

NARRATIVE AND DRAMATIC SOURCES OF SHAKESPEARE

Edited by
GEOFFREY BULLOUGH

Volume VIII

ROMANCES:
CYMBELINE
THE WINTER'S TALE
THE TEMPEST



London and New York

*First published in 1975 by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd
Reprinted in 1996, 2000 by Routledge*

*11 New Fetter Lane
London EC4P 4EE*

© 1975 Geoffrey Bullough.

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

*Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Limited, Chippenham, Wiltshire*

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or
utilized in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical,
or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including
photocopying and recording, in any information storage
or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.*

British Cataloguing in Publication Data

*ISBN: 0-415-16346-3 (volume 8)
ISBN: 0-415-14378-0 (8 volume set)*

I. EARLY COMEDIES, POEMS, ROMEO AND JULIET

II. THE COMEDIES (1597-1603)

**III. EARLIER ENGLISH HISTORY PLAYS:
HENRY VI, RICHARD III, RICHARD II**

**IV. LATER ENGLISH HISTORY PLAYS:
KING JOHN, HENRY IV, HENRY V,
HENRY VIII**

**V. THE ROMAN PLAYS:
JULIUS CÆSAR
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA
CORIOLANUS**

**VI. OTHER 'CLASSICAL' PLAYS:
TITUS ANDRONICUS
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA
TIMON OF ATHENS
PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE**

**VII. MAJOR TRAGEDIES:
HAMLET
OTHELLO
KING LEAR
MACBETH**

**VIII. ROMANCES:
CYMBELINE
THE WINTER'S TALE
THE TEMPEST**

To my wife
Margaret

PREFACE

WHEN many years ago I expressed a wish to make a large collection of Shakespeare sources and analogues I was reproved by two senior scholars of the highest repute. One said that it was supererogatory; the other that it must lead to what he called 'Teutonic pedantry'. Those were the days of textual 'revisionism', bibliographical discovery, psychoanalytic plumbing, and symbol-clashing, all useful as well as fashionable activities. 'Source-hunting' was disparaged as futile in the main, since Shakespeare's artistry did not 'abide our question'. With this I could not agree, and some excellent critics were already making new approaches to Shakespeare's reading and dramatic inheritance. So when the chance came, I seized it, though the task took much longer than, in my primal ignorance, I anticipated.

The aims of these volumes have been, not to discover new sources but to make those already known accessible to Shakespeare lovers, and in the introductory essays to indicate (however distantly) the imaginative process informing his dramatic structures. The method adopted was: to sketch the conditions in which each of the plays was written, to relate Shakespeare's treatment of plot and character to earlier versions of the same basic material, and to illustrate in some detail (more fully for the later, more complex plays) how he adapted, combined, and transcended his sources.

I confess, however, that a major driving force, besides delight in the plays themselves, has been the selfish impulse which the youthful Henry More admitted when his tutor at Christ's asked him: "What is the Reason . . . that you so earnestly desire to know Things?" To which I instantly returned: "I desire, I say, so earnestly to know, That I may know."

In the present volume I relate the last three comedies both to the major direct sources and, more broadly, to the romance

tradition as it survived in the Elizabethan period in such translated works as *The Mirrour of Knighthood* and *Amadis de Gaule*, and their derivants both narrative and theatrical. All three plays are shown to have had some topicality, not only by their inclusion of masque-elements but also by the choice of material bearing on events of interest to courtiers and citizens in 1609-11.

As I worked I came to admire the detective insight and wide reading of earlier editors and critics, whether Teutonic, Gallic, or Anglo-Saxon, and I hope to write something on the history of Shakespeare source-study to supplement the few remarks on the subject in my concluding essay. This essay touches mainly on problems such as Shakespeare's method of plot-weaving, his 'thematic' choice of ancillary material, the growth of his ethical interests, his discovery of the 'developing hero', the influence of imagery from the sources.

My thanks go out to my predecessors in the field, including Professors W. Clemen, F. Kermode, G. Wilson Knight, K. Muir, J. M. Nosworthy, J. H. P. Pafford, F. Pyle, E. Schanzer, V. K. Whitaker, and G. Wickham; also to Mrs M. Payne and Mr N. H. MacMichael (Keeper of Monuments, Westminster Abbey); to the Malone Society; and to the Trustees of the Folger Shakespeare Library for permission to print a passage from their copy of *Pandosto* (1592).

