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

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PREFACE

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

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CHAPTER I

POINT OF DEPARTURE

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

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4Roy Watson, Fair Em and Cupida Cautels: A Study of the Date, Sources, and Authorship of Fair Em, With a Transcript of The Fourth Historie of Cupida Cautels (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas).
for Elizabethan dramatists, one turns to a study of "The Second Historie" in the collection.

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

In the German city of Mens, two merchants' children, Herman and Floria, are betrothed. Both are virtuous, beautiful, and deeply in love with each other. But Ponifre, the steward of Floria's father, falls in love with her. Because she is above him in station, he must plot to win her. He speaks twice to her of his love, and both times she rejects him. Not understanding the depth of his passion, she treats the matter lightly, for she is too kind to reveal his ambitious suit. Her very goodness, however, is the basis of the ensuing tragedy. Ponifre seeks help from an old bawd, whom he first meets in a church. Although she takes his money and promises that her sorceries will succeed, she can do nothing. Ponifre next goes to a magician, who, after receiving money, conjures up a shadow in the shape of Floria. Although deceived in his pleasure for a time, Ponifre finally realizes the tricks of the illusionist, and also perceives that the illusion proceeds from his own evil. Nevertheless, he persists in his own lustful suit. With the aid of Floria's chambermaids, he gets her intoxicated and seduces her. She remembers nothing of their meeting, however, when she finds herself with child later. Herman deserts her, feeling bitterness toward all women. He marries Charita, in turn, and is happy for a short while. Tiring of her, he goes to market in Antwerp, despite her pleas. Meanwhile, Floria, miserable but not blaming Herman, marries Ponifre against her will, for he is her only willing suitor after the scandal. During the wedding celebrations, the triumphant bridegroom becomes drunk, revealing his seduction of
Floria. He and the maids are tried, tortured, and executed, Floria being in favor of this treatment to redeem her honor. Charita, always jealous of Floria, tests Herman's feelings by sending word that she (Charita) has died. Having received this message and the news of the really chaste Floria's widowhood, Herman sets out to find Floria. But Floria, still not content with her penance, sacrifices herself to the cause of chastity. After leaving a letter in her child's bosom, having kissed the child, she commits suicide by drinking a vessel of boiling wine. She is given a maiden's funeral, and a monument is erected for her nobility. Herman receives the news of her death when he is only half a day from Mens; to everyone's great astonishment, he dies of a "mortall convulsion," the result of extreme passions. Only Charita lives to tell the truth of events.

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

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


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

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

HENRY V

Henry V is the earliest of Shakespeare's plays to contain significant echoes of Wotton's "Second History." Scholars assign the play's composition to 1598 or early 1599, since Mere's Palladia Tamia (1598) does not mention it. It was entered in the Stationers Register on August 4, 1600, probably considerably later than its proposed date of composition. 8 Lines 29-34 of the Prologue to Act V are, it is generally believed, an allusion to Essex's Irish campaign, internal evidence which would narrow the date to some time between March 27 and September 28, 1599. 9 Smith presents evidence to indicate that Shakespeare may not have written the Choruses, however; instead, he believes that they were added for a specific audience of nobility after 1601 and are at odds with the logical continuity of the play. 10 Chambers, however, finds the Choruses to be well in accord with the epic theme of Henry's perfect kingship and to be in keeping also with metrical tests of other Shakespearean plays of the late 1590's. 11

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

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

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12Ibid., p. 395.
14The Life of Henry the Fifth, edited by Walter George Stone, pp. lii-111.
Henry assembles the nobles, asks them to suggest a punishment for treason, and then confronts the traitors. Le Fevre's account may have been Shakespeare's inspiration for the "cat and mouse" game which Henry plays with the traitors, for in this source, he asks each traitor in turn what punishment he would give for treason before an assembly of his entire council. The traitors devise cruel deaths, and thus sentence themselves. It is not certain that Shakespeare knew this account, however; his Henry, too, is more merciful and just than Le Fevre's, for Shakespeare adds the incident of the pardoned drunkard. Chellidonius's anecdote of Pyrrhus, taken from Pliny, has been suggested as the source for the drunkard incident, as has North's translation of Plutarch. Chellidonius may well have recalled the incident to Shakespeare, if his treatise on kingship was indeed a source. Plutarch, however, relates the Pyrrhus incident within the context, not of justice, but of good humor, as he laughingly dismisses youths who themselves are in high spirits.

The Pyrrhus incident in Chellidonius appears within

15 Rafael Holinshed, Holinshed's Chronicles as Used in Shakespeare's Plays, edited by Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll, pp. 74-75.
17 Ibid., p. xxvii; Shakespeare's Tragedies and Histories, edited by John Monro, p. 1020.
18 Plutarch's Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans Englished by Sir Thomas North, edited by George Wyndham, p. 120.
the chapter on clemency, among examples of other gentle kings. The marginal notes point up that "wyne is the aucthor of mischief," and that Pyrrhus retains "modestie," "beeing abused by his owne Souldiers." The idea of verbal violence is present in this account, then, as in Henry V, and the excuse of drunkenness is accepted also. But Chellidonius's account emphasizes the spies who first tell Pyrrhus of the drunkards. A group of accused men is present, as opposed to Henry V's single defendant. The spokesman excuses himself because the wine made him foolish, and says that he was lucky that he had not drunk more. The king pleasantly tells them to speak softly of their superiors, because of the universal presence of spies. There is no subsequent discussion of justice in circumstances of drunkenness, although the whole incident takes place within a discussion of good-hearted kings. There is no indication that the drunkards' speeches may have held a tinge of truth. There is no contrast of small crimes with larger ones. But Wotton's tale, as is Henry V, is concerned with a discussion of justice, a trial of one man, and a contrast of just punishments of large and small crimes. There is no overtone of high good humor in Cupida Cautela either. Cupida Cautela, on

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

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

**Henry V**

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

**Cupids Cautels**

... excusing hys confession, upon the alienation of hys senses caused by wine, whereunto there was no more heede to bee taken than to the wordes of a Foole... the noble minded Pirrhus pardoned those that abused him in speaches saying vnto him: We had hampered thee more hardly, if wine had not bureaued our wittes...  

Shakespeare's use of "enlarge" and "committed" echoes Wotton's "hampered thee more hardly," although the offenders speak in *Cupids Cautels*. The phrase, "rail'd against our person," conveys the same verbal violence as "abused him in speaches."

Although Pyrrhus in *Cupids Cautels* is concerned with several men, as he is in Plutarch, Wotton's tale places the anecdote

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

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

**Henry V**

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

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

**Cupids Cautela**

... It were extreme rigor in Justice to impute any wordes spoken, or empeache a man of any acte committed in drunkenness... 22

... for if the lawes of Germany punishe every pettersony so rigorously by death, even for the smallest domestical pilfery, what torment might suffice a treason so horrible, conspired by those that duty bondge to be moste faithfull? 23

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

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22 I.e., "cit.
23 Ibid., pp. 110-111.
duty they owe to him; Henry even uses the word, "duty," ironically (1. 127). The triviality of small crimes is pointed up by "little faults proceeding on distemper," a phrase analogous to Wotton's "smallest domestical piltery." The same use of the consonants "p" and "d" is another interesting point of comparison.

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

26 Holinshed, op. cit., p. 80.
and war camps in their rhetoric, to set up different situations. The rhetorical allusion to night strengthens the epic quality of Henry's leadership. In *Cupida Cautels*, however, the same type of allusion becomes part of a euphuistic simile in a courtly situation.

**Henry V**

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

**Cupida Cautels**

Like as when two campes, enimes, haung appoynted a daye to experiment howe great their desire is of reuenge, or the loue of honor bought with the price of much blood, by equall force of armes doo fighte, untill the night, mother of confusion, doth separate them from their bloudie conflict, by a necessarie retreate, attending on both partes with impacient expectation the spring of day even to the uttermost the omitted combate: Euen so our couragious Champions, haung forborne the extremest execution of the sharpe conflict of their tongues... watched the returne of the next dawning... 27

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

Wotton’s armies’ “tongues” are all significant points of contact between Henry V and Cupida Cautels.

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

**Henry V**

*Bur.* . . . If you would conjure in her, you must make a circle; if conjure up love in her in his true likeness, he must appear naked and blind . . . .

(V.ii.319-321)

**Cupida Cautels**

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

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28 Holinshed, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
30 Wotton, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
Although in the play it is love who is naked and blind, the image of the conjuror in *Cupide Cautela*, leaping barefooted and the subsequent description of the "shadowe" furnish parallel ideas of "blind" and "naked" love. Burgundy's idea of magic used in love suits is proverbial, surely, but Burgundy and Henry then speak of the "maiden walls" of chastity (ll. 348-355), a commonplace of war imagery in love suits that is prominent in *Cupide Cautela*. Isabel's proverb then, provides the third echo in the scene:

**Henry V**

> Q. Isa. God, the best maker of all marriages, Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one! (V. ii. 387-388)

**Cupide Cautela**

> ... Whervpon the Prouerbe saith, the firste marriages are made in Heauen ... .

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

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

HAMLET

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

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

33Hamlet Variorum, edited by H. H. Furness, II, 89.
34Sir Israel Gollancz, The Sources of Hamlet, p. 85.
Gertrude, Polonius, Ophelia, Horatio, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern are all found in a very basic form.  

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

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

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


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

Contemporary revenge plays, between 1598-1604, are

39Albert Weiner (ed.), Hamlet The First Quarto, pp. 50-60.
thought to have stemmed from the tremendous influence of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Hamlet*. Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, or *The Second Part of Antony and Mellida* (1602), is especially believed to have been derived from the *Ur-Hamlet* at approximately the same time that Shakespeare was revising the old play, although there is some dispute over which play (Shakespeare's or Marston's) came first.\(^{40}\) The most probable date of Marston's play is late 1599 or 1600-early 1601.\(^{41}\) The date of *Hamlet* has been left in a somewhat confused state, because of the many quarto problems. For example, if there were two revisions, \(Q_1\) probably dates from 1598-1601, and \(Q_2\) from 1603-1604.\(^{42}\) If only one revision were made, however, the date most favored by present scholars is 1601, although, using the same evidence in Mere's *Palladis Tamia*, Harvey's marginalia in his copy of Chaucer, and the themes of and references to contemporary plays, Honigman believes the date to be early 1600.\(^{43}\) Whichever play came first, both contain similar features that shed light on the *Ur-Hamlet*. The young heroine is added, and her virtue is called into question; her death is announced by

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\(^{41}\) *Ibid.*, p. 496.

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

\(^{43}\) E. A. J. Honigman, "The Date of Hamlet," *Shakespeare Survey*, (1956), 24-34.
the hero's mother; a burial and a dumb show take place; and
the hero in both plays speaks of "blowing bubbles," probably
pointing to an original ironical hero. The basic theme of a
son's avenging his father's poisoning (Belleforest's king is
killed at a banquet in full view of the uncle's followers),
the Ghost's appearance to the mother, the contention of miseries
(though not at a grave site in Marston's play), and the prob-
lem of incest occur in both plays, although Marston's hero
does not die at the end of his play. The revenge tradition,
in general, includes a play-within-a-play, feigned madness,
graveyards, poisonings, duels, and desires to "drink hot
blood." The mad woman also appears in almost all revenge
plays, after the success of The Spanish Tragedy with Isabel;
so one concludes that she probably also appeared in the Ur-
Hamlet. The character of Laertes is also probably due to the
old play, within the tradition of Lorenzo's relationship to
Bel-imperia and Horatio. In summary, the Ur-Hamlet probably
contained the ghost, the feigned madness, the play scene, the
closet scene, the murder of Polonius, the voyage to England,
the madness and suicide of Ophelia, and the duel with Laertes.

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

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

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

\begin{footnotes}
\item[47]\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 174-176.
\item[48]\textit{Muir, op. cit.}, p. 114.
\item[49]\textit{Loc. cit.}
\end{footnotes}
Timothy Bright's *A Treatise on Melancholy*. The old Italian history of the murder of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (perhaps existing in play form), may be the source for the play-within-a-play and possibly also for the real king's poisoning. Similarities between Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* and Hamlet's moralizing on drunkenness long since have been pointed to. Muir illustrates the similarities of Guazzo's *Civil Conversations* and Hamlet's attack on cosmetics. Florio's 1603 translation of Montaigne also has been advanced as a major source for Hamlet's soliloquy and for the general thought underlying the plays after 1603.

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

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50 Ibid., pp. 120-121.
52 G. B. Blakemore, "Thomas Nashe and the 'Dram of Eale,'" Notes and Queries, CXCVIII (September, 1953), 377-378.
53 Muir, op. cit., p. 122.
54 John Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakspere*. If *Q1* was derived from Shakespeare's one and only revision, however, the Montaigne theory would have to rest upon the possibility that Shakespeare read the manuscript before its publication, or had read a French copy.
(1) The Ophelia Plot (concerning similarities of character, incident, and phrasings, especially in Hamlet's denunciations of women); (2) Hamlet's Moralizings on Drunkenness; and (3) Hamlet and Gertrude's Relationship.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

57 Furness, op. cit., I, 61.
58 Muir, op. cit., I, 7.
word refers to a crafty device:

... and what other oath
Than honesty to honesty engaged,
That this shall be, or we will fall for it?
Swear priests and cowards and men cautelous ...

(*Julius Caesar, II.1.126-29*)

... or be caught with cautelous baits and practice ...

(*Coriolanus, IV.1.32-33*)

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

**Hamlet**

**Pol.** Affection! pooh! you speak like a green girl,
Unsifted in such perilous circumstance.
Do you believe his tenders, as you call them?
**Oph.** I do not know, my lord, what I should think.
... My Lord, he hath importuned me with love
In honourable fashion.
**Pol.** Ay, fashion you may call it; go to, go to.
**Oph.** And hath given countenance to his speech, my lord,
With almost all the holy vows of heaven.
**Pol.** Ay, springs to catch woodcocks. I do know,

**Cupida Cautela**

... so as the faire fire of Fleuria, being so neare hym, embraced him so live-ly, as it constrained him to determine a resolution too hautie for his feeble forces, that is to saye, to require of hir the guages, whiche they that fight vnder the ensign of Loue, doe accepte for their safety ... the simple maiden who knew not what loue ment, regarded not his courtesies, neither had the capacitie to marke I knowe not what particular affection: The which the Factor consider- ing, incontinently made his reckoning that it behoued him
When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul
Lends the tongue vows: these blazes, daughter,
Giving more light than heat, as it is a-making,
You must not take for fire.
From this time
Be somewhat scantier of your maiden presence . . . .
(I.iii.101-121)

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

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

61 Henry Wotton, A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels, pp. 93-94. The references to pagination are those of Wotton's tale.
Hamlet
Set your entreatments at a
der higher rate
Than a command to parley.
(I.iii.122-123)

Cupida Cautels
... For since Maydens
which harken, and castels
that consent to parle (as
the Frouerbe sayth) doo
easily agree to composition,
it ensueth rightly that a
deafe woman is vneasie to
winne . . . 62

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

... determined to aide his
suite by . . . bawdes . . .
In this deuotion one Sunday
comming to the parish church,
he bourded an olde mother
Bée, who solde candell of
consideraunce, praying hir
to give him light in this
businesse . . . 63

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

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

62 Ibid., p. 93.
63 Ibid., p. 96.
64 Ibid., pp. 97-98.
Hamlet

Pol. ... I would not, in plain terms, from this time forth, Have you so slander any moment leisure, As to give words or talk with the Lord Hamlet. Look to't, I charge you: come your ways. Oph. I shall obey, my lord. (I.iii.134-136)

Cupids Cautels

... so likewise this vertuous youngling, (whose sage youth ought to be a myrroir vnto y eldest) made hir hearing deafe vnto his sugared talke ... 65

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

... may see and learne by the frequentation of straungers, that whiche the fonde loue of my Parentes hath not permitted me to vnderstande, because they could neuer suffer me out of their sightes ... 66

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

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

65 Ibid., p. 95.
66 Ibid., p. 105.
Ponifre falls in love with Floria because she "... surpassed as far the rests of the Townish damoysele, as F. Moone surmounted the brightest starres ... ." 67

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oph.</th>
<th>Hamlet</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>a look so piteous in purport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As if</td>
<td>he had been loosed out of hell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To</td>
<td>speak of horrors ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>raised a sigh so piteous and profound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As</td>
<td>it did seem to shatter all his bulk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And</td>
<td>end his being ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cupids</td>
<td>Cautels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>with a cruel look and shamefast countenance,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enfamed with choler and disdayne, she closed his mouth, and after a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rude threatening, gave him such a bone of repentance to chew upon, for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his too headlong hardynesse, as being left alone having by</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67 Ibid., p. 92. Cf. All's Well That Ends Well, ca. 1600-1607: Helena speaks of her love for Bertram far above her, speaks of his physical nearness, and uses love/war images as in Cupids Cautels.
68 Gollancz, op. cit., p. 194.
Pol. Come, go with me . . . . silence supported a pearing
This is the very ecstasy of love. rage, he resembled one of
. . . . What, have you given him the damned soules in time
any hard words of late? past that Jupiter threwe
(II.11.82-107) into the bottomlesse
lake . . . .

