty-one years later in the *Folio*. But what are we to make of this? Over the past century, close reading formalists and historicizing critics of all ideological hues have conned this problem. The title, it is widely accepted, gestures towards the feast of epiphany, and gift giving along with the acknowledgement of true states of being (which epiphanies hold forth) are seen as thematically central to the play. The play then enacts the carnival festivity that is so much like the Inns of Court revels themselves. Sir Toby is a Lord of Misrule, and Malvolio a pleasure-hating

puritan. In the eighteenth century, the play was often staged on January 6, but the linkage remains puzzling. "After dinner to the Dukes house" writes Pepys on January 6, 1663, "and there saw *Twelfth Night* acted well, though it be but a silly play and not relating at all to the name or day."[30] The quote from Pepys is often used to dismiss him, as we hold the play in higher regard than he did. But if the play does have to do with January 6, why was it performed on February 2, the Feast of Candlemas? Readings such as Barber's in his classic *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (1959) are justly famous and influential, but they assume a general answer to the question of the play's title, which the specifics of the play seem generated to undermine. The title is a red herring in that it evokes a set of meanings for the play that might, in the end, be meant to lead us nowhere, tempting us into thinking we can be certain about what the play "means," but determined rather to unfix any settled meaning we might attribute to it. Marston wrote a comedy, probably performed soon after *Twelfth Night*, called *What You Will*.[31] Here "what you will" becomes a catchphrase, much like the cry "eastward ho" in the eponymous Webster/Jonson/Dekker 1605 collaboration. In Marston, "what you will" sounds derisive, so that we could read Shakespeare's use of it as the silliest subtitle ever, as if that was a ludicrous way to title a play.[32] But if you accept the title as a red herring, then the deceptive clue, the temptation to misalign the play and its sources, is a trap laid by Shakespeare. His skepticism could then be the source in turn for Marston's.

Two classic 1960s fictions epitomize the dilemmas and pleasures of source hunting. In *Pale Fire*, a demented editor, Charles Kinbote, willfully overreads John Shade's poem, *Pale Fire*. Shade lyrically, elegiacally describes his life, set amidst a campus town in upstate New York (a parallel universe of Ithaca, where Nabokov taught at Cornell University 1948–1959). Kinbote behaves like a dutiful editor, reporting the provenance of the poem and the physical state of the manuscript, which survives on index cards. He then presents hundreds of note pages, creating a palimpsestic kingdom of Zembla, and shows the poem prophesying the travels of its exiled king. The editor swallows the poem whole, generating a book length red herring in his own image, a willfully perverse reading of Shade's poem. In another example of selective intertextual interpretation, in Borges's "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," an imaginary region of Iraq is described in full, but data can only be accessed by consulting *Enyclopedia Britannica* in the right way. Only adepts can access this entry, invisible to others, just as the Hogwarts Portal is invisible to muggles on Platform 9 of King's Cross Station. Borges's "Library of Babel" opens out further, for in its beautiful Escher-like spaces you can find "a version of each book in all languages, the interpolations of every book in all books."[33] This sounds like an anticipation of our current capacity to access, key word search, and accumulate sources large and small. What then to do with all this data? Nabokov provides a gleeful

demonstration of what can happen when professors have too much data to hand. That dilemma is one of the key themes of this book, even as we explore the rich potentials of new approaches to source study; yet Borges and Nabokov's fictions stand as salutary metaphors or parables, showing how the accumulation of source material can lead to forms of hermeneutic dementia.[34] To cite another twentieth century classic, we might be in danger of becoming extras in Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much*.

Combining contemporary forms of data mining with older forms of print-based scholarship generously opens out to a wealth of new approaches. The Map of Early Modern London and the Lost Plays Database are exemplary instances where digitization opens out new sources, traces, allusions. Yet, Borges and Nabokov's fictions warn us, there may be limits to how far we should read. In *Twelfth Night*, over-reading is mocked when Malvolio's zeal to decode Olivia's love undoes him; conversely, it is through the Clown's lines that the play seems most rigorously to press forward the issues around the "meaning" of sources and offer pathways designed principally to baffle. In his final song, the Clown invokes a whole history of the world, as if some secret were to be finally given, and then dismisses that urge lightly, setting aside any such grandiose ambition:

> But that's all one, our play is done,
> And we'll strive to please you every day.
>
> (5.1.391–392)

Notes

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1 William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Carnegie and Houlahan. All references to the play from this edition.
2 The play does not make this explicit but allows audiences to assume that Toby is the rapscallion younger brother of Olivia's dead father, a comic variant of the relationship between Claudius and Old Hamlet.
3 Keir Elam, ed. and intro., *Twelfth Night*, 192. The coterie audience of the first known performance of *Twelfth Night* at the Middle Temple would likely be alert to this kind of reference and find the linkage amusing.
4 Booth, *Precious Nonsense*.
5 See their exemplary contributions to "The Polyphony Issue" of *Publication of the Modern Language Association*: '"This Caribbean So Choke with the Dead," and "Allusion."
6 Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham*, 48.
7 See Bullough. For an extended case study of this kind, see Clubb's *Pollastra and the Origins of Twelfth Night*.

8 Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, chap. 11: "Memes: the New Replicators."
9 In the Italian plays and novellas, the catastrophe that disperses the family arises out of the 1532 sack of Rome, allowing a much more specific chronotype than Shakespeare offers. His strategy is to diffuse this specificity for a more lyrical effect.
10 For an earlier consideration of this, see my "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories."
11 For instance, Shapiro's *1599* gives a vivid sense of Shakespeare's industry in that year. The range and number of plays Shakespeare wrote from 1595 through to 1600 is prodigious. He clearly read widely, but not with the long-form intensity we have placed at the heart of advanced scholarship in English or Theater studies.
12 Tom Stoppard, *Plays Five*, 201.
13 Booth's career-long insistence that we have not really begun to grasp the full dimensions of what Shakespeare's texts might mean, if only we allowed ourselves to hear them clearly and freely, points to ways we might engage further as audiences and viewers.
14 Cited in Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, 135. I have silently modernized the spelling in the interests of readability.
15 *Oxford English Dictionary* online, s.vv. "red herring" 2.
16 Likewise, from *Titus Andronicus and Richard III* onwards, Shakespeare self-sources the staging of the ironic, eloquent ruler, whose life unravels even at the height of power; the affects possible in the "tyrant" meme are played all the way through to the rethinking of Theseus in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613). See McInnis's chapter in this volume for a further discussion of self-sourcing and lost plays, and Skura's chapter, for self-sourcing in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.
17 In the play Feste is only once referred to by that name (2.4.11), and in the speech prefixes in the *Folio* (the only copy text for the play) he is designated as "Clown." We use that term in our editions to reflect the ways he is performing a professional role throughout the play rather than inhabiting a character with an "inner" depth.
18 Norman and Stoppard, *Shakespeare in Love*, 54.
19 Machacek, "Allusion," 527.
20 See Elam's note at 1.5.33. Carroll, in a famous example, gives dictionary glosses for the words he invented for the "Jabberwocky" poem from *Through the Looking Glass* as if they had a referent in the "real" beyond his imagination.
21 For a brilliantly searching examination of the teasing play between "written" and "oral" semantics in the play, see Booth's *Precious Nonsense*.
22 Mahood, ed. *Twelfth Night*, 143.
23 For the *Auckland Theatre Company*. The director was Michael Hurst who has himself had great success playing Shakespeare's fools, from Touchstone (*As You Like It*) to Lear's household Fool.
24 The stunt worked effectively both times I saw this performance.
25 Kemp's *Nine Days Wonder* (1600) was written after he left the Lord Chamberlain's Players.
26 See Chapter 9, "Robert Armin," in Van Es, *Shakespeare in Company*, 163–195. The copy used to set the play in the *Folio* was likely a neat scribal ms, but there are inconsistencies that suggest redrafting and/or performance revision, so the jokes the Clown plays as "routines" could very well be additions, though short of another manuscript emerging, there is no easy way of proving this.

27 The Clown here meshes together *Gorboduc*, the play by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, first performed at the Inner Temple in 1561 (and which takes its plot from the history of Ancient Britain) with the popular Renaissance notion that the court of Rudolph II in Prague was a prime location of mystical insight. Elam's note at 2.5.36–7 reviews possible candidates for "yeoman" and "Lady". He comments they "may be invented, or it may be a theatrical in-joke" (Elam 239).
28 The most ingeniously wrongheaded tracking is Henry Strachey's *Il Sarto Risarcito: The Lady of the Strachy: Twelfth Night, act 2, scene 5: the reading proposed by Steevens supported with further explanations, and notice of the Italian Comedy Inganni*, where the "sarto" is said to have been an ambitiously skillful tailor.
29 Cited in Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 521.
30 *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* vol. IV (1663), 6.
31 First printed in 1607 but most likely performed soon after *Twelfth Night*. The dates are not absolute though, so it is possible that Shakespeare sources Marston rather than the obvious canonical Shakespeare inspiring Marston (master playmaker gives new playwright an assist).
32 In his diary entry, Manningham gives the subtitle, so this was already linked in 1602 as an intrinsic part of whatever the play was up to.
33 Jorge Luis Borges, *Ficciones*, 61.
34 Curtis Perry, an astute respondent at the 2013 SAA seminar for which an initial draft of this chapter was prepared, rightly noted that the Renaissance satire could itself provide many examples of "demented hermeneuts" overreaching interpretation and getting trapped in the relay between "text," "notes," and "commentary" in printed book formats, just as Nabokov imagines Kinbote to be.

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Part IV

Source Study in the Digital Age

Although grounded in theater history on the one hand and sociobiology and philosophy on the other, concepts like intertheatricality, theatergram, and meme also dovetail with aspects of our contemporary episteme. We are in a historical moment in which twitter and website copy privilege small bits of text, geographically expanded access to information via the web allows a greater sense of networking and border-crossing, and searchable databases reveal additional connections across texts and groups of texts.[1] The chapters in this final section of the book consider source study in the digital age. A need to deal with the temporal relations between texts and questions of transmission is likely to become more common as we move forward with online texts and the ability to macro-analyze data. The digital age increases both the number of texts that are available and the chances of finding echoes among them.

Examining how the digitizing of texts has fostered a philological turn in literary studies. Brett Greatley-Hirsch and Laurie Johnson's chapter reflects on the significance of the new analytical capacities offered by big data, such as macro-analysis of large bodies of texts and images, for the study of Shakespearean sources, and they align a new approach to early modern texts with contemporary textual theory and changes in book culture. Beginning with a source study of Stephen Greenblatt's "elephant's graveyard" using Google Books Ngram English 2012 corpus and turning to *Hamlet* using Google Books, ECCO, EEBO-TCP, and LION corpora to identify a web of theological texts to which Horatio's citation of "this ground" belongs, they show how digital searches expand our understanding of the non-linear, intertextual relations between texts.

The digital age also makes possible new choices about what texts are presented, what kinds of scholarly apparatus accompany them, and how to make texts accessible. These choices also have important implications for sustaining cultural diversity.[2] Janelle Jenstad's chapter demonstrates these points through the example of *Henry V* in relation to *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*. Both plays are hosted in the same software and appear as two separate but linked projects, the Internet Shakespeare Editions (ISE) and the Queen's Men Editions (QME), along with a third project, Digital Renaissance Editions (DRE). These

linked digital humanities projects give full peer-reviewed editorial attention to both Shakespeare and non-Shakespearean plays and can allow one to vary the position of the Shakespearean text in relation to other Renaissance plays, with different interpretive results.

Yet, even as digital tools have provided greater access to early modern texts, David McInnis's chapter importantly reminds us of the likelihood that countless sources and contexts are lost to us. And, with reference to the Lost Plays Database that he founded and co-edits with Roslyn Knutson, he shows how the database and search tools can allow us partial recovery of that which has been lost. McInnis suggests that attention to lost plays can help solve "ambiguous cruces and allusions," among other valuable results. In addition, gathering and making understandable and accessible evidence about lost plays provides new ways of understanding early modern repertory companies and the decisions they made about what plays to put on; building on David Kay's call for a "more theatrically oriented source study,"[3] McInnis argues that source study that attends to lost plays can tell us not only about authors, but also about the intertheatricality that resulted from commercial competition.

Notes

1 See Hirsch and Johnson, this volume, 253–278.
2 A similar argument is likewise made by the EMLoT (Early Modern London Theatres) database, which "includes those historical occurrences that got written about before 1642 in documents that then also got recopied by others after 1642" ("Introduction"). As only items that have been copied appear in the database, the database exemplifies the process of rereading that makes a source visible.
3 See Kay, this volume, 159–179.

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12 Shakespeare Source Study in the Age of Google

Revisiting Greenblatt's Elephants and Horatio's Ground

Brett Greatley-Hirsch and Laurie Johnson

> For many years the *sine qua non* of new scholarly discovery has been a cache of overlooked manuscripts turning up in a box in a country-house attic, the drawer of an old desk, or, in the classic case of the Boswell papers, an ebony cabinet in an Irish castle. The eureka moments in the life of today's questing scholar-adventurer are much more likely to take place in front of a computer screen.
>
> —Patrick Leary[1]

The philological turn in Shakespeare studies in recent decades has been enabled in large part by the emergence of large-scale databases of digitized primary materials and increasingly sophisticated computational techniques for querying and visualizing the data. This proliferation of electronic resources coincides with a broader disciplinary turn in literary studies towards materialism, as reflected by renewed interest in bibliography and textual studies, the history of the book, and material culture.[2] At the convergence of these methodological and critical paradigms, source study in the Age of Google promises scholars the ability to tease out complex inter-textual relationships across a variety of media without "labor[ing] under the stigma of positivism" as earlier studies had done.[3] In this chapter, we consider how these new approaches can be used to examine the phrase with which some scholars might have once imagined the door to source study to be slammed shut, and we offer two case studies focused on the sources of *Hamlet* to demonstrate the possibilities and pitfalls of these new approaches to Shakespeare "sources" and "source study" while discussing their methodological implications.

If the search for literary sources—conceived of in terms of singular, one-to-one textual correspondences—is not futile, it is nonetheless reductive in nature. As disconcertingly vague as "the circulation of social energy" may be as evidence for the cultural transmission of ideas, the New Historicist readings that employ it as an amorphous explanatory device are anything but reductive. It is precisely the excitement and

freshness of New Historicism that ensured its allure and longevity in literary studies. Even so, discomfort with the historical naiveté with which relations between text and culture tended to be treated by New Historicists provoked calls for more philologically nuanced, theoretically sophisticated, and bibliographically sensitive approaches. One such approach, focusing with meticulous detail on "the specific material and institutional conditions of the discursive exchanges" under investigation, was gleefully dubbed by its chief proponents as "The New Boredom."[4]

Thankfully, there is a satisfactory path for us to follow besides the positivism of traditional source study, the nebulous "circulation of social energy" of New Historicism, and the tedious specificity of its more bibliographically minded successors, accomplished by reorienting the question of what constitutes a "source." As Richard Levin has argued, "a source is not a text or an event; it is always a *relationship* between that text or event" and the work that draws upon them; "there are many possible kinds of relationships that are homogenized under the single word 'source.'"[5] Stephen Lynch goes further, arguing "the old notion of particular and distinct sources has given way to new notions of boundless and heterogeneous intertextuality," such that "sources themselves can be reexamined as products of intertextuality," as "dynamic and often inconsistent texts involving layers of implicit and subtextual suggestions."[6] The case studies we offer here demonstrate the role that new modes of analysis can play in unlocking the relationships between texts and events and in bringing the intertextual and subtextual layers into sharper view, yet we also offer cautionary indications of where the data requires deeper scrutiny, based on lessons learned from the historical and cultural turns that have come before us. Source study in the Google Age need no longer deal in the categorization of correspondences into linear structural relationships, but in mapping complex webs of connotation and resonance.

Googling Graveyards

In 1985, Stephen Greenblatt famously characterized source study as "the elephant's graveyard of literary history."[7] Almost without exception, critics have interpreted this as a negative assessment. For example, Laurie Maguire contrasts an earlier generation's reverence for source study "as one of the highest forms of Shakespeare scholarship" with Greenblatt's declaration as evidence that "by the end of the twentieth century the esteem in which this activity was held had fallen irrecoverably."[8] Other critics cite Greenblatt's essay to illustrate how "scathingly dismissive of source study" both he and the New Historicism are/were[9] and to explain why source study "has had a bad name for some decades"[10] and "been in a state of neglect."[11] Robert J. Griffin provides a notable exception, citing Greenblatt's epithet to set what he sees as New Historicism's recuperation of source study against its distrust of psychoanalytic criticism: "For while the new historicism recuperates the

antiquarian source study of the old historical scholars—what Greenblatt refers to lovingly as 'the elephant's graveyard'—it remains wary of, when not hostile to, psychoanalysis."[12] Does Griffin represent the exception that proves the rule, or is there in his reading of Greenblatt's phrase as being made "lovingly" a glimpse of the potential for this phrase to carry positive connotations that have been forgotten by those who read the phrase as a rejection of source study? By using the tools of source studies, old and new, we aim to show that Griffin's position, while not a majority view, is not altogether untenable. Even if, as Maguire suggests, "Greenblatt's metaphor continues to encapsulate the dominant attitude" towards source studies,[13] the divergence of critical interpretations outlined above suggests little attention has been paid to the metaphor itself. What is an elephant's graveyard, and is it good or bad? Where does the metaphor come from?

An elephant's graveyard (or any of its cognate forms, such as cemetery or burial ground) refers to "a place known only to the elephants where the elderly pachyderms go to die, and bones and tusks pile up beyond measure."[14] One of the earliest appearances of the elephant's graveyard in literature comes from the Seventh Voyage of Sinbad the Sailor in the *Thousand and One Nights*, a collection of stories first translated into English in 1706. After two months of successfully hunting elephants with a bow and arrow, Sinbad is knocked unconscious when the herd eventually retaliates. Carried off by one of the bulls, he awakes to find "a long and broad hill, covered all over with the bones and teeth [i.e., tusks] of elephants." Sinbad concludes, "this was their burying place, and they carried me thither on purpose to tell me that I should forbear to persecute them." He returns to the city to report this discovery to his master, who is thrilled at the prospect of such "considerable riches." They return to collect all of the ivory, and Sinbad is granted freedom and a share of the fortune for his reward.[15]

By at least the eighteenth century, English readers were tantalized by the image of secret ivory hoards. However, an absence of results when searching the *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership* (EEBO-TCP) Phases I and II, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), and *Literature Online* (LION) databases suggests that the phrase "elephant's graveyard" and its cognate forms only entered into common usage a century later.[16] Figure 12.1 plots the frequencies of these phrases as they occur in books printed between 1820 and 2000, using the *Google Books* Ngram English 2012 corpus.[17] The figures are not comprehensive—the corpus contains roughly 4.5 million English books printed between 1505 and 2008, which is only a fraction of the total published. Nonetheless, they are representative of general trends. The spike of references to "elephant cemetery" in the mid-nineteenth century corresponds with the republication of the *Thousand and One Nights*, as well as allusions to Sinbad's tale in travel writing. References pick up at the dawn of the twentieth century, by which time adventure narratives set in inner Africa became popular, inaugurated and exemplified by the novels of H. Rider Haggard.[18]

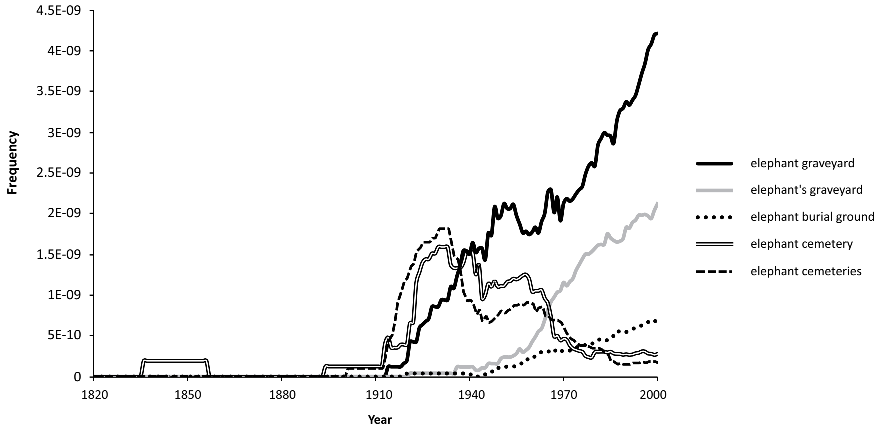

Figure 12.1 Frequencies of "elephant's graveyard" and cognate forms in English printed books, 1820–2000, in the Google Books Ngram English 2012 corpus.