Finally I wish most cordially to thank the publishers and printers of these volumes, the compositors who have had to set some difficult texts, the editors, proof-readers, and others involved in their production, and especially Mr Colin Franklin (who planned the series), Mr Andrew Wheatcroft, and Mr Tony Orme.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. *Shakespeare's Works and Apocrypha*

<i>A&C</i>	<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>
<i>Ado</i>	<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>
<i>AFev</i>	<i>Arden of Feversham</i>
<i>AShrew</i>	<i>The Taming of A Shrew</i>
<i>AWW</i>	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>
<i>ATL</i>	<i>As You Like It</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Comedy of Errors</i>
<i>Cor</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>
<i>Cym</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>
<i>Ham</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
<i>1H4</i>	<i>Henry the Fourth, Part I</i>
<i>2H4</i>	<i>Henry the Fourth, Part II</i>
<i>H5</i>	<i>Henry the Fifth</i>
<i>1H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part I</i>
<i>2H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part II</i>
<i>3H6</i>	<i>Henry the Sixth, Part III</i>
<i>H8</i>	<i>Henry the Eighth</i>
<i>JC</i>	<i>Julius Caesar</i>
<i>KJ</i>	<i>King John</i>
<i>LComp</i>	<i>Lover's Complaint</i>
<i>Lear</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
<i>LLL</i>	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>
<i>Luc</i>	<i>The Rape of Lucrece</i>
<i>Mac</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Measure for Measure</i>
<i>MND</i>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>
<i>More</i>	<i>Sir Thomas More</i>
<i>MV</i>	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
<i>MWW</i>	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
<i>NobKin</i>	<i>Two Noble Kinsmen</i>
<i>Oth</i>	<i>Othello</i>

<i>Per</i>	<i>Pericles</i>
<i>PhT</i>	<i>The Phoenix and the Turtle</i>
<i>PPil</i>	<i>The Passionate Pilgrim</i>
<i>R2</i>	<i>King Richard the Second</i>
<i>R3</i>	<i>King Richard the Third</i>
<i>RJ</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>Son</i>	<i>Sonnets</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
<i>Tem</i>	<i>The Tempest</i>
<i>TGV</i>	<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>
<i>Tim</i>	<i>Timon of Athens</i>
<i>TN</i>	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>TrC</i>	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
<i>TSh</i>	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>
<i>VA</i>	<i>Venus and Adonis</i>
<i>WT</i>	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>

2. *Modern Editions and Other Works*

<i>Arden</i>	<i>The Arden Shakespeare (original)</i>
<i>Camb</i>	<i>The New Cambridge edition, edited by J. Dover Wilson, A. Quiller-Couch, etc.</i>
<i>Coll</i>	<i>Shakespeare's Library, ed. J. P. Collier</i>
<i>Conf</i>	<i>John Gower, Confessio Amantis</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore)</i>

<i>ELSt</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>The Elizabethan Stage</i>	<i>ShJb</i>	Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft
<i>EngHist Soc</i>	English Historical Society	<i>ShLib</i>	Shakespeare's Library, 6 vols. 2nd Edn 1875, edited by J. P. Collier and W. C. Hazlitt
<i>EngStud</i>	<i>Englische Studien</i>		
<i>E Studie</i>	<i>English Studies</i>		
<i>FP</i>	<i>Fratricide Punished</i>	<i>ShQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>Hol.</i>	Holinshed's <i>Chronicles</i>	<i>Sh.Soc.</i>	<i>Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>The Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>	<i>SPhil</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>Jest Books</i>	<i>Shakespeare Jest Books</i> , edited by W. C. Hazlitt	<i>SpT</i>	<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>
<i>Lee</i>	Sir Sidney Lee, <i>Life of Shakespeare</i>	<i>Sh Survey</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>MalSoc</i>	Malone Society Reprints	<i>Texas</i>	<i>University of Texas Studies in English</i>
<i>MedSt</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>The Medieval Stage</i>	<i>TFT</i>	<i>Tudor Facsimile Texts</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>	<i>TLS</i>	<i>The Times Literary Supplement</i> (London)
<i>MLR</i>	<i>The Modern Language Review</i>	<i>TR</i>	<i>The Troublesome Raigne of King John</i>
<i>MPhil</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>	<i>Var.</i>	<i>The New Variorum edition</i> , ed. H. H. Furness, etc.
<i>New Arden</i>	The Arden Edition of Shakespeare (revised and reset)	<i>WSh</i>	E. K. Chambers, <i>William Shakespeare</i>
<i>N & Q</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>		
<i>Oxf.</i>	The Oxford Edition of Shakespeare, text by W. J. Craig; Introductory Studies by E. Dowden	3. Other Abbreviations	
<i>PhilQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>	<i>Arg</i>	Argument
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America	<i>Chor</i>	Chorus
<i>RES</i>	<i>The Review of English Studies</i>	<i>Prol</i>	Prologue
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature</i> (Rice Institute)	<i>Rev.</i>	Review
		<i>F</i>	Folio edition
		<i>n.d.</i>	No date
		<i>Q</i>	Quarto edition
		<i>S.R.</i>	The Stationers' Register
		<i>STC</i>	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed . . . 1475-1640</i> (1950)