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Cupids Cautes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By heaven, it is as proper to</td>
<td>. . . you esteeme me very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our age</td>
<td>rashe and vnaduised to plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cast beyond ourselves in</td>
<td>mine affections in so hawty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our opinions</td>
<td>degree . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As it is common for the younger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sort</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To lack discretion . . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II.11.114-117)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

In the Nunnery scene, similar ideas between the two

69 Wotton, op. cit., p. 94.
70 Loc. cit.
works appear, again. Polonius gives Ophelia a book—presumably a prayer book—and utters a hypocritical commonplace:

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

The king immediately responds with "... the harlot's cheek . . ." (1. 51) Hamlet's first words to Ophelia are, "Nymph, in thy orisons / Be all my sins remember'd." (11. 89-91) His disillusionment with women becomes paramount as the scene progresses, ending with the "nunnery" speech, contrasting chastity and vice in the religious images begun by Polonius and Claudius. The idea of the whole scene is echoed in the account of Ponifre's meeting with the bawd in church in Cupids Cautels as he "... prayed hir to giue him light in this businesse."

However, the idea of piety versus vice was, of course, an Elizabethan commonplace, and Nashe in Pierce Penilesse makes similar allusions in his attacks upon London's vices:

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

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

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71 Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penilesse, p. 92.
common in Renaissance literature, as Tilley illustrates, the first similarity here falls into the mood of Shakespeare's Nunnery scene and the concept of "false show," illustrating well Hamlet's use of double entendres in the most concise way:

**Hamlet**

Ham. Ha, Hal are you honest?

Oph. My lord?

Ham. Are you fair?

Oph. What means your lordship?

Ham. That if you be honest and fair, your honesty should admit no discourse to your beauty.

(III.1.103-108)

**Cupids Cautels**

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

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

(III.1.111-114)

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

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72Tilley, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

73Wotton, op. cit., p. 95.

74Ibid., p. 103.
context well:

Hamlet

Ham. . . . Ay sir; to be honest as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand. Pol. That's very true, my lord. Ham. For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a good kissing carrion—Have you a daughter? Pol. I have, my lord. Ham. Let her not walk i' the sun . . . . (II.ii.178-187)

Cupids Cautels

. . . So as it is a gret ouer- wening vnto a ma to promise himselfe a shamefast woma, consideringe it is a thing rarer than the only Phoenix . . . but the beautiful woma is like the Ermine, whose skinne is estimable, and carcass carion . . . where- fore we must conclude, that Nature hath engendered the worme to gnawe vpon our dead carcases, & womes to feed vpo our liuing bodies, our sub- stance and renoume . . . 75

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

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

75 loc. cit.
76 Furness, op. cit., I, 148.
very possible connection:

Hamlet

• sun • • •
• breed • • •
• maggots • • •
• dead dog • • •
• good kissing carrion • • •

Cupids Cautela

• Nature • • •
• hath engendered • • •
• worms equated with women • • •
• dead carcasses equated with men • • •
• women • • • whose skinne is estimable, and carcass carion • • •

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

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

O, how the wheel becomes it! It is the false steward that stole his master's daughter.

(IV.v.172-173)

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

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78 Muir, op. cit., I, 112.

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

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

81 Furness, op. cit., I, 345.
except the "tickle wheele" of exciting life that sets the key for the tale in the opening poems. The allusion to the wheel, however, in the light of the many ballads that Ophelia sings, probably refers to the "bob and wheel" of medieval versification. But Ophelia's allusion to the steward could possibly by the key to Shakespeare's knowledge of the story, especially when one considers the similarities of phrasing and theme in both Hamlet and Othello. The fact that all other "mad" fragments seem to be ballads may hinder the suggestion, but she sings the ballads and speaks the "steward" allusion in prose.

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

82 Wotton, op. cit., p. 311
83 Parrott and Craig, op. cit., p. 31.
The graveyard scene is also the subject of dispute in connection with the old play. The absence of the scene in the corrupt German text has led some scholars to think Shakespeare the originator, for the popularity of the scene would seem to preclude its omission in revision. 85 The similarity in the speech habits between the gravediggers and Sampson and Gregory in *Romeo and Juliet* (I.1) also leads one to think that *Hamlet*'s gravediggers may be original with Shakespeare. Yet, Belleforest's tale contains an ironic discussion about a near-by graveyard and the fates of men. 86 This French tale also contains the account of *Hamlet*'s witnessing his own funeral upon his return to Denmark from England, to the astonishment of all present. 87 The switch to a funeral of a young girl may be a method of concluding the romantic element and adding much pathos, culminating in displays of great grief.

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

86 Gollancz, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-244.
the traditions of discussions, maidens' funerals, and laments within his graveyard scene.

The clowns parody conventional discussions, presenting, as Barton has illustrated, a *reductio ad absurdum* of a contemporary lawsuit in which the act of suicide was divided into three parts. But the rustics, in addition, contrast Christian and heathen practices; *Cupidae Cautela* bases its discussion upon pagan authorities. This technique of opposing heathen and Christian practices is intriguing, to say the least, especially when one considers that both works speak of "great folk."

*Cupidae Cautela* contains examples of "great folk" who slew themselves and were praised; the gravediggers bring the "great folk" into their own experience of class distinctions:

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**Hamlet**

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

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

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

*Sec. Clo.* Why, 'tis found so.

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

*Sec. Clo.* But is this law?

*First Clo.* Ay, marry, is't; . . . . For so muche as sith the one slewe hir selfe, and the other not, it ensueth there was a fault in the one and the other. And although the Historians affirmes, that Sardanapalus never dyd any vertuous deede vntill he slewe him selfe, because such acts require great outrage: so it is that the very Pagane lawes have allowed suche death, principally when it commeth by the scruple of conscience . . . . True it is, the Paganisme also pardoned those

---

crowners quest law.

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

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

Sec. Clo. Was he a gentleman?

First Clo. What, art a heathen?

(V.i.1-40)

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

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89 Wotton, op. cit., p. 119.

90 Furness, op. cit., I, 400-401.
Tombe. O happie monument, the Christall skies mollifie thy grauestone with the deawe of Manna, and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thee, as a crown vnto the beautie which is lodged within thee . . . . But lette thornes and thistles wither, rather than take roote heare thee, and lette all venemous and filthy wormes feare to approche the entrance of this holy Temple of Chastitie, sitthence thyse beautfull dame hated vice so hartily . . . .

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Cupids Cautele</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lay her i' the earth:</td>
<td>. . . and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thee . . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And from her fair and unpolluted flesh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May violets spring!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(V.1.262-264)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

91 Wotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-114.
The Priest's "shards and pebbles" (1. 254) injects the same threatening note as does "thornes and thistles" in Cupides Cautela, while Laertes's description of Ophelia as a "ministering angel" recalls the "Temple of Chastitie" and the "dame that hated vice so hartely." Again, Laertes uses the conventional ideas of figures like "Christall skies" and "deawe of Manna" to serve as the basis for his own passionate, theatrical grief, as he calls for a mountain "To o'er top old Pelion, or the skyish head / Of blue Olympus . . . ." (V.1.276-277)

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

There is some similarity between Hamlet's reception of the news of Ophelia's death and Herman's reception of that of Floria, whom he has rejected, but has loved deeply. Both characters are returning from journeys, Hamlet from an unfinished one to England, Herman from Antwerp, where his plans to go to
England have been cut short (although certainly not for the same reasons):

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

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

Hamlet's funeral in Belleforest, as has been pointed out, took place upon his return to Denmark. Shakespeare's Hamlet, however, sees another funeral when he is on his way to accomplish his revenge (which, however, has nothing to do with Ophelia). He learns of her death by means of a loud argument, which is not really the "bruite" meant in Cupida Cautels; yet, surely Ophelia's death is the topic of much conversation, as the gravediggers, whom Hamlet meets on the way, illustrate in their discussion. Hamlet exhibits extreme passion, later apologizing for his "towering passion" which he claims was brought on by Laertes's theatrical grief (V.11.78-79). He reacts just as theatrically, however, in his own sorrow. It is interesting to note, here, that Marston's "Hamlet" play has

\[94\]

Wotton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.
a scene in which theatrical grief is also rationally criti-
cized. (I.iv.484-513) But in Hamlet, the hero indulges in
challenges of grief. Among them, interesting in view of the
fact that "vineger" is used to remedy Herman's swoon, is
Hamlet's challenge to drink up "eisel," for "eisel" is usually
glossed as vinegar, being used elsewhere by Shakespeare and
other writers as indicative of bitterness. 95 The connection
between the two stories, however, is interesting also in that
Floria's death was the result of drinking boiling wine which
"parches" her "entrailes" a death perhaps comparable to that
caused by drinking acid. 96

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

Hamlet

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

Cupids Cautels

... hir entrailes...
brast with such violence, as
of necessitie death approched,
to set an union amog them,
chacing the beautifull soule
out of the painefull body to
direct it into glorie and
eternall felicitie . . . . 97

95 Furness, op. cit., I, 408.
96 Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.
97 loc. cit.
• • • engendred a mortall
convulsion, caused by the
restraint of the ventricle
of the braine, whereby the
way was stopped vnto al the
vitall spirites, enforcing
them to bee sequestred fro
y body . . . .

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamlet</th>
<th>Cupida Cautela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart, Absent thee from felicity awhile, And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain, To tell my story. (V.ii.356-359)</td>
<td>Her love for Herman reuued after y death of Herman, which she testified not by rashe death, esteeming hir sorrow ouer great to take so short end, but to make it endure as long as it was possible. . . .99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause, And, in this upshot, purposes mistook Fall'n on the inventors' heads: all this can I truly deliver. (V.ii.394-397)</td>
<td>. . . Neuertheslesse, the whole blame was laide in her necke, as hauing opened y gate to this mischiefe, for the which she performed perpetuall penace . . . .100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occurrence of these parallels, following each other

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98 Ibid., p. 114.
99 Ibid., p. 115.
100 loc. cit.
in the same order, is intriguing, especially when one considers all the similarities within the Ophelia plot proper.

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

\begin{quote}
... Ah las, we Englishmen can mocke & scoffe at all countreyes for theyr defects, but ... we can learne by lYTE and lYTE to exceed and passe them al ... In lyke manner we were woont ... to contempte and condepne the Almaines and others of low Countreyes, for their
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{101}Robertson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{102}Gollancz, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 254.
beastly drinking and quaffing. But . . . small difference is founde betwixt us and them, but only that they (by a custom rooted amongst them & become next Cose to nature . . .) doo dayly wallow in a grosse maner of beastliness . . . . 103

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

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

104 Ibid., pp. 466-467.
105 Bacchvs Bountie, Harleian Miscellany, II, 292.
107 Nashe, op. cit., pp. 75-78.
probably the source, here. It is interesting, first, to com-
pare Nashe's work with Shakespeare's and, then, to compare
each with Wotton's denunciation of drunkenness, to see how
universally alike were Elizabethan attitudes on the subject.

Hamlet

... these men,
Carrying, I say, the stamp of
one defect,
Being nature's livery, or for-
tune's star--
Their virtues else--be they as
pure as grace
As infinite as man may undergo--
Shall in the general censure
take corruption
From that particular fault:
the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of
a doubt
To his own scandal.
(I.iv.30-39)

Pierce Penilesse

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

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

Hamlet

Ham. The king doth wake tonight ... . Nowe if this mariage
and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering ure, the continuance thereof

108 Ibid., pp. 77-78.
up-spring reels;
And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge.
Hor. Is it a custom?
Ham. Ay, marry, is't:
But to my mind, though I am native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honoured in the breach than the observance.
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition; and indeed it takes
From our achievements, though performed at height,
The pith and marrow of our attributes.
So oft it chances in particular men,
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As in their birth—wherein they are not guilty,
Since nature cannot choose his origin—
By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,
Oft breaking down the pale forts of reason,
Or by some habit that too much o'er-leauens
The form of plausible manners, that these men,
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being Nature's livery or fortune's star—
Their virtues else—be they as was yet more delightful, for that eche day ensuing other prepared newe pastimes... vntill by mishappe the bridegrome one daye making a banquet for his familiars, forgatte himselfe so deeply, as summoning eche one to quaffe his carouse, and answering euerie one by measure, according to the custome of the country, hee drunke so freely, as he forgat not to call for musicke & dauncing after dinner, & so bestirred him in every other businesse... the maner and custome of the country permitteth, yea, and accounteth it a virtue to drinke devoutly, whiche might somewhat excuse hir... Euen so by the law of Moses a father alledged a very sufficient reason vnto th people to stone hys sonne to death, accusing him to be a drunkarde. For in deede, if we will search the mischieves that proceede of wine we shall conclude... as finding no greater enimie of humane reason that wyne, sithence it resembleth men into beasts, some vnto Lions, as Alexander, who by the only vice of drunkenesse reformed yet by a sodain repentaunce,
pure as grace,  
As infinite as man may undergo—
Shall in the general censure  
take corruption . . .
darkened al the splendiant 
Uertues which made him so 
to shyne: other into swine,  
as Marke Anthonie, and many 
moe . . . .

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hamlet</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cupids Cautels</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>. . . clepe us drunkards . . .</td>
<td>. . . accusing him to be a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drunkard . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. . . particular men . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. . . oft breaking down the pale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forts of reason . .</td>
<td>no greater enimie of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one defect . . .</td>
<td>humaine reason . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . fortune's star--</td>
<td>. . . the only vice of drunk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their virtues else . . .</td>
<td>ensesse . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. . . darkened al the splen-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dant Uertues, which made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>so to shyne . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

---

Ibid., p. 101.
as greatly, although he does lecture her grossly in her

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

Another parallel idea occurs in Wotton's general dis-
cussion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A little month, or ere those</td>
<td>... Thus one thinketh that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoes were old</td>
<td>those which marry the second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With which she follow'd my</td>
<td>time, attribute no great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor father's body,</td>
<td>honour vnto their first hus-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like Niobe, all tears:--</td>
<td>bards, with whom it seemeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why she, even she--</td>
<td>they bury their loue ... .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O God! a beast, that wants dis-</td>
<td>(1.11.147-151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>course of reason,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would have mourn'd longer--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married with my uncle ... .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113Wotton, op. cit., p. 117.
114Ibid., p. 116.
The construction of the early part of Hamlet's speech, here, also resembles Charita's wailing jealousy at her husband's early departure.

Hamlet

... 0 God! 0 God!
... That it should come to this!

But two months dead: nay not so much, not two:
... Within a month?
... 0 most wicked speed...

(C.ii.132-157)

Cupids Cautels

... 0 God sweete love finde you already such annoyance in marriage, as you can not endure the expiring of the yeare, according to the auncient custome, the whiche giueth to others priuledge and dispensation of their vocations?...

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

Hamlet

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

(C.ii.140-145)

Cupids Cautels

... all thayr couetousnesse was onely to reioyce thayr mindes with the tender imbracings and delicate courtesies reserved in the storehouse of loue, employing diligently the feare of future stormes, watering the fragrant flours of the yong spring ... they neuer went abroude, or returned home without billing and beaking like waton Doues, until such time as whe a man is wereie of his own ease ...

115 Ibid., p. 105.
116 Ibid., p. 104.
"Increase of appetite" is similar to "coulousness" by "tender embraces"; the gentle protection of "not beteeme the winds of heaven / Visit her face too roughly" is similar to "... employing diligently the good season for feare of future stormes." The abrupt change of tone in each passage is similar, too, with Gertrude's "unfaithfulness" inverting the roles of man and woman in Cupide Cautels.

Wotton writes again, in his general discussion,

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

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

**Hamlet**

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

**Cupide Cautels**

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

117Ibid., p. 116.
from this to this? (III.iv.54-62) impressions so long as the bodies are opposit and object before the, the which, such glasses are sodainly ready to forgo, to despose the to represent other shapes presented before them. And herein & testimony of the wise king of Juda maye satisfie vs, who called the unsatiable gulfs...

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

**Hamlet**

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

**Cupida Cautela**

... flitting fantasies...
... who called the unsatiable gulfs.......