Although it remained a staple in the literature, television, and film of the early twentieth century, biologists and hunters alike dispelled the existence of elephant graveyards as a myth, suggesting that the accumulation of pachyderm remains at particular sites is "not the result of a peculiar habit of the elephants" but rather "due primarily to the question of water supply."[19] The prolific hunter W. D. M. Bell, responsible for shooting over two thousand heavy-tusked elephants and carefully documenting his kills, was particularly dismissive. Upon reaching "what native information called an elephant cemetery," Bell reported being "struck by the fact that there were no recent bones or skulls," surmising that the "white bleached" remains he found were evidence of an earlier drought: "So much for the elephant cemeteries," he concluded.[20] Later in the twentieth century, biologists would also come to blame hunters and poachers for the promulgation of the myth:

> [I]t is possible that old elephants whose days are numbered may congregate on riverbanks to feed on the lush vegetation. Some countries have also seen elephant killing-fields, where poachers have left dead elephants strewn across the landscape. This happened, for example, in the Murchison Falls National Park in Uganda, which used to be home to 8,000 elephants; they were killed for their ivory by poachers, many of them soldiers of Idi Amin's army, who reduced the population's numbers to less than 100 in the early 1980s.[21]

Statements such as this reflect the growing international concern about dwindling elephant populations, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, which culminated in the 1989 listing of the African elephant in Appendix I of the 1973 Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species

of Flora and Fauna (CITES),[22] effectively banning the world ivory trade. Although public interest in the fate of the African elephant remained high, resistance to the ban by a number of African states necessitated a series of Dialogue Meetings in the 1990s and 2000s, regulating the sale of African elephant ivory subject to fulfilling strict criteria.[23]

Ivory was a contentious international ecological and economic issue by the time Greenblatt first published his remarks about source study, with the fabled elephant's graveyard to which he likened it no longer romanticized. Hollywood film provides a striking example of this shift. At the climax of the sensational hit movie of 1932, *Tarzan the Ape Man*, the secret elephant's graveyard offers the adventurers a fortune in ivory—"riches, millions"—in a setting described by the character Jane as "solemn and beautiful."[24] Just over sixty years later, Disney's *The Lion King*—the highest-grossing release of 1994—depicts the elephant's graveyard as a "shadowy place" of evil and foreboding.[25] Dictionaries of phrase and fable offer further examples of this shift: the 1870 first edition of Brewer's dictionary does not mention the phrase, whereas the 2006 second edition of the Oxford dictionary defines "elephants' graveyard" as "a repository for unwanted goods."[26] This sense of the phrase entered twentieth-century military and naval slang as a nickname for appointments to desk jobs without any real power before retirement.[27]

Greenblatt's characterization of source study as "the elephant's graveyard of literary history," whether by chance or design, evokes a complex and contradictory set of cultural associations. On the one hand, it could draw on the long romantic tradition of adventure and the mystery of the unknown, of treasure hunting and the mastery of nature, allowing readers to interpret the phrase in a positive light. On the other, it could equally rely upon the stigma surrounding the ivory trade to suggest the activity was destructive, or on the knowledge that the elephant's graveyard is a myth to imply that the search for literary sources is just as futile. However the reader might choose to take Greenblatt's quip, our task here has been to demonstrate that the phrase does not appear in his text on the basis of having been drawn from a single source. In keeping with the claims made by Levin and Lynch, for example, we do not offer a "source" as traditionally conceived in terms of one-to-one correspondence for Greenblatt's epithet; rather, our aim has been to harness the power of electronic databases to identify chains of association with the "elephant's graveyard," as both concept and phrase, which form the rich cultural background available to, if not shared by, Greenblatt and his readers.

Sourcing Elsinore

> A source is a source, of course, of course.
>
> (Brian Berliner)[28]

These new approaches to source studies are enabled by computational methods and electronic resources, but are bound up with a shift in views of the status of sources—questions of transmission are, for example, no longer confined to an original source text and a later text that draws on it. Sometimes a source is not a source, of course. To explain, we shall consider one of the most famous examples of established source transmission. There are two sources most commonly associated with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The first is the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus, written no later than 1208 and published in Latin in 1514, and which contains the "Vita Amlethi." Francois de Belleforest rewrote Saxo's history in French in the fifth volume of his *Histoires tragiques*, first published in 1570.[29] Studies of the source of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* tend to focus on the question of whether his play is based principally on Saxo or on Belleforest, but when we treat them as "source texts" in this fashion, we potentially overlook the extent to which all three participate in the long history of appropriations of a story that predates them all. Geoffrey Bullough, for example, notes in his *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* that Saxo's story is woven together from a number of possible older stories, but he also states that the "mythological origins and analogues of the Amleth story in Scandinavian and Celtic lore do not concern us now."[30] Bullough's concern, of course, lies with the most direct source text upon which Shakespeare might have based his play, and he ends up siding with Belleforest: "I see no proof that […] Shakespeare […] used Saxo Grammaticus at all."[31] And yet, curiously, in cataloguing the various texts he reprints in the collection, Bullough lists Saxo first as "Source" and Belleforest subsequently only as an "Analogue." The problem for Bullough is that Belleforest translates Saxo and then, he argues, Shakespeare adapts Belleforest, a transmission path not easily accommodated within a system of categories of *either* source *or* analogue.

While he credits Belleforest's *Histoires tragiques* as the source for the story of *Hamlet*, then, Bullough acknowledges the prior value of Saxo as Belleforest's source, but a question of Saxo's sources is left undecided. Saxo's Amleth seems undoubtedly to have been based on a much older figure in order to meet King Valdemar I and Archbishop Absalon's brief to produce a national history in Latin rivaling the great chronicles being written by the British and French.[32] Perhaps the oldest parallel to Amleth can be located in the Roman tale of Brutus—whose real name was Lucius but who changed it to Brutus, who feigned madness, and who revenged his family's death by killing the king.[33] Yet the name of "Amlethus" suggests a debt to the Icelandic tale of Amloði. Although evidence for the content or even the existence of just such an ancient saga is slight, scholars have identified glimpses in the historical record. The name "Amloði" in Icelandic is a nickname given to any weak-minded or imbecilic person,[34] but it is unclear if this meaning derives from the name of a figure who possessed these characteristics or if the word emerged

first and is given to a hero of a saga in order to convey this impression of him. The earliest reference to the name appears in a ninth-century verse fragment by Sem Snæbjörn, recorded four hundred years later by the Norse historian Snorri Sturlason: "They say the nine skerry-brides turn fast the most hostile sea out beyond the land's edge, they who long ago ground Amloði's mill."[35]

Regarding the etymological origins of the name "Amlethus," Lisa Collinson has argued that both "Amlethus" and "Amloði" share a common linguistic ancestor in the old Irish "Admlithi" from the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*—the name means "To-Be-Greatly-Ground," which might be a source, Collinson suggests, for the image of "Amloði's mill" beyond the land's edge.[36] Collinson's argument hinges on the image of "Admlithi" as a "sea-grinder"—the same motion with which the sea grinds the sand (the "mill") at the edge of the shore lends itself linguistically to associations with grinding in general—but she concludes that Saxo is unlikely to have known of this meaning when he took the name of the figure from Icelandic legend for his Danish hero since the maritime associations bound up in the term are all but absent in his tale.[37] In Collinson's account, then, the poet Snæbjörn presents a "corruption" of the older Irish term, which Saxo exacerbates, most likely unaware of the Irish original.[38] This scholarly narrative of corrupted names seems to leave no room for any genealogical connection to the Brutus story; yet a scenario based on translation rather than corruption may strengthen the link: "brutus" in Latin means "dullard," which suggests that the translation of the tale into Icelandic could have involved translation of the name to "Amloði," which we have seen refers to a weak-minded person, and this in turn is rendered in Saxo's Latin as "Amlethus."

This leaves us with two potential genealogies: in one, both the Brutus story and name (with its association with weak-mindedness) are adapted for an Icelandic tale by way of translation; in the other, the Irish name retains the "sea-grinder" association when it is used in the Icelandic tale, but its corrupted form in that tale is exacerbated by Saxo, causing the association to be lost. Translation or corruption—any attempt to resolve the choice either way is made more difficult by the fact that the "evidence" is a textual fragment. The desire to choose one way or the other may be fueled by the tantalizing prospect that the fragment belongs to the very text that Saxo used as *his* source, amounting to but one degree of separation from Amloði to Hamlet. Evidence that this is not the case is provided by Saxo himself: in his preface, Saxo acknowledges his debt to Arnold of Thule, a scholar of Icelandic oral folklore, stating in relation to the Icelandic stories related to him by Arnold to "have examined [them] somewhat closely, and have woven together no small portion of the present work by following their narrative."[39] It should not matter, then, that we do not have any surviving source text for Saxo, if we are prepared to take Saxo at his own word: one of his "sources" is his

Icelandic colleague and the stories he incorporates into his history of the Danes are based on what he has been told, rather than what he has read.

We argue that an approach driven by a desire to identify a single source text tends to ignore the company that writers keep: the human element must not be forgotten, and we suggest, perhaps with only a slight sense of irony, that the proliferation of searchable information on the internet allows us to gauge a better sense of this human element. It matters, for example, that Saxo refers to his colleague, Arnold of Thule, as the provider of Icelandic material that he weaves into a history of the Danes. It also matters that fellow members of Shakespeare's playing company—George Bryan, William Kempe, and Thomas Pope—had been among those who, in 1586 and 1587, performed in the service of the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley, before King Frederick II of Denmark at Kronborg castle in Helsingør. The question of where Shakespeare sourced his inspiration for the representation of Elsinore has long been a stumbling block for studies of the sources for *Hamlet*. Shakespeare's setting cannot have been sourced from Saxo or Belleforest, or any other earlier source text because, simply, Kronborg castle was not completed and adopted as the seat of Danish power until 1585.[40] As many scholars have pointed out, Shakespeare cannot simply be using a current name for the sake of currency alone—elements of the interior of the castle seem particularly well matched to representations of locations in the play, suggesting that the author of the play must have had intimate knowledge of the castle, or be relying on an accurate description of the castle in a contemporary text.[41]

Keith Brown argues that the *Civitates orbis terrarum* produced by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (Köln, 1572–1618) could be a valid textual source for Shakespeare's Elsinore: in addition to descriptions of the interiors of the castle, the fourth volume, which appeared in 1588, provides graphic representations of Kronborg, both from a bird's-eye view and in detail (Figure 12.2).[42] The strategic value of the castle's location is rendered immediately visible in the depictions of Kronborg by Braun and Hogenberg, yet the value of the *Civitates* plate as a source for *Hamlet* is substantially undermined by at least one crucial inaccuracy: a very large platform defining the southern corner of the castle—enabling views and cannon sighting over both the Øresund to the northeast and Helsingør (Elsinore) to the south—is absent. In the first few scenes of *Hamlet*, involving the sentinels at watch and the appearance of the Ghost, the audience is told that the platform has excellent views of both sea and land, that it is large enough for sentinels to need to call out to each other "Holla" from opposite ends (TLN 26), for the Ghost to beckon Hamlet to "a more remoued ground" (TLN 648) without actually departing the platform, and that in doing so the Ghost may potentially lure Hamlet "into the Sea" (TLN 660).[43] The *Civitates* plate could not have furnished the playwright with the visual image of such a scene, but anybody who had been to the castle would carry strong

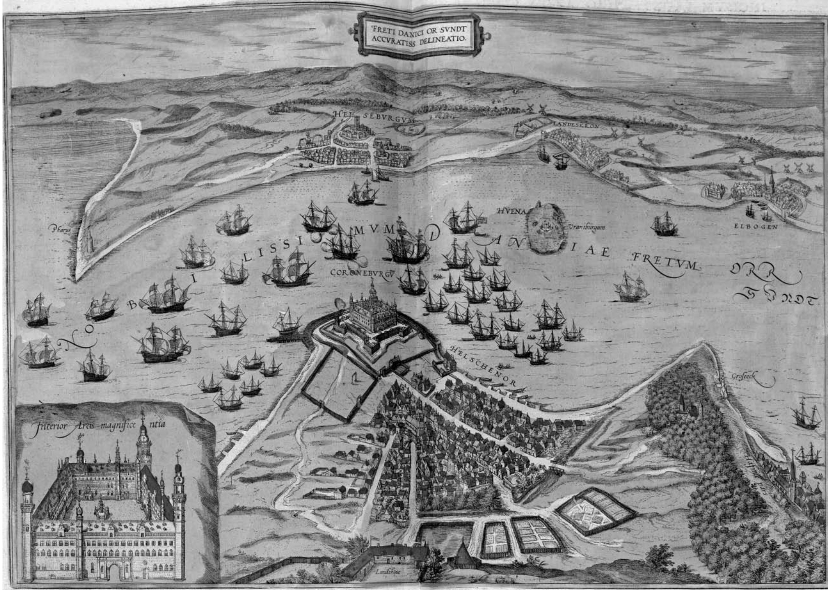

Figure 12.2 Kronborg castle. Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 4 (Köln, 1588), plate 26. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. G1028.B7 1612.

impressions of one of the castle's most imposing features from the sea. This person need not have been Shakespeare—it should be enough that three of the members of Shakespeare's company had been to Kronborg for the knowledge of this feature of the castle to be conveyed as part of the imaginative landscape of the play.

In the age of Google, it is enough for the reader to search for images of Kronborg to find numerous views—from either an aerial[44] or southeastern offshore vantage—with which to gauge the problem with imagining the *Civitates* plate as a visual source for the depiction of Elsinore in *Hamlet* (Figures 12.3 and 12.4). Both views offer a sense of the scale of the watch platform, but only from the offshore vantage at sea level does the viewer also gain a sense of why a visitor by water rather than air might retain a sense that the Ghost could beckon Hamlet "into the Sea" from the edge of one side of the platform: the distance to shore is collapsed from this vantage.

It may therefore be more apt to ask: if the *Civitates* plate is not a visual source for Shakespeare's Elsinore, what is the relationship between the two? In an age before Google, or indeed even before aerial photography, any reader familiar with the most readily available depiction of Kronborg might well wonder at a disjuncture between the Elsinore represented in

Figure 12.3 Aerial photograph of Kronborg castle, 2014. © Google and TerraMetrics.

Figure 12.4 Sea-level photograph of Kronborg castle, 2007. Wikimedia Commons.

the opening scenes of *Hamlet* and the castle as they might *expect* to see it based on the Braun and Hogenberg image. Rather than a source for Shakespeare's Elsinore in any direct fashion, it is possible instead that these images served as a spur—if the playwright or his companions were aware of the existence of the plate, and their relative inaccuracy could be confirmed by the members of the company who had visited the castle,

then we might imagine a scenario in which the theatrical depiction of Elsinore served as a corrective to some extent for an audience presumed by the players to have already been misinformed.

Parallelography

Such scenarios are, of course, the products of our own speculation, but this is not to dismiss them for lacking any explanatory value. In the case of Elsinore, our interpretive speculation is built upon historically established networks of travelling actors and playwrights, and it allows us to discern parallels between texts, places, and experiences that are not otherwise visible to genealogical textual tracing. By "parallel," we mean a relationship between two objects, denoting a similarity in content and/or structure that varies in degree from direct one-to-one correspondence through to distant echo and faint resonance. Plagiarism, allusion, and homage are typical examples of shared content, whereas the notion of genre is built upon the recognition of shared structural and formal elements that become conventional, such as plot devices and character types.

Each parallel acts as a node within a larger network of associations, with every node illuminating (or illuminated by) other connected nodes, whether textual, visual, or aural. While the quality of individual nodes and connections within such a network—and by extension, their explanatory power—will vary, a parallel nonetheless remains evidence of a relationship between two objects, however strained it may appear to be. Moreover, the precise nature of the relationship evinced by any parallel is not essential, but contingent—it remains always to be demonstrated through argument and with reference to other information. Traditional source study, adopting the philological methodology and theoretical framework of stemmatics, delineates such relationships in linear structural terms: *source* and *derivative*, *archetype* and *variant*. As Mark Houlahan suggests, "a spurious linearity presides over many such studies," which have "proceeded with misplaced confidence in being able to locate the single prior source of any given story" and "with surety in the progression of one story to the next."[45] However, linear source study is not the only methodology to focus on textual parallels. Traditional authorship attribution study offers a pertinent analogue, in using the same methodology but supposing common authorship where traditional source study posits a source–derivative relationship to explain a parallel.[46] Since the eighteenth century, scholars and amateur enthusiasts alike have feverishly scoured the corpus of early modern drama for so-called "verbal" parallels in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.[47] This approach to authorship attribution, derided by W. W. Greg as "the parallelographic school,"[48] remains popular but hotly contested in Shakespeare scholarship, prompting perennial publication of studies to outline the logical and methodological flaws of such investigations as new technologies, resources, and variations in method emerge.[49]

While the "parallelographic school" has upgraded their technological arsenal to include the use of electronic databases and software tools with which to identify and count exact textual parallels,[50] authorship attribution studies have since moved on, for the most part, to employ more robust computer-aided statistical methods for multivariate analysis and machine-learning techniques.[51] The application of quantitative methods and statistical reasoning to literary studies in this way has also enabled scholars to situate their findings within degrees of probability, rather than resorting to the rhetoric of certainty and uncertainty.[52] To identify parallels, Shakespeare source study traditionally relied upon a scholar's ear, capacity for recall, and intimate familiarity with classical, medieval, and Renaissance literature, all cultivated over a lifetime. It is not enough that these tasks can be accomplished with, if not by, a computer. If it is to avoid the stigma of positivism under which it previously labored, source study, especially if aided by electronic databases and software tools, must follow authorship attribution studies in adapting not only its methods, but its critical frameworks and vocabulary as well.

One family of computational techniques that readily lends itself to literary source study is "string matching" or "sequence alignment," by which an algorithm processes a corpus of texts, identifying exact and approximate matches for a given "string" or sequence of characters, words, and phrases. As a form of pattern recognition with applications ranging from DNA sequencing to the operation of Google's web, book, and image search interfaces, the computer science literature on string matching is understandably vast.[53] According to one recent survey article, over fifty algorithms for "exact online string matching" have been proposed in the first decade of the twenty-first century alone.[54] In literary studies, string matching has been applied to the detection of non-cited "borrowings" in the *Encyclopédie*,[55] identification of cross-lingual plagiarism in the works of Oliver Goldsmith,[56] and speculation as to the subject-matter and genre of lost early modern English plays.[57]

For the case studies in this chapter, we conducted systematic searches for textual parallels between our test texts and others in the Google Books, ECCO, EEBO-TCP, and LION corpora, processing exact and approximate matches of sequential words and collocations—that is, every possible string combination of two, three, and four consecutive words, as well as collocations of semantically significant words. While it is possible to conduct such searches locally on one's own desktop computer, the task typically requires more processing power than a single desktop computer can efficiently provide. Instead, our method has been to query the databases directly by hand, or to semi-automate the process by using an Application Processing Interface where available.[58] If the interface supported them, we also took advantage of search functions allowing for variant spellings and grammatical variants, as well as proximity searches. For querying the databases, Macbeth's "So foule and

faire a day I haue not seene" (TLN 137), for example, may be processed into nine sequential bigrams (*so foule*, *foule and*, *and faire*, *faire a*, *a day*, *day I*, *I haue*, *haue not*, *not seene*), eight sequential trigrams (*so foule and*, *foule and faire*, *and faire a*, *faire a day*, *a day I*, *day I haue*, *I haue not*, *haue not seene*), and seven sequential quadrigrams (*so foule and faire*, *foule and faire a*, *and faire a day*, *faire a day I*, *and day I haue*, *day I haue not*, *I haue not seene*), as well as iterations substituting the available spelling and grammatical variations (such as *foul, fouled, foules, fovl, fovle, fovled, fovles, fovvl, fovvle, fovvled, fovvles, fowl, fowle, fowled*, and *fowles* for *foule*), as well as proximity collocations of semantically significant words (such as "*foule* NEAR *faire*," in which the order is irrelevant, or "*foule* FBY *faire*," in which *faire* must follow *foule*). The effect of these procedures is to considerably widen the parameters of the search beyond identical letter-for-letter, word-for-word matches.