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VIII

PREFACE

page vii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xiii

1. <i>Cymbeline</i> . Introduction	3
<i>Texts</i>	
I. Source. From <i>The First Volume of Chronicles</i> , by R. Holinshed (1587 edn)	38
A. The Second Booke of the Historie of England	38
B. Mulmutius Dunwallow	40
C. Julius Caesar in Difficulties	41
D. Cymbeline and Guiderius	43
II. Source. From <i>The Description and Historie of Scotland</i> , by R. Holinshed (<i>Chronicles</i> , 1587 edn)	46
III. Source. From <i>The Decameron</i> by Giovanni Boccaccio, Day II, Nov. 9; anonymously translated (1620)	50
IV. Source. <i>Frederyke of Jennen</i> , Anon. (1560 edn)	63
V. Analogue. From <i>Eufemia: A Comedy</i> , by Lope de Rueda (1567); translated by the editor	79
VI. Analogue. From <i>Certaine Tragicall Discourses of Bandello</i> ; translated by Geoffrey Fenton (1567)	87
VII. Probable Source. From <i>The Rare Triumphes of Love and Fortune</i> , Anon. (1589)	90
VIII. Analogue. From <i>Jerusalem Delivered</i> , by Torquato Tasso; translated by Edward Fairfax (1600)	103
A. Book VII	103
B. Book VIII	107

C. Book XIX	108
D. Book XIX	109
2. <i>The Winter's Tale</i> . Introduction	115
<i>Texts</i>	
I. Source. <i>Pandosto. The Triumph of Time</i> , by Robert Greene (1588)	156
II. Analogue. From <i>The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia</i> , by Sir Philip Sidney (1590)	199
III. Analogue. From <i>Parismenos</i> [by Emmanuel Forde] (1609 edn)	203
IV. Possible Source. From <i>Mucedorus</i> , Anon. (1610 edn)	204
V. Probable Source. From <i>The Fisherman's Tale</i> and <i>Flora's Fortune</i> , by Francis Sabie (1595)	207
A. From <i>The Fisherman's Tale</i>	207
B. From <i>Flora's Fortune</i>	211
VI. Sources. From <i>The Second Part of Conny-catching</i> and <i>The Third Part of Conny-catching</i> , by R[obert] G[reene] (1592)	214
VII. Possible Source. From <i>Humour Out of Breath</i> , by John Day (1608)	219
VIII. Possible Source. From <i>The Ninth Book of Amadis de Gaule</i> , by F. de Silva; translated by the editor from the French version of C. Colet (1577)	222
IX. Analogue. From <i>The History of the Tryall of Chevalry</i> , Anon. (1605)	229
X. Source. From Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> ; translated by Arthur Golding (1567) (Book X)	232
3. <i>The Tempest</i> . Introduction	237
<i>Texts</i>	
I. Source. From <i>A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight</i> , by William Strachey (1610)	275

II. Probable Source. From <i>A true Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia</i> , . . . (1610)	295
III. Probable Source. From <i>A True and Sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia</i> (1610)	299
IV. Analogue. From <i>The first part of the Mirrour of Knighthood</i> ; translated by M. T[ylor] (1578)	300
V. Analogue. From <i>The third part of the First Book of the Mirrour of Knighthood</i> ; translated by R. Parry (1586?)	304
VI. Analogue. From <i>The Fair Sidea</i> , by Jacob Ayrer (1618); translated by H. H. Furness	310
VII. Source. From Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> ; translated by Arthur Golding (1567) (Book VII: Latin and English)	314
VIII. Analogue. From <i>A Most Pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus</i> , Anon. (1598)	316
IX. Analogue. From <i>John a Kent and John a Cumber</i> , by Anthony Munday (1594)	318
X. Analogue. From <i>The Three Satyrs, A Pastoral Tale</i> , Anon. (early seventeenth century); translated by the editor	322
XI. Possible Source. From <i>Hymenaei, A Masque</i> , by Ben Jonson (1606)	329
XII. Possible Source. From <i>Colloquia: The Shipwreck, a Dialogue</i> , by Desiderius Erasmus; translated by W. B[urton] (1606)	334
GENERAL CONCLUSION	341
BIBLIOGRAPHY	406
INDEX TO INTRODUCTIONS AND CONCLUSION	419