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

**Hamlet**

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

**Cupida Cautela**

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

---

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

Thus the good Herman comforted courteous Charita, who began to steal patience ... 119

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

119 Ibid., p. 107.
CHAPTER IV

OTHELLO

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

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


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

122Ibid., II, 211-212.
season, although this odd fact may point to nothing more than to the popularity of *Othello* with a new Court. Halliwell-Phillipps believed the date to be 1604, because of the statute passed that year making it illegal to "provoke any person to unlawful love" by witchcraft or sorcery, such an accusation being a significant addition to Shakespeare's major source for the story of *Othello.*

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

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

Shakespeare's main source for the plot in Othello has long been thought to be Giraldi Cinthio's seventh novella of the third Decade of his Hecatommithi, 1565. No English translation is known until that of 1795, a fact which has led some critics to conjecture that Shakespeare read the original Italian version. Some scholars believe that Shakespeare knew the same tale that Cinthio tells, but in another form. Krappe, in fact, has proposed that Shakespeare knew, instead, an analogue, now lost, of Cinthio's tale. But Shakespeare does follow, for the most part, the outlines of Cinthio's plot.

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128 Muir, op. cit., p. 12.

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


until the murder scene, and develops in detail the major characters suggested in the novella. His additions and changes, however, are far-reaching, turning the short brutal tale of miscegenation and jealousy into an intensely painful psychological experience of transcendent evil within the world of men. Shakespeare's additions include the character of Roderigo, the accusation of witchcraft and the speech before the Senate, the drunken brawl during the watch, Cassio's dream, Othello's "trance," the "brothel" sequence, and the final scene of the sacrifice/murder and suicide. He adds also the themes of true sight versus illusion, witchcraft, and diabolism, and sexual satiety; he expands the themes of jealousy and of ironic fate.\footnote{Muir, op. cit., p. 7.} While it is true that, as Adams points out, Cinthio's novella does contain suggestions for all these themes, it is also true that, with the exception of jealousy, Shakespeare had to expand them from only four phrases, if, indeed, he did read the original Italian.\footnote{Maurianne S. Adams, "'Ocular Proof' in 'Othello,'" \textit{EMLA}, LXXIX (June, 1964), 241.} It is interesting to find that many of the incidents that Shakespeare adds are often verbally very close to incidents in \textit{Cupide Cautela}. The echoes will be discussed as follows: (1) The Character of Roderigo and His Relationship to Iago; (2) The Drinking Scene; (3) Othello's Jealousy; (4) The Brothel Sequence and Emilia's "Feminist"
Remarks; and (5) The Murder/Sacrifice and Suicide Scene.

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

\(^{135}\) *Twelfth Night*, II.iii.212 ff.
Roderigo has relied upon Iago's help before Desdemona's marriage, having given him money to aid him in his suit (I.i. 2-3). With Desdemona's marriage, Roderigo is driven to thoughts of suicide, but finally regains confidence in Iago. Ponifre, rejected by Floria, goes first to an old beldame for aid, but, her devices failing, he is greatly discouraged. He then turns to a Magician. The main outlines of Ponifre's initial dejection are present in Roderigo's depression; in fact, Roderigo's despair inverts a simile of Ponifre's first expression of confidence in the bawd. The conversation of Roderigo and Iago more subtly enact the whole scene of Cupida Cautels:

Othello

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

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

Iago. Thou art sure of me: --go, make money: --I have told thee often, and I retell thee again, I hate the Moor. . . . Let us be conjunctive in our revenge against him. If thou canst cuckold him, thou dost thyself a pleasure, me a sport. . . . There are many events . . . therewith he was so touched to the quicke, as from thence forth he had consented to his proper ruine, seeing all his devices so peruersely . . . he sodenly conceyued in his fantasie . . . to obtaine the aide of a Magician, vnto whom he imagined nothing to be vnpossible: the conjurer

Cupida Cautels

As a healthfull medicine taken by the patient that is desirous of recoverie, drieuth away the burning feuier, which scaldeth his weake lymmes, even so this consolation did moderate the impacient desires . . . .

136 Wotton, op. cit., p. 97.
in the womb of time which will be delivered. Traverse! go, provide the money. We will have more of this to-morrow. Adieu.

Rod. Where shall we meet i'the morning?
Iago. At my lodging.
Rod. I'll be with thee betimes.

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

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

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

**Othello**

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

**Cupids Cautels**

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

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

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137 Ibid., pp. 97-98.

138 Ibid., p. 98. Spenser's Faerie Queene (I.1.xxxviii-1x) illustrates Archimago's use of the conventional magician's trick.
"senseless sot," and "justifies" his depraved behavior because of the Devil's power over greater men. This passage is interesting in that Iago's abrupt shift of mind from Roderigo to Othello reveals the same idea present in Iago's satanic mind:

Othello

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

Cupida Cautels

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

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

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

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


141 *Loc. cit.*

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

143 Robert B. Heilman, Magic in the Web, p. 16.
145 Ibid., p. 461.
146 Ibid., p. 479; Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama, I, 354.
as they practice deceit against virtue in order to "sermonize."\textsuperscript{147} Iago fits into this tradition well, but he still exhibits, by his admitted diabolism, a character more supernatural than the other realistic villains. His constant illogical reasoning in respect to his hatred of others could well be compared to the reasoning of Milton's Satan.\textsuperscript{148}

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

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

\textsuperscript{148}Spivack, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 21.

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

\textsuperscript{150}Geoffrey Chaucer, \textit{The Canterbury Tales}, \textit{Works}, p. 225.
that Prospero's use of magic occurs on an island after a storm, in the tradition of the commedia dell'arte magic plays.\textsuperscript{151} Iago's wiles, though begun in Venice, with his first association with Roderigo, do not really become effective until the arrival in Cyprus, after an initial storm which does not occur in Cinthio's novella.

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

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

\textsuperscript{152}Siegal, op. cit., p. 78.

\textsuperscript{153}Kenneth O. Myrick, "The Theme of Damnation in Shakespearean Tragedy," SP, XXXVIII (April, 1941), 221-245.
to specified procedures that he, as a magician, must follow;
but diabolic magic is an underlying theme throughout the play,
having a very close affinity to the sins of the flesh, as
shown in Iago's encouragement of Roderigo's lust:

Othello

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

(II.iii.356-359)

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

(I.iii.354-356)

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

(II.1.227-231)

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

Cupids Cautels

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

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

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

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

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

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

155 Ibid., p. 120. Cf. All's Well That Ends Well, II.1. 73 ff. and I.11.231-234, for similar use of "grapes and "eyes."
156 Ibid., p. 98.
Ponifre in *Cupids Cautels* is found to be in the same situation.

**Othello**

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

Iago. Will you hear me, Roderigo?

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

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

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

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

Rod. It hath not appeared.

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

**Cupids Cautels**

... by little and little he opened the eyes of his understanding, and acknowledging that since he had taken his credite unto a deceiuer, it was no meruayle though he hadde payde hym with his coyne whyche is, Illusion and false semblaunte. Wherefore partlye ashamed, and partely despighted of his dotishe errore, he arose, and in place to desyste from his vnfortunate pursutes, he entertained an enraged wyll to persyste more effectuallye than before...157

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

157Ibid., p. 99.
suffered," and he worries about finding himself "fopped."
Iago wins back Roderigo to his evil, and the dupe is finally
destroyed within the framework of Cinthio's tale, as Shake­
speare integrates this story completely with the elements of
the Italian plot. In Cupids Cautels, Ponifre makes his own
plans after he leaves the Magician, but they, being completely
ever, likewise lead to his destruction.

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

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

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158 Ibid., p. 96
159 Katharine Lever, "Proverbs and Sententiae in Shake­
speare," SAB, XIII (1938), 234.
of specific echoes in this case:

**Othello**

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

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

**Othello**

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

**Cupida Cautels**

... seeing there was no remedie in an act committed, but that according to the wise mans saying, a mischief must be prudently supported... 160

Duke. ... The greatest miserie may be is, disabilitie to suffer misery patiently. Alas how extreme griefe deliueth fervent loue by losse of thing beloued,

---

us beguile;
We lose it not, so long as we
  can smile.
He bears the sentence well that
  nothing bears
But the free comfort which from
  thence he hears.
But he bears both the sentence
  and the sorrow
That, to pay grief, must of poor
  patience borrow.
These sentences, to sugar, or to
gall,
Being strong on both sides, are
  equivocal
But words are words; I never yet
did hear
That the bruised heart was pierced
  through the ear.
(I.iii.210-219)

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

161 Ibid., pp. 115-115.
(2) The Drinking Scene. Shakespeare adds the episode of Cassio's drunkenness, thereby giving a reason for the Captain's striking of another soldier while on watch, in Cinthio's tale. Shakespeare makes Roderigo the object of the attack, a device which first brings the dupe into the framework of the novella's plot, and which further reveals Iago as a manipulator of men and circumstances. Cupid's Cautels moralizes upon the sin of drunkenness, as this study has pointed out in connection with Hamlet. Also as in Hamlet, the influence of Nashe's Pierce Penilesse is apparent in Othello, for Nashe writes of soldiers' drinking bouts and of different countries' drinking customs, just as the imbibing soldiers in Othello speak of them. He also writes of the "gidinesse" and loss of memory accompanying drinking, which Cassio experiences.

Other particularly close parallels occur as follows:

Othello

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

If I can fasten but one cup upon him,

Pierce Penilesse

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

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

162 Thomas Nashe, Pierce Penilesse, pp. 53, 75-80.
163 Ibid., p. 53.
164 loc. cit.
With that which he hath drunk to— lost his master, and are night already, vppe with this man and that He'll be as full of quarrel and man. . . . 165 offence As my young mistress' dog . . . . (II.iii.50-53)

Cupida Cautela, however, presents a situation analogous to Cassio's downfall by drinking. Iago tries to lure Cassio into drunkenness, first, by drinking measures to Othello's recent wedding, just as Ponifre's downfall occurs because of his drunkenness at his own wedding celebration. 166 Iago tries to beguile Cassio into an admission of lust for Desdemona, similar to Ponifre's revelation of his sin with the innocent Floria. 167 Iago then begins a singing feast, similar to the one that occurs at Ponifre's feast, although one admits that drinking songs are natural accompaniments to any drinking bout. Iago refers to wine as "a good familiar" (II.iii.313), a term of several meanings in this context, involving both witchcraft and companionship. "Familiars" is found in Cupida Cautela's drinking sequence as a term for Ponifre's drinking companions. 168 Iago's hypocritical moralizing over Cassio's vice echoes the old commonplace comparison in Cupida Cautela:

165 Loc. cit.
166 Wotton, op. cit., p. 109.
167 Loc. cit.
168 Loc. cit.
Othello

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

Cupids Cautels

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

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

Iago's choice of the means of drunkenness for Cassio's
downfall recalls the magic potions of magicians. The Devil,
also, is closely associated with this sin in all Christian
literature, showing that the one who urges drink is doubly
damned.170 Cupids Cautels also makes indirect use of this
idea in the final torture and execution of Ponifre, who seduces
Floria, beautiful and chaste in spirit, by means of wine. It
may also be significant that Ponifre's wife Floria is the
ultimate cause of his death.171 Iago refers to Cassio as
"... a man almost damned in a fair wife" (I.1.21). Although

171 Wotton, op. cit., p. 122.
the Captain in Cinthio's tale has a wife, she does nothing to ruin her husband, nor is her beauty or virtue mentioned. The fact that Cassio's wife is never mentioned again is, to say the least, disturbing. In view of the similarities between Ponifre and Cassio in the drinking sequences, and in the assignment of "dreams" to both characters, Cupids Cautels may have some bearing upon this strange allusion in Othello. Certainly the themes of evil seduction and ruin by means of wine are present in both the play and Wotton's tale.

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

**Othello**

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

**Cupids Cautels**

... he began bitterly to repent the great loue he had imparted to a creature so disloyall, as by a false semblant yielded appearance of an incomparable chastitie, and like suche as comming to a feast with full stomacks, show small appetite before the worlde, and in corners fraunch in their muntions franklye ... Alas said he ... must I not terme all women deceyuers, sitthence by this I haue bene abused? ... a shamefast womā ... is
"'Tis destiny unshunnable like death. (III.i.ii.258-277) a thing rarer than the only Phenix. Neuer could the mightiest Empour or euer bare crowne encounter so great treasure... . 172

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

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

Othello

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

Cupids Cautels

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

172 Ibid., pp. 102-103.
villainous secrets:
And yet she'll kneel and pray:
I have seen her do't.
Enter Desdemona with Emilia
Des. My lord, what is your
will? . . . .
Oth. Let me see your eyes;
Look in my face.
(IV.11.20-28)

Oth. . . . You, mistresse [To
Emilia]
That have the office opposite to
Saint Peter,
And keep the gate of hell!
Re-enter Emilia
You, you, ay, you!
We have done our course; there's
money for your pains . . . .
(IV.11.90-95)

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

173 Ibid., p. 96.
174 Ibid., p. 97.
It is interesting to observe further that Emilia is married to Iago, both of whom recall echoes of Ponifre's illicit help in his love pursuits, debasing love into matters of money. Emilia is also a type of servant to Desdemona, a situation not found in Cinthio's tale. In Cupids Cautels, it is the servants who aid Ponifre's seduction of Floria, and who are executed with him. Emilia does not wittingly aid her husband, and dies (she lives on after the Ensign's death in Cinthio's novella) upholding Desdemona's honor. Too, Cinthio's device of using a young child to divert attention while the Ensign steals the handkerchief would probably not be practical in the theatre, and Emilia is the other logical means of getting the handkerchief. But the slight similarities to Cupids Cautels still exist.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Othello</th>
<th>Cupids Cautels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Des. If to preserve this vessel for my lord From any other foul unlawful</td>
<td>... the corps [of Floria] (whilome the vessell of all perfections) ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

175 Tilley, op. cit., p. 334.
176 Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.
touch
Be not to be a strumpet, I am
none. (IV.ii.85-87)

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

Othello

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

Cupids Cautels

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

At the conclusion of this scene, interestingly, occurs

177 Ibid., p. 108.
Roderigo's confrontation of Iago, which, as this study already has shown, contains echoes of Cupids Cautels.

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

Othello

But I do think it is their husbands' faults
If wives do fall...
Why, we have galls and though we have some grace,
Yet have we some revenge. Let husbands know
Their wives have sense like them. ...
The ills we do, their ills instruct us so.
Des. Good night, good night: the act to reprove it ...

(IV.iii.93-94)

Cupids Cautels

... It were a good matter in marriage if the husband were deafe, and the wife blinde ... but onely for feare they should see the crimes of their husbands. And I leave to your judgetment, whether they are more to be blamed that do the offence, or those that view the act to reprowe it ...

.178

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

.179

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

178 Ibid., p. 118.
179 Ibid., p. 119.
of men then becomes almost a direct answer to the gentleman's challenge in *Cupids Cautels*, and is the perfect "revenge."

Desdemona's statement echoes the idea of the virtuous woman's reproofment of men's faults.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Othello</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cupids Cautels</strong></th>
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| 'Tis not a year or two shows us a man: They are all but stomacks, and we all but food; They eat us hungerly, and when they are full, They belch us. (III.iv.103-106) | . . . until such time as whè a mā is werie of his owne ease (for ofte swete meates cloye the stomacke) the yong husband determined to take truce with loue, & for a season to forsake his Charita . . . .

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

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

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

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

182 Paul N. Siegal, "A New Source for Othello?" PMLA, LXXV (September, 1960), 480.
weeping as he does so. Both Floria and Othello speak in the same vein. Although Othello worries about marring the body, and Floria does not, both here at least consider the body as being opposed to the soul:

Othello
It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul,—
Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars!—
It is the cause. Yet I'll not shed her blood;
Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow,
And smooth as monumental alabaster.
Yet she must die, else she'll betray more men.  
(V.ii.1-6)

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

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

183 Wotton, op. cit., p. 311.
prayer: "... thou dost stone my heart, / And makest me call what I intend to do / A murder, which I thought a sacrifice."

(V.ii.63-65)

Emilia's immediate intrusion also contains similarities to the pathetic death scene which occurs in Cupids Cautels. Floria dies, the weapon of the wine having succeeded in

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

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

Des. O falsely, falsely murdered!
Oth. Why, how should she be murder'd?
Emil. Alas, who knows?
... ... She said so. I must needs report the truth.
(V.ii.116-117)

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

———184 Log. cit.
This strange death was not long concealed, the famous report thereof engendered great compassion in every man's harte, who ran from all quarters to behold it, as well as for the rareness of the facte, as to celebrate the laste honours vnto thys unvanquished chastitie...