As promising as these resources and methods may be in "making such comparisons easier, more comprehensive, and more objective than ever before," as Gary Taylor reminds us, "it is important to emphasize that computers alone do not produce conclusions about authorship" and, by analogy, sources:

> Any such test depends on search software and a database, constructed by human choices. Moreover, searches of these databases depend on fallible manual entry of search items. Interpretations of the results depends on existing scholarship about the date and authorship of other works. We are dealing here with work produced not by a machine alone or a humanist alone, but with a combination of the two.[59]

In the example from *Macbeth* given above, for instance, a search for *foule* allowing for spelling and grammatical variation (a so-called "fuzzy search") will return hits for *soule* and its variant forms, to compensate for the fact that the long-*s* is routinely mistaken for an *f* in transcriptions of early modern print.[60]

It is also important to acknowledge the limitations of the databases in terms of their coverage and scope. As increasingly comprehensive as these databases may be, they are not exhaustive. EEBO-TCP, for example, offers transcriptions of just over 53,800 texts, which is only a fraction of the 125,000+ titles listed in the *Short-Title Catalogues* for the period 1475–1700.[61] EEBO-TCP also privileges breadth over depth, preferring to transcribe a larger number of different titles and avoid transcribing different editions of the same title. Manuscripts are excluded entirely,[62] and coverage is further limited to materials printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, or to English books printed abroad, thus excluding the substantial corpus of books and manuscripts produced on the Continent during this period. Even with these caveats, EEBO-TCP and similar databases remain invaluable

resources. However, these limitations should prompt us to proceed with caution: to verify that every hit reported by a search is indeed a parallel and to qualify any claims made for the rarity or uniqueness of any given collocation or phrase. We are also mindful that lexical patterns are but one aspect of a larger spectrum of linguistic elements amenable to allusion and imitation,[63] and, as we have seen with the pictorial representations of Kronborg, that correspondences need not be textual.

Horatio's Ground

For our final case study, we employ the method described above to identify parallels in the first scene of *Hamlet*, using the text of the 1623 First Folio. Space does not allow for a full analysis of the results. Instead, we focus on the resonances discovered for a single three-word phrase and their implications for a reading of the play. Horatio's first line in the play, in answer to Francisco's question—"Stand: who's there?" (TLN 19)—is no straightforward identifying statement: "Friends," he says, "to this ground" (TLN 20). He speaks for himself and his compatriot, Marcellus, declaring that both come in friendship. Yet his meaning is evidently not clear, least of all to Marcellus, who speaks immediately after with extra qualifying information: "And Leige-men to the Dane" (TLN 21). It is as if Horatio, not as versed in the protocols of military discourse, has clumsily failed to provide the required response and that being "friends" is not as trustworthy as being "liege" to the same master. Christopher Warley argues that Horatio produces a "central problem" at the outset when Barnardo, "amidst the general confusion," asks if Horatio is there, to which he responds this time, "A peece of him" (TLN 28).[64] The problem is thus: is Horatio wholly a friend to the State, or is he only partially a friend? Warley's reading of this scene hinges on Horatio's use of "friends" in reference to himself, but it also requires that "this ground" can be read in terms of political allegiance. It is of course Marcellus, and not Horatio, who makes a statement of direct State-based allegiance. The central problem identified by Warley hinges, that is, on a conflation of the statements made by the two rivals of Barnardo's watch. This is not to say that the confusion to which Warley refers is removed if we attribute the statements to the right sentinels: confusion is still present in this scene—indeed, Horatio's response, which prompts Marcellus to add clarification, uses a phrase that is potentially vague. It is thus Horatio who may be the source of the confusion yet, as we will show this potentially vague phrase may tell us much about his role in the play as a man of learning, at home in the university rather than on the ramparts.

"This ground" is not a particularly common expression—among dozens of examples of the use of "ground" in relation to various definitions

covering more than seven centuries up to the time of Shakespeare's play, only one comes close to matching this form of the phrase. In *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, an anonymous prose poem dated 1436/7, reference is made to "this Englysshe ground."[65] Were Horatio to have matched this form, he would have spoken of "this *Danish* ground," our point being here that "ground" is never used as the specific object of the demonstrative "this" where it also means a section of earth or the lowest point of something. The type of ground on which sentinels might meet is only ever holy ground, or safer ground, or ground that belongs to somebody or to a State; it is never simply "this ground." Our search for textual analogues has produced a striking string of cognate uses of the phrase, however, in a series of texts related to the reformation of the Church. We find "this ground," for example, in Thomas Dorman's *A proufe of certeyne articles in religion* of 1564:

> The Anabaptystes who deny the baptesme of infants, leane they not thyncke yow **to thys grounde** of yours? yea truely, and good reason it is that being all heretykes as you ar, although in some poyntes dissentyng, yet all ioining and agreing in one cancred hatred against the churche, you should all vse the same rules and principles.[66]

The phrase reappears in Alexander Nowell's 1565 reproof of Dorman, but it is by virtue of verbatim repetition of Dorman's accusation, which Nowell repudiates.[67]

It is to Jean Calvin that the greatest number of examples can be attributed: in translations by Arthur Golding published between 1574 and 1583, we find six distinct examples of "to this ground."[68] The first is particularly interesting in terms of offering insight into what may well be more than simply an analogous use of this phrase. In the 1574 translation of Calvin's sermons upon the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, the phrase appears thus:

> And therefore let vs receiue that which S. Paule sayeth: namely that the spirit helpeth our infirmities. And so let vs holde out still and pray vnto God without ceassing, and if wee bee speechlesse, or do stutte, and cannot vtter any one peece of our minde to the purpose, but bee intangled with many impedimentes: well, howsoeuer wee fare, let Gods spirite thrust vs foreward still, and let vs sticke fast **to this ground**, that God is neuerthelesse our father, and let vs flee too him for refuge, and though wee do it not so frankly as were requisite, but be ouerweyed with the heauinesse of our greefes, yet whatsoeuer come of it, let vs go on forwarde still, and not shet our selues out of the gate through our owne default, but holde on still in praying to our God, assuring our selues that he will haue pitie vpon vs in the ende.[69]

The reader might be struck here by further potential parallelographic resonances: in addition to "to this ground," "any one peece of our minde" might be echoed perhaps in Horatio's "A peece of him" (TLN 28), as indeed may the theme of attending "to the purpose" rather than being "intangled with impediments" seem to be a precursor to Hamlet's "blunted purpose" (TLN 2491); and "ouerweyed with the heauinesse of our greefes" might even seem to represent a possible inspiration for the melancholic air overweighing the opening scenes of the play. Yet we stop short of any claim that Calvin's Galatians might be a direct source for *Hamlet*. Beyond the parallelographic approach, it is incumbent upon us to identify the fuller reach of intertextual relations that the technology makes available to us, by considering the other examples of texts that meet the criterion through which this passage came to our attention.

In all of the examples we have found of "this ground," the phrase serves pronominally to refer to a particular principle or tenet. Calvin writes of "this ground" in his sermons upon the Book of Job, "that God may well allow of vs, as of them that shall haue serued & honoured him."[70] Additionally, in the sermons upon Deuteronomy, "this ground" is "that it is because God loued vs," and "Wee must obey GOD."[71] Richard Bancroft also writes in *A suruay of the pretended holy discipline* in 1593 of "this ground" as laid down by Thomas Cartwright: "that few men that are of any stayde or sounder iudgement in the scriptures, and haue seene or read of the gouernment and order of other churches, are against them in such matters, as they haue broched vnto vs."[72] In all such instances, then, the phrase as uttered by Horatio upon his first entrance to the stage in Hamlet would normally require the principle or tenet referred to by "this ground" to be also uttered, and it may be no coincidence, either, that the tenet is invariably theological in nature. It is not to Horatio alone that this phrase is restricted in *Hamlet*: Hamlet himself talks at the end of Act 2, Scene 2 of conscience and damnation, declaring that the Ghost he has seen "Abuses me to damne me," and adding, "Ile haue grounds, More Relatiue then this: The Play's the thing, Wherein Ile catch the Conscience of the King" (TLN 1643–5). It is hardly a coincidence that the two characters who use "this" in relation to "ground" in this play are established as those who have been away from the military stronghold at Elsinore to follow academic and possibly theological pursuits: Horatio is of course Hamlet's closest friend from Wittenberg, a locus of the Reformation.

When Horatio says he and Marcellus are friends "to this ground," the earliest audiences may well have understood perfectly well that the phrase was normally a cue for some further pronouncement, quite at odds with the military setting that is unfolding around him. Horatio's ill fit with the setting is exemplified by the subsequent exchange regarding the Ghost: the sentinels are not given over to exaggeration when the safety of the watch is at stake, but the skeptical Horatio dismisses their

version of events as "Fantasie" (TLN 32). This potential for Horatio's first words to mark his character for the audience as a scholar or theologian rather than a soldier seems to have been lost to the critical heritage of this most studied of plays, but it is revealed by the capacity of a searchable database of primary textual materials to enable identification of wide-reaching analogues within a relatively contiguous timespan. We do not claim that any of these analogues would submit to the kind of sustained parallels required to fulfill the traditional category of a direct textual source; rather, in their number, they reveal patterns in use amounting to what we might consider to be a widely held connotative understanding of the key phrase.

Coda: Elephants and Elsinore

We have considered the rich array of sources for the name of Amleth, pointing to a long history of potential source relationships preceding that between *Hamlet* and one or another Amleth tale, and we demonstrated that Horatio's first words might be understood very differently than hitherto presented in criticism once we track the use of the same phrase in a large sample of preceding texts. It is important that the two procedures be understood separately, lest we stumble toward the brink of a faulty conclusion. Some readers might well have noticed the intriguing prominence of the word "ground" to both exercises and expect us to draw parallels where none can be sustained: Collinson's argument hinges on the translation of "Admlithi" as "Greatly-Ground," and the use of "ground" in the Icelandic fragment on which Saxo's tale is thought by some to be based; and "this ground" emerged in our search for textual parallels as a key to understanding a wider field of connotation within which Horatio's initial lines acquire their fuller meaning. Any parallelographic connection between the ground in the ancient name from which Hamlet is derived and the first words given by the playwright to Horatio would be untenable. If there is some kind of connection between the two—some underlying lexical drive or primary metaphor locked inside the story on which *Hamlet* is based—the discovery of it lies beyond the scope of source study, we suggest.

Similarly, we may pause at the prominence given to the raging sea so early in *Hamlet*, particularly when we recall Collinson's argument about the image of the "sea-grinder" in the Icelandic tale. Collinson mentions in closing the use of "sea" twice in the play to refer to Hamlet's madness and his troubles,[73] suggesting perhaps that just as "Amloði" might mean "weak-minded" and contain resonances of the Icelandic "sea-grinder," so too might Shakespeare's play link madness to the sea via the character whose name can be traced to Amloði. Do we glimpse here an unwitting pointer by the playwright to a deep-seated field of associations linking "this ground" to "the Sea" and, together, to the name of the Ghost that

appears and beckons his son, with the same name, to a more removed ground that could—thanks to an offshore illusion in which the distance of the Kronborg watch platform from the shore is collapsed, creating the impression of a sheer drop—lead him to the cliff's edge and into the sea? If the play does provide such a pointer, it would indeed be unwitting, but the temptation is always strong to want to identify one-to-one correspondences, with the playwright as altogether "witting." The chain of association that seems to be operating here certainly requires an explanation that goes beyond an author and a source text—it might even require an explanation that sits deeper than the field of connotation. Rather than some Amloði-code at the heart of *Hamlet*, the play could be a snapshot in time of a longer cultural process in which the various associations are formed. This is not to say that we feel the processes are beyond scrutiny or, for example, that an appeal to cultural process is sufficient to explain their presence in the play—there will be no appeal here to the circulation of "social energy." If Shakespeare is somehow unlocking a deep cultural memory of associations in this moment, we suggest the process is a slow one, more elephantine than energetic in its movement.

Greenblatt's "elephant's graveyard" may characterize source studies as either positive or negative, but it tends to forget the living, breathing elephant. In the early modern period, the elephant was already an established symbol of steady, reliable motion. In *Troilus and Cressida*, to take but one example, Shakespeare uses "slow as the Elephant" (TLN 180) and the saying that "The Elephant hath ioynts, but none for curtesie: / His legge are legs for necessitie, not for flight" (TLN 1309–10). On the path to the graveyard—if the myth were even true—the elephant would not hasten to its demise. The elephant's graveyard has acquired its various connotations, as we have shown, from this side of a rather complex history of meanings, and no matter how one perceives the metaphor—as either positive or negative—it gains its meaning from the perception that one has as the observer who steps into the field of bones. We would return the elephants to the picture and restore life to their bones, movement to their legs, albeit in somewhat slow and steady fashion. Turning our attention back to the chains of associations in *Hamlet*, let us therefore remember the elephant's lesson—let us move steadily and deliberately through the associations but remain cautious at all times of a recourse to the graveyard of a single overarching explanation: neither social energy nor the *longue durée* of cultural memory are needed to account for the concatenation of terms in *Hamlet*.

Picking deliberately and steadily through a surfeit of data surrounding these terms that we have traced in the play, we would not wish to reduce everything to so much text, like so many bones. We might suggest at the last that it may simply be sufficient to once again cast our eyes at the images of Kronborg, to mount an argument for the agency of the three players who sailed into view of the castle and who imagined upon reading the tale of

Amleth that the story could viably be resituated in this seaside fortress. In this scenario, the circulation of social energy, and even some deep substrate or cultural memory are supplanted in explanatory sufficiency by an actor who gazed from the water, across the strand, and looked upon the most magnificent castle in Europe and liked what he saw.

Notes

1 Leary, "Googling the Victorians," 73.
2 On the "material turn" in Shakespeare studies, see Knapp, "Beyond Materiality in Shakespeare Studies," as well as the essays in the "Shakespeare and Phenomenology" special issue of *Criticism* guest-edited by Curran and Kearney.
3 James, "Shakespeare, the Classics, and Forms of Authorship," 81.
4 Kastan, *Shakespeare after Theory*, 13, crediting Peter Stallybrass and himself for the name.
5 Levin, "Another 'Source' for *The Alchemist*," 226.
6 Lynch, *Shakespearean Intertextuality*, 1. On this issue we are indebted to Logan's repositioning of the question of sources and influence in *Shakespeare's Marlowe*, especially Chapter 1.
7 Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Exorcists," 163.
8 Maguire, "Part I: Editor's Introduction," in *How To Do Things With Shakespeare*, 7. Maguire cites three other critics who quote Greenblatt approvingly in articles published in 1987, 1994, and 2000.
9 Hopkins, *Beginning Shakespeare*, 63. Clare similarly interprets Greenblatt as having "dismissed" source study in his essay: *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic*, 17.
10 Hamlin, *The Bible in Shakespeare*, 82.
11 Sheen, "These are the only men," 156.
12 Griffin, *Wordsworth's Pope*, 141.
13 Maguire, "Part I," 7.
14 Christensen, *Deadly Beautiful*, 225.
15 *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, ed. Mack, 176–77.
16 *Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership*.
17 Michel et al., "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331, no. 6014 (2011): 176–82; and *Google Books Ngram Viewer*, 2010–, Google, http://books.google.com/ngrams. A smoothing factor of 20 was applied to make the lines, plotted here in grayscale, more discernible.
18 Haggard's *The Ivory Child*, for example, features a smoke-fueled prophetic vision of "a cemetery of elephants, the place where these great beasts went to die" (62).
19 "Elephant Cemetery Mystery Cleared by Scientists," 614–15.
20 Bell, *The Wanderings of an Elephant Hunter*, 73.
21 Douglas-Hamilton et al., "Elephants," 97.
22 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, March 3, 1973, 993 U.N.T.S. 243. See also the findings of the Ivory Trade Review Group, whose recommendations led to the Appendix I listing: Barbier et al., *Elephants, Economics and Ivory*.
23 On these Dialogue Meetings and other challenges to CITES and the African elephant, see Mofson, "Zimbabwe and CITES," Blanc et al., *African Elephant Status Report 2002,* and Couzens, *Whales and Elephants*, esp. Chap. 5.
24 *Tarzan the Ape Man*, directed by Van Dyke.
25 *The Lion King*, directed by Allers and Minkoff.
26 Knowles, *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 225.

27 Sheehan, *The Arnheiter Affair*, 10; Suvorov, *Inside the Soviet Army*, 56, Kennedy, *The Military and the Media*, 68.
28 Berliner, "CVS II: Parallelizing Software Development," 351.
29 Space does not allow here for discussion of the existence of an ur-*Hamlet* as a more direct "source" for Shakespeare. For lengthy consideration of these debates, see Johnson, *The Tain of Hamlet*, esp. Chap. 2.
30 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, VII: 9.
31 *Ibid.*, VII: 15.
32 Lauring, *A History of the Kingdom of Denmark*, 75.
33 Bullough, 80–81; see also William F. Hansen, *Saxo Grammaticus*, 25–37.
34 Cleasby and Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 19.
35 Sturlason, *Edda*, 92. Bullough renders the fragment differently—"the Nine Maidens of the island mill stirring the baleful quern of the Skerries, they who in ages past ground Amleth's meal" (VII: 5)—in order to suggest that "Amleth's meal" could match the reference in Saxo to courtiers who tell Amleth to "look at the meal" (the sand on the seashore), meaning that the older fragment could very well be from a tale that Saxo is translating. Unfortunately, Bullough provides no source for the translation he uses, but we feel in any case that Faulkes's translation, with its reference to the "land's edge," could well be sufficient to support Bullough's point without "mill" being rendered as "meal."
36 Collinson, "A New Etymology for *Hamlet*?", esp. 683.
37 *Ibid.*, 692–93.
38 *Ibid.*, 687–88.
39 Qtd in Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, xxiii.
40 On the contemporary Elizabethan setting of *Hamlet*, see Johnson, *The Tain of Hamlet*, 174–80.
41 Brown, "Hamlet's Place on the Map." The essay first appeared in *Shakespeare Studies* in 1969, and a number of scholars have since adopted Brown's argument. Representative examples include Dollerup, *Denmark, 'Hamlet', and Shakespeare*; Berry, "Shakespeare's Elsinore"; and Olson, "Hamlet's Dramatic Arras."
42 Brown, "Hamlet's Place on the Map," 94–95. More recently, Vedi has questioned the likelihood that Shakespeare might have ever had access to a copy of the *Civitates*. See Vedi, *Elsinore Revisited*, 48–49.
43 All quotations from Shakespeare are taken from the text of the 1623 First Folio, cited parenthetically by Through-Line Number as established by Hinman for *The Norton Facsimile*.
44 de Sousa uses a "Google Earth flyover" to demonstrate the strategic location of the castle in Helsingør: *At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies*, 113–14.
45 Houlahan, "Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories," 158–59.
46 Lancashire, "Empirically Determining Shakespeare's Idiolect," 172.
47 That is, parallels in the spoken dialogue of the plays, and not the textual and paratextual apparatus (such as stage directions, prefatory materials, and so on).
48 Greg, review of *Sidelights*: 195.
49 Representative examples include Byrne, "Bibliographical Cues in Collaborate Plays"; Schoenbaum, *Internal Evidence and Elizabethan Dramatic Authorship*; Egan, "Impalpable Hits"; and Jackson, "New Research on the Dramatic Canon of Thomas Kyd." See also Love, *Authorship Attribution: An Introduction*, esp. 89–91.
50 A pertinent and highly publicized contemporary example is Brian Vickers's use of plagiarism-detection and concordance software to attribute the authorship of a number of anonymous and contested plays to Thomas Kyd. See Vickers, "Thomas Kyd, Secret Sharer," 13–15; and, "The Marriage of Philology and Informatics," 41–44. For a comprehensive critique, see Jackson, "New Research."