CYMBELINE

INTRODUCTION

THE date of *Cymbeline* is uncertain. It was not published until the first Folio, but it was seen by the ex-schoolmaster-magician Dr Simon Forman before 8 September 1611 when he was drowned in the Thames. Other references in Forman's journal (*Macbeth*, 20 April; *The Winter's Tale*, 15 May) were to plays seen at the Globe.¹ Probably he saw *Cymbeline* there too, but the Blackfriars Theatre, which the King's Men took over in 1609, cannot be ruled out, and some authorities have argued that the last comedies, with their ultra-romantic themes and masque-like features, were all written for the private theatre.

It seems likely that *Cymbeline* was written after *Pericles* and at about the same time as *The Winter's Tale* (1610-11), probably just before the latter, since there is a reminiscence of one of the sources of *Cymbeline* (Boccaccio) in Autolycus's threat that the old Shepherd's son should be 'flay'd alive, then 'nointed over with honey, set on the head of a wasps' nest' (IV. 4. 773-4). Noting that the name Belarius may come from Greene's Bellaria in *Pandosto*, J. M. Nosworthy concludes that perhaps 'the composition of the two plays was more or less simultaneous'.²

There are resemblances between *Cymbeline* and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, performed by the King's Men before 8 October 1610, when John Davies of Hereford's *The Scourge of Folly* was entered in the Stationers' Register. An epigram in that collection compliments Fletcher on his *Love Lies Bleeding*—the sub-title of *Philaster*—apparently as a new venture. A. H. Thorndike's thesis that *Philaster* was written before *Cymbeline* and influenced Shakespeare's late manner has been much debated.³ What evidence there is points either way. I suspect that

¹ His notes are given in *WSh*, ii, pp. 337-41.

² *New Arden*, p. xvi.

³ *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, Columbia U.P., New York, 1901; opposed by F. P. Wilson, *Elizabethan and Jacobean*, 1945, pp. 126-8.

Cymbeline came first, and that it was written for performance early in June 1610. This would leave little time for the composition of *Philaster* and for Davies to see it played before October, but that is not impossible. One must suspend judgment in the matter, failing more definite proof.

Shakespeare did not need to read or see *Philaster* before writing *Cymbeline*. He had been composing tragi-comedies for years (*Ado*, *AWW*, *MM*); he had used ingredients of the pastoral mode (*MND*, *AYL*, *TGV*), and in touching up *Pericles* (1608) had anticipated the free-flowing kind of romance he was now to write.¹ In striking out their own formula, Beaumont and Fletcher drew on Shakespeare's earlier successes, on Sidney's *Arcadia*, and on lessons learned in *The Faithful Shepherdess* (a theatrical failure).² There may have been mutual consultation, for in that age of collaboration, when acting-companies would gather in a tavern to read and discuss a new script,³ there would be nothing extraordinary if the older and the younger playwrights working for the King's Men came together to exchange ideas.⁴ The result is a certain resemblance in some features, with a general difference of handling. Both *Philaster* and *Cymbeline* mingle pseudo-history with romantic invention (but the politics is much more topical in the former); each contains allusions to hunting, the King's favourite sport; each has a girl disguised as a boy, a wicked mischief-making woman, a virtuous lady accused of unchastity, the contrast between a noble hero and an ignoble prince, the forbidden marriage of a princess with a commoner, movement from court to country, elements of the Masque.

A few specific parallels of detail have been noted. The names Belarius and Bellario are alike, but may both come from Bellaria in *Pandosto*, and how unlike the two characters are! There is a similar play on the meanings of 'strange', 'stranger' in *Cym* II. 1. 33-7 and *Phil.* I. 1. 77-9, both in contemptuous

¹ Cf. D. L. Frost, *The School of Shakespeare*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 212.

² Cf. E. M. Waith, *The Patterns of Tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher*, Yale Studies in English, 120, New Haven, 1952, pp. 15-19; *Philaster*, ed. Andrew Gurr, 1969, xlv-lviii.

³ Henslowe's *Diary* notes expenditure on such occasions.