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

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

**Othello**

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

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

**Cupids Cautels**

... principally when it cometh by the scruple of conscience, which fraughteth the Malefactour with infinite furies... to to eschewe infamie... or for the healing of a remedlesse greefe... or by the im-paciencie of loue... or to benefit the common wealth by their death... or for wegrinesse of lothed life...

185Loc. cit.
186Ibid., p. 119.
I have done the state some service, and they know't.
... I pray you, in your letters, When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am, nothing extenuate,
Nor set aught down in malice: then must you speak Of one that loved not wisely but too well ... (V.ii.339 ff.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(8) Suicide. Othello commits suicide, as does Floria, although the cause of her death is the same as that of the cause of Desdemona's murder. Othello's feelings before death echo Cupida Cautela's discussion of reasons for suicide; his
great sorrow may, perhaps, also be compared to Herman's, which results in death, though not by suicide.

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

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

All of these themes are, of course, popular ones in the drama of the early 1600's, but the presence of all ten themes in both works, and, in addition, the presence of similar vocabulary and, often, of the same sequence of thought in phrasing are surely of much significance. Just the comparison of Othello and Cupide Cautela reveals the play to be a sermon on the sins of the flesh, as is Wotton's story. Othello, however, emerges as a tragedy of classic proportions, while Wotton's story remains a typical homiletic tale of the "patient Grissel" type, just as Cinthio's realistic tale remains basically that same type. Shakespeare's success is due, in part, to his conception of Othello as a great, noble figure. By contrasting him with the stupid Roderigo and with the diabolic Iago, Shakespeare creates a tragic hero. How much of the conception of Roderigo and Iago belongs to tradition or to Cinthio's tale cannot be known for certain, but the
recognition of the same characters within *Cupida Cautels*, in addition to one's knowledge of Shakespeare's familiarity with Wotton's book and use of it as a source in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, may help to illuminate the problems of evil within the world of *Othello*.

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

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

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

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

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187 Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 488.
188 Loc. cit.
Ant. and Cleo.

Cleo. I'll set a bourn how far
to be belov'd.
Ant. Then must thou needs find
out new heaven, new earth.

(I.1.16-17)

Give me some musio; musio,
moody food
Of us that trade in love.

(II.v.1-2)

Assuredly, "traders in love" is a common Elizabethan
euphemism for prostitution, and the idea is used often in
other Shakespearean plays in reference to prostitution.192
Here, however, even though Cleopatra is frequently referred
to elsewhere as a "gipsy" or a "whore," the statement is not
basically mercenary, for her sole concern really is Antony's
love.193 Furthermore, she is waiting impatiently for her
lover's return, a situation comparable to that underlying the
use of the phrase in Cupide Cautels:

Ant. and Cleo.

. . . other women cloy
The appetites they feed; but she cloy the stomacke . . . .194
makes hungry
Where most she satisfies . . . .

(II.11.241-243)

191 Ibid., p. 107.
142 John W. Draper, "Honest Iago," PMLA, XLVI (1931),
732; Bartlett, op. cit., p. 1596.
143 A Variorum Edition of Anthonie and Cleopatra, edited
by H. H. Furness, II.v.1.
194 Wotton, op. cit., p. 104.
This proverb occurs often in Elizabethan literature, as this study has already pointed out.\textsuperscript{195} However, it is interesting to observe, here, that as Enobarbus reverses the old proverb, he is wishing for Antony's departure from Cleopatra, a situation which is exactly the opposite of the circumstances in \textit{Cupida Cautela}, as a woman grieves for her husband's departure.

Again, in two instances, Shakespeare echoes \textit{Cupida Cautela} as he expands North's statement that Antony cannot move without Cleopatra:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Ant. and Cleo.}

Our separation so abides and flies,  
That thou, residing here, goes yet with me;  
And I, hence fleeting, here remain with thee.
\end{quote}

\textit{(I.iii.102-105)}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Cupida Cautela}

\ldots And if you allege that they paint it with wings, to declare that it is light and wandering, I confess unto you, my love was such, but so soon as you had bereft me thereof \ldots you clipped his winges, so that neuer since it coulde flye but aboute you, like as a yong lasse vseth a butter-flye, that it may not flee from hir \ldots \textsuperscript{196}

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

\textsuperscript{195}Above, Chapter IV, p. 83.  
\textsuperscript{196}Wotton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 107.
of the gods
Command me. (III.xi.56-61)

& sincere affections shall accompany you . . . yet shall
they never abandon your service. For if you sail, they shall rest on the poupe:
if you ride, they shall sette on the crouper . . . .197

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

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

197 *Loc. cit.*
Ant. and Cleo.

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

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

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

... his captain's heart
... is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust. (I.1.8-10)

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

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

199 Wotton, op. cit., p. 106.
than is Wotton's: "... to admonish all young Impes and Novices in love, to blow the coales of fancie with desire, but to quench them with disdayne..." Finally, Shakespeare embroiders North's account of Antony's first meeting with Cleopatra by means of a common image of the "heart's table," found in *Cupida Cautela*. North describes the meeting as follows:

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

*Ant. and Cleo.*

And for his ordinary pays his heart
For what his eyes eat only.

*Cupida Cautela*

... fedde him in the first course of his ordinary table, which are mute regards, uncertain sighs, melancholy conceites, with a silence which trasporteth the spirits a mile beyond the world's end...

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

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use of Cupids Cautels, especially when the echoes are scattered throughout the play, appearing in no similar sequence. However, the strongest verbal parallel is that of Antony's avowal of his complete submission to Cleopatra after the battle of Actium (III.xi.56-61), concerning the idea of the "heart" and the "rudder." The other echoes are widely used devices. If nothing else, however, this investigation serves to show Shakespeare's undoubted mastery of the commonplaces, as he manipulates them to fit situations opposite to those in which they are usually employed, as in Enobarbus's speech about Cleopatra's "infinite variety" (II.11.241-243). He suits them, as well, to unlikely characters, as in Antony's speech of utter subjection and the reference to Caesar's "clowd." In these ways, Shakespeare's characters are anything but commonplace.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

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

The three earlier plays, however, yield, within themselves and as a group, a rather significant collection of parallels. The theme of drunkenness holds an important place in Wotton's story and in these plays, from Henry V's discussion of its just punishment to Othello's "sermons" against it and other sins of the flesh. The "Pyrrhus" anecdote, with its extremely close verbal parallels, the reference in Hamlet to cautel, "the false steward," and the parallels in Polonius's advice to situations within Cupids Cautels--present intriguing questions about Shakespeare's knowledge of the tale. Othello's abundance of parallels in situation and character, which help
to account for almost all of Shakespeare's modifications of
and additions to Cinthio's tale, is especially significant in
determining the extent of Shakespeare's conscious use of
Wotton's tale. The "brothel" sequence, in particular, is a
strong parallel, recalling three scenes of Cupids Cautels:
Ponifre's visit to the bawd in church, his disillusionment
in the Magician, and Floria's appeal to the heavens at being
rejected by Herman. Themes of magic and commercialized love
are dominant in Othello in the same way in which they are
present in Cupids Cautels.

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

But, in any event, even if the many parallels cited reflect the general heritage of Shakespeare's age, this investigation shows conclusively Shakespeare's oneness with his age, in his use of the common stock of ideas pertinent to the themes of love and drinking, in particular. Wotton's Cupids Cautels is, after all, a ready source book for questions of love. But this study also reveals that in all four plays Shakespeare used the ideas and figures of speech of the age to create living characters for all ages. From Henry's merciful justice to Othello's misguided "sacrifice" and torment over Desdemona's "infidelity"; from Roderigo's stupidity to Antony's feminine subjection; from Emilia's worldly wit to Iago's transcendent evil: all have their roots in traditions found in Wotton's storehouse of "The Second Historie."
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APPENDIX
Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupide Cautels* is a translation of Jacques d'Yver's *Le Printemps d'Yver*, 1572.  

D'Yver's work was written to provide France with a group of French tales in the tradition of the Italian *novella*. Five tales are presented within the frame of a *questione d'amore*, each tale illustrating a certain love issue and bringing up new points for discussion. It is a typical Renaissance production which was highly popular in France, serving as a "veritable school" for the century's ideas on love.

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

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203 The Dictionary of National Biography, XXI, 972.  
205 Loc. cit.  
206 Henri Clouzot, "*Le Printemps d'Yver*," *Revue du Seizieme Siecle*, XVIII (1931), 129.  
207 Weld, op. cit., p. 165.
Lyly's *Mother Bombie* and "The Second History," also, in the proverbs on drinking, but these investigations are beyond the scope of the present study. Wotton's book, however, does emerge as a storehouse of Elizabethan thoughts and situations concerned with the subject of love.

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

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208 Pogue, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
The seconde dayes pastime.

Like as when two campes, enemies, having appoynted a daye to experiment howe great their desire is of reuenge, or the loue of honour bought with the price of much blood, by equall force of armes doo fighete, vntill the night, mother of confusion, doth separate them from their bloudie conflict, by a necessarie retreate, attending on both partes with impacient expectation the spring of day, to execute to the uttermost the omitted combate: Euen so our courageous Champions, having forborne the extremest execution of the sharpe conflict of their toungs, begunne the day passed, watchted the returne of the next dawning, to be reueneged: But principally the Maydens, who esteemed their interest hindered by the aduauntage whiche the men had allledged to suppresse their iuste title: but that their libertie rested equall to defende their cause the daye following. Which being come immediately, the Maydens first awaked, who tooke the matter somewhat neare their heartes: And being firste vp, with casting bottelles full of sweete waters, went to salute their aduersaries, for their good morrowe, wyth an asperges of the veawe of Innocentes: and after the deliuerie of a thousande onsets, without all remission, and worse if worse maye bee, in flue, they concluded a peacible parle, whiche gaue them leysure and meane to apparel them, whiche they had not so soone finished, but tyme vrged them to repayre vnto the garden, where the Tables were couered for dinner, vnder a triangle Arbour, at the foote whereof was a goodly quicke set of Rose trees, enterlaced so thinke as
as they resembled a bloomed bench: and at every corner was
an Image of a Satyre, holding in one hand a cuppe of Iaspar,
so artificially vernished with Vermilion, as a man would have
thought it had beene full of Claret wine, and all the three
seemed to drinke vnto three Nimphes, carued finely aboute a
fountayne adjoyning, hauing their horned heads leaning vp
on their other hands, and vnder hir tayle eche one had his Ta
ble. In the first was written,

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

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

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

In the stone of the thirde Silvane was engraued:

Let vs conioyne in muptiall bedde,
Citheria cladde in Roses fyne,
VVith
the seconde day.

With Bacchus smiling white and redde, and fraught our heads with drowsie wine:
O pleasing dew of flowers Queene,
O dewe the favour of the spring,
Dewe dear delight of heav'ly eyen,
Dewe crowning love in every thing.
When Bacchus giveth the graces fair his hand, and leads their dances braue,
My crest shall be of Roses rare,
My head eke full of wine of graue:
Then will I choose the fairest out, and leade my selfe the dance about.

In the middest of the three drinkers, there stood a table of a rounde stone, about the whiche were many small Images of divers formes and figures, whiche serued for stooles: but for the Cupborde was a young Shepheard, hauing his minion by the aperne, wherupon a man might very properly set drinking glasses. The Shepheard had a fine place to set a bottell upon the topppe of his scrippe, wherupon was written.

What thing, the elder that it growes, hath greater force and might?
And stronger eke lesse malice showes, to harme the worldly wight?
And most assayled most doth byte, Yet natures frende and loves delight?

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

What can a speedie course maintaine, at all not hauing any feete, Or else still cackling noyes saine, without a toung for vttraunce meete, Yet still in earth and ayer prest, to spoyle it selfe for every guest.
The whole company being there assembled, they found the Lady of the place endeavoring by all means to make them good cheare: unto whom Sir de Firme Foy and his companions doing their duetie, sayd, Behold (Madame) how great cause we have to complaine of you, in that you seke not to defend your friends, especially so neere vnto you (where they should finde most assurance) yet receive neither equitie nor iustice. Howe so my friends? (sayde the Lady.) Because (replied the Gentleman) that these Damoy.sells feeling their causes injured somewhat by our yesterdayes talke, in place to haue reparation by iustice, haue used handle force, and by actuall means defended by the lawe, haue so outrageously made assault vpon vs this morning, as if you accuse vs, in that we haue made you so long to attende vpon your dinner: we haue iuste occasion to call them for our warrant, as the cause of our delay. No, no (sayde the Lady, smiling) if you haue somewhat lingered to come to dinner, you haue obtained absolution by your long fasting. And touching the force & violence which might haue bin done vnto you, agaynst the right of harberage so holy and inviolable, it is no credible matter, that two Maidens durst assayle three men: But I see who hath most cause to complaine. It were then better, Madame (sayd Sir Fleur d'Amour) that you should dismisse vs of the court, with straight defence to proceede any further, vpon payne to be punished as perturbers of publicke peace. I appeale (sayd Mistresse Mary) for I will never consent you shall so lightly carie away the siluer game, but doo require it may be permitted vnto me to defende the cause of women, who were yesterday so greatly blamed by you. It is a great matter, replieed Sir bel Aceueil, how these Maidens continually desire quarrels and contention: but as the Poets affirm, Mars the God of warre was borne of Juno, without any company of man, to declare that women alone by their proper motion without any procoucation of men, do forge debates, which is in mine opinion, the cause wherfore Turkes would suffer no women to enter into their Paradise. Is that possible, said the Lady, I pray you report more of these news vnto vs. Then ech one tooke his place.
place at the table, & the Gentleman began to declare briefly, how two Angells, being sente from God, to come and viewe how all things were demeaned here belowe, they travailed towards Egipt, where they sawe a woman of excellent beatuie, who was walking all alone vnto hir Farme house, whose beauty so rauished them, as they esteemesed the Heauens vnhappye in respecte of the Earthe. And communicating the one to the other, their newe conceyued affection, (for Spirites knowe all, and nothing maye be dissembled or hidden from them) they consented to be companions in loue. Wherefore feeling their desire to kindle, the nearer they approched vnto this burning objecte, they coulde not so well maister their wills, as hauling ouertaken the Dame, they requyred hir not of loue, declaring vnto hir, that shee shoulde pleasure no vile persons, for they were Angells of Heauenly Nature (as they gaue hir presently certaine testimony,) and woulde not be vngratefull to acknowlege thys courtesie, and that she should finde it so, they graunted hir whatsoever she woulde demaunde. Wherevnto the dame (who esteemed not these diuinities worthy of hir fauoure, for women are of suche nature, as they make none accompte of an honeste suter, commending more some loutishe clowne, as wee see among Wolues, the bitche maketh hir choice of the moste vile, lean, and deformed dog,) made answere, that shee thought hir person greatly honoured of so gainefull a match, and was readdy to reste in all, and by all meanes at their will and pleasure, so that for their partes they woulde keepe their promise: Wherevnto the requeste she made vnto them in liew of hir loue, was, that they shoulde learne hir the prayer whiche they said to mount into Heauen. Wherevnto the Angels cha­fing in their harnesse, willinglye agreed, and tolde it hir worde by worde, so distinctly, as the woman pronouncing it, felte hir selfe sodainely eleuate by an vnknowen force: Whereof the Angells astonied, and acknowledging their faulte, ranne after to staye hir, saying vnto hir, that Cupido dwelt not anye more in
the seconde day.