51 Representative Shakespearean examples include the essays in Craig and Kinney, eds., *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*. See also Love, *Authorship Attribution*, 132–62.
52 This point is developed further in the introduction to Craig and Greatley-Hirsch, *Style, Computers, and Early Modern Drama*.
53 For an overview of the topic, see de Sá, *Pattern Recognition*.
54 Faro and Lecroq, "The Exact Online String Matching Problem."
55 Edelstein, Morrissey, and Roe, "To Quote or not to Quote," and Horton, Olsen, and Roe, "Something Borrowed."
56 Duhaime, "Cross-Lingual Plagiarism Detection with Scikit Learn," *Douglas Duhaime*, 19 July 2015, http://douglasduhaime.com/blog/cross-lingual-plagiarism-detection-with-scikit-learn.
57 Steggle, *Digital Humanities and the Lost Drama*; see also many of the individual play entries in the *Lost Plays Database*, ed. Knutson, McInnis, and Steggle, http://lostplays.org/.
58 We thank Douglas Duhaime for kindly sharing the LION Application Processing Interface he developed with us. For a case study of its use in authorship attribution, see Taylor and Duhaime, "Who Wrote the Fly Scene in *Titus Andronicus*?"
59 Taylor, "Empirical Middleton," 246.
60 On this and similar problems with accuracy in transcription, see Gadd, "The Use and Misuse of *Early English Books Online*"; Gants and Hailey, "Renaissance Studies and New Technologies", and Hirsch, "The Kingdom has been Digitized"; esp. 574–75.
61 Pollard and Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue,* and Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue*.
62 The Folger Shakespeare Library's *Early Modern Manuscripts Online (EMMO)* project seeks to address this imbalance by providing access to transcriptions, images, and metadata for a substantial number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English manuscripts.
63 Shore, for example, gestures toward development of a "constructicon"—an inventory of grammatical constructions—for Shakespeare in "Shakespeare's Constructicon." Other tools developed for corpus linguistics research allow for searching by grammatical construction and parts-of-speech. Thus, search queries can make distinctions between homograph forms, such as $\textit{stone}_{\text{verb}}$ and $\textit{stone}_{\text{noun}}$, or afford a greater level of abstraction by focusing on grammatical construction rather than lexicon, such as strings matching the format "*verb* followed by *noun*." CQPweb, a corpus analysis tool developed by Andrew Hardie at Lancaster University, includes a sample of EEBO-TCP texts with part-of-speech tagging. See Hardie, "CQPweb."
64 Warley, "Specters of Horatio," esp. 1026.
65 Warner, *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, 42 (l. 828). For an insightful reading of the poem and an overview of its critical reception, see Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature*, 145–60.
66 Dorman, *A proufe of certeyne articles in religion*, E1r.
67 Nowell, *A reproufe* […] *of a booke entituled, A proufe of certayne articles in religion*, 2D3v.
68 Calvin, *Sermons* […] *vpon the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Galathians*, 2A4v–2A5r; Calvin, *Sermons* […] *vpon the booke of Iob*, M5v; Calvin, *The sermons* […] *vpon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians*, 143r, and Calvin, *The sermons* […] *vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*, 167, 169, 724.
69 Calvin, *Sermons* […] *vpon the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Galathians*, 2A4v–2A5r.
70 Calvin, *Sermons* […] *vpon the booke of Iob*, M5v.

71 Calvin, *The sermons* [...] *vpon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*, 167, 724.
72 Bancroft, *A suruay of the pretended holy discipline*, 2X4v.
73 *Ibid*., 694.

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13 “Tangled in a Net”

Shakespeare the Adaptor/ Shakespeare as Source[1]

Janelle Jenstad

Introduction

In the award-winning 1990 *Goodnight Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet)*, by Canadian playwright Ann-Marie McDonald, academic Constance Ledbelly falls into her own doctoral dissertation—a source study—and finds herself in the worlds first of *Othello* and then of *Romeo and Juliet*.[2] While there, she continues her quest for a hitherto unknown comic source for the two tragedies. Unlike most readers of Shakespeare, she assumes that Shakespeare was an adapter, a scholarly stance for which she is ridiculed by Professor Claude Knight. For him, as for the scholarly publishing industry, literary history pivots around the Shakespearean work. Traditional modes of reading, editing, publishing, and teaching Shakespeare have tended to characterize Shakespeare’s precursors as sources *for* the Shakespearean work; his successors are adaptors *of* the work. To suggest otherwise is to risk being accused of scholarly folly or even bad taste.

When I teach an adaptation of one of his plays, I say to my students with deliberate irreverence that Shakespeare is the clot in the artery of literary transmission. Once he took up a story, all subsequent variations thereon take his version as the source. For example, the story of lovers from feuding families was evolving nicely in Europe and England[3]; once Shakespeare had told the story of star-crossed lovers, subsequent iterations of the Romeo and Juliet story were “adaptations of Shakespeare.” Subsequent adaptors took and continue to take Shakespeare, rather than any intervening adaptors, as their point of departure. Thus, McDonald’s adaptation quotes and adapts Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. Ben Power’s *Tender Thing* rearranges and reassigns Shakespeare’s words (Marowitz-like) into a rumination on assisted suicide, with an aging Romeo and Juliet contemplating the end of a long marriage and the death of Juliet.[4] *West Side Story* depends on the audience’s knowledge of Shakespeare’s “civil brawls.” All of those adaptations point back to Shakespeare as origin, making little or no reference to the intervening literary history. In this history, subsequent tellings are always adaptations of or responses to Shakespeare.

Our editorial tradition has also foregrounded Shakespeare's authority by treating him as the perfector of imperfect source materials. Print editions include excerpts rather than full texts, positioning them at the back of the volume, giving them a different typographical treatment, and applying different editorial principles to the source text and the Shakespearean text. For example, the New Cambridge Shakespeare *Romeo and Juliet*, edited by G. Blakemore Evans, excerpts passages from Arthur Brooke's *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* in an Appendix.[5] The font is smaller than that used for Evans' modern-spelling Q2-based edition of Shakespeare's play. Brooke's text is "newly edited"[6] but retains all Elizabethan spellings except for the i/j and u/v typographical conventions. All the bibliographical codes of the edition itself mark Shakespeare's text as primary: we edit Shakespeare, but we excerpt Brooke. Furthermore, the different editorial treatments make Shakespeare's words more accessible than Brooke's; Shakespeare is our perfected contemporary, while Brooke is Shakespeare's orthographically-challenged predecessor.

Digital editions, however, allow us to take seriously "the other 99%"[7]—the many plays and other texts that precede and follow Shakespeare. We can use the affordances of the computer interface and underlying databases to destabilize the canonical primacy of Shakespeare and to position his works in new ways: as sources for subsequent work *and* as adaptations of previous works. In this chapter, I argue that linked digital editions enable us to represent Shakespeare as source and adaptor as well as originator. However, in encoding our texts, building our interfaces, reviewing contributions, and linking between projects, we have the choice to replicate traditional understandings or to facilitate new understandings. In arguing that digital editions can accommodate multiple positionings of the Shakespearean text, I take as my case study the Internet Shakespeare Editions (known as the ISE)[8] and its sibling projects: the Queen's Men Editions (QME)[9] and Digital Renaissance Editions (DRE).[10] Despite their different approaches to the corpus—the ISE is author-centric, QME is repertory-based, and DRE covers the rest—the sibling projects together aim to commission and host scholarly editions of all known early modern dramatic texts, with the bulk of the content falling under the umbrella of DRE. The editions within the projects include so-called source materials, and all the projects have the capacity to host artifacts that attest to later remediations of the plays (production artifacts, promptbooks, video, scripts, and texts). An additional sibling site will provide editions of texts that take Shakespeare as their source.[11] Shakespeare au/in Québec (SQ)[12] is producing editions of Québecois adaptations of Shakespeare that will be linked to the ISE's texts via Through Line Numbers (TLNs).

My case study examines some of the features of the ISE *as a project* and of the *software platform* that currently supports all the sibling projects. My aim is not to hold up ISE as exemplary. Indeed, at this juncture

in the ISE's history, the new leadership team[13] is rethinking many aspects of the project; both the platform and the project that Michael Best leaves to us (ISE2) will eventually give way to ISE3. Rather, I aim to point out how the project, the platform, and its sibling relationships have, in some cases, replicated past perspectives on Shakespeare and source study, and, in other cases, made new perspectives possible. As the platform evolves to support the demands of the sibling projects, and as the early modern digital sphere grows, ISE3 has an opportunity to reimagine that network according to new conceptions of source study.

ISE2: The One-Stop Shakespeare Shop

ISE2 tries to be all things to all Shakespeareans: scholars, students, educators, theater practitioners, and performance critics. The complexity of ISE2 is partly a function of the fact that it is a first-generation digital humanities project. When Founding Editor Michael Best launched the project in 1996,[14] he imagined it as a "one-stop shop of resources in Shakespeare study."[15] No digital humanities start-up today would define its remit so broadly, but at the time there were few other digital shops open for business. As a *project*, the ISE is therefore a rich digital anthology comprising an array of resources. The project provides digital surrogates (facsimiles)[16] of early texts to 1700 (the quartos and all four folios) and of select early editions to 1800 (Rowe, Pope, Theobald, and Johnson). A team of textual scholars around the world corrects the semi-diplomatic transcriptions (old-spelling texts), preserving the orthography, typography, lineation, and pagination of the early texts (the quartos and the first folio); writes critical paratexts; and prepares modernized copytext editions and/or modernized eclectic (editor's choice) editions. The growing anthology is supported by a number of shared resources: the "Shakespeare's Life and Times" encyclopedia (SLT),[17] an image database, a "Shakespeare in Performance" (SIP) database of production metadata and performance artifacts,[18] and reviews of select stage and film productions (formerly in the *ISE Chronicle* and now in *Scene*, a new journal fully integrated with the ISE[19]).

The *platform* that drives the ISE and its sibling projects is necessarily a combination of technologies that enable the server to combine these different types of data and documents. Custom programming enables us to pull the disparate types of data from their respective databases on the server and package them as "webpages" viewable in browser windows. The rich array of materials already in the "one-stop Shakespeare shop" can be processed and digitally packaged in many different ways. ISE2 has a particular way of packaging those materials that makes one kind of argument about Shakespeare and source study, namely that Shakespeare drew on and perfected source materials. ISE3 hopes to make a different argument about Shakespeare, one that positions his work

within a network of other works and textual witnesses and thereby can see him not just as perfector but as adaptor and source himself.

The Importance of Critical Markup

The future use of a digital text depends on how it is prepared for computer processing. The technologies and tools we use to prepare that text might preclude or enable future research questions. "Text" is a term both capacious and elusive in many literary critical contexts; the ISE context is no exception. Of the ISE's four types of textual resources—digital surrogates, critical paratexts, diplomatic transcriptions, and modernized texts—only the latter two are encoded in a robust textual markup language. But not all are marked up with equal rigor and purpose.[20] Some markup is *descriptive* in that it describes the bibliographical and structural features of a text. Some markup is *prescriptive* or *presentational* in that it prescribes how a string of characters will be rendered. And some markup is *interpretive* or *critical* in that it captures something about the text that is of interest to the researcher encoding the text. At its most basic, markup demands that we codify much of the interpretive work of reading text strings that is second-nature to us as readers from our primary school days forward. Markup might demand that one insert a <p> tag at the beginning of a paragraph and a </p> tag at the end, for example, thus spelling out what seems perfectly obvious to experienced readers who no longer think about the fact that line breaks, white space, and indentation are themselves a form of textual markup. Eloquently summarizing a decade of debate about markup's critical interventions, Johanna Drucker observes that "mark-up schemes [...] transform a text string into structured data" (181).[21] Structured data can be processed, analyzed, subjected to quantitative analysis, and repurposed in ways that text strings (literally, a string of characters) cannot. The structuring of texts also implies that the text is "well wrought," to revive a New Critical valuation. Indeed, programs designed to help one mark up texts check for "well formedness" of the markup.[22] Markup also captures critical decisions that are more subjective. Is this bibliographic line also a verse line or is it prose? Who speaks the line with the ambiguous speech prefix "Cor." in *King Lear*? Adding the @who attribute to the <sp> element demands that the encoder make a decision about what "Cor." indicates.

The ways we prepare digital texts, and the technologies we use to create and store that text, are the key to being able to represent texts as source, adaptation, or main text. The technologies that comprise the ISE platform have changed through various builds. In 2017, we have two methods of preparing texts. The old-spelling and modern ISE, QME, and DRE "texts" are marked up in a custom markup language we call IML (ISE Markup Language), using comparably rigorous editorial standards across the projects. Primary texts and metadata about those texts

are stored in an eXist database (a type of non-relational database designed to house XML documents).[23] The original IML predates the development of XML, the eXtensible Markup Language that now drives the internet. IML was developed from an SGML (Standardized General Markup Language) tagset created by Ian Lancashire for marking up early modern lexicons. Over the last twenty years, IML has taken influence from XML, particularly from the Text Encoding Initiative's XML-compliant tags created particularly for encoding literary texts.[24] Editors prepare their texts using IML tags, which we convert to XML programmatically.[25] XML is the markup language adopted by the World Wide Web Consortium in 1998 for large-scale web publishing; it has been widely adopted for digital editing projects because it allows us to embed tags in a document in order to "identify[...] the features within the document."[26] The ISE's old-spelling playtexts are marked up in a subset of IML tags that describe the physical features of the text. The modern playtexts dispense with the bibliographical markup and deploy another subset of IML tags that allow for interpretive markup.

Other texts are produced in an XWiki platform, where contributors can write in a WYSIWYG (What You See Is What You Get) interface that allows one to do some simple styling (labelling parts of the text as Titles of various levels), prescribe formatting (bold, italics, indent), and embed links and images. This tagging (which one can edit in "Source" view) is actually presentational *markdown*, a formatting language that converts easily to HTML; it was designed mainly to shield people from the visual shock of angle brackets wrapped around their own words.

Where XWiki's tagging is prescriptive markdown, IML tags are descriptive and interpretive markup. Texts created and stored in XWiki contain the tags necessary to render the text as a readable HTML page, but they are not repurposable or machine-readable. XWiki allows one to italicize, but not to say what the italicization means. IML allows one to say "this string of characters is a foreign word"; we can then use another set of rendering instructions (using CSS [Cascading Style Sheets]) to tell the processor what to do with foreign words (italicize, underline, or whatever we decide our project needs to do). This kind of markup also allows us to look for foreign words and run computational analyses on them (count them, sort them, compare them), translate them, suppress them, and more.

Which tools we use to prepare source texts therefore determines what we can do with them later. In ISE2, source texts are treated inconsistently. All are listed as "Supplementary Materials" on the edition title page. But some are prepared using XWiki markdown, such as the anonymous *The Tale of Gamelyn* and John Lyly's *Euphues* (sources for *As You Like It*), whereas others are prepared using IML markup, such as Lyly's *Galathea* and Ben Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour* (sources for *As You Like It*, and also plays in their own right). The implications are profound and long-reaching. It is already the case that clicking on a

"related" text sometimes takes one to a complete edition on the ISE site, such as *Galathea* and *Every Man In* in David Bevington's edition of *As You Like It*. The files that underlie *Galathea* and *Every Man In* can easily be repurposed for DRE. In theory, those works belong more properly to the DRE "collection."

From the computer's perspective—which parses the encoding rather than the content—*Gamelyn* belongs with the secondary criticism (introductions, performance histories, textual essays), encyclopedia-like resources, the journal *Scene*, project documentation, and pages about the site that are also produced in the XWiki platform. *Galathea* and *Every Man In*, given the same markup treatment as *As You Like It*, belong with Shakespeare's texts. In other words, *Gamelyn* is paratext, while *Galathea* is a text. In the current ISE2 environment, we might say that the important "texts" are only those verbal objects that have been deemed worthy of descriptive or critical markup. Since texts bear witness to works, we are effectively saying that *Gamelyn* is not an independent work for our purposes. It is the digital equivalent of that minimally-modernized "back-of-the-book" item printed in a smaller font.

The ISE2 platform has just migrated all of the critical paratexts, including many source texts, into the XWiki environment. Editors still preparing their editions have been invited to write their textual introductions, performance histories, and general introductions in XWiki. At the ISE2, we stand on the cusp of a decision that will have major ramifications for how we understand "source" and "Shakespearean text." We could easily invite our editors to prepare their source materials in XWiki. But then those materials would have a radically different status from the Shakespearean works to which they are appended as "Supplementary and related materials." ISE3 intends to encode all primary texts—Shakespearean or source—in TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), a decision that will make all early modern texts equivalent from the perspective of the computer processor.

The Edition and the Place of Sources

Like many digital objects,[27] those belonging to the ISE are ontologically challenging. Faced with the need to develop a new metadata model several years ago, we had to ask how to capture the details about the work, the edition, and the document.[28] For the ISE, the work[29] is conceptual, as it is for most textual scholars.[30] It lies behind both texts and performances equally, in line with Margaret Jane Kidnie's argument that "the insubstantial idea of the work of art […] stands apart from and bridges both text and performance" (Kidnie 28). The metadata file for an ISE2 work has very little information: title (the full authority name that we use on the desktop site and the short name that we use on the mobile site), authorship, date of creation, the class of the work (play or poem), and the preferred

publication (folio or quarto). However, this "descriptive metadata" involves contestable scholarly decisions that are potentially beyond the remit of metadata. Consequently, ISE3 will have metadata only for editions and documents, but not for works. Rather, we will have a taxonomy of works that consists only of our project's preferred titles and abbreviations for the works that we generally consider to be Shakespeare's. This taxonomy will coincide with the scope of the ISE and effectively list the collection of works that we consider to be within the remit of the Internet *Shakespeare* Editions. Documents containing semi-diplomatic transcriptions or modernized texts (Shakespearean or source) will still have document-level metadata. This change will allow us to say that *Gamelyn* is not an ISE "work" (because it is not in the ISE taxonomy of works), while simultaneously allowing us to give it the same rigorous critical markup as all the quarto and folio texts of Shakespeare's works. DRE could then include *Gamelyn* in its taxonomy of works and produce an edition using the text of *Gamelyn* prepared for an ISE edition of *As You Like It*. The ISE is named Internet Shakespeare *Editions*, highlighting the fact that the edition remains the primary way of discovering the Shakespearean work in ISE2. In the digital environment of ISE2, the edition is, like the work, platonic; it exists *only* as metadata rather than an analogous-to-print digital object. Our own documentation states that "Editions are XML files that store metadata describing a group of documents, usually relating to a single work."[31] The edition metadata is more substantial than that of the work only in that it has certainly knowable metadata, or what we call "administrative metadata": name(s) of editor(s), statements of responsibility for contributors and research assistants, ISBN number, and publication statement. Most crucially for my argument, the edition metadata file contains a list of the documents that make up the edition. One could say that the edition is nothing more than a set of instructions to the processor to make this hyperlinked list. That list appears on the top of the nexus page that serves as gateway both to the edition and to all the site-wide resources relevant to the work embodied in the edition's documents. Many of those documents bear digital witness to a text (the quarto text of *Henry V*, for example). These texts, taken with other texts, attest to the idea of a work.

In ISE2, there is a thin line—literally—between work and edition. They share a "nexus page," to which ISE2 recently added a horizontal line separating the "edition" prepared by the editor(s) from the lists of "Related Resources." Like many print editions, an ISE edition contains many types of supporting materials, some of them created by the editor and some added by the publisher. The static texts of the scholar's edition are completed by the inclusion—below the horizontal line—of links to all the relevant items in the ISE's growing collections of artifacts, reviews, SLT pages, as well as items in the collections of DRE, QME, and SQ. Figure 13.1 shows part of the nexus page for the ISE's *Henry V*. The four editorial "Texts of this edition" are the old-spelling transcriptions and

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Toolbox

Site Search

List of characters
Textual Statistics

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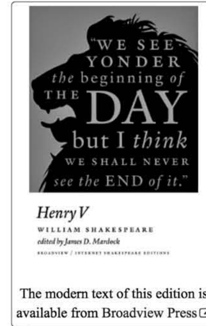
Henry V (1623 Folio version)
Henry V (1600 Quarto version)
Supplementary and related materials
Related Resources
Facsimiles
Life And Times pages
Performances
Performance materials

Henry V

By William Shakespeare

Edited by James D. Mardock



The modern text of this edition is available from Broadview Press

Quick start: Henry V (Modern, Folio)

Introduction

- Acknowledgements
- General Introduction
- Critical Reception
- Stage and Screen
- Textual Introduction
- Chronology
- Bibliography
- Family Tree
- List of Characters
- Henry V

Texts of this edition

The 1623 Folio version of *Henry V* is the fullest version, and most familiar to readers. For more information on the relationship between the two versions, see the Textual Introduction.