⁴ Cf. G. E. Bentley, 'Shakespeare and the Blackfriars Theatre', *Sh Survey* 1, 1948 pp. 38-50.

comment. Which came first we cannot tell.¹ Another resemblance occurs when Iachimo is defeated by the disguised Posthumus (V. 2. 2-6) and Philaster, having wounded Arethusa, is himself wounded by a Country Fellow.² The likeness of both situation and wording suggests influence, and since the Country Fellow is not otherwise involved in the plot but is invented to serve the needs of the moment, this suggests that *Philaster* was the imitation.

Another parallel comes in *Philaster* in the masque-like passage when Bellario introduces Arethusa and Philaster in wedding-garb and speaks of 'this blessed union' and calls them 'two fair cedar branches' who grew together until separated by Fortune but who are now united (V. 3. 20-44).³ Compare this with the oracle in *Cymbeline* V. 4. 138-43, which is part of a masque-like episode. There is obviously a connection between the two.

It is of course possible that Shakespeare took over and adopted the cedar-image from *Philaster*, but the reverse is more likely. The basic idea of unity broken and regained in Bellario's speech is similar; his treatment of the cedars is different, yet he uses details which may have been suggested by the mountain-scenes in *Cymbeline*, and particularly by III. 3, where Belarius insists on their security and freedom in their cave, and Guiderius, while calling himself and his brother 'bestly', admits, 'Haply this life is best/If quiet life be best' (29-30). Compare 'O, there was none but silent quiet there'. Belarius soon afterwards likens himself to a tree stripped of fruit and leaves by 'A storm

¹ *Cym* II. 1. 33-7. *1st Lord*. Did you hear of a stranger that's come to court to-night? *Cloten*. A stranger, and I not know on't? *2nd Lord*. (aside) He's a strange fellow himself, and knows it not.

Philaster I. 1. 77-80. *Megara*. . . there's a lady endures no stranger; and to me you appear a very strange fellow. *Lady*. Methinks he's not so strange; he would quickly be acquainted.

² *Cym* V. 2. 2-6. Iachimo says that the air of Britain enfeebles him because he has 'belied' its Princess: 'or could this carl/A very drudge of nature's have subdu'd me/ In my profession?'

Philaster IV. 5. 103-4. *Phil*. The gods take part against me, could this boor/ Have held me thus else?

³ 'These two fair cedar branches,/The noblest of the mountain where they grew/ Straightest and tallest, under whose still shades/The worthiest beasts have made their lairs . . . O, there was none but silent quiet there! . . . /Till never-pleased Fortune shot up shrubs,/Base underbrambles to divorce these branches;/And for a while they did so and did reign/ Over the mountain and choke up his beauty/ . . . And now a gentler gale hath blown again,/That made these branches meet and twine together,/Never to be divided.'

or robbery, call it what you will'. Moreover for Bellario to enter garlanded to play 'a more than human role',¹ though 'wanting a celestial harp', is an extraordinary turn which seems more likely to have been a charming faraway emulation of the divine intervention in *Cymbeline* than a source of inspiration for the elder dramatist's conventional vision, whose origins we shall find elsewhere. This episode points to Shakespeare as the leader and Beaumont and Fletcher as his followers. But it is not decisive.

A reading of the two plays soon shows that their differences in aim, tone, and technique are more important than their likenesses. As H. S. Wilson wrote, *Cymbeline* is 'more old-fashioned in method, more complicated, and altogether more ambitious', dependent on dramatic irony, 'the gratification of expectancy rather than of the shock of surprise';² and it uses more traditional stage devices. *Philaster* is simpler in outline and characterization, melodramatic, dependent on 'swift emotional dialogue and clever plot', sudden turns of situation and of motives not always consistent with what has gone before. Obviously *Philaster*, if not a source, is an analogue of *Cymbeline*; but I have not thought it necessary (even if there were space) to give long excerpts from it here, since it is easily accessible in a modern edition.

The theatres were closed because of plague from August 1608 to December 1609. The great event of 1610 at Court was the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales, which took place between 31 May and 6 June amid great rejoicings and many entertainments, including Daniel's masque *Tethys' Festival*, in which the royal family took part and the Queen as Tethys said that she had visited Milford Haven,

The happy Port of Union, which gave way
To the great hero Henry and his fleet—

referring to Henry Richmond's landing there when he came to dethrone Richard III. Shakespeare's use of Milford Haven as the landing-place for Posthumus and the Roman army may be

¹ Cf. Gurr, *op. cit.*, V. 3. 41n.

² H. S. Wilson, 'Philaster and Cymbeline', *English Inst. Essays*, 1951, New York, 1952, pp. 162-3. Quoted by Gurr, p. xlix.