shew, looking now with a full face, the \( \text{wt} \) halfe a face, & somtime hidden, making a longer & swifter course in one moneth, than al the other heauenly bodies in a whole yere: yet sometime this cu-
rious woma spieth & prieth to ynderstad what decrete passe in \( \gamma \) counsels of the gods, fro whence being repvled & deprevied of hir purpose, she thundereth out threatening & iniuricous garboles, so as \( \gamma \) inflamed choller of hir mischeuous mind, which she disgor-
geth in hir furious madnesse, is euidetly verifed by the rattling thuder & flashing lightning among bs here seeing & heard, proceeding fro their enulous stomachke. And bycause \( \gamma \) superior bodies haue obtained by conset of a generall councell permission to im-
parte vnto their friends on earth some influence of their naturall
good, or euil dispositio: It ensueth thervpon \( \gamma \) this woman being \( \gamma \) motiue intelligence of hir planet, imparteth hir naturall condi-
tions vnto \( \gamma \) inferior creatures of hir kind (which are the wome-
of this world,) who thervpon are called Curious, Wandering, 
Mutable, Quarellous, & in one word to speake truly, Lunaticke. 
Wherfore of right they ought not to be receued into the habita-
tio of the blessed: for certainly al maner of other creatures shall 
sooner enter into this Paradise, th\( \alpha \) a woman: for as we reade \( \gamma \) entrance of heauen was denied to a woman, and the beast which 
carried Mahomet into Paradise, was receiued in, so wonderfully 
the gods fear this mischiefe. So as by \( \gamma \) which hath bin declared 
without proseoution of \( \gamma \) Angels punishmet for telling tales out 
of schoole, or without discourse at large what women do in Alco-
rans hell, (where they haue none other pleasure or pastime, but to 
accuse \( \gamma \) soules of poore men) we wil conclude, \( \gamma \) women are on-
ly sent vppon earth, to be a plague and tormen vnto men: vnto 
whom God in recompence of the felicitie he hath imparted vnto 
then: hathe gluen thys mischiefe, for a strong counterpeise of 
so greate a benefitt: for always hee mingleth the one with the 
other, fro whence springeth \( \gamma \) whiche \( \gamma \) wise Romaine said, if the 
world wer without womes, it shuld no more be a world of men, 
but of Gods: but the heaues haue decreed \( \gamma \) with womes shul 
dlie in paine, and without women, man cannot liue at al: thys 
euill is so necessareye. Whervnto maistress Margarite answered 
Syr
The Pleasure of

heaven. But as when birds in enmity pursue each other, which maketh most forceable & swiftest wing, overflieth the rest, so this woman rauished in spirit & body, through this new miracle, seeing her soul pursue her, had no recourse for her safeguard, but unto her oratio, which she babbleth so by huddles, as the angels (not having so nimble tongues as women) could not overtake her, but were forced to tary far behind. Wherby it fortuned the little devils & spirits of the air, which had charge to make the sentinell in heaven, of whom some watch to espie at lowpe holes of every star fastened thereto with a siluer chaine, as me the Laterns to windowes, made outcry they discovered from far some vnaccustomed thing there seen: but they knew not what, & each one asked his fellows advise therein: for (said they) it is no angel, nor any of the Tritons, or Giants, which sometime wold have scaled heaven to win it, nor any devil, & yet it lacketh nothing but hornes, and in these argumentes fearing to be taken vnprovided they cried for feare, Arme, arme, arme. Then a mightie Balaser whiche was Corporal, came forth of the body of the guard, demanding Que vala, vnto whom this terrible beast was shewed, stealth through the Watch & was staid, because it knew not the watchword, vntill the counsels pleasure was known. The which being assembled, fell into great dispute: for (some said) it was a woman, & it was vcconuenient to convey her to the earth again, except we will have her disclose all that she hath seene here, for she had rather die, than refraine babling, especially if she be charged to holde hir peace. Other wer of opinion to use the Monks order towards hir, which licence such as are priuie of the gouernments to departe in peace. Whereunto Destiny answered, the time was not yet expired. What now: (answered another) she must not be suffered to come here among vs, for by hir curiositie, she wil neuer cease to sowe dissention & debate among vs, & happily we may fal to quarreling who shall possess hir. In fine, after many reasons alleged of one parte & another, it was agreed, some place of abode should be appointed for this importune woman, & most comuenient place might be devised for her, was the Moone, which hath bin so turmoiled by this wandering guest, as it hath had neuer since any rest, not knowing what forme to beare, or what countenance to shew
Sir, you muste seeke eares addicted to fictions, if you desire to advance youre fables to estimation. For if they finde no better lodging, than in thys companye, they are like to haue colde harb­or. But to ouerthrowe and destroy the foundation, which in your judgement you haue so surely builded: I pray you if a wo­man were so great an euill as you affyrme, wherfore is it that the auncientes whiche haue liued so happilie, haue had more wo­men than men, that liue at this present? for if youre saying didde beare Palme, it woulde ensue, that haung hadde more wo­men, they ought to haue more harme, and that they were most fooles among them whiche woulde haue most women: whereof it must be inferred, that Salomon surnamed the wise, was very foolishe to take a thousand, since hëe had too much of one. But of necessitie we muste be compelled to stay vppon thys false pro­position, which we might easily confute, if we would but slight­lye vnrippe the matter, yea and approue that the originall euill is entred into the worlde, by the gate whiche man hathe opened thereunto: the which, neuerthelesse hath bin locked againe, by the remedy, the woman hathe broughte in the happy houre whiche god hathe imparted vnto hir: for that it is saide, that the restorer, enimy to the maligne serpent, did spring of the seede of the woman, and not of the man. Ho loe good lorde, what an in­terpreter are you growne maistresse (replied Sire Bel Acceueil) I beleue some spirite of diuination, yea one of the subtileste is entred into you, but I truste youre glose will be founde a graine to light: for touching that you alleadge the pluralitie of wo­men whiche were among men in times past, it is to be noted, it was for the small accompte menne made of them. So as the Turkes by the same reasone, haue as many as they can nourish, & do vse them as their drudges: but to the end you shal not thinke that I build onely vpon the reasons and examples of Paynims, I pray you tel me, reade we in the holy scripture, that euer wo­man was honoured with holy baptism? or that eure Lorde com­maundde they shouled be admitted to come vnto the holy mister­ry of his blessed supper? And folowing the examples of the most excellent of the Apostles, hath he not expressly forbidden them all diuine
The second day.

divine acts, as to preach and teach, to shew that they are unworthy: and imitating this example, the wise Erasmus chased them out of their schools. But to wade further, have we in holy writings any testimony, that there be women in Paradise? or have you heard speak of Angelesses, Cherubinesses, or Seraphinesses: the which notwithstanding I know to be an error of the Saduceans, whom the divine wisdom hath satisfied. But it is evidently known, they receive punishment in another world, for the mischief they have done unto vs: & if you demand what, for their offences their tongues are drawn out. Truly (said the lady) your tongue hath none other thing to do, but blame others, in blaming to get commendation of well saying: but a man cannot say well in speaking amiss. Madam (answered the Gentleman) if I have spoken too largly, I beseech you excuse me: considering I am son of a woman, who hath left me this faire heritage. Althought I thinke (replied the Lady) you will never starte from vs, poore women, yet will we make you holde your peace. No, no (said Gentlewomen) hee is sufficiently punished for his offence he hath done, for he hath dined byhart, for affection he had to speake euill of women. Thus you see (answered the Gentleman) that I liue not by Loue, as other do: then bega they all to laughe, & rising from table, they walked two or three turns about the garde alleis: the went they to refresh the vnder the shadow of a Rosemary border, wher being all assembled, Lady holding a branch of Laruel, about which all kind of flowers were boud in fashion of an horne of abundace, she said vnto her daughter. My friend, we remember you promised to defend as largly cause of womes, as it was canussed yesterday by these vngratious youths, which are come to make war against vs. And behold now you must take your reuenge, assuring my selfe the whole company wil not deny you (curteous audience.) Whereunto the damoyself answered, Mother, (not calling her Madam) as those that are so well taught, that to heare them, men will say they are bastards) I humbly thanke you, that with your favor you haue granted me the thing I would haue demanded. And since by the gifte of this scepter, you graunte and permit
The second days pleasure.

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

The second Hystorie.

It is no strange matter § a totall, firmly coniunct & assebled, should maintaine it selfe by his vnion, but also encrease in force
force & puissaunce, as the good father at his death instructed his children, by the similitude of a bundle of arrowes wel bound to-gether. But it is a thing worthy of great admiration, to see one parte separate & dismembred from his totall, to shewe it selfe as puissaunt as if it were united, considering Nature (according to the opinion of Empedocles) exerciseth none other mean to_sub-uerete & destroy al his creatures, but discord and disiunctio. This is the cause why it ought not to seeme wonderfull, though Rome being in times paste the head & best part of the world, hathe not only bin vanquished, but victorious ouer all. But all men maye with me be abashed, this Romaine Monarchie (hauing conqeu-red it selfe by diuisions and partitions, and as the head of Hidra) dismembred into so many pèces, yet the euerie of the partes maintaineth it selfe so prosperously, as Almaine (where shineth the principall portion of the crowne of this Westerne Empire) is not onely feared aboue all of hir confines & neighbors, but al the partes thereof, which resemble little Realmes, dare resiste the forces of most mighty princes, being preserued by a soue-raigne wisedome, of right to elect such to gouerne them, as seeme mëete in their conceits, wherein these little kings behaue them so well, as they Locke the gate of ambition, knowing it is death and destruction of al estates and seigniories: Therof proceedeth the glorie of so many victories, wherwith this nation is honored. Therof groweth the abundant wealth wherein, euerie of these seigniories do flowe, & the beautifull Cities, wherewith they bee in euerie part replenished. Now among the most noble & splendant Townes, wherby Almaina is renowned, Menæ (in mine opinion) oughte of right to obtaine the firste place of praise, aswell for beautie of the buildings, as for the neighbourhooode of the riber of Rhine: whiche causeth the trade and traffique to enriche it meruellouslye, and yieldeth vnto it parte of the commodities of strange Countreys. There not long agone were two fami-lies of Marchauntes, notable among the rest, aswell for their gret welth, as auntient reputatio. Of whom one had one only son named Herman, very vertuous, curteous, & wel accomplished wyth
with natures gifts as might be desired: the other an only daughter beautifull & wel taught, called Fleuria. These marchants (as men see ordinarily,) that like will to like (if enuie gainsay it not were destined to vnite their houses, by the alliance of their children, whervnto it seemed the heauenly decrees did lend their dub consents, hauing indued the two parties with equall age, goods, beautie, & conditions, & also like & conforme in Loue, as farforth as their childehoode could permit, the which hauyng from their tender youth happily planted their deepe rootes being carefully sowed by the priuities of a mutuall conversation, aspired to none other end for his perfection, tha to product of this flower desired fruit, & to aduance the season according to the ardent desire & deuotion of the parents. But alas, when they were at point to alter this pleasant hope into assuance, fortune was opposite to so great good hap. For you shall vnderstande (gratious companye)

that in the house of the maiden there dwelt a gallant yong prentize named Ponifre, who being his maisters factour & foreman of the shop, had often tymes none other businesse but to beholde passengers, and to marke among women, whose beautie gained the principall feate in hys particular judgement, & by hymselfe to choose what death he had lieuest dye. But after long & attentiue choices, he confessed in his hart, that the saint sought so far was harde at hande: For wythout doubt his yong maistresse surpassed as far the reste of the Townish damoyaels, as Moone surmounted the brightest starres. And indeede she contented his fantasie so exceedingly, as whether hee had fired his eis too earnestly vpon hir, (Which men say serueth for the principal presage in Loue_ or whether the thing it selfe was such, as it costrained him to surrender his consent, or whether his loytering leysure induced hym to occupy hys ydle braine, and to busie himselfe, he could not do otherwise, than from thenceforth without contradection abadon his body and soule vnto the mercy of Loue, who after he hadde for a season kepte hym at the baye, and fedde him the firste course of his ordinary table, which are mute regarde, vncertaine sighs, melancholy conceites, with a silence which trasporteth the spirite a mile beyonde the worlds ende, gaue him an appetite
The second Historie.

appetite unto more delicate food, and fed him with more nourishing dainties. So as the faire fire of Fleuria, being so near him, embraced him so lively, as it constrained him to determine a resolution too hauite for his feeble forces, that is to saye, to require of hir the guages, which they that fight under the ensignes of Loue, doe accepte for their safety. And howe muche more the mistrust of him selfe, recoyled his ententions by foolish feare, so muche more sharply this proude tamer of spirites girded him in the flanke with the spurre, as he was forced to flee all difficultie, whatsoeuer might be manyest. O howe willingly he called hir Mistresse, because that terme is customarie to louers: but more gladly assayed he to make his words effectuall by some seruisable dutie. Notwithstanding, the simple Maiden, who knewe not what loue ment, regarded not his courtesies, neither had the capacitie to marke I know not what particular affection: The whyche the factor considering, incontinently made his reckning that it behoued him to speake clearely, and not betwene his teeth, if he would practise surely, and made a happy conquest of hir good graces. Wherefore with newe apparell, taking newe counsayle, he made him fine and braue, he kembed, he froted, he frisled, and prinked him in his glasse, and carefully set euery poynt in as neate maner as loue could instruct him: then being disposed vnto all hardinesse, he sought time and place to take hir alone, where finding hir, with a trembling tongue he discovered vnto hir in as good order as he could possibly, all that he had heard saye of the forces of loue, which spared no person, yea and that which is worse, without any discretio this blinde God delighteth to allie small things with great, forcing kings to favor popular beautie, & for his pastime constraineth Goddesses to abandon the heavens, to embrace the pleasure of a gentle Shephearde in his rusticall cottage. Wherefore Mistresse (sayde he) I beseeche you thinke it not strange, if the perfections which nature hath bestowed on you, to make men meruayle at hir giftes in you, haue so subiected and forced my youthfull desires, as for my last refuge I am constrainyed to implore your pitifull grace? Alas Mistresse, I know N.11j. well
The second Historie.

well you esteeme me very rashe and vnaduised to plant mine affections in so hawty degree: but I can rightly advertise you, that if you accept nothing but that which is worthy of your beautie, you muste ascende into heauen, for it is neuer to be founde here belowe. With suche and like talke this young man would haue persuaded his newe Mistresse, vntill with a cruell looke and shamefast countenaunce, enflamed with choler and disdayne, she closed his mouth, and after a rude threatning, gaue him suche a bone of repentaunce to chewe vpon, for his too headlong hardynesse, as bëeing left alone, hauing by silence supported a pearcing rage, he resembled one of the damned soules in time past that Jupiter threwe into the bottomlesse lake by force of his vengeable lightning, sëeing nowe his way closed vp by the which other louers founde the most sure acceso vnto the ende of their desires. For since Maydens Which harken, and castels that consent to parle (as the Frouerbe sayth) doo easily agree to composition, it ensueth rightly that a deafe woman is vneasie to winne. Alas, although this blinde lover seeth and confesseth these things to be true, nevertheless resolued in his obstinate desire, he had this good determination, somewhat to season his trauayled vaynes, that he woulde neuer lose his courrage, but would make full accompt, that obstinate time, whiche surmounteth all, might likewise surmount the most rebellious chastities, considering that women do gladly yeeld their favours vnto a stedfast and faithfull suiter. But what? (sayd he, comforting himselfe) the Grecians lay before Troy tenne yeeres, and yet in the ende it was taken, euën when they thought it moстве impregnable, and the enimies had raised their siege. So though the takying of thys fortesse bee difficill, yet it is harde to say, that it is vnpossible to bee wonne. Goode hearte then take courrage, the victorie is so muche more glorious, as the fight is painefull and dangerous, and happily one good houre maye chaunce vnlooked for. What? is it not often sëene, that the Hare which could not be taken by Grayhoundes in course, thrusteth hir head into a snare which is laide for hir. Under these persuasions the lover sought all meanes to bring his purpose to effect, but
but (God save the Moone from the Wolfe) it profited as much as if he had washed a crow to make it white. For as the prudent Greeks stopped their ears against the enchanting songs of the piping Syrenes; so likewise this vertuous youngling, (whose sage youth ought to be a mirror unto all eldest) made his hearing deaf to his sugred talk, imitating the prudent Aspe, who as the princely Prophet sayth, stoppeth his ear with his tayle, that she may not heare the sound of his deceitfull enemie. The which gave our suter cause, to thinke that which he had often heard say, that what demeanour or countenance soever Maidens shew, they are very easie to be loued, esteeming them selues louely. And yet shame founded upon I knowe not what opinion of honour, suffereth them not to agree vnto that which chiefly they desire, which causeth them the to crave willingly men shuld force the, therby to shadow their willing consentes. Wherof the example of Medea, Helene, Ariadne, & a thousande millions moe (that have caused them selues to be rauished) doth beare witness. For this cause he thought it great folly to consume himselfe with hope, and perpetually to languish in beleefe and excessive expenses, wherat his subtle Love might happily smile in her sleeue, but rather to abando all cowardinesse, and to seaze vpon his pray by a delicate force in assurance of his pretended good luck. But this vnaduised folly brued his owne bane, & put his life in hazard, for at the cry of the maiden the mother came running, vnto whom at the first blushe she purposed to accuse this violence, & to sell dearely the foolish enterprise of this importune prince. Neuerthelesse, sodenly considering the sequele and importance of the fact, she thought it better at that instaunt to proceede therein more gently: for if she had purchased so great mischeve to him which offended not but by too much louse, what would she have done to his enimie? Wherfore fayning a feare, for it was in a dark corner, by his sage disimulation she converted all choler into laughter. Ah invincible chastitie, oughtest thou to haue bin accompanied with so great curtesie as in place of complaite which thy right deserved, to passe without that which deserved cruel vengeance? Alas that thy gret bounty cost thee
The second Historie.