Henry V (1623 Folio version)

- Modern
- Old-spelling transcription

Henry V (1600 Quarto version)

- Modern
- Old-spelling transcription

Supplementary and related materials

- Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland 1587
  Raphael Holinshed
- Hall's Chronicle
  Edward Hall
- Euphues and His England
  John Lyly
- Shakespeare and The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth
- The Ballad of Agincourt
  Michael Drayton
- The Flower of Godly Prayers
  Thomas Becon
- The Sixteenth Century on War
  Stephen Gosson, Barnabe Rich, Balthazar Ayala, Richard Crompton, and Robert Barret

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Related Resources

Links in this section are to pages on the websites of the Internet Shakespeare Editions, Digital Renaissance Editions, Queen's Men Editions and Shakespeare in/au Québec.

Facsimiles

- Henry V, Quarto 1
- First Folio
  - Brandeis University
  - New South Wales
- Second Folio
- Third Folio

Figure 13.1 Part of nexus page for the *ISE*'s *Henry V*.

modernized texts prepared from the quarto and folio facsimiles. These are complete texts given full editorial treatment (transcription, modernization, collation, and annotation). The "Supplementary and related materials" include titles that we recognize as "sources" for the work known as *Henry V*, including an excerpt from *Holinshed's Chronicles*. In an ISE2 edition, source materials belong to an edition of a Shakespearean work if they are prepared by the editor. Source texts edited by the "editor" of the edition go above the line, under the heading "Supplementary and Related Materials." The term *related* was chosen in order to avoid determining the relationship between the texts. But the mere fact of their inclusion in an edition of a Shakespeare play implies that they, as texts, are somehow secondary to Shakespeare. In this context, the source texts are often excerpted rather than reproduced in full. They are rarely contextualized except insofar as Shakespeare drew on them. Mardock's edition of *Henry V* includes only selections from Holinshed. Rarely are these "related" texts given full editorial treatment.[32]

The placement of sources on the edition title page is still an open question even as ISE2 approaches retirement. Relevant documents from the sibling sites are meant to be listed below the line. When those relevant documents are sources for Shakespeare, courtesy agreements between the sibling sites may mean that the source is further removed from the Shakespearean work than the editor intended. For example, Mardock worked up an edition of *Famous Victories* for his edition of *Henry V*. At one point, it appeared above the line, along with other "Supplementary and related materials." Because it was also fully tagged in IML, *Famous Victories* functioned like *Henry V*, but it "belonged" to the edition of *Henry V* and was not a work in its own right. When QME published its edition of *Famous Victories*,[33] ISE quietly retired Mardock's text. In practical terms, the two texts could not co-exist in the ISE2 database because they would have the same file names: "doc_FV_Q1.txt" (for the old-spelling transcriptions) and "doc_FV_M.txt" (for the modernized texts).[34] Given the long marginalization of Shakespeare's sources from editorial attention, it is unfortunate that two editions of *Famous Victories* could not co-exist. The many competing editions of Shakespeare have ultimately given us a rich and complex understanding of his texts.

Famous Victories has been further marginalized in that it does not yet appear in its new place below the line. As of the date of writing, sibling resources like QME's edition of *Famous Victories* are not listed because no one has added the metadata to *Famous Victories* that would make this nexus page dynamically include a link. Likewise, *Henry V* ought to be referenced in the QME edition of *Famous Victories*. In other words, someone has to recognize the connection and curate the metadata in such a way that the links can be made. A human, not a computer, recognizes the relationship between the two plays. Not only has the placeholder for *Famous Victories* moved down the *Henry V* page (literally),

but the placeholder remains empty. Our source play has disappeared from the screen.

ISE3 will distinguish between the work and the edition in ways that will make it possible to reimagine the relationship between source and adaptation. The edition will have its own title page where the editor can curate links to resources on the sibling sites and other parts of the ISE. The work will have its own nexus page that dynamically gathers together all the resources that are connected to the idea of *Henry V*. Those resources could include both the Mardock and Martin texts of *Famous Victories*. This key change will allow us to position source materials both within an edition and as independent works with their own nexus pages (and title pages, if they have been fully edited). We will also restructure the database to accommodate multiple editions of plays. Courtesy agreements may still govern how we divide up the plays, but database architecture will no longer preclude multiple editions.

Sibling Sites: Multiple Interfaces for One Family

Whether or not we treat so-called sources to IML markup or XWiki markdown determines whether they can function as "texts" in the environment of the ISE's sibling projects. As a custom *software package*, the ISE functions as a publication platform. QME and DRE run on the ISE platform and are thus effectively published by the ISE. A little known fact about the ISE2 and its sibling sites is that all the texts are housed in a single XML database on a University of Victoria server, regardless of the type of text or which site ultimately hosts the work. Figure 13.2 shows the many texts of *Hamlet* sitting next to those of *Hick Scorner*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (doc_FBFB_M.txt, doc_FBFB_Q1.txt), and *Comedy of Errors* (doc_Err_F1.txt). The texts of QME's *Famous Victories* are digital neighbors of the texts of the ISE's *Henry V*, living in the same big folder of early modern plays. As data and files, all the texts in this XML database are equal. The database does not know—or care—how the texts are perceived by literary critics and readers.[35] Yet the perceptions of past literary critics remain important. From this canon-blind folder, we call up texts, process them, style them, and display them in interfaces. We build interfaces that replicate and perpetuate those perceptions, predetermining what can be searched for, read and reread, written and rewritten. Any builder of a digital project will likely conduct user experience (UX) studies to find out what users are likely to be interested in.[36] The main goal of the ISE platform thus far has been "reader friendliness," an ideal that obscures the ideologically inflected and often disingenuous nature of interfaces. An interface establishes a relationship between texts, data, and image; an interface can privilege one type of object over another by site architecture, menu hierarchies, and visual features.

Because the sibling projects share a tagset and a platform, it is possible to display a text in multiple environments. A text prepared for the ISE site

```
doc_EMIH_M.txt
doc_Edw_M.txt
doc_Edw_Q1.txt
doc_Err_F1.txt
doc_FBFB_M.txt
doc_FBFB_Q1.txt
doc_FV_M.txt
doc_FV_Q1.txt
doc_FairEm_M.txt
doc_FairEm_Q1.txt
doc_FairEm_Q2.txt
doc_Gal_M.txt
doc_GraftonChronicle_M.txt
doc_H5_F1.txt
doc_H5_FM.txt
doc_H5_Q1.txt
doc_H5_Q1M.txt
doc_H8_F1.txt
doc_H8_M.txt
doc_Ham_EM.txt
doc_Ham_F1.txt
doc_Ham_FM.txt
doc_Ham_Q1.txt
doc_Ham_Q1M.txt
doc_Ham_Q2.txt
doc_Ham_Q2M.txt
doc_HickScorner_M.txt
doc_HickScorner_Q1.txt
```

Figure 13.2 Screen capture of the XML files in the ISE's Subversion repository.

is totally interoperable with the DRE site and vice versa. We can move plays between "collections" (an entirely artificial construct given that we have only one digital collection), as we have done with the apocryphal plays, which now belong to the DRE collection. Furthermore, one can see any IML-tagged text on any of the three sites simply by changing the URL. Changing qme.isebeta.uvic.ca/doc/FV_M/ to internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/doc/FV_M/ pulls up *Famous Victories* in the ISE2 interface, complete with all the edition features and tools. Doing so serves up a

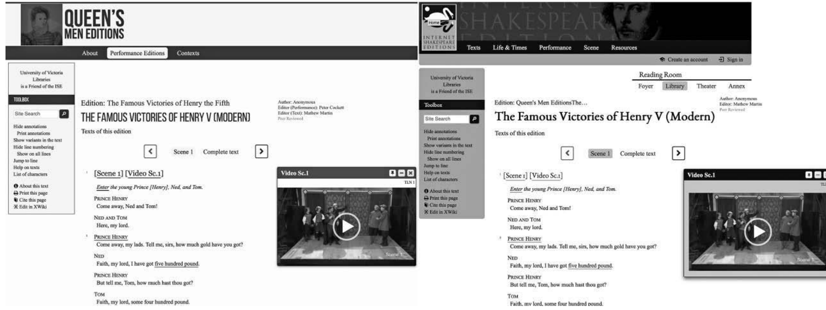

Figure 13.3 Queen's Men Editions' Famous Victories of Henry V and *ISE*'s *Famous Victories of Henry V.*

new page with a different look (Figure 13.3). At the moment, ISE2 does not indicate that it is possible to move from site to site in this way. But the title pages of ISE3 may well include invitations to "View this text on the QME site," where Mardock's *Henry V* might read as a descendant of the Queen's Men's corpus rather than a product of Shakespeare. My own edition of *The Merchant of Venice* (co-edited with Stephen Wittek) can thus be displayed on the QME and DRE sites, where it could be positioned as an adaptation of *Three Ladies of London* and *The Jew of Malta* respectively; rather than reproduce those two plays in IML or XWiki as sources for *Merchant*, we hope to pull the QME and DRE's editors' work into the ISE environment (as a "republication," with their permission) and also link out to the same texts in the QME environment. By doing so, we hope to decenter *Merchant*'s authority by viewing its "sources" as works in their own right and *Merchant* itself as an adaptation.

The relationship between texts and works is therefore malleable. Because it is constituted by the computer interface according to a set of processing instructions written by programmers and web designers in order to realize the look, navigation, and functionality of the website, we can change the processing instructions to reflect new critical understandings. The interface is a "zone of interaction"[37] between data and reader. Designing the ISE/QME/DRE/SQ interfaces is a critical act where coordinating editors make an argument—consciously or unconsciously—about the relationship between Shakespeare and his so-called sources and successors. In how it displays and structures the underlying data, an interface has the potential to confirm or to challenge the preexisting perceptions of literary critics and readers about sources and adaptations. In short, an interface can reify the binary of source and Shakespearean work, or it can trouble the received narrative that privileges Shakespeare. Better yet, an interface can allow us to view the network from different vantage points, allowing us to privilege any text

and define all other texts in relation to it. Furthermore, how we digitize the material witnesses (extant manuscripts and selected copies of the early printed playbooks), whether the texts are peer reviewed, which editorial strategies we deploy, and how we position these texts in relation to each other says much about our understanding of the textual network to which Shakespeare's texts belong.

A URL in the Library

A final consideration for our treatment of source texts is peer review. A print edition requires that all the components be ready for review and publishing at one time. An advantage of digital editions is that they can be published incrementally.[38] While Best was ahead of his time in insisting that digital editions be rigorously peer reviewed, it was always the case that the documents were published digitally *so that* they could be peer reviewed. Digital documents can be revised and republished after being peer reviewed. Sources tended to be the last component added to an ISE edition, and sometimes they have evaded peer review entirely. Best developed an architectural conceit to shelve materials in four "reading rooms": the Foyer, Library, Theater, and Annex. Only peer reviewed materials are admitted to the Library. Non-peer-reviewed materials are cordoned off in the Annex. Figure 13.4 shows that John D. Cox's transcription of Plutarch's *Lives* is in the Annex (the Reading Room that is highlighted in the image). Sources are much more likely to appear in the

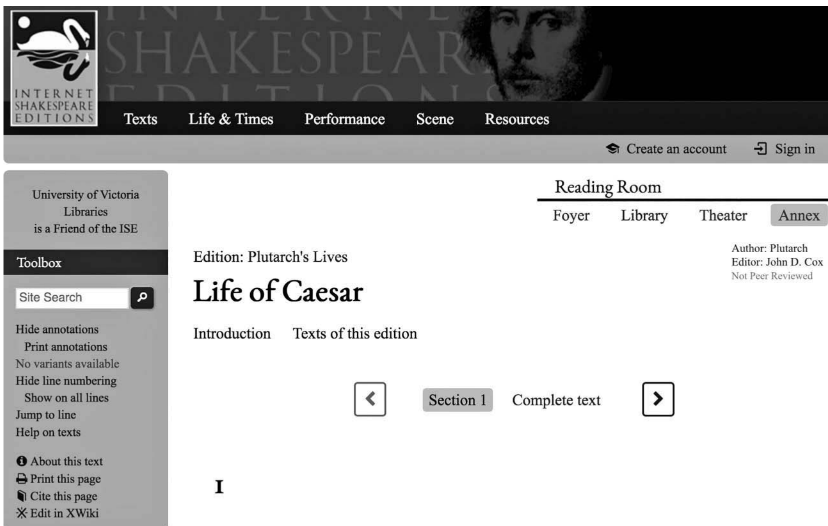

Figure 13.4 John D. Cox's transcription of Plutarch's *Lives* is in the ISE's *Julius Caesar* Annex.

Annex of non-peer-reviewed materials than in the Library of peer-reviewed materials. When the project prioritizes texts for peer review, the texts that belong to the Shakespearean work go out for peer review first. These differences are encoded not just in practice but also in the project's metadata files, the site architecture, and in the URLs.[39]

Towards a Network of Texts

Ultimately, we aim to restore Shakespeare to a network of literary texts. Unlike Constance Ledbelly, we can have our source and enjoy our Shakespearean text too. In our editions and interfaces, we can tell various stories about literary transmission without changing the underlying digital files. A network of digital files, I suggest, is a better representation of the early modern literary scene than the Shakespeare-centric view thereof that has been created both by subsequent literary history and by the way that scholarly editions are constructed. Given that the ISE has amassed so much diverse material, we have had to think carefully about how to link, aggregate, and relate materials to each other.[40] The decisions we have made in ISE2 and continue to make in ISE3 about presentation, site architecture, and interface have implications for our understanding of the theatrical scene in early modern London. Offering multiple interfaces, making their construction explicit, and documenting the design will afford editors and readers the chance to position texts in a variety of source-text-adaptation relationships.

Notes

1 This essay is a companion piece to Hirsch and Jenstad, "Beyond the Text: Digital Editions and Performance."
2 MacDonald, *Goodnight Desdemona (Good Morning Juliet).*
3 Prunster, ed., *Romeo and Juliet before Shakespeare: Four Early Stories of Star-Crossed Love.*
4 Power, *A Tender Thing.*
5 Ar[thur] Br[ooke], *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet.*
6 Evans, ed., *Romeo and Juliet*, 229.
7 Hirsch, "The Other 99%: Shakespeare's Contemporaries Online." Also see Newcomb's essay in this collection, in which she suggests that the quality and amount of access to source materials has the potential to contribute to the sustaining of early modern cultural diversity and responds to her reflective question, "Does my analysis help to protect and sustain cultural resources for public use?" (29).
8 Internet Shakespeare Editions. Founding Editor: Michael Best. Current Coordinating Editors: Janelle Jenstad and James Mardock. internetshakespeare.uvic.ca.
9 Queen's Men Editions. General Editor: Helen Ostovich. qme.internetshakespeare.uvic.ca.
10 Digital Renaissance Editions. Coordinating Editor: Brett Greatley-Hirsch. digitalrenaissance.uvic.ca.
11 All of these sites are currently hosted on University of Victoria servers, and every page has a URL in the uvic.ca domain.

12 This project, now in beta on a UVic-hosted site, is directed by Jennifer Drouin.
13 Michael Best stepped down as Coordinating Editor in April 2017 and took on the role of Founding Editor. As the new Executive Director and Coordinating Platform Editor, I have a leadership team consisting of James Mardock (Coordinating Textual Editor), Diane Jakacki (Technical Editor), Jessica Slights (Education Editor), and Elizabeth Pentland (Performance Editor).
14 The ISE's precursor was Best's *Shakespeare's Life and Times*, published on eight floppy disks by Intellimation (1991).
15 Best, "About the Internet Shakespeare Editions Website."
16 A "digital surrogate" is a digital image of a material witness (a manuscript page, a page or spread of a printed book). "Surrogate" has supplanted the term "facsimile" because the image stands in (or acts as a surrogate) for a material object. We can have microfilm, photographic, and digital surrogates.
17 SLT 2.0 is being prepared under the editorship of Kathryn R. McPherson and Kathryn M. Moncrief.
18 Shakespeare in Performance is currently edited by Elizabeth Pentland.
19 *Scene* is edited by Kevin Quarmby.
20 The terms "marked up" and "encoded" are interchangeable, as are "markup" and "encoding."
21 Drucker, "Performative Metatexts in Metadata, and Markup." Drucker's essay offers an admirably clear overview of what markup does and of the differences between SMGL, XML, and TEI.
22 A perennial problem for text encoders is that any XML-based markup language is hierarchical, whereas texts are not always so. "Well formedness" demands that the tags for more granular textual elements be neatly nested within the tags that demarcate bigger textual containers. Yet texts may well have overlapping hierarchical structures (paragraphs that span two pages, scenes that end before pages do, changes of speaker mid-line, and so on).
23 Anyone interested in learning more about how these technologies work in concert is welcome to read the public-facing sections of our documentation at http://isebeta.uvic.ca/xwiki/bin/view/Documentation/Programmers/.
24 Under the direction of a small working group (emODDern), the sibling projects are selecting and documenting the TEI tagset in which we will publish our texts in the future, with an eye to interoperability between our projects and other TEI projects.
25 We now have the ability to translate IML into TEI-XML and will eventually make all of the texts downloadable in TEI and TEI Simple. *Shakespeare au/in Québec* adopted a TEI tagset before it joined the ISE Siblings.
26 Hockey, "The Rendering of Humanities Information in a Digital Context: Current Trends and Future Developments," 93. Hockey gives an accessible overview of "structured markup and the representation of humanities information" and traces the history of SGML, XML, and TEI (92).
27 Kallinikos, Aaltonen, and Marton, "The Ambivalent Ontology of Digital Artifacts."
28 ISE2 opted for stand-off metadata; each file in the project has a separate file containing metadata. This system has advantages in that it allows for the capture of metadata about objects not actually in our collection, but it is out of step with current encoding practice, which generally calls for the inclusion of metadata at the top of the file. ISE2 also captures metadata about collections (conceptual collections like ISE, QME, and DRE), copies (of which the ISE has digital surrogates), and publications (such as the First Folio, which exists only as an idea embodying all of the copies of the publication). Likewise, the collections that are meant by ISE, QME, and DRE exist only

as metadata, each one constituted by an XML file that describes "which publications and editions belong to it" (ISE Team, "Metadata Collections").

29 I use the term "work" to indicate a conceptual entity like *Hamlet*. Because the work is associated with Shakespeare, it belongs on the ISE site. The ISE edition of *Hamlet* consists of multiple "texts": diplomatic transcriptions of Q1, Q2, and F; modernized copytext editions of Q1, Q2, and F; an editor's choice text (an eclectic edition representing David Bevington's preferred readings); critical materials; and several texts that are traditionally called "sources," such as Saxo Grammaticus's *Historiae Danicae*.

30 de Grazia, "What is a work? What is a document?"

31 ISE Team, "Edition Metadata."

32 Ideally, we would link out to other digital projects that are stand-alone editions with their own critical paratexts and apparatus, such as *The Holinshed Project* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2008–2013), www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/. The work of Pauline Kewes, Ian Archer, Felicity Heal, Henry Summerson, and James Cummings, this project is an exemplary resource for source study. It allows us to link to source passages but also treats the source as a work in its own right.

33 Anon., *The Famous Victories of Henry V*.

34 There are plenty of work-arounds (characterized by my programmer-colleague, Martin Holmes, as "hacks"), but the sites are so large and mutually imbricated that ISE2 has relied heavily on file naming protocols to trigger certain types of processing.

35 From the computer's perspective, the data remains simply data, however often it is served up to users. It is, of course, possible to run analytics programs that track users' search terms, which pages are most often requested by users, where people enter and exit the site, and even their "click paths" as they navigate through the site. Many commercial websites use such data to serve up advertisements and suggested products to customers, thereby reinforcing the preexisting tastes, experiences, and prejudices of users; think, for example, of the "Customers Who Bought This Item Also Bought" suggestions on Amazon's site. It would not be technologically challenging to tell ISE users that if they liked *Hamlet* (our most visited edition this week) they might also like *As You Like It* (our second-most visited edition), or to change that recommendation dynamically (i.e., without encoder intervention) should a spike in visits to *Romeo and Juliet* move that edition back into the #2 spot it occupied last week. Mobilizing analytics data to direct users to popular items tends to reinforce popularity. What analytics cannot do is tell our users to visit *Titus Andronicus* elsewhere on the ISE site, or *The Revengers' Tragedy* over at DRE. If our goal is to draw attention to sources or adaptations, we need a human editor to make the links either implicitly (by linking from annotations and critical paratexts) or explicitly by suggesting "Further Reading," "Next Clicks," or "Related Resources." The ISE has generally eschewed the practices of suggesting "further reading" or "next clicks," except in the *Shakespeare's Life and Times* component. But our most recent edition interface has taken a small step towards limited and curated interoperability between projects.

36 The essays in Best's special issue of *EMLS* are effectively an incipient user experience study (*The Internet Shakespeare: Opportunities in a New Medium* in *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2 [1998]).

37 Drucker, "Reading Interface," 216.

38 See 2.11.1 of the "Internet Shakespeare Editions: Editorial Guidelines," which states that "publication can be incremental, with some parts of the

edition appearing as they are completed." Sources are not listed at all, except insofar as they are captured in the last item, "i) other resources."

39 URLs in ISE2 are constructed so that they include the Reading Room to which the text has been admitted: http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/Texts/2H4/ for *Henry IV, Part 2*.

40 By "we," I mean Founding Editor Michael Best, myself (as Coordinating Platform Editor), and the programmers who have worked on the platform and the supported the sibling projects. The current lead programmer on ISE2 is Maxwell Terpstra. Terpstra and Joseph Takeda are building ISE3 together under the direction of Martin Holmes, Programmer in the Humanities Computing and Media Centre at the University of Victoria.

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14 Lost Plays and Source Study

David McInnis

In their introduction to this volume, Dennis Britton and Melissa Walter describe the trends in Shakespeare criticism that have seen source study gradually marginalized in favor of more theoretically focused methodologies. Although they suggest that the post-structuralist turn implicitly began this decline, inasmuch as the death of the author signaled (quite rightly) a loss of faith in the merits of reconstructing authorial intentions, for theater historians the decentering of authorship has been productive in ways that foster an alternative appreciation of source study. The repertory studies of such esteemed scholars as Bernard Beckerman, Roslyn L. Knutson, Scott McMillin, Sally-Beth MacLean, Lawrence Manley, Lucy Munro, and others have reoriented our perspective of London commercial theater such that the playwright's role is seen as only one aspect of a much larger, more complex matrix.[1] Playing companies become the organizing principle, with what McMillin calls "company style" being the focus[2]: plays, in this view, are the essential commodity of a company, and how that company acquires, performs, and revives the plays in its repertory in response to playgoer demand and the offerings of other companies is paramount. Players, playgoers, and even playhouses have important roles in our understanding of the highly competitive theatrical marketplace of Shakespeare's London. W. David Kay urges scholars to treat Shakespeare as a "creative actor-playwright" rather than author, in the hope of producing a more "theatrically-oriented source study,"[3] and a repertory studies approach would take this insight even further, focusing less on the actor-playwright and more on the theatrical context of the company for whom he wrote. In other words, I'm suggesting that we should reconceptualize source study as a means of further understanding how and why a company offered the plays it did for performance. What did companies (rather than playwrights) respond to, either by emulating or overwriting their own and their competitors' repertories?

To begin to answer this question, we need to think about lost plays alongside those that survive. As Martin Wiggins has recently reminded us, the all-too-sobering statistics reveal that the significant majority of plays produced in this context, at this time, are now lost, and with them a good number of potential source-texts for the drama that has survived.

Of the plays written for the London commercial playhouses between 1567 and the closure of the theaters in 1642, only 543 playtexts survive in either print or manuscript form. By contrast, traces of approximately 744 lost plays are identifiable in diary entries, Stationers' Register accounts, and other historical documents.[4] These figures say nothing of the still larger number of plays that have sunk without so much as a ripple.[5] Clearly the absence of an extant playscript poses problems for establishing direct use of a lost play as a linguistic source for a surviving play. Noting linguistic echoes between texts has been important to both traditional and newer approaches to source study, but it is not the only approach to source study. As an extreme test case, working with lost plays forces scholars to address questions of evidence handling and hypothesis construction that the best work in source studies is already at least implicitly attuned to: how else can fairy tales, oral narratives, and the like be meaningfully incorporated into discussion of a given play's "discursive con-texts"?[6] Nowhere is Richard Levin's caution against the uncritical acceptance of "positive evidence" borne out more soberingly than in the realm of repertory studies and theater history, where the staggering loss of playtexts poses a daunting challenge to the diligent scholar hoping to rule out "negative evidence" (i.e. evidence that an adduced parallel is not, in fact, unique, but occurs somewhere other than the claimed source).[7]

To study lost plays as possible sources for surviving drama requires a range of modalities of source study; depending on the nature and extent of the historical evidence bearing witness to these plays' one-time existence, we can learn different things about the likely relationship of lost plays to surviving plays. Much of this work—like much of the present chapter—would have been difficult, if not unthinkable, even a decade ago, but the proliferation of scholarly digital resources including *EEBO* and *British Literary Manuscripts Online* has provided access to and new ways of reading the historical evidence pertaining to lost plays. These digitization projects facilitate access to facsimiles of primary material but also (in the case of the *Text Creation Partnership* branch of *EEBO*, for example) to alternative ways of using this material. The study of lost plays consists of discovering historical references to performances or play titles (in diaries, state papers, college records, the Stationers' Register, and other sources) and the investigation of what those references actually import. "Belin Dun," "Vayvode," "Doctor Lambe," or "Henry the Unable" were all once household names—or at least meant enough that people would pay to see dramatizations of their lives and exploits—but are now mostly forgotten. Recovering their stories is possible but relied previously on an extensive memory, virtually limitless time for research, and access to institutional libraries with holdings on par with that of the British Library. Typically, there are no early modern books devoted entirely to such characters, or obviously named after such characters; rather, their narratives are embedded in larger collections:

histories, miscellanies, poetry and prose, jests, ballads, tomes, and ephemera. Scouring an index like the Short Title Catalogue is therefore unlikely to yield promising leads, but entering a keyword into a digital search engine is not only more likely to produce hits in a full-text database, it is also likely to be capable of offsetting the challenges posed by the variability of early modern spelling and the mis-transcriptions of hasty or forgetful diarists.[8]

Locating an obscure reference to an eponymous character or a sensational event by using these new technologies is an important first step, but interpretation of this data requires care, vigilance, and some healthy skepticism. Scholarly investigations to date have been hampered by two factors. First, the ephemerality of lost plays means that as a subject matter, they are usually relegated to footnotes rather than examined in a sustained manner, and consequently the scholarship on lost plays is virtually invisible. Second, the fact of these plays' non-survival is typically regarded as evidence of inferiority (if something was worth preserving, it would have been preserved); but one need only consider the fact that at least two plays by Shakespeare ("Love's Labours Won" and "Cardenio") have been lost to realize how spurious this logic is (unless we assume these Shakespearean dramas were irredeemably awful).[9] The Lost Plays Database (www.lostplays.org), edited by Roslyn L. Knutson, Matthew Steggle, and me, exists to address both of these concerns. It brings together the snippets of relevant scholarship, it reproduces the historical records, and it raises the profile of lost plays as a legitimate avenue of scholarly inquiry. It is completely open-access, and most importantly, it is collaborative. Individual scholars contribute snippets of information to an entry, drawing on their expertise and discoveries, and this in turn encourages others to augment existing entries with further details: the sum is greater than the scattered parts. As we fill in the blanks, our picture of early modern English dramatic activity grows, and a clearer sense of what the commercial companies were offering in their repertories emerges. The result is a denser web of relationships between individual plays than an old-fashioned source study of linear transmission would allow. Within the context of repertory analysis, attending to lost plays is therefore vital: demonstrating Shakespeare's use of Saxo Grammaticus for *Hamlet* has obvious value for author-centric studies, but Shakespeare's company was competing with other London-based commercial companies who had staged (or were about to stage) such lost "Danish" plays as "The Tanner of Denmark" (Strange's, 1592), the anonymous "Hamlet" (Admiral's or Chamberlain's, by 1594), "Cutlack" (Admiral's, 1594), "1 & 2 Earl Godwin and his Three Sons" (Admiral's, 1598), and "A Danish Tragedy" (Admiral's, 1602).[10] If we restrict ourselves to textual links in surviving texts, we stand to miss vital theatrical contexts that inspired or influenced the commercial production of a given play.

Lost plays can be seen to participate in broader influential movements, and this is especially true at the level of genre and subject matter. Through systematic attention to records of lost plays in Henslowe's diary, for example, Misha Teramura and Paul Whitfield White have demonstrated (respectively) the Admiral's Men's significant investment in Trojan mythology and Arthurian legend in their repertory of the 1590s.[11] In much older analyses, Shakespeare's baffling treatment of Chaucer's poignant *liebestod* material in *Troilus and Cressida* has been addressed in terms of Shakespeare's alternative debt to (and possibly a desire to distance himself from) Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker's lost "Troilus and Cressida" (1599), the backstage plot for which is extant and provides a detailed scene-by-scene account of that play's contents.[12] Shakespeare's exploration of religious apostasy and resistance to the Turks in *Othello* has likewise been regarded by E. A. J. Honigmann as a possible response to a lost play, the "The True History of George Scanderbeg" from the Oxford's Men repertory of c.1601: "Scanderbeg, a renegade Christian, led Turkish armies against Christians, and *Othello* could have been written as a counter-attraction, with a Moor starring as a Christian against the Turks."[13]

In the rarest of cases, we may of course stumble upon a clear textual source for episodes in Shakespeare's plays. The lost "Hester and Ahasuerus" play noted by Henslowe as having been performed at the playhouse in Newington in June 1594 appears to survive in a German translation, *Comoedia von der Königin Esther und hoffertigen Haman* (published in Leipzig in 1620).[14] As Wiggins notes, it contains a shrew-taming subplot in which "the clown's wife is forced to say that black is white in order to avoid her husband's violence," and this appears to be "the source of the sun/moon incident in *The Taming of the Shrew*."[15] More common are those obscure references in Shakespeare's work that might profitably be explicated through reference to lost plays.[16] Christi Spain-Savage has compellingly argued that the Admiral's "Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentfort" play (1599) influenced Shakespeare's decision to disguise Falstaff as "Gillian of Brainford" in the 1602 quarto version of *Merry Wives of Windsor*.[17] Perhaps the depiction of the eponymous protagonist of the lost "Tamar Cham" plays (Strange's 1592; Admiral's 1596) inspired Benedick's offer to fetch "a hair off the great Cham's beard" in *Much Ado About Nothing*, though Shakespeareans tend not to gloss the possible debt to a stage representation of the Cham – like most editors, Claire McEachern (Arden 3) and Sheldon P. Zitner (Oxford) refer readers of their critical editions of the play to Mandeville and Marco Polo for the exotica described by Benedick (curiously, the pygmies he mentions are also featured in the final scene of "1 Tamar Cham").[18]

A further possibility when looking to lost plays for clues about a dramatist's inspiration is the repetition and variation of recognizable motifs within drama. That dramatists, including Shakespeare, drew on other

plays when composing their own is well known. *King Lear* offers a useful case study of the way different companies and playwrights dealt with related dramatic material, in terms of the differences as much as the similarities.[19] Cordelia's death would not have been foreseeable for early audiences of Shakespeare's tragedy, because within living memory they had seen the Lear story dramatized by the Queen's Men as a chronicle history with a happy ending. The anonymously authored *King Leir* (which is still extant) was performed on the 6th and 8th of April 1594 during the brief period when the Queen's Men and Sussex's Men performed together, but was evidently older than that, for it was not marked as a new play on these occasions.[20] *Leir*'s presentation of the trial-of-love scene and its consequences differs significantly from Shakespeare's: a feature of the Queen's Men play is that comedy is frequently mixed with seriousness.[21] Instead of a nihilistic tragedy, it gives us a playful romance with a disguised king, ending in marriage. A prominent motif of the Queen's Men *Leir*—the division of the kingdom—was featured in a lost Queen's Men play too, though, and taken in conjunction with further analogues, including Tamburlaine's division of territory amongst his weak sons, begins to take on the appearance of a "theatergram" or variable dramatic unit.[22] As Louise George Clubb has noted in her study of early modern English borrowings from Italian drama, the creation of drama entailed drawing on pre-texts in such a way that

> demanded the interchange and transformation of units, figures, relationships, actions, *topoi*, and framing patterns, gradually building a combinatory of theatergrams that were at once streamlined structures for svelte play making and elements of high specific density, weighty with significance from previous incarnations.[23]

Accordingly, when looking for sources, we should be looking for variation and synthesis, not necessarily similitude. The fragmentary records pertaining to lost plays frequently offer us this level of detail.

Henry Peacham (the man responsible for the Longleat MS sketch of *Titus Andronicus*) remembered seeing the famed clown Richard Tarlton steal the show in a deathbed scene in the mid-1580s, when Tarlton was associated with the Queen's Men:

> Sometimes among Children the Parents have two hopefull, and the third voyd of all grace: sometimes all good, saving the eldest.
>
> I remember when I was a School-boy in *London*, *Tarlton* acted a third sons part, such a one as I now speake of: His father being a very rich man, and lying upon his death-bed, called his three sonnes about him, who with teares, and on their knees craved his blessing, and to the eldest sonne, said hee, you are mine heire, and my land must descend upon you, aud [*sic*] I pray God blesse you with it:

> The eldest sonne replyed, Father I trust in God you shall yet live to enjoy it your selfe. To the second sonne, (said he) you are a scholler, and what profession soever you take upon you, out of my land I allow you threescore pounds a yeare towards your maintenance, and three hundred pounds to buy you books, as his brother, he weeping answer'd, I trust father you shall live to enjoy your money your selfe, I desire it not, &c. To the third, which was *Tarlton*, (who came like a rogue in a foule shirt without a a [*sic*] band, and in a blew coat with one sleeve, his stockings out at the heeles, and his head full of straw and feathers) as for you sirrah, quoth he) you know how often I have fetched you out of *Newgate* and *Bridewell*, you have beene an ungracious villaine, I have nothing to bequeath to you but the gallowes and a rope: *Tarlton* weeping and sobbing upon his knees (as his brothers) said, O Father, I doe not desire it, I trust in God you shall live to enjoy it your selfe.[24]

The youngest child is the black sheep, in a motif familiar from folklore, but his waywardness is comical. The Queen's Men twice produced a "division" scene that ultimately ended in mirth; when Shakespeare's play was performed, the frame of reference brought to it by playgoers familiar with the Queen's Men's repertory would have included the expectation that such divisions need not end in tragedy. In the 1998 fictional film *Shakespeare in Love*, the comedy of "Romeo and Ethel the Pirate's Daughter" morphs into an unexpected tragedy of "Romeo and Juliet"; it seems that with *King Lear*, Shakespeare actually made such a change to genre. Traditional source-hunting would not consider the lost Tarlton play a "source" for *King Lear*, but Henry Peacham (for one) may well have recognized the opening scene of *Lear* as a variant of the division-of-kingdom theatergram that he had seen Tarlton perform two decades earlier and could even have situated this version on a continuum alongside *Leir* and *Tamburlaine* (both of which, incidentally, were printed/reprinted in 1605; the likely year of *Lear*'s composition).[25] By acquiring Shakespeare's *King Lear* for their repertory, the King's Men were knowingly engaging with their competitors' offerings and deliberately subverting playgoer expectations to an extent that is not fully appreciable unless attention is given to lost plays.

The Tempest, which stubbornly refuses to yield clues to its primary source text, might similarly be approached by recourse to the theatergrams and motifs of lost plays; although Shakespeare came to romances relatively late in his career, his audience's familiarity with the genre stretched back decades. Cyrus Mulready has begun to call attention to the extent to which playgoers' expectations would have been conditioned by the large group of plays he calls "stage romances" (to distinguish them from their prose counterparts) and draws on Helen Cooper's suggestion that audiences were "deeply familiar with the tropes and motifs of a

500-year-old tradition" of romance writing.[26] Mulready contends that "the continued attention to Shakespeare's 'late plays' as romances has led to neglect for the rich history of romance adapted to the stage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[27] Although he makes mention of lost stage romances like "Herpetulus the Blue Knight and Perobia" (1574) or "The History of the Solitary Knight" (1577), Mulready chooses Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (c. 1591) and the relatively recently rediscovered *Tom a Lincoln* (c. 1607–16) as the basis for "evidence of what audiences saw (and perhaps expected) when romance came to the stage."[28] Recovering the likely narratives of lost plays increases our awareness of the variables at play in the romance theatergrams deployed by Shakespeare in *The Tempest*. The entries in Henslowe's diary show, for example, that an anonymously authored "Chinon of England" was performed as a new play by the Admiral's men on 03 January 1596, receiving fourteen performances in total.[29] Greg and others have suggested that the lost play may have been based on Christopher Middleton's *The famous historie of Chinon of England* (London, 1597) whilst still in manuscript form.[30] Amongst other things, Middleton's romance includes a witch (Europa, not Sycorax), an "ayrie Spirit" (cf. the airy Ariel), a beautiful daughter (Cassiopea, rather than Miranda) exiled to a wilderness "far from the resort of men", a fool (Chinon) imprisoned in a rock (cf. Caliban styed in a "hard rock," 1.2.344), a cannibal in the Arabian desert, and an island where harpies (cf. Ariel, clad "like a harpy," 3.3.52SD) guard a golden book.[31] Traditional source study is unlikely to regard the lost "Chinon" as a source for *The Tempest*, but as Clubb observes, source studies are typically "resistant … to historicizing synthesis," whereas a focus on theatergrams potentially enables us to place "Chinon" on a continuum of stage romances including Shakespeare's play.[32] What other variants of the use of magicians, witches, rocky imprisonments, and exiles to barren locations might turn up in the narratives of lost plays, and how might these help us better appreciate Shakespeare's unique reconfiguration of such elements?

In some cases, textual analysis of lost plays *is* possible, albeit in a limited capacity: fragments, usually in manuscript (but very occasionally in print) exist for a handful of the plays whose scripts are otherwise lost. "The Stately Tragedy of the Great Cham" (Folger MS X.d.259) and the "Play of Oswald" (British Library MS Egerton 2623) are two such fragments.[33] Only two quarto leaves (four pages) of the "The Stately Tragedy" exist, and the critical consensus seems to favor a seventeenth century date, primarily on the strength of the fragment's reference to "Tobacco" as "now well known."[34] Although it may have been written as a closet drama—the scribe draws attention to his use of blood-like red ink, but also includes elaborate stage directions—it is clearly informed by the commercial theater, in particular, by the work of Marlowe. The obvious debt is to the *Tamburlaine* plays and the eastern conqueror mode they inaugurated: the "mighty Cham"

Velruus (or Velraus) and his wife Drepona are responding to the Tartarians' attacks on their "fronter townes" and are plotting revenge in the last passage of the fragment.[35] The general participation in a Tamburlainean mode could have been inferred from the title alone, if that were all that had survived. Less predictably, the hundred or so lines of text reveal that *Faustus* also appears to be a source for this lost play, which opens with an eastern priest figure (Bagous the Brachman) entering into a diabolical pact with the "deuill" Aldeboran who appears "in a flash of fier."[36] Unexpected revelations like this are a salient reminder of the limits of conjecture when working with minimal evidence: if only the title had survived, our assessment of the play's Marlovian inheritance would be incomplete. Cynics might object that this conflation of Tamburlainean and Faustian traditions is the anomalous work of an amateur playwright, and is not therefore indicative of writing practices for the London commercial theater. But although it may be tempting to dismiss the play as a rough work of an amateur, the fragment could just as easily be the work of a professional, who might equally be expected to use neat italic hand, ruled pages, and speech headings in preparing a formal or presentation playtext.[37] In either case, what's interesting is the blatant attempt to capitalize on the success of previously dramatized subject matter. This particular lost play offers surprising evidence of the extent to which dramatists consciously engaged with well-known plays as source material and is compatible with the business strategies of the commercial companies. In its blatant appropriation of Marlowe's distinctive work, it may not be typical, but as an extreme example of a playwright responding to fare from the public playhouses, it remains indicative of a usually more conservative tendency to emulate commercial drama rather than to be "original" in the modern sense of creativity.