thee so deare, for in sparing thy foolish friend thou haste lefte I
know not what hope, which thou oughtest to haue rashed vp
by the roote, knowing that a small sparke of fyre, remayning
is sufficient to reume the flame which al men supposed to be ex-
tinct. Behold now our braue Louer to al seeming overthrown
without recouerie, where he lyeth frustrate of all sense, seeing
his sighes vanished in the ayre, his paynes vngratefully loste,
and so euill suocesse of his attempt. Notwithstanding, hoping
in despight of all hope, although he coulde catche nothing, nei-
ther at the bounde nor volue, and that this flinty chastitie (more
able to repaire, than hir assailaunt to make breach) daye
by day shaped him newe businesse, determined to ayde his suite
by some Dariolet, which men call by cleanly conceuance, fur-
therers of loue, but in playne tearmes, bawdes. I woulde not
speake thus grossely, if the perfection of mine historie bounde
me not thereto, to shew you that this prentice in Loue grewe
such a grand master at the first blowe, as he forgot no prac-
tise, and was furnished of this meane, esteeming it most expe-
dient: for besides that he had heard saye, howe these abusers
were expert to make traffique of such miserable marchaundize,
conducting people to hell, like vnto Sibilla in olde time, the see-
med to him very necessarie to take away the vayle of shame,
which onely hindered Fleuria to say yea. In this devotion one
Sonday comming to the parish church, he bourded an olde mo-
ther Bee, who solde candell of consideraunce, praying hir to
giue him light in this businesse, the mistiness whereof trou-
bled his braynes very sore. Wherevnto she willingly agreed,
(as in deede they are no nigardes of promises) and for the effect
thereof assigned him a certayne place of meeting, after highe
Masse was ended: during whiche time his eyes, greedly fired
uppon his faire Mistresse, solde vnto him (as men say) the skin
before the beast is taken, assuring him selfe of the thing, wher-
of he was most vnassured. The houre expired, with diligence
he went to finde this olde Gibbe, vnto whom in forme of au-
ricular confession, he vnripped the whole matter from ende to
ende, crauing hir advice what meane was moste expedient to
bring
bring to effect his obstinate conclusion, which was, eyther to
dye or enjoy his Ladies loue, whervnto their dayly conversa-
tion, seeing both harbored vnder one rooffe, did neyther yeelde
faavour nor aduaunyte (as it chaunceth very oft, that those of
most familiar acquaintance, willingly loue little.) Furthermore,
that he had to deale with a partie whose rigorous con-
dicions and sterne complextion, beside the diligent attendance
of a mother, whose careful eye continuallye watched hir, as
the Dragon the golden apples of Hesperia, gainsayde all hope.
Then aunswered olde Beldame: very well, it is all one, let
me deale, if she will not yeelde by nature, I will compell hir
by hooke or crooke. Discomforte not your selfe for the matter,
for there is nothing but maye be finished travaile. She is
not more terrible than Lions or Tygres, which in time are
tamed and brought to hande. But take this for an article of
your Crede, you must be secret in all your doings, and neuer
report any thing of a woman till hir funerall. As a healthfull
medicine taken by the patient that is desirous of recoverie,
driueth away the burning feuer, which scaldeth his weake
lyymes, even so this consolation did moderate the impatient
desires, which like an vnbridled horse caried away their mai-
ster. And vpon this assurance Ponifre gaue a golden fee vnto
his olde attorney, who watching hir time, employed all hir
wicked inuentions which she had by long vse and practise col-
lected. But in fewe wordes to shewe you, all hir sorceries ser-
ued to so small effect, and every thing fell out so contrarie and
discordant to the purpose, as in fine perceyuing she was short
of the reckening which she thought to haue raised vnto hir to
tal sum, she was constrained to surrender a piteous aunswere
vnto hir Client, yeelding him as great ioy as the sentence of
death pronounced vppon a criminall offender, wherewith he
was so touched to the quicke, as from thenceforth he had con-
sentted vnto his proper ruine, seeing all his deuises succèede so
peruersly as if he had bene borne in the wane of the Moone,
but that he sodenly conseyued in his fantasie (as he that desired
to leaue no stone vnturned, but to prooue euery practice) that
D.
it behoued him yet to obtaine the aide of a Magician, vnto whom he imagined nothing to be vnpossible: The conuirer demaunding in hand a round sum of money (which he would finger before he would meddle with the matter) assigned thys miserable louer a time & place, where by the efficacy of certain carrecters he would enforce his cruel mistresse in hir despight to yestelde hir person at his commaundement and pleasure. The leping out of his lobby in deformed order, barhead & barefoot, making diuers turnes and returnes about a churchyard, mumbling the Diuels paternoster, like an old ape, composing certaine pointes with a wand in the dust, he did so muche by force of his coniurations, shewes, exorcismes and invocatios, as he charmed the imaginatiue fantasie of his man, in such sort as he caused him to lye with a shadowe whiche by nigromancie he had intierly forced to take the shape of Floria. Du­ring this false delight, the inchaunted louer distrayedly beheld with stedfast eyes the faire semblance of his louer, now meruelling at the beautiful curles of hir frisled heare, then at hir angelical face, now at hir allabastrine throte, then at hir round delicate dugs, nowe at hir Iuorine armes and al other partes which perfect beautie rendereth meruells, so as after he had made a superficiale anatomy of thys pretty mira­cle, al rauished wyth contentment, he would haue thrown his amorous armes about the necke of this fained beautie: but the inchautment being now approched vnto the terme appointed thervnto by the sorcerer, sodainely finished, so as this beauti­ful body vanished awaye amid the imbrasing of hir amorous louer, like vnto a bubble of water caused by a puffe of winde: and all this pleasure passed like a shadow or a dreame in the night, leaung the poore senselesse set so astonied, as if by good fortune he had not bin laid, he had tumbled backward in a sud. And I belieue this charme whose strange effecte I haue reci­ted, shal not seeme vnto you (honourable audience,) erring fro the truth, if you haue neuer so smal regard vnto the power whiche God hath giuen the Diuell to tempt, even those whome he most loueth, as we haue examples in holye bookes. And if you
you be remembred, the most auntient histories make mention, that English Merlin was begotten betwixte the Diuel and a woman: & before him euine Plato was conceiued of a Virgine by a spirite: wherunto that agreeth which is written of the wo-
men of Gothes, who in the deserts of Scithia were gotten wyth child by shadowes & forrest Diables. We may annexe here vn-
to the tale which Cardanvs reporteth of a Scottish woman who a familiar spirite used to accompanie carnally, by whom she was delivered of a moster. The like happened not long sithece vnto Magdalene the daughter of Constancius. Notwithstanding, my Historie passeth not so far forth: as I wil maintayne that they can ingender, aswel bycause our religion defendeth vs to believe that anye but Iesus Christe alone, was euer borne without the seede of man, as also bycause nature hath not im-
parted to spirites distinction of kinde: but I can iustly affirme, aswel by the example of this true Historie, as by the authority of good authours, especialy of Lactantius, that they maye haue carnall communication, to contaminat and polute humaine creatures, vnto whom they are protested and sworne enimes. Let vs not then thinke it vnpossible that the maligne serpent, who (as Saint Paul sayth) transformeth hys shape into an An-
gel of lighte to deceiue vs, wyll not also resemble the perso-
nage of an Harlot, to glut in the vsatiable delight of lubri-
citye, the sinner whom he had already wonne, and minister the meane vnto him to execute the wickedness first so inspired in his hart. Nowe to returne to our Ponifre. After he had long tymes remayned in a sweating extasie wythout knowledge of hymselfe, at last, by little and little he opened the eyes of hys ynderstanding, and acknowledging that since hee hadde be-
taken his credite vnto a deceiuer, it was no meruayle though he hadde payde hym with hys coyne, whyche is Illusion and false semblante. Wherefore partlye ashamed, and partely dyspyghted of hys dotishe errooure, hee arose, and in place to desyste from hys vnfortunate pursuite, he entertained an enraged wyll to persyste more effectuallye than before, ind-
gyng that worse coulde not lightelye happen vnto hym.

D.iij. Thus
Thus hardening his heart against his owne mischiefe, he broched his wittes to inuent newe meanes. Firse he intended to experiment Paris herbe, or foure leaued grasse, or the composition of some witchcraft to induce hir loue, esteeming the famour meane to be true, wherwith Venus coupleth louers, or the true doue which she gaue to Jason, to winne the fauour of Medea, although Pindarus seemed to vnderstande it otherwise, or the very apples wherewith runnagate Attalanta was stayed and taken. Notwithstanding, premeditating the inconueniences which ensued such ministrations, whereby many by their vndiscrete zeale haue deliuered death for loue, as Deianira, and Lucretia, the Poets beare witnesse, by their perverse aduentures, he woulde not hazarde hir vnto the mercy of poyson, for whome he endured a thousande deathe. But as there is nothing so malicious or unnaturall, which findeth not place in the heart of man, and principally of him whiche abandoneth his reason vnto his vnbrideled appetites, he concluded for the last meane, to ayde his follye by a wickednesse so monstrous and horrible, as the Deuils good grace durst neuer haue premised: Whiche was, to find meanes eyther by mony or fayre promises, or by other subtill deuises to wynne the maides of the house, which without great paines yelded their good willes, so inclined to his deuotion, as they promised all their fauours and assistance so farre forth as their promise coulde intende. And vpon this wicked foundation they rayshed a perverse building, for they conspired togither to make the poore virgin drunken, the next day hir mother shulde be from home, which was easie for them to do, aswell for the cre­dite she had in these trayterous chamberers, who brewed her beuerage with some secret mixture, as also because the maner and custome of the countrie permitteth, yea, and accounteth it a vertue to drinke devoutly, which might somewhat excuse hir. Oh howe wise were our forefathers to forbidde wyne so strictly vnto their children, and much more to their wiuers, so that for drinking wyne, they deserued defame, and being taken with the maner, it was lawfull to kisse their mothes,
whereas otherwise men kissed but their eyes, to shewe that wine drinkers were apt to further offence. And this use was ordayned, as though wine wrapped secretes so, that to kisse a woman on the mouth, signified the speache of their soules by the windowes thereof. Euen so by the lawe of Moses a father alleged a very sufficient reason vnto the people to stone hys sonne to death, accusing him to be a drunkarde. For in dede if we will search the mischiefs that proceed of wine we shall conclude that sithence Noe thought he had done euill in planting the vine, Licurgus of good right caused it to be rooted vp, as finding no greater enimie of humaine reason than wyne, sithence it resembleth men vnto beasts, some vnto Lions, as Alexander, who by the only vice of dronkennesse reformed yet by a sodain repentaunce, darkened al the splendent Uertues which made him so to shyne: other into swyne, as Marke Anthone, and many moe. Let vs not then finde it strange though the simple youth of this Almaine damosell, hauing taken too muche wine, yelded hir body vnto the shamelesse luxurie of hir suter, who fynding this poore creature abandoned to hys wyll and discretion, had commodious season to glut his vnbrided and cormorant desire with the aide of the Chaberers, mi­nisters of his infamous voluptuousnesse. And it is no cause of abashment though this wicked wretch toke pleasure to defile a masse of fleshe alienate from all sensibility, sithence that sens­ualitie hath oftentimes so enraged diverse, as it hath imbold­ned them to quench their gredy lubricity vpon dead carcasses, which liuing made lively resistace vnto their leudenes. Wherefore the enraged thirst of this brutall lower cause this troubled water to seeme so delightful vnto him, y of this conjunctio proceeded a conception of childe, the vnknown burthen wher­of so abashed our simple Floria, ignorant from whence she had pylfered hir packe, as she supposed, that nature being offended would procreat in hir some prodigious Monster, making hir a mother before she was a wife. And when time (which ripe­neth all fruites) had so swolne hir pretie belly, as she coulde no longer hide it, all drowned in teares, she declared vnto hir mo­D.iiij. ther
ther that she thought hir self with child, hauing neuerthelesse neuer had the knowledge of man: wherat the mother byng grievously displeased, vsed the equitie and right gien vnto hir by nature: but seing there was no remedie in an act com-
mitted, but that according to the wise mans saying, a mys-
chief must be prudently prevented, and being once happened,
patiently supported, she assayed by threatnings, compulsion,
and many other meanes, to make hir daughter disclose the au-
thor of thys infamy, to the ende shee might in time prouyde
and procure some reparatioun of hir credite. But the poore
wenche being at that instant wholly bereaued of remembrece,
persisted in hir ignoraunce, affirming she knew not how she
came in that case, neyther had felt any thing belonging ther-
vnto. Neuerthelesse she felt right well the paines of hir tra-
uaile, which she supported very couragiously, as she who be-
ing euyll experimented in so extreame passions, attended
steadfastly that wished death woulde performe a violent end
of hir life, and undesuered shame: for you shall note (gracious
companie) that although all things were as secretely conuay-
ed as was possible, yet was the fame therof immediatly biased
abroade, for birdes (as those that bewrayed the death of Palia-
des, or dogges (as that which disclosed and reuenged the mind
of his maister, before the king of Persia) wil rather speake, tha
such affaires shoulde be undesoucdered. Which was the cause,
that through the town all men talked of Floria hir beyng with
childe, and if two persons were sene whispering togethier,
it was easie to deuine whervpon they spake. The which so
greatly grieued the yong gentleman Herman (who loued Flo-
ria ferently, and pretended to wedde hir, as I haue recited
in the beginning of myne historie) as for sorowe and anger
to heare such sinister reportes, he departed into the countrie,
where leading a solitarie life, he began bitterly to repent the
great loue he had imparted vnto a creature so disloyall, as by
a false semblant yelded apparance of an incomparable cha-
stitie: but like suche as comming to a feast with full sto-
mache, shew smal appetite before the worlde, and in corners
fraunch in their nuntions franklye. Then remembring the
graces
graces & perfect lineaments before time invoked in his *Floria*,
love constrained him to accuse his rigorous opinion, to ex-
cuse hir whom every man blamed: and yke a blind man this
louer bounde closely his eyes, least he shoule vide the acte
which haply might blemishe his sight, so as his mynde being
turmoyled in unctertaine judgements, he surrendred the ad-
vatage of his cause vnto peruerse equity. Alas said he (biting
his tongue) must I not terme all women deceyures, sithence
by this I haue bene abused? & say that what fained likelyhood
so euer they shew, their flitting fantasies entertaineth loue no
longer than they behold the thing beloued, so as with the pre-
sence they lose all remembrance yeding their fauours imme-
diately to every one as their leysures serue them, like vnto
looking glasses which indifferently represent all figures and
impressions so long as the bodies are opposit and obiect before
the, the which, such glasses are sodainly ready to forgo, to dis-
pose the to represent other shapes presented before them. And
herein testimony of the wise king of Iuda may satisfie vs,
who called the vn satiable gulfs. So as it is a gret ouerwening
vn to a ma to promise himself a shamefast woma, considerung it
is a thing rarer than the only Phenix. Neuer could mightiest
Emperours ever bare crowne encounter so gret a tresure.
True it is (according to the opinio of those wish man most
good) she maye be almost chast, hath nothing wherfore to
be required, nor hath neuer had the hardines to require. In so
much (as by the prudent Romain Emperour) the good disigu-
red, resembleth the hen whose plumage is despised & the flesh e-
stemed: but the beautifull woman is like the Ermine, whose
skinne is estimable, and carcass carion. So as there is so great
enmity betwixt beauty & bounty, as they neuer remaine to-
ther in one mansion. And al that is reported of Lucresie, Cassa,
dra, & others, are but fayned fables. Wherfore we must con-
clude, that nature hath engendered the worme to gnaw vpon
our dead carcasses, & womes to feed vp our liuing bodies, our
substance & renoume, givng the fredome to liue among me as
vnprofitable drone amog bees. Thus this desolate louer dis-
charged his sorow, & vometed his venim against womankind.
The second Historie.