The "Oswald fragment" (as Paul E. Bennett called it) or the "Play of Oswald" (as Wiggins prefers) is also only four pages (two folio leaves), but contains substantially more text than the "Stately Tragedy."[38] The manuscript has suffered damage both from water and (worse) from John Payne Collier, who forged an allusion to Shakespeare at the end of the manuscript and who failed to record the provenance of the text before "sticking the leaves into his scrap-book the wrong way round," as Greg snidely observes, "so that in each case the text begins on the verso."[39] The fragment belongs to the end of the play. The Duchess enters astonished, holding the hand of a young man named Oswald, ostensibly unknown to the Court. The Duchess's husband, Duke Ethelbert, examines the man closely, especially his distinctive jewels. This prompts Ethelbert to recount how his ambitious uncle had attempted to seize power for himself by killing Ethelbert's first-born son:

My wife had a first son, but my lewd [uncle],
Should I die heirless, thinking mine his own,
Poison'd that child; a second blest her womb;
That too was marked for death ere it knew life;
He meeting with the world was in one night
Secretly in the swathing clathes conveyed
Into Northumberland out of Mercia;
To mock the tyrant she gave out it died,
The nurse that kept it likewise lived not long,
But how nurse jugled, how my boy was lost,
I'm sure this cock and crucifix I tied
To a small chain of gold about his neck
With my own fingers…

(f.37a)

In the lead up to the imminent revelation of Oswald's true identity as the Duke's son, students of *Cymbeline* may already be recalling Belarius's "dangerous speech" in the denouement of that play (5.4.314), where he reveals that "his" sons Polydore and Cadwal are really Cymbeline's sons, the princes Guiderius and Arviragus. In both *Cymbeline* and the "Play of Oswald," a dangerously ambitious family member plots and attempts the murder of the rightful heirs: the Queen plans to poison Imogen and kill Cymbeline in order to install Cloten, her own son from a former marriage, on the throne; Ethelbert's "cunning" and "lewd" uncle poisoned Ethelbert's firstborn son, resulting in the second-born (Oswald/Eldred) being "Secretly in the swathing clathes conveyed / Into Northumberland out of Mercia" (f.37a), much as Cymbeline's sons were wrapped "[i]n a most curious mantle" and removed from their true family's custody (5.4.362).[40] In both plays, the inherent nobleness of the unsuspectingly high-born exiles is readily discernible however; Imogen meditates on the greatness of spirit possessed by the men who are ultimately revealed to be her brothers, likening their cave to a court (3.7.79–84), and Belarius continues to be surprised by the irrepressible regality of the boys he knows to be princes: "'Tis wonder / That an invisible instinct should frame them / To royalty unlearned" (4.2.177–79). Oswald's insight into inherent nobility is expressed more crudely, and with bathos, but remains a variation on the theme:

I knew there was noble
blood in me, for I am in debt, and full of
other such noble qualities, can drink hard,
spend bravely, and love a sweet girl.

(f.37a–38b)

The parallels continue, with the circumstances and criteria for positive identification in *Cymbeline* closely resembling those in the "Oswald fragment":

> CYMBELINE: Guiderius had
> Upon his neck a mole, a sanguine star.
> It was a mark of wonder.
> BELARIUS: This is he,
> Who hath upon him still that natural stamp.
> It was wise nature's end in the donation
> To be his evidence now.
>
> (5.4.364–69)

Guiderius has a birthmark that matches the "cinque-spotted" one Giacomo so famously spies on Imogen's left breast earlier in the play (2.2.37–38). Siblinghood is thus established on the basis of the analogous moles. In the recognition-scene from the "Play of Oswald," the Duchess recognizes Oswald as the son she had named Eldred, and Ethelbert confirms Oswald's identity to his own satisfaction by examining not just the distinctive jewels (the "cock and crucifix"—presumably a Catholic device in the play's pre-Reformation England—he tied to "a small chain of gold" about the boy's neck), but his distinctive birthmarks: "the print / Of a ripe mulberry" on his neck and "[t]he talon of an eagle on this arm."[41] Oswald compares his eagle birthmark with one that his mother also apparently has, exclaiming, "A whole eiry of eagles! So, so, sire; 'tis here, / […] *et haec Aquila*, both he and she!". In a modest example of how electronic collaboration can advance the study of lost plays, after I drafted the initial Lost Plays Database entry for this fragment, Matthew Steggle positively identified this garbled Latin tag as a quotation from the popular Renaissance teaching text, Lily's *Short Introduction to Grammar*, where "aquila" (eagle) is given as an example of gender-ambiguous or "epicene" nouns:

> [T]he joke is clear - Oswald lapses into Latin, and then spoils the effect by observing that 'Haec aquila' could denote a male or a female eagle. It is a bathetic scrap of schoolboy learning, puncturing the seriousness of this recognition-scene.[42]

The revelation of identity was fortunately timed, for it turns out the woman Oswald was about to marry was actually his sister. No such accidental incest is likely in *Cymbeline*—Imogen, unlike the wandering Oswald/Ethelred, is a woman, and therefore prudently disguises herself as a boy (Fidele) whilst travelling to Milford Haven; it is in this guise that she unwittingly meets her brothers—but the potential for disguised and dispersed siblings to form an attraction *is* registered on an almost metatheatrical level when Guiderius declares, "Were you a woman, youth, / I should woo hard" (3.6.66–67).

Beyond the similarities in the structure and details of the recognition scene (another theatergram popular in the commercial theater, and a device that Shakespeare also exploited in *The Winter's Tale, The Tempest*, and elsewhere), the generic experimentation of the "Oswald fragment" is noteworthy as a probable precursor to Shakespeare's late plays. Shakespeare scholars have long noted that the collaboratively written *Henry VIII, or All is True* revisits historical material through a romance lens, and thus marks a turn in Shakespeare's handling of history, away from the *Henry V* model, which itself had been developed in response to the providential, chronicle history form associated with the Queen's Men in the 1580s.[43] The "Oswald fragment" mixes *Cymbeline*-style romance (the prince raised pseudonymously in exile, eventually returning and being identified) with ostensibly Anglo-Saxon history. In the plot described above, which occupies the bulk of fol.37$^{b\text{-}a}$, we have several pseudo-historical personages. An Ethelbert was king of Kent, a convert to Christianity, and uncle to "Sigebert kyng of Essex" (there is a "Sibert" listed in the stage directions), with whom he began the foundations of St. Paul's cathedral in London. After he was killed in battle, his daughter married Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumberland. After his grandson was killed, Osricus and Eufridus reigned until they were succeeded by their brother Oswald, who reigned in Northumberland for twenty-two years, his son becoming the last king of the Britons. Even with so limited a textual fragment surviving, the "Play of Oswald" enlarges our pool of historical romance plays and our number of identity-revelation theatergrams. Although it is not yet possible to confirm its date with any certainty, scholars have tentatively assigned it to the turn of the century (i.e. preceding Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*), and the roughness and bathos with which it treats the elements of the identity-revelation theatergram's components helps us clarify Shakespeare's refinement of those elements in his own play.

* * *

What might such digitally enabled work on lost plays and source studies teach us about our own habits of writing and thinking?

First, and most obviously, working with such fragmentary data can be disturbingly similar to taking a Rorschach test. If we want to find a source for Shakespeare, the temptation is to see that possibility wherever we look, even when the evidence is inconclusive: if dates are indeterminate, we might confuse inferiority with either imitation *or* primacy relative to what Gary Taylor calls the "singularity" of Shakespeare.[44] Subjective judgments about quality are rarely a reliable indicator of chronology so much as of the critic's own unspoken bias. A better approach to dating might utilize the keyword search function of large textual databases such as *EEBO-TCP* to establish the time period in which distinctive words flourished: an *EEBO-TCP* search for the word "mockado," for example (a kind of cloth), currently yields 18 hits in 15 texts, between 1578 and

1641.[45] The reference to a "mockado hart" in the "Oswald fragment" is therefore consistent with the date range of a Renaissance play. The phrase "plummets hanging" yields even fewer hits: six in total, with three of these being John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604, twice) or a quotation of it (in 1685).[46] *EEBO-TCP* has amassed an impressive corpus of texts (44,323 as of February 2014),[47] but it is not a complete record of everything written in England, and whilst these keyword-search experiments are helpful in strongly suggesting a date range consonant with the flourishing of the London commercial playhouses, dating the fragment with the degree of precision needed to establish it as a source for Shakespeare is not yet possible.[48]

One reason for preferring to see the "Oswald fragment" as sharing a theatergram with *Cymbeline* rather than necessarily being a source is that perceptions of the fragment's crudeness and dating of its distinctive words cannot guarantee that it preceded Shakespeare and was available to him as a source in the traditional sense. But creating a dialogue between the two moments remains a worthwhile enterprise because it creates a more vivid dramatic context for each and is mutually illuminating. We may not yet know which company performed the play (if it was performed), who wrote it, or when, but the parallels between "Oswald" and *Cymbeline* suggest they were known to each other and that the formulaic ending was worth repeating and varying. A company may have repeated its own successes with the theatergram, or it may have attempted to emulate the success of a rival. Critics might argue that the version in "Oswald" is inferior, and was thus either copied and "improved" by Shakespeare or was a poor man's attempt to imitate Shakespeare. But it is at least a priori possible that the bathos in "Oswald" implies a deliberate parody of Shakespeare; that *Cymbeline*'s ending met with derision.

Second, in our haste to comprehend and categorize, we might inadvertently reduce complexity and ambiguity rather than acknowledge and celebrate it. It's a simple but salient point: because the surviving drama is the minority, it should not be used as the only basis for hermeneutics. It cannot, as a matter of principle, be treated as necessarily typical, and it may not therefore form a normative rule for comparison. It may, in fact, have survived precisely because it was anomalous (in style, subject matter, quality, or another aspect altogether), and a miraculous recovery of the lost corpus might completely recalibrate our expectations of what early moderns valued in plays. When drawing connections between a lost play and its next of kin, attempting to absorb the novelty into the known canon runs the risk of ironing out dissonance in the new example, where it should instead prompt a reconsideration of the familiar. David Kathman's compelling re-dating of the backstage plot of a lost play known as "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins"—from c.1590–91 and the Strange's Men to c.1597–98 and the Lord

Chamberlain's Men—provides just such a prompt: should we query why late 1590s audiences would be interested in an "old-fashioned morality-style play," or should we reconsider whether such subject matter really was passé by the turn of the century after all?[49] To approach the problem from a different angle, if a critic wanted to argue that *The Tempest* was about the New World and that its oblique approach to the topic was the only way the bare London stages could proceed, the argument would founder on the inconvenient fact that the lost "New World's Tragedy" (Admiral's, 1595), "Conquest of the West Indies" (Admiral's, 1601), and "Plantation of Virginia" (unknown, 1623) all seem much more explicitly engaged with the Americas.[50]

Third (and a related point), to recover the likely subject matter of a lost play known by title or description necessarily involves conjecture about the sources available to the dramatist (not to mention conjecture about the likely use that dramatist may have made of those sources). Just because Shakespeare apparently favored Holinshed for historical material need not guarantee that all dramatists did; if a narrative is available in Holinshed and another source, do we perpetuate an undeserved legacy for Holinshed if our reconstruction of likely narrative prioritizes details found in his *Chronicles*? Does this inadvertently reinforce the dominance of a few key historians when study of the lost majority of early modern drama might be an opportunity to break this hegemony? Until recently, it was assumed that the lost play of "Sir John Mandeville" (Strange's, 1592) was based on one of the numerous editions of Mandeville's *Travels* (a fictional account of the author's adventures, presented as if having an autobiographical/historical basis), but this episodic, ostensibly eyewitness account of foreign lands would hardly furnish a narrative, and the consensus is now that William Warner's *Albion's England* (1596) contains a redaction or analogue of the lost play: hardly a self-evident/intuitive conclusion.[51] Likewise, in analyzing a lost play whose author had previously demonstrated familiarity with the same subject matter—for example, Michael Drayton, whose *England's Heroical Epistles* (1597 and numerous subsequent editions) includes a number of stories also dramatized in plays that no longer exist—do we assume that "self-sourcing" entails *replication* or *complication* of the previous use?[52] The methodological danger of making assumptions about likely sources for lost plays should, in turn, heighten our awareness of the assumptions implicitly built into our conjecture about sources for surviving plays.

With these caveats in place, there are a variety of ways in which attention to lost plays might profitably enhance source studies: by emphasizing the importance of the native dramatic tradition for playwrights' inspiration, by potentially solving ambiguous cruces and allusions, by offering precedents in form and subject matter that dramatists would

need to engage with when writing their own play, and by urging consideration of dramatic units (theatergrams) smaller even than scenes, where we should expect to find variation, not simply similitude.

Notes

I would like to thank Alex Thom for providing research assistance and Matthew Steggle for reading a draft of this paper.

1 Beckerman, *Shakespeare at the Globe*; Knutson, *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company*; McMillin and MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays*; Manley and MacLean, *The Lord Strange's Men and their Plays*; and Munro, *The Children of the Queen's Revels*.
2 McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre and The Book of Sir Thomas More*, 9.
3 Kay, "Shakespeare's Transformative Art," 159.
4 McInnis and Steggle, "Introduction: *Nothing* Will Come of Nothing?", esp. 1–2.
5 There are a variety of ways of estimating the total dramatic output for the period; most extrapolate from the limited data we have for one playhouse (e.g. the extensive records of the Rose playhouse, in the form of Henslowe's diary) to postulate an equivalent number of plays for other venues or companies. It would be reasonable to assume, for example, that the Chamberlain's Men had a repertory of roughly the same size as the Admiral's Men, but in the absence of historical records, this remains intelligent guesswork. We might assume the Chamberlain's lost a number of plays, but we can't reconstruct them in the way we can for the Rose playhouse, so these plays aren't counted in the 744 "lost" plays cited above.
6 For a recent account of the challenges of positing fairy tale/folklore sources, see Rawnsley, "Behind the Happily-Ever-After"; for examples of source studies premised on oral reports see, for instance, Kinney's study of "oral narratives," including the London preacher Henry Smith's sermon on Jonah, in "Revisiting *The Tempest*," 165. "Discursive con-texts" is a term developed in Barker and Hulme's post-structuralist response to *The Tempest*'s absorption of history, in their "'Nymphs and reapers heavily vanish': The Discursive Con-texts of *The Tempest*."
7 Levin, "Negative Evidence."
8 *EEBO-TCP* has various search function capabilities such as the wildcard function (which enables users to enter a truncated form of a word and search for all terms beginning with that stem), the variant forms function (which takes a keyword like "jealous" and returns hits for "iealous", "iealousy", etc.), or the proximity function (in which the search reports results of two words within a specified distance of each other).
9 Throughout this essay, titles of extant plays are provided in italics; titles of lost plays are distinguished through the use of quotation marks.
10 See the entries for these titles in the *Lost Plays Database*, ed. Knutson, McInnis and Steggle.
11 See Teramura, "Brute Parts," and Paul Whitfield White "The Admiral's Lost Arthurian Plays," in McInnis and Steggle, *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, 127–47 & 148–62.
12 See, e.g., Bullough, "The Lost 'Troilus and Cressida,'" esp. 39–40; and Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer*, 32.
13 Honigmann, "The First Quarto of *Hamlet* and the Date of *Othello*," 217.
14 *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Foakes, 21.

15 Wiggins, "Where to Find Lost Plays," McInnis and Steggle, *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, 265.
16 See Beales's discussion of "microsources" in "Traces of Knowledge."
17 Spain-Savage, "Reimagining Gillian," in McInnis and Steggle, *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*.
18 Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, ed. McEachern, 2.1.246 and note; see also *Much Ado*, ed. Zitner, 2.1.264–7n.
19 On the need to analyze the omissions as well as borrowings from source texts, see Brink, "What does Shakespeare leave out of *King Lear*?", esp. 208–9.
20 *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Foakes, 21.
21 The anonymous Leir is grieving his queen's death (there is no mystery over "Mrs. Lear"), and needs to retire from his public role; the trial of love has a purpose: Cordella will speak best, and Leir will make her prove it by marrying his favoured suitor; he becomes anxious to learn who does love him most, though; Gonorill would leap to her death if asked, Ragan would marry as her father directed (which should be Cordella's role); Cordella is subsequently turfed out and wanders the countryside in poverty; France, disguising himself to catch a glimpse of Leir's beautiful daughters, stumbles upon Cordella and takes her in.
22 On Shakespeare's probable Marlovian inheritance, see Hutchings, "The End of *II Tamburlaine*."
23 Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 6.
24 Peacham, *The Truth of our Times,* 102–5.
25 On the playbook dates, see *DEEP: Database of Early English Playbooks*, ed. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser. On the date of *Lear*, see Wiggins, *British Drama, 1533–1642*, 1486.
26 Mulready, "Romance on the Early Modern Stage," 114.
27 *Ibid*., 116.
28 *Ibid*., 116.
29 *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Foakes, 33–37, 47, 54. The title also appears in the booksellers Richard Rogers and William Ley's list, "An exact and perfect Catologue of all Playes that are Printed," appended to Thomas Goffe's *The Careless Shepherdess* (London, 1656). See the *LPD* entry for "Chinon of England."
30 Greg, ed. *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, 178.
31 Middleton, *The famous historie of Chinon of England…* (London, 1597), sig.H2; sig.H3.
32 Clubb, *Italian Drama*, 3. The theatergrams apparently present in "Chinon" may in turn have been inspired by Italian pastoral as traced by Robert Henke in *Pastoral Transformations*, 56–60.
33 See the entries for each in the *Lost Plays Database*, ed. Knutson, McInnis and Steggle, which includes photographic reproductions of the Folger manuscript.
34 Folger MS X.d.259, page 2. Bentley cautiously follows this logic (*The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, V.1345); Proudfoot thinks "a date within the first two decades of the [17th] century may seem likely enough" ("Five Dramatic Fragments," 65); and Wiggins does not include this title in the volumes of his *Catalogue* covering the sixteenth century.
35 Folger MS X.d.259, page 4. On this vogue for Tamburlaine-esque drama, see Berek, "*Tamburlaine*'s Weak Sons."
36 Folger MS X.d.259, page 2.
37 Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts*, 84.
38 Bennett, "The Oswald Fragment," 292–93; Wiggins, *Catalogue*, 1260.
39 Greg, "A Dramatic Fragment," 148. Citations from the "Play of Oswald" are by folio number, and correspond to Greg's transcription.

40 Citations from *Cymbeline* given parenthetically are from Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Roger Warren.

41 The cock and crucifix likely allude to Peter's repeated betrayal of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane and the crucifixion that followed as a direct consequence; that the pendant includes a crucifix rather than a cross suggests Catholicism. William Winstanley, for example, notes these specific connotations in his *The new help to discourse or, Wit, mirth, and jollity…* (1680):

> QU: *Wherefore on the top of Church-steeples is the Cock set upon the Cross, of a long continuance?*
> AN: The Papists tell us, it is for our instruction; that whilest aloft we behold the Cross, and the Cock standing thereon, we may remember our sins, and with *Peter* seek and obtain mercy. (60)

The significance of the imagery may well have been established earlier in the play, in the lost portion.

42 See the "For What It's Worth" section of the "Play of Oswald" entry in the *Lost Plays Database.*

43 See, for example, Senyshyn's contribution to this volume, "Reconstructing Holinshed."

44 Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, 374.

45 The "mockado" example comes from Matthew Steggle (personal correspondence).

46 Results of an EEBO-TCP search for "plummets hanging" are: Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (1542); Lambert Daneau, *True and Christian friendshippe* (1586); Marston, *The Malcontent* (1604: STC 2nd ed. 17481 and 17479); Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines sacrae, or, A rational account of the grounds of Christian faith* (1662); and Edward Phillips commonplacing Marston in *The mysteries of love & eloquence* (1685).

47 The list of TCP full text works currently available in EEBO is available as an excel spreadsheet to download from the "About EEBO and the Text Creation Partnership" page of EEBO-TCP.

48 On the advantages and limitations of EEBO, see Gadd, "The Use and Misuse of *Early English Books Online*."

49 Kathman. "Reconsidering *The Seven Deadly Sins*," 34.

50 See the *Lost Plays Database* entries for these titles.

51 On the earlier thinking, see Moseley's two articles, "The Lost Play of Mandeville," and "The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville." For the new consensus, see Manley and MacLean, *The Lord Strange's Men and Their Plays*, 133–34 and Wiggins, *Catalogue*, 911.

52 I owe the use of the delightful term "self-sourcing" to Mark Houlahan, who uses the formulation in his chapter, "The Curious Case of Mr. William Shakespeare and the Red Herring: *Twelfth Night* in its Sources."

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Afterword

John Drakakis

In his short story "Shakespeare's Memory," Jorge Luis Borges's narrator, the self-confessed Shakespeare expert Hermann Sörgel, is offered by his friend, Daniel Thorpe, the gift of "Shakespeare's memory." He accepts, but nothing appears to happen, and he is told: "The memory has entered your mind, but it must be 'discovered.' It will emerge in dreams or when you are awake, when you turn the pages of a book or turn the corner. Don't be impatient; don't *invent* recollections."[1] He muses on the gift, and over time apparently random shards of Shakespeare's memory appear: "The first face I identified was Chapman's; later here was Ben Jonson's, and the face of one of the poet's neighbours, a person who does not figure in the biographies but whom Shakespeare often saw." He realizes that even one who "acquires an encyclopaedia…does not thereby acquire every line, every paragraph, every page, and every illustration; he acquires the *possibility* of becoming familiar with one and another of those things."[2]

In many respects, the promise of familiarity, has, from the outset, been what has driven the study of what for the moment we will continue to call Shakespeare's "sources." In the eighth and final volume of his monumental *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (1974), Geoffrey Bullough cites T. S. Eliot's seemingly grudging observation that "the question of sources has its rights, and we must, if we go into the matter at all, inform ourselves of the exact proportion of invention, borrowing, and adaptation in the plot" (8.343).[3] Bullough regrets that in the early twentieth century, what he called Shakespeare "source hunting" was considered "as a form of truancy from the proper study of the plays," and he blamed these truants "for not realising that their pursuit should be the first stage in an investigation of Shakespeare's methods of composition" (342). Indeed, he went further to suggest that "the study of Shakespeare's sources and probable reading enables us to enter somewhat into his mind during the process of composition" (345). The "mind" he glimpses is orderly, for the most part methodical, and explicable, unlike Hermann Sörgel's surprising discovery, but while enthusing over the process, he noted that there were limits to the enquiry:

> Above all, the comparative study of sources with the finished plays often lets us glimpse the creative process in action as he took over, remade, rejected, adapted, or added to chosen or given materials.

> Indeed, I would claim that this is the best, and often the only, way open to us of watching Shakespeare the craftsman in his workshop – not indeed of "explaining" the mystery of his artistic genius, but at least of perceiving his constructive powers in operation, of seeing the ingenious collocations and associative energies which underlie the dynamic balance of the plays and which fuse plot, character, dialogue, and imagery into a poetic unity.
>
> (346)

The refusal to "explain" what curious minds have always wished to know about the essence of Shakespeare's "art" is at the same time a respectful gesture to Eliot's emphasis on the flexibility and suppleness of "interpretation," and a residual gesture in the direction of the romantic concept of "genius." As a scholar, Bullough shared with Shakespeare impressive *powers of associative memory*—a phrase that begs some very important questions—but he went even further: "if he [Shakespeare] required a parallel or contrast for plot and incident or poetic image, something relevant and vivid floated up from his unconscious" (347). Throughout his eight-volume project, Bullough acknowledges that Shakespeare borrows, imitates, innovates, and adapts. Our rather more abrasively intentional term "appropriates" is not part of this lexicon, and Shakespeare is, of course, never guilty of plagiarism; indeed he is, more politely, "an adapter of other men's tales and plays" (351). He also acknowledges, but, tantalizingly, does not develop, "the recurrence of technical devices and incidents of plot such as the sex-disguise, mistaken identities, eavesdropping, villainous intrigues, etc." (365).

For some time, Bullough has had the last word on the subject of Shakespeare's sources. Occasionally, literary historians have made particular forays into this area of Shakespeare scholarship, but have, on the whole, become increasingly dissatisfied with a term that, for all its nuances, remains constrained by the technology and the logic of print culture in a way that Shakespeare appears not to have been. It is, perhaps, the emergence of a new technology in our own era that has now begun to make us more sensitive to the implications of change experienced by the early modern period. Bullough was not a theorist, so we cannot, in all conscience, say that he was among the guilty, as Maguire and Smith have implied, of "under-theorising."[4] He was a literary historian of a conservatively pragmatic bent who frequently raised practical difficulties that he was not always able to resolve theoretically.

From time to time new "sources" have been suggested for particular plays, and new speculations about how Shakespeare engaged with them, although these discoveries have done little to disturb seriously the conceptual framework that underpins the discourse. Stephen Greenblatt's first dismissive foray into this terrain in the original version of his essay "Shakespeare and the Exorcists" has recently attracted the attention of

those who have sought to resurrect the question of source study. It is perhaps worth quoting his observation at greater length since it embodies both a regret and a desire:

> Source study is, as we all know, the elephants' graveyard of literary history. My own work, moreover, has consistently failed to make the move that can redeem, on these occasions, such unpromising beginnings: the move from a local problem to a universal, encompassing, and abstract problematic within which the initial concerns are situated. For the study of the literary is the study of contingent, particular, intended, and historically embedded works; if theory inevitably involves the desire to escape from contingency into a higher realm in which signs are purified of the slime of history, then this paper is written *against* theory.[5]

The irony lies not so much in the designation of source study as "the elephants' graveyard"—a phrase that three years later he adjusted to "the conventional pieties of source study"[6]—but in the hostages to fortune that he gave in his resistance to a particular reading of "theory." Two issues emerge from Greenblatt's attempt in the original essay and its revised version: firstly his "invention" of the phrase "New Historicism" was the latest in a long line of adaptations of a title, fashioned in this instance to take account of a distinctively Foucauldian conception of power. To this extent, Greenblatt's revivification of the connection between Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Samuel Harsnett's *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* offers a dynamic and inventive link between two texts in a methodology anticipated by Wesley Morris, in his appropriately named monograph *Toward a New Historicism* (1972), who, without the aid of Foucault, regarded the work of the critic as explicating the relationship between the text and "historical milieu" and "how meaning and value are a product of that relationship." Morris further refined this process as one of determining "the meaning and value of every human expression as it exists in the evolving context of other human expressions." To do so, would, of course, be to reconstruct the living elephant from the bones discovered in Greenblatt's mythical "graveyard," thereby seeking to forge a connection between two approaches that Morris labelled as "historical relativism" and "subjectivism."[7] This resembles the much more adversarial trajectory that Francis Barker and Peter Hulme took in their essay, "Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish: The discursive con-texts of *The Tempest*" (1985), where they argue that that the text's unity "can only be protected by recourse to a notion of source as explanatory of a feature otherwise aberrant to that posited unity."[8] Barker and Hulme move beyond a strictly empirical connection between "source" and "context," thereby generating a dynamic, dialogic relationship between the two. Greenblatt's "against theory" may,

perhaps, be more accurately glossed as "against theoreticism," since his own preoccupation with what Bullough might have regarded as "analogical" texts develops a particular kind of "historicism" that owes its methodology, in part, to the post-structuralism of Foucault, rather than to the historicism familiar to Marxist commentators.

In his revised version Greenblatt dispenses with one myth (the elephant's graveyard), but then invokes another, "the conventional pieties of source study." We may well ask what the "source" of this perfunctorily dismissive comment might be, and one comes conveniently to mind: David Quint's brilliant historicizing account of "origin" and "originality" as these terms emerged in the humanism of early modern literary culture, in a book, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature* (1983), that follows *Renaissance Self-fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (1980) and antedates the first draft of Greenblatt's essay.

In this seminal book, Quint carefully teases out the concern of Renaissance writers with matters of literary originality and with the quasi-mythical construction of a linear model of the "source" or "origin." Clearly, and given the nature of the project, Greenblatt was conscious of the need to rescue the study of sources from one mythology, but there was already in existence another that posed a threat on the very grounds on which his own neo-Foucauldian historicism rested. Having cleared away the graveyard, he was confronted with the very "conventional pieties" that obstructed the pathway to his championing of the cause of an anti-theoretical, historically contingent, but curiously apolitical role for texts whose circulation was already acknowledged as part of a larger historical network. In order to explicate that process, he enlisted a domesticated version of Aristotle's *enargeia*, suggesting that it was an amorphous "social energy" that was the driving force of culture. Such eclecticism borrows from theoretical models, supplements them with a degree of empiricism, but refuses to rule out serendipity as an aid to scholarly investigation. Indeed, to approach the evolution of Greenblatt's thought in this way is to engage in a kind of source study that takes us close to what Borges's fictional Daniel Thorpe gifts to Hermann Sörgel: "*two* memories – my own personal memory and the memory of Shakespeare that I partially am."[9]

The drive to chart a linear progression from "source" to "text" and back again cannot avoid inscribing the investigator's identity within the process. The result often exposes a contradiction, in that theory is both internalized and resisted even as it is deployed in an effort to disentangle the scholar's task from that familiar, quasi-theological myth of origins. Greenblatt's revisionary phrase "conventional pieties" aptly concentrates that complex process.

Since the completion of Bullough's project, more "sources" have been discovered, although the representative texts that he printed, and the categories into which he arranged them—"source," "probable source,"

"possible source," "possible historical source," and "analogue"—have remained for the most part staples of the discourse and continue to be serviceable. However, what has changed, partly, but by no means exclusively, as a result of the influence of various loosely post-structuralist revisions of the concept of "context" is the manner in which the more or less over-determined circulation of texts are now thought to have exerted a pressure on the business of theatrical composition, as well as on the process of reading. This is in large part the result of the destabilization of the figure of "the author." Foucault's essay "What is an Author?" (1977) did much to disturb the romantic connection between the author as an "originating subject" and what his translator, Donald Bouchard, identified as "a language conceived as plenitude, which supports the activities of commentary and interpretation."[10] Foucault also observed that

> An author's name is not simply an element of speech (as a subject, a complement, or an element that could be replaced by a pronoun or other parts of speech). Its presence is functional in that it serves as a means of classification. A name can group together a number of texts and thus differentiate them from others. A name also establishes different forms of relationships among texts.[11]

In many ways, this describes exactly the status of Shakespearean texts, although over the years its implications have produced an energetic backlash in seeking to reemphasize Shakespeare as author and to differentiate him from others with whom he may have collaborated or who may subsequently have revised his writings. Those who would cling on to the romantic conception of the creative writer have resisted what they perceive to be a downgrading of the creative power of Shakespeare in favor of an alternative model of the dramatist as the bearer of "discourses" that were always already in existence. Foucault's formulation does not entirely solve the problem of sources, but it does much to disturb the linear model of influence or utilization that has informed traditional source study. We still have some difficulty in resolving what would appear to be a contradiction between the writer as free autonomous creator, who is the ultimate, fully intentional, source of his texts and the generator of meaning, and the agent who occupies the position of classifying discourses but who is in some sense written by them. For the literary scholar, the problem is how to present accurately—and up to now within the limiting parameters of print technology—the full range of those discourses within which Shakespeare was himself historically embedded. Moreover, an explanation, or a demystification, of what Bullough thought was ultimately a "mystery" should not result in the downgrading of Shakespeare's accomplishment and should allow us to distinguish more clearly between the practices of the working dramatist and the iconic "Shakespeare" who is the source of bardolatry.

Dennis Austin Britton and Melissa Walter's edited collection of essays arrives at an opportune moment and in the wake of a recent revival of interest in the matter of Shakespeare's sources, especially since the one term that has infiltrated into the discourse of source study in recent years, and that was given a particular *political* inflection by Barker and Hulme,[12] is "intertextuality." In his book *Shakespearean Intertextuality* (1998), Stephen Lynch begins from the position that "Shakespeare's plays are no longer seen as based on a few assorted borrowings, but are now seen as interventions in pre-existent fields of textuality," and that "old notions of particular and distinct sources have given way to new notions of boundless and heterogeneous intertextuality."[13] This apparently free circulation of texts resembles Greenblatt's circulation of social energy rather than Julia Kristeva's (1974) or Mikhail Bakhtin's (1975) much more explicitly political use of the concept. More recently, and in a playful vein, Robert S. Miola has appropriated William Empson's title in his essay "Seven Types of Intertextuality" to produce a series of empirically derived classifications. Murray Levith's *Shakespeare's Cues and Prompts* revises Miola's "types" and examines "Shakespearean intertextual prompts imbedded in and/or cuing selected works."[14] Within the last two years, essays have appeared that focus on Shakespeare's critical engagement with preexisting texts, where the emphasis has been on what the process might contribute to our understanding of the dramatist's working practices and, more expansively in the case of Janet Clare's full-length study *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic* (2015), embedding his writing in the larger context of theatrical exchange. These publications, along with existing investigations into Shakespeare's own reading in Stuart Gillespie's *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (2004) or Colin Burrow's *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (2013), invite us to regard issues such as Shakespeare's "knowledge of classical writing dynamically as a changing and theatrically inflected resource rather than simply a static body of learning which he acquired during his teens and then used throughout his career."[15] This, then, raises the dilemma of Shakespeare's own "reading" and *our* reading of Shakespeare.

The circumstantial evidence that the linear treatment of sources provides is often in danger of producing a Shakespearean reader that, as Mark Houlahan suggests in this volume, resembles ourselves. There is, of course, the added danger that we might find ourselves in Borges's "The Library of Babel" where the librarian "analogous to a god"[16] projects that identity onto Shakespeare. Burrow's replacement of "source" with "resource," though not without its problems, is a way of loosening up the linear straitjacket of source, but it nonetheless assumes that Shakespeare *read* in the way that we read. Shakespeare's texts are palimpsests that contain different kinds of knowledge. Verbal parallels may, from time to time, indicate what passages from other

books Shakespeare read, or, indeed, what he may have committed to memory, although we can only guess what books, if any, Shakespeare actually owned. For a writer living on the cusp of the transition from oral to print culture, it is quite conceivable that Shakespeare's memory worked in different ways from ours. Also, from the meager evidence of "foul papers," it is sometimes unclear whether Shakespeare, or one of his fellow actors, was responsible for what has come down to us. For example, how much of the role of Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing* did Shakespeare actually write, and how much, if anything, did the actor Will Kemp contribute? The model of the theatrical writer that we cherish, and which covers all kinds of writing, enshrines a distinction between "origin" and practice that feeds off the very same linear logic of the "source" that we recognize.

Terms such as "resource," "intertextuality," and "remediation" (Newcomb, 23), "contamination" (Britton, 46), and "theatergram" (Tylus, 66) and practices such as "rhizomatic" as opposed to "hierarchical reading" (Wofford, 95) are all attempts to search for a vocabulary that extends, modifies, and problematizes the linear assumptions of source study. Nor is adaptation and appropriation purely formal in its implicit addressing of "political and linguistic contexts" (Tylus, 80); Meredith Beales notes "the palimpsestic effect" (Beales, 136) that, as Annabel Patterson observed in her book *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (1994), inheres in texts that Shakespeare is thought to have consulted; and Dimitry Senyshyn (Senyshyn, 142) extends the logic of this process to emphasize "tropes" and "memes" as formal tools that provided an over-determining shape to Shakespeare's texts. David Kay (Kay, 159) extends these formal details to include "theatergrams" that he renames "theatrical paradigms," and Mark Houlahan in a later chapter suggests the term "self-sourcing" (Houlahan, 243).

In all of the chapters in Part III of the volume, scholars reflect on, extend, and challenge existing categories of "the source." Kent Cartwright, Penelope Meyers Usher, and Meredith Skura all expose the inadequacy of thinking source in singular detail, and they touch in varying ways upon questions of composition and the authorial unconscious. An extension of the discussion of "memes," "theatergrams," and "dramatic paradigms," however, invites further investigation of the mechanisms of oral poetry, a topic that occasionally surfaces in this collection and prompts further thought. For example, to what extent is the "theatergram," a feature of the commedia dell' arte that might facilitate improvisation in performance, a frame or formula that might provide a structure both for the dramatist (or the actor) to improvise? All of the essays touch on the important and vexed question of improvisation that, taken together, invite further, more detailed study.

Part IV of this collection breaks the mold decisively as it projects source study into "the digital age." Brett Greatley-Hirsch and Laurie

Johnson reiterate the view that a source "is always a *relationship*" (Greatley-Hirsch & Johnson, 254), but this observation can, of course, open Pandora's box, raising the problem of how precisely these "relationships" are given some kind of historical credence beyond that of the textual scholar's organizational competence. If we consider a Shakespearean text as a "hypertext," and the commentator's role as distributing its elements (rather in the manner of a compositor distributing type) into its constitutive categories, then this would challenge absolutely all of the conventional pieties both of source study *and* of the processes that govern textual editing. The volume closes with Janelle Jenstad considering Shakespeare's texts as sources, and David McInnes's provocative and tantalizing investigation into "lost plays" and the effects that they might have had on the texts that have survived.

In many of these essays, what stands out is the anxiety that the study of sources has begun to generate. We no longer have any faith in the validity of the linear model of the source and the mythology that underpins it, although there are clear indications that on occasion that model may continue to have some historical force. It would be difficult in a collection of this sort to investigate in further detail specific issues concerning Shakespeare's "memory" and the importance of memory as a cultural phenomenon in a society that was, at a popular level, at any rate, still oral in its outlook. Historians of the book have, in recent years, devoted some time to observing how early readers read and annotated books. Beyond reference to the few accounts of attendance at theater performances, there remains a gap between the historical and theoretical work of Walter Ong in his *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (1958), and *The Presence of The Word* (1967) or Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory* (1966), and what might be inferred from their findings regarding the operations of memory in the substantially preliterate theater audiences of the time. An early foray into this field was Terence Hawkes's *Shakespeare's Talking Animals* (1973), which was recently reissued by Routledge (2016).

The legacy of Foucault and Barthes, however (not to mention Borges), has been to disintegrate the text, and this in turn problematizes the figure of the "author" as creative origin. This raises serious questions in the case of "Shakespeare" the iconic figure, and it cannot help but rain on the parade of those who worship at the bard's shrine. However, the careful sifting and separation of textual detail and the prizing of Shakespeare away from the image of genius constructed by the Romantics should not diminish the appeal of these texts. The energy and resourcefulness that drives this collection of essays is more than ample testimony to that appeal, just as it boldly launches a series of further questions that will do much to shape future debate.

Notes

1 Borges, "Shakespeare's Memory," 511.
2 *Ibid.*, 512.
3 Citation for Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* will appear parenthetically in this afterword.
4 Maguire and Smith, "What Is A Source?", 16.
5 Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Exorcists," 163.
6 *Ibid.*, 94.
7 Morris, *Toward a New Historicism*, 4.
8 Barker and Hulme, "Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish," 200.
9 Borges, "Shakespeare's Memory," 510.
10 See Foucault, "What Is an Author," 123; and Bouchard's fn.19.
11 Foucault, "What Is an Author," 123.
12 Barker and Hulme, "Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish," 198.
13 Lynch, *Shakespearean Intertextuality*, 1.
14 Levith, *Shakespeare's Cues and Prompts*, 5.
15 Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, 30.
16 Borges, "The Library of Babel," 116.

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