Nowe this rural life in short time made him loke so pale and deformed, as it pitied al such as saw him: the cause wherof being known vnto his father, gaue him occasio to determin some meanes for the provision of his sons health. And calling him into his closet secretely, he shewed him howe much Floria had forgotten hir duetie by a crime sufficient inough to breake of the alliaunce which before time they had attempted. Wherefore, sayde he vnto him, choose thee one among the troupes of townys virgins whom thou best fanciest, to recompence the wrongs of Floria. Wherfore Herman, as one wel taught, redeemed his will vnto the good pleasure of his father, of whose graue couesel he determined to make experience, vteringli renouncing his owne fonie fantasie: which caused the good olde man in shorte time to finde out a beautifull and riche wife for hys sonne, discended of worshipful linage, named Carita: whereof ensued a sodain mariage, with so happy entraunce into housekeping, as all theyr couetousnesse was onely to reioyce theyr minds with the tender imbrasings and delicate courtesies re-nerued in the storehouse of loue, employing diligently the good season for feare of future storms, watering the fragrant flours of the yong spring: So as after ye example of auntient Captaine Pericles, they neuer wonte abroade or returned home without billing and beaking like wanto Doues, vntil such time as whe a ma is werie of his own ease (for ofte swete meates cloye the stomacke) the yong husband determined to take truce with loue, & for a season to forsake his Carita, to the ende to imploie hys trauaile in the trade of marchandise: for whych cause he ioyned his stocke with certain of hys friends, entending to go wyth them vnto the mart at Antwerp, there to seeke his profite. But when he came to the point to imparte his enterprise to his Carita, hys wordes foltered in his mouth: Yet seing the matter required present dispatch, and that hys companions were readie, one night holding hir betwene hys armes, for possible he was not so hardye by the day light, he said: my deare friend, when I reuolue in my minde the estate whereunto God hath called me, I cannot content me with the idle
ydell life I leade frustrate of all traualy, especially in these my youthfull yeres wherein I flourishe, in which the wise haue bin accustomed to make their provision of substance, whereby to liue quietly at ease in their age, after the example of the pretie Ante, which laboreth in sommer, foreseeing that winter wyll come. And although we haue atchieued some smal welth, which is not yet so great, but in spending therof dayly, and increasing nothing, will soone be consumed: so it is, that as we haue bene carefully provided for by our friends, so must we prouide for such as shall succede vs, and it is not time to buylde the barne when the corne is ready to be layde therein. Wherefore sweete heart, it is high time, that for the maintenaunce of our porte, I use mine endeouer, and loathing this vnprofitable life, beginne to exercise some traffique, and make a viage into Englande, after the marte of Antwerpe be ended, where I may reape some benefite. And besides, by that meanes may see and learne by the frequentation of straungers, that whiche the fonde loue of my Parentes hath not permitted me to vnderstande, because they could neuer suffer me out of their sightes. Whereunto fayre Charita, who during this discourse had hir minde moued with many passions, aunswered: O God sweete loue finde you already suche annoyaunce in marriage, as you can not endure the expiring of the yeare, according to the auncient custome, the whiche giueth to others priuiledge and dispensation of the exercise of their vacation? Or are you suche an enemie to your selfe, as like a madde man, you seeke reste in traualy, pleasure in payne, comfort in affliction, and safetie in peril? for if you knowe well with what wood traualyers are warmed, and vnsto what hazardes they commit their labour-some life, I can not imagine but you hate me in so earnestly seeking your owne destruction. Alas that the estate of worlde-linges should be so miserable and vnccertayne, to reape greefe where they searche for ioye. Alas, When I was a mayde I had no sorrowe, but that my selfe procured: then mighte I leape where I lysted, lyke a young Heyfer, which neuer felt the compulsion of the yoke: but nowe that I haue renounced
my naturall freedome, to cast the anker of the pleasures of this lyfe vpon mariage, I haue bounde my selfe to receyue the torment which is giuen me by an other. O that it were so, as man and wife being but one body, I had the moytie of you, as you possesse the one halfe of me in your own right, and the other by my fre Consent: I would at least require you to let me enjoy the moytie due and requisite vnto me ouer you. Ah will you play the Lions parte, and dispose the totall to my preiudice anddisaduaunce? Then she seased hir words with a close kisse, and taking newe heart & grace, beganne agayne: Well (sayd she) you are already glut~ with one meate, and sbeke to refreshe your appetite with chaung of diet, so as your loue ranging with you in your voyage, wil practise some new friende, who by hir newe flame may mortifie my fire, which is nowe too olde for you. In the meane season, I wil attende you here in feare, lest my euill chaunce forsloew your desired returne. Alas, if you be so desirous to see strange countreyes, what shal hinder me in: a ladds aray to lackey by your horse, sithence the wife of Metridaes disdayned not to doo the like? Otherwise, if you leaue me here, I shall esteme the countrey wiuues estate better than mine, for they at lest see their husbandes at euen, when they returne from their day labour. Thus the apprehension of this de­ parture warmed the tender hart of this louing girle, no more nor lesse, than a fierie furnace prouoked by the blastes of bell­ lowes, and by the vehemencie of this heate, the scalding teares trickled downe amaine, like a clowde in the spring time before the sunne beames. The yong husband felling this warme deaw fall vpvn his face, said vnto hir: Truely minion, I must needs say, you loue me not as other wome loue their husbands, sithece you mistrust me in the conservation of our loue, hauing never ministered the lest occasion, whervpo you may ground any such suspition, bëeing a thing so far from my thought, as I desire that the fire of heauen may sooner consume me, than the loue of any other should kindle in my heart, to giue me disire to make a false bounde or mayme the fayth of our mariage: assuryng you, that your loue in respect to waxe olde in one, shall growe young,
The second Historie.

young, as Painters decipher it, who glue therewith the shape of a childe. And if you allege that they paint it with wings, to declare that it is light and wandering, I confess unto you, my love was such, but so soon as you had bereft me thereof, by the providence of my happy destiny, you clipped his wings, so that never since it could fly but about you, like as a young lasse vseth a butterflye, that it may not flye from her. Wherefore fear not, I pray you, that the change of ayre & country can alter mine affection towards you: but imagine, that as the fire continueth her heat under the cinders, so my love shall increase under the secret remembrance of you: and at my returne you shall finde it so augmented, as your selfe will say, I come to traffike in the land of love. Thus the good Herman comforted courteous Charita, who began to steal patience, & clasping his neck betwixt her languishing armes, sayde: My deare friend, you haue full power to dispose both of your selfe & me, according to your discretion, for your pleasure is my only contentment. But thus far forth I will enforme you, that sithence you refuse to carry my corps with you, my heart & sincere affections shall accompany you mauger your denial, the which although they be infinite in number, yet shall they never abandon your service. For if you saile, they shall rest on the poupe: if you ride, they shall sitte on the crouper: if you travel on foot, they shall attend vpon you like faithfull Lackeys. Upon these speeches, with a thousand embracings, they confirmed a determinate resolution. The Seigneur Herman hauing prepared all thing necessary for his voyage, with much ado took leave of his newe wife for sixe moneths. But alas, if he had bin truly advertised of his pitiful aduenture, he had saide adue for euer, as he that should never haue seen his agayne: whom he left in the custodie of his brother, to see her safe conveyed to Spieres, vnto her uncle, with whom she might passe over the greethe, whiche the absence of her love procured.

Nowe let vs omitte the happie success of Herman, running his course so long as it pleased dame Fortune, and returne a whyle to visyte Floria, who ashamed of her childes birth, as yrked to lyue after the deathes of her honourie, had committed
mitted hir person vnto voluntarie imprisonment, spending hir
life in so great anguishe, as it was a verie lamentable case
to beholde the perplexitie she suffered, principally when the
auncient loue of Herman visited hir memorie. Alas (sayde she)
why dyd the heauens predestinate so great good vnto me, to
suffer me nowe to shewe my selfe so vnworthy thereof? Why
dyd they not rather grinde me to powder with thunderboltes,
or at least cutte the threede of my life amide my felicitie? Alas
Herman, my deare Herman, oughtest thou by right to haue har­
boured thy young affectiones in so leawde a lodging? My di­
saster hath forced thee (I knowe to thy great greefe) to sêeke
a meeter matche. Notwithstanding, is it good reason, sithence
my straunge mischance hath so conspired, that I lay the wrong
on mine owne necke, and consent vnto mine uniose punishe­
ment. Liue then deare friende, liue for euer blessed with thy
Charita, and in recompence of the weele I wishe theè, praye
that God may graunt a quicke dispatche of the torment I en­
dure for thy sake.

Thus the desolate Louer complayned continually, graun­
ting no tearme or ende vnto hir teares and sighes. Wherewith
hir mother græreously molestèd, whereas before she thundred
out threatnings, nowe she assayeth by all meanes to com­
fort hir. Of the which the best (in hir conceyte) was to prouide
hir a husbande, wherein she employed hir uttermoste power:
but, as a beautyfull glasse, whiche whylome shined vppon a
Cupborde for the brauerie of a banquet, as soone as it catcheth
a cracke is depriued of place, and thrown into some con­
templatiue corner: Euen so this beautie, whiche before was
required of all men, nowe lyeth disdayned of euery man. The
whiche the poore mother perceuyng, deuised to make hir fac­
tour Ponifre, (whom she tooke for an honest young man,) hir
sonne in lawe: who vppon the firste motion, made the mat­
ter straunge, and counterfayted his knauerie so cunning­
ly, as he woulde not bende his eare to his olde Mistresses
Musicke. Notwithstanding, in fine she broughte him with
much intreatie to make halfe a graunt. But the greatest paine
was
The second Hystorie.

was employed to win Floria, who obstinate in hir cruell purpose, entended to amend hir offence with perpetuall penaunce: Untill in fine, vanquished by the instante requestes of all hir kinsfolkes, and conjured by the reuereence which she oughte to hir mother, she condiscended to the marriage, which was speedily dispatched by the good olde woman, who scholing Ponifre, shewed him what credite he was come vnto, by his means: this oughte to moue thée, (quothe she) neuer to reprove my daughter of hir passed crime, or to beare hir any malice therefore: if thou do otherwise, thou shalte be like him that spitteth againste the winde, whose slauer flēeth in his owne face, and for my parte, assure thee of my continual displeasure. Then cooling hir daughters courage by the representation and remembraunce of hir lewde gouernement, so contrary to the good nouriture she had receiued, commaunding hir to be faithfull and obedient to hir husbande, the wedding was solemnised with great magnificence, whereat the husbande being aduance vnto his desired estate, was so rauished with joy and contentment, that by hys example hee invited the whole assemblye to mirth. Nowe if this mariage were begun with great pleasure, the continuance thereof was yet more delightfull, for that eche daye ensuing other, prepared newe pastimes, the seconde surmounting the firste, and so in order, vntill by mishappe the bridegrome one day making a banquet for his familiars, forgatte himselfe so deepe, as summoning eche one to quaffe his carouse, and answering euerie one by measure, according to the custome of the country, hee drunke so freely, as he forgat not to call for muscie & dauncing after dinner, & so bestirred him in euery other businesse, as being throughly chaffed with heathe and drinke, hee began in slauering good faith to discouer the greate tormentes which he had endured for the loue of Floria, then how in fine w the aide of Chabermaides, he made hir drunk to vse hir company, omitting nothing of al which hath bin meclioned. Whereof the whole company were sore abashed, except Floria, who onely was very well contented and satisfied, for so much as the truth (whiche saued Susanna) was disclosed, as the concealement ther-
of more than the space of a yeare after the marriage. And imitating this franke confession uttered in presence of irreproeable witnesses, she requyred the aide of the Justice for the reparati-
on of the wrong and dishonour which she had sustained, so as at hir instant suite, the drunkard and servants by him nominated, were committed to close prison, assuring you that Ponifre being sober, seeing hime selfe so lodged, was more astonied than Floria, when she felt the childe stirre within hir. The nexte morning he was examini of the wordes he had spoken to see if he wold confesse the truth, but he made himselfe whollye ignorant of the matter, and denied the facte with tooth and naile: excusing hys confession vpon the alienation of hys senses caused by wine, wherevnto there was no more heed than to the words of Foole, from whom a Drunkarde (as wise men saye) differeth in nothing, but that he hath certaine prescribed sea-
sons, which a foole hath not. And what though it were so? (saide hée) the noble minded Pirrhus pardoned those that abused him in speaches saying vnto him: We had hampred thee more hardly, if wine had not bereaued our wittes. And the woman whom Philip of Macedone condemned after dinner, pleadyng hir cause before him fasting, was acquitted of the fact. It were extreame rigor in Justice to impute anye wordes spoken, of impeache a man of any acte committed in drunkennesse. The whiche being considered by the Judges, who on the one parte woulde not condemne the bottel to be hanged, and on the other side waying a mischiefe so notorious, put the accused chamber-
maids to the racke, who being feareful of the horrible torment of the torture, according to the fragilitie of their kind, immedi-
ately confessed the truth, & according to their depositions were brought face to face before the factor, who perceiving himselfe convicte, required grace of the Justice, & pardon of his wife. But she was so confirmed in hir vertuous sorrow, as at hir instante supplication, y chamberers wer condemned to be bret aliue, for their liery of the ungratious wedding, whereof they were the cause (for if the lawes of Germany punishe every peti larsony so rigorously by death, even for yt smallest domestical pilfery, what torment might suffice a treason so horrible, conspired by these that
that duty bounde to be moste faithfull? And by the same judg-
ment was Ponifre, (after hee had assisted this execution with a
torch in his hand) broke vpon a wheele & halfe dead throwne in-
to the same fire. Eue so we see that wine which had bin the occa-
sion of his lasculous delight, was also the cause of his cruel &
infamous death, enforcing him freely to confesse his offence. As
whilome it hapned to the emperor Claudius, who in his drunkes-
nesse declared to his wife Agrippina his maliciousnesse so long
dissembled. Such were likewise the voluntary instigations whi-
che subtle Tyrants gaue in olde time to those whom they wold
haue discouered the conspiracies contriued against the: Wher-
upon proceeded the prouerbe, In vino veritas. And I may tel it
you by way of progression, I beleue that therevpon is sprung
vy custome amog the Almaines, that euery one at a banquet
is compelled drinke carouse, to the end the sober may not dis-
close vy words or deeds of the drunken. Whervnto agreeth vy pro-
agebe, drinke or be packing: or these words in old time in every
mas mouth, I hate to thinke vpo a drunkemate. Now (honora-
bale company) vy news of this strange adueture was gudainely
blased throughout all Germany. And being come to vy hearing of
Charita (who knew right wel what loue had bin betwen hir hus-
bad Herman & Floria, in their youth) sith vy she was now vnmar-
ed, wvy disouermet of hir good renowne, desired to proue what
coutenace Herman wold shew at vy news. Wherfore she caused
a bruite to be noised throughout Mens, vy she was deceassed in hir
vncles house, in such sorte, as this false report & notorious pu-
nishmet of Ponifre, at one instant wer presented to vy knowlege of
Seigneur Herman, who was assailed with many enimies: for on vy
one side vy grieves of his louely Charita drowned hys hart in sor-
rowe, on the other part vy undeserued infamy which Floria sustai-
ned, melted vy same wvy tender pitie. Notwithstanding hir seuer
Chastitie was not conteted with the so ample satisfactio, but for vy
loue of hir honor taking vegace of hir perso, partly by vy death
of hir husband, had pursued vy ruine of him which had destroied
hir good nome, nothing moued to desist therefro by vy memory of
vy delightful pleasures receiued in hir new mariage. And comen
dable
The second Hystorie.

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

But let vs leaue him in his hasty journey, and retourne eas­ly to viewe the demeanour of victorious Floria, whom euerye man thought happy now: so vnconstat are the casualties of this worlde, as we commend the thing to morrow which we blame to day. Now you may behold hir notable reuenged, but hir sto­macke was not yet so satisfied, nor hir mind so contented, but needes she must leaue eternal markes of hir integritie vnto hir posteritie. For finding hir solitarinesse single in the house of hir mother (by such meanes as she had deuised) she kindled a fire, ouer whiche she set a greate chaffer full of wine, and whilst it was in heating, after she hadde regarded with bathed eies hir preatie babe, she began to fill the chamber with pitifull com­plaints, and bitter bewaylings. Then taking ynke and paper, she made hir laste will and testament, whereby after thankes giuing
The second Historie.

giuing to God for his grattious benefits bestowed vpon hir, she bequeathed hir soule into his hands, & sacrificed hir body for the ransome of hir renown, recommending hir son the witnesse of hir crime vnto hir mother. Then turning hir face towards fire, she behelde the wine which boyled amaine. Wherfore she closed the paper, the summe wherof was signed with hir name, and with a dying hand she hid it in the child's bosome, in kising wherof a thousand times, she bedeawed the face with warme teares: and rising from it, she said: See, see, my soule, the houre wherein thou shalt take vengeance of this wicked body, giuing certaine testimony, that therwith my chaste minde hath not bin violated, but hath preserved it selfe pure and undefiled, even to the ende. But thou (vile carcasse) bycause thou haste bin such a traitour vnto thy Lord, thou shalt die, & shalt receive thy death by the selfe same thing, therby thou haste offended. Then with an enraged constantnesse almost mad, shee tooke the vessell of boyling wine & drunke it vp to the last drop, without anye moving at the extreame paine, vntil hir entrailles, even parched by this vmeasurable heate, shronke togither and braste with such violence, as of necessitie death approched, to set an vnion amo them, chacing the beautifull soule out of the painefull body to direct it into glorie and eternall felicitie. Oh straunge and vnreported punishm~nt, euen as rare as the vertue of this Gentlewoman. Where shalte thou finde the like? for that of the Prince, who for payment of hys ambition was drowned in a Butte of Malmsey is farre different,.yet here are two straunge deathes, the one of Audebunt King of Britaine, who caught hys bane by drinking too muche, the other of Maister Ophil Basteleur, who surfetted of drinking too hot. This strange death was not long concealed, the famous reporte whereof engendred greate copassion in euery mans harte, who ran from al quarters to behold it, aswell for the rareness of the facte, as to celebrate the laste honoures vnto thys unvanquished chastitie. In fauoure whereof, al the townish Dames apparelled like Mourners both in bodye and minde, wyth greate pome conducted the corpes (whilome the vessel of al perfections) vnto hir sepulchre: wher N. vppon
vpon for a perpetuall memorie of a facte so courag10us was erected at the townes charges a sumptuous & stately Tombe.

O happy monument, the Christall skies mollifie thy graues-

stone with the deawe of Manna, and make the odiferous roses and violets continually spryng about thée, as a crown vnto the beautie which is lodge within thée, and lette the Bees and gallant Butterflies make their perpetuall abode therein to accompany the graces whiche inhabite in thee. But lette thornes and thistles wither, rather than take roote neare thee, and lette all venemous and filthy wormes feare to approche the entrance of this holy Temple of Chastitie, sithence thys beautiulfull dame hated vice so hartily. The bruite of thispiteous death (courteous company) fleeing into every coaste, stayed not vntill it sounded in the eares of Herman, who was nowe within halfe a dayes iourney of Mens, making full accompte at his returne to finde the worthy recompence of his travailes.

When he was assured by one that mette hym on the way, of the famous death and burial of hir, for whom herefore hee liued: at these wofull newes, the miserable louer fell from his horse in a sowne vnto the greate amazement of every one, who after they had chaffed his temples with vineger, throwne colde water in his face, clapped hym aboute the cheekes, wrong hys little finger, and ministred all the remedies they coulde image, in fine they perceyued their labour loste. The cause wherof, was a sodaine alteration out of exceedeing ioye into extreame sorrowe, the which by the opinion of the Phisitions therevnto called, engendred a mortall convulsion, caused by the restraint and suppression of the ventricle of the braine, whereby the way was stopped vnto al the vitall spirites, enforcing them to bee sequestred fro y body. Ah infortune louer, oughtest thou to haue made such hast, as by thy disordinate haste to hasten thy death? Ah (saide grwe Dionisius) howe happy is he, that in his youth learneth to be unhappy? The Bull (saide he) tollerateth his yoke more easily that is broken therto in due season. The wise Greeke spake very prudently, saying: The greatest misery ye may be, is disabilitie to suffer misery patiently. Alas how extreme griefe deliuereth fervent loue by ye losse of ye thing beloued, si-
thence pearcing sorrow could giue his passioned hart no leisure
to receiue comfor by any means. For as Phisition doth loth to
receiue any drug to cure him in sickenes, except the same bee vr­
ged vpó him by another; so selfe coforme in sorrow is a very dif­
ficult matter without consolation of some friend. The which Phalerius confessed he had experimented, by moste soueraine re­
medy in distresse, after he met with Crates, whe he was misera­
ibly banished out of his realme. The teares of the funeralle of
Floria remained yet vpon peoples cheekes of Mens, when serv­
ant of Herman arriued with news of the lamentable death of
his maister. Whose determinations he declared, being a faith­
full secretarie of his loue, wherat euer y man meruailing, could
not conjecture otherwise, but that death was become adversary
to loue, & in despight & enmitie of it, was desirous to destroy moste affectioned subiects of Cupid, for the performace whereof
it had begon with Herman & Floria, determining to finish the ex­
ploite with Charita, who remained. Charita I mean, who as I
told you, by curiositie or rather ielousie, gaue out notice of hir
death, to view if olde loue of hir husbad had any strength to re­
uiue. And now behold, it recuied after decease of Herman, whi­
che she testified not by rashe deathe, esteming hir sorrow over
great to take so short end, but to make it endure as long as it
was possible. And althogh there appeared an euident folly on the
behalf of hir husbad, who like one touched w Circes rod, or as he had eaten some enchaunted herbe, was so soone transformed
frø a loyal husband into a wauering louer: Neuerthelssse, the
whole blame was laide in hir necke, as haueing opened gate to
this mischiefe, for the which she performed perpetuall penace,
neuer entending to marry again; esteming the (as Chilon saith)
very foolish, beeing by painful swimming preserued frø ship­
wrecke, wil any more adueture their liues vnto the mercy of
sea. Nowe she lefte none other guage of Hermans loue, but a
daughter, who by ordinace of blessed fates, was after many
trauailes wedded to son of Floria, the history of whom pertai­
neth nothing to our purpose, but to declare, in fine (maugre enuy
of fortune or me) by diuine permission they marched togi­
ther, and united the two famous families of Herman and Floria.
N.ij.
Thus by this true Hystorie, you may clearly perceiue that all disasters which chaunce in Loue, do euermore procède by the mans default: for I pray you, what more loyall and sincere Loue may be desired in any, than was apparant in these two vertuous dames, testified by so outward tokens, as they seemed to contend who best deserved the highest seate, among such as loue most faithfully. For Floria would not liue after the losse of hir Chastite, (the treasure of all hir wealth and felicitie) and so muche estēemed hir honor, as for the loue thereof, shée pardoned not hir husbande, whom shée loued right well, and of whom shée was well entreated, wherein shée far surmounted the com- mendation of hir that with poyson drunke betwene hir and hir louer Sinaryx by equal moities, cried quittance for hir husbands death to hir own defamation: Or of hir, who subtilly tumbling the souldier into a well, reuenged the violation of hir honour. To be briefe, she exceedèd the constancie of the Romaine dame, who eating burning oeales pursued by extreame loue hir deade husband. And Charita by a perpetuall widdowhood solemnized the sorrowe of hir goodman, yeeling hir consent to liue the widdowe of all delight. Wherin she agreed very well with the vertuous zeale of beautifull Valeria, who affirmed that hir husbad was dead vnto others, but liued eternally vnto hir, and that she rooted him more effectually in hir harte, that the Queene Artemisia, who drinking the ashes of hir husbande, edified a pret- ous tombe for him in hir breaste. Thus me thinketh that those which marry the second time, attribute no great honour vnto their first husbads, with whom it seemeth they bury their loue, wherein the Turtle that neuer maketh but one choice, oughte greatly to shame them. Whervpon the Prouerbe saith, the firste marriages are made in Heauen, and the seconde in Hell, so as, if they prove good & lucky, 9 deuill is much deceiued: wherfore Rodopa daughter vnto 9 mighty K. of Arsa iustly slewe hir Nourse, because she persuaded hir to marry againe, for the a- greements of second marriages, are more difficill to encounter, than it is vneasie to match a nutte shell with any other, than that fro which it was first seuered. I speake thus bycause this vulgare
The second Historie.

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

N.iiij. Against
Against the which Herman hath notoriously offended, deliuering a seconde testimonie of his legeritie and inconstancie. For first beeing weery of too great ease, he would needes go see the Mart at Antwerpe, where in finis, he turned his loue backwarde, and had better to have beleued his wife: yet to shewe you that I speak without affection, and as the truth leadeth me, I wil giue halfe an ounce of blame vnto Charita, in that she was inquisitive to know if hir husband were amorous. And this curiositie hath deccyued many, who in the end haue found t thing they sought, wherof the lamentable loue of Cephalus and Procris is sufficient testimonie. But what? as there is no Saint in Paradise but hath his feast, so is there no creature liuing but hath some fault. And in truth women are to be detected of no imperfection, iealousie onely excepted, which followeth them like their shadows. Thus spake the gallant king Alphonsus, It were a goodly matter in mariage, if the husband were deafe, and the wife blinde. Wherein he hath in my fantasie excused women, to blame men: for why wished he they should be blinde, but onely for feare they should see the crymes of their husbandes. And I leaue to your judgement, whether they are more to be blamed that do the offence, or those that view the fact to reproue it. So as when all is sayd, sithence iealousie proceedeth but of too feruent loue, it is necessary that women be iealous, bicause they love more truly than men. But touching the excuse, whereby you surmise to couer the fault of Ponifre, as with a wet poke, I had willingly pardoned him, if he had made choysse of his equall, and obtayned hir by lawfull meanes: but to shoote without the leuell of his bow, was great temeritie. For although men say it is no vice to loue the best, yet me thinketh, imitating the aduice of Dianira in Quid, that to drawe a Cart currantly, it behoueth to payre the Oxen as equally in bignesse, height, and strength, as maye be devised, to the ende they maye take their labour alike: Euen so, in mariage most perfect equalitie is requisite, and as intier vnanimitie as is possible: otherwise the one serueth but as a shoone on the others foote, to hinder their forwardnesse. And that whiche you attribute for constancie in Ponifre, I repute it an
an importunitie too intollerable. Wherevnto replied Sir Fleur d'Amour, I pray you Mistresse, let the commendation which you would acquire vnto women, procede of their demerits, and not be augmented by the blame of men. For if we would use re- uenge, you should be sore troubled to recite vnto vs the actes which make you women so vertuous. For so muche as sith the one slewe hir selfe, and the other not, it ensueth there was a fault in the one and the other. And although the Historians af- firme, that Sardanapalus neuer dyd any vertuous dide vntil he slewe him selfe, because such actes require great outrage: so it is that the very Pagane lawes haue allowed suche death, principallye when it commeth by the scruple of conscience, which fraughteth the Malefactour with infinite furies, as we reade or Orestes: or for feare to fall into the enemies hands, as Haniwall dyd: or to eschewe infamie, as it chaunced vnto the Poet Gallus: or for the healing of a remediless greefe, as Portius Latro, to cure a quartayne feuer: or by the im- paciencie of loue, as it befell to Pyramus and Thisbe: or for despight of being prevented of an intended purpose, as Me- reta, seeing hir Louer married to an other Mayden: or for any other displeasure whatsoeuer. True it is, the Paganisme al- so pardoned those that slewe them selues for anye allowable cause, as for the sauegarde of their virginitie, lyke Dido, So- phronia, and Democles: or to knowe what men dyd in the other worlde, lyke Cleombrot and the Millesians: or to benefite the common wealth by their death, as the Knighte Martius, and the Emperor Othon dyd: or for feare to hurte them selues, as Themistocles was constrayned to doe: or for weernesse of loathed life, like Pompeius Atticus. To conclude, worthy Plinie affirmed, that the greatest benefite whiche nature hath bestowed vpon man, is to dye when he pleaseth, the which neruerthe- lesse is farre from the good opinion of Plato, who denieth that a matter of so great importance ought to be in mans power: but that whosoeuer killeth himselfe, is punishable as a soldiier that departeth without his captaines pasport: or as the prisoner that breaketh
breaketh the gayle to escape, which maketh much agaynst your Floria, and yet we woulde not haue gainsayde you, although we perfectly perceyue, that to excuse hir you haue charged Ponnifre with making hir drunken. So as if this were probable, I affirme that thervpon could hardly ensue any rauishmet of virginitie, and least of all, any conception: for I suppose no drunken woman can conceive. So as when you touched this point, you passed ouer it lightlye without satisfying me fully therein. I haue (sayd Mistresse Mary) done it, partly because I would not abuse your fauourable audience with the tediousnesse of my discourse: and also to auoyde the displeasure wherewith an acte so enorme maye molest your mindes, without calling in question an argument which I knowe hath bene very doubtfully disputed by those that haue exactly ransacked the secrete lawes of Nature: besides that, it appertayneth not vnto me to enter into subtill and deepe considerations. But lest my Historie shoulde rest maymed in this behalfe, sithence it is your pleasures, I will speake thereof as a student of warre, and will tell you what I thinke, vnder correction neuerthelesse of your better iUdgement, wherevnto my simple opinion shall appeale. I knowe for truth, that every man iUdgeth wine moderately taken to be a great pricke vnto pleasure, imitating the auncient Romaine Proverbe, Sine Baccho & Cerere friget Venus. Whiche was the occasion that Anarchasae being checked becausse he had maried a foule woman, sayd, Fill me wine, that she may seeme beautifull vnto me. But if wine be vmeasurably poured in, it maketh the body lasie, dull, venumined, pensiue, and witlesse to loue, drowning the stomacke in rawe humours, wherof ensueth debilitie of the brayne, trembling of the sinewes, and dissipation of the senses, which are all contrarie motions vnto generation, which requireth great temperature and harmony of humours: so as we may say with Pithagoras, that the Wine beareth three grapes, whereof the first altereth, the seconde troubleth, and the third intierly dulleth, which causeth great drunkards to be commonly no great lechers. And drunkennesse accustomably accompanyeth age, but lecherie leaueth a man...
when youth faileth, the which I confesse frely, but I agree not
that drunkennesse yeldeth in al persons disabilitie of genera-
tion, for reason and examples make me to crede the contra-
ye. And yet I admit not the distinction which some make of
the agent and the patient, saying that a drunken man cannot
engender, although the woman be sober, but the cotrary may
be very well, bycause the dominant in generation which gy-
uethe the essentiall forme, being euil disposed, doeth adnihilate
altogether. Whiche is contrarye to the Histories, that make
mention that the daughter of Siracusus named Ciana, and a Ro-
main Dame named Medulilla, were gotten with child by their
drunken fathers: but I will defende (as an impregnable bul-
warke for the resolution of this point) that when there is but
the one or the other drunken, there may ensue generation, the
which notwithstanding is imperfect, bycause the defecte maye
be somewhat amended but not clearely abrogated: Which is
the cause, that the children so created are weake, vnhealthy, &
slender witted, as witnesseth Diozenses, who seeing a very do-
tish child, called him the sonne of a drunken. But if the man
and woman be both drunken, I am persuaded there can not
possibly insue any generatio, for the peruersnesse of the qua-
lities, the intemperancie of humours, the dissipation of the vi-
tall spirites, the imbecillitie of the appetent habitude which
worketh by the imaginatiue. And by the same reason we may
conclude, that two cholericke or melancholy persons, in extre-
mytie are vnprofitable togither, omitting the most vrgent ar-
guments tending towards generation, and the therof,
bycause they are better seeing in the eare than in y mouth of
a maiden. So as that whiche I haue touched, suficeth (as I
conjecture) to shewe it not to be impertinent, that Floria con-
ceiued being drunk, hir husband being otherwise. For my part
saide Sir Bel Acueil, I thinke that sithence generation is
made by the force of a liuely apprehension, wherof ensueth an
intention of seede in a receptacle wel disposed, that if the wo-
man taketh no pleasure (as she doth not) being drunk, she shal
neuer conceiue, what good temperature and consistance soeuer
R.
be in the seed, neyther shall any woman with child ever make mee believe that she was ravished: for though it bee no midwives rule, yet is it very true, that the woman which is gotten with child by night, shall be delivered with delight. Saving your reverence, sayde mistresse Margarite, if she were true a great absurditie would arise thereby: for you will easily confess that the pleasure of men differ from the manner of beasts for so muche as men by the benefite of the exterior senses make discreet election of the beautye whereof loue is engendered, the which is the only cause of coniunction wherupon cometh generation. Wherefore we must conclude they engender not that ioyne not, they ioyne not that loue not, they loue not that view not some beauty worthy to bee beloued. Then by this reasoning the blinde aswell men as women shall neuer haue children, seeing nothing that may procure them to doe. Furthermore it wold insue where most pleasure were, there should be generation soonest, and yet we see some can haue no children the first and second yeare after they be married, yea & long time after, who at last, even in their age have many. As we reade of Massinissa, and Cato the Censor. Wherefore your reasons cannot hinder but it must needs appeare clearely by the truth of this historie, that the bounty of women surmounteth the malice of men. Now I pray you what a matter had it bin if these two dames had foud husbads according to their merits and of like vertue (at least if any such might be foud) but rather tel me, replied sir de Firmefoy, how happy had these twoyong men bene, whom their cruel wiues exceeding loue caused to dye, as they did, who desired to doe some good in their life time, or such as haue bin so wise as to do they like, haue experimented to their cost, how great disturbers women bee of vertuous actions, be it in war as Darius and Metridates do testify, or in Philosophy as Socrates complained him, whiche maketh me to believe, that if men woulde neuer marrye, they could not faile to attain great felicitie: This is they cause wherefore men say commonly when talke is had of a yong mans marriage, (he must be staied) for in deede I believe we shoulde flie into