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City University of New York PH.D. 1982

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SHAKESPEARE'S TWELFTH NIGHT AND THE REVELS

by

AKIVA KAMINSKY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Executive Officer

Samuel I. Mintz

Angus Fletcher

The City University of New York

Abstract

SHAKESPEARE'S TWELFTH NIGHT AND THE REVELS

by

Akiva Kaminsky

Advisor: Professor W.R. Elton

Chapter 1. Introduction:

This dissertation supplies a study of the literary and social background of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night (c. 1601) in the context of the English revels, c. 1600 in the hope of developing an authentic Elizabethan perspective on the play.

Chapter 2. Aristocratic Christmas Revels.

A general examination of revelry in Twelfth Night suggests the practices of English aristocrats at Christmas, c. 1600.

Chapter 3. Royal Revels: Twelfth Night, 1601.

Numerous links, topical, literary and thematic, seem to connect the January, 1601 court visit of Don Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, to Twelfth Night that London audiences would probably recognize the following Christmas.

Chapter 4. Inns of Court and Middle Temple Revels.

The English law-school revels in general and the Middle Temple

revels in particular seem to supply the proximate social background of Twelfth Night.

Chapter 5. The Viola Plot: Classical and Learned Antecedents.

Shakespeare's use of classical dramaturgy in Twelfth Night is evaluated. The "Viola plot" originated in Italian learned comedy. Like other learned versions of the "Viola plot," Twelfth Night possesses a contaminated main plot.

Chapter 6: The Viola Plot: Romance Antecedents.

The emergence of "Viola" as a romantic heroine in learned comedy was the culmination of centuries of literary development in romance. Twelfth Night adjusts "classical" and "romance" strains in accord with a group of plays associated with Inns of Court revels while adhering to the dramaturgy of the popular stages.

Chapter 7. Date and Text.

The 1601 date of composition seems reasonably assured. The Folio text may be a carefully edited conflation of the presumed Middle Temple presentation copy and the regular prompt book.

Chapter 8. Romantic Comedies and Occasional Plays.

The term "romantic comedy" seems to have little relevance to the attempt to construct an authentic Elizabethan perspective. Further, the widely-held formulation in opposition to "occasional plays" seems moot: Elizabethan playwrights apparently wrote with private audiences in mind while still intending the play to be performed outdoors. This seems to be the case concerning Twelfth Night at the Middle Temple.

Chapter 9. Summary and Conclusion.

Thus, a reformulation of "romantic comedy" and "occasional plays" seems indicated. With respect to Twelfth Night the two terms might be reduced to one: in sum, the Elizabethans would probably have called Twelfth Night a Revels.

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Introduction

Sir Andrew: Shall we set about some revels?

Sir Toby: What shall we do else?

Twelfth Night, I.iii. 133-135[1]

In Shakespeare's time, the word "revels" signified occasions of noisy festivity or merrymaking, including masking, gaming, dancing and other lively activities, jest or sports. The word sometimes attached itself to particular aspects of merrymaking such as dancing, or it was used generally, to apply to any festive occasion, and, specifically, in conjunction with festivity linked to seasonal Christmas, May and summer sports. During the warmer seasons, festivals might be held outdoors, where jig, mask or pageant, such as those depicted by Shakespeare in Love's Labour's Lost (c. 1588-1596) and As You Like It (c. 1600), for example, were undertaken for amusement. A Midsummer Night's Dream (c. 1595), like Twelfth Night (c. 1601), is named after a seasonal festival. It comprises an outdoor, woodland revel in which a mock-kingdom, one ruled by fairies, intervenes in human destinies during a courtly-love frolic. Similar sports are found in the mock-academe of Love's

Labour's Lost and the mock-dukedom of As You Like It. Although spring and summer sports bear resemblances to those undertaken during the Christmas season,[2] a simple distinction may be found in that the summer revels take place, generally, outdoors during the day, while the winter sports were conducted indoors at night.

The title selected by Shakespeare for Twelfth Night points to the Christmas revels. The revelry in the play occurs almost exclusively indoors: Sir Toby's drinking party takes place at midnight; outdoor scenes occur only at Olivia's gates, within the garden wall, or on a nearby street. There are no scenes in the "green world." Two seasonal allusions, however, point in opposite directions. When Sir Andrew makes a propitious entrance prior to his mock sword fight with Cesario (III.iv.143), Fabian remarks, "More matter for a May morning." The mock battle which follows shortly, however, distantly recalls the Christmas mummer's play of St. George and the Dragon,[3] a pageant featuring a mock sword fight; proximate sources, both social and literary, however, do not urge a seasonal preference for such rowdiness. On the other hand, when Sir Toby sings "O' the twelfth day of December," (II.iii.85) during the scene of "uncivil rule," he names a day on which Christmas revels might well be under way.[4]

For the past century, most critics of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, or What You Will have found the "revels theme" implicit in the title of the play and central to a reading of it. This view seems to be generally accepted today. In 1914, for example, Morris P. Tilley summed up the prevailing opinion of his day as follows:

"Most commentators...have agreed that the leading thought of this play may be discovered in its title; that the words Twelfth Night, or What You Will are themselves the key-note of the play; that Shakespeare's first thought was to provide a comedy suitable for the festival."[5] Following Tilley, more recent critics have developed a variety of views in general consonance with this opinion. While focusing on the love theme, for example, John Russell Brown nevertheless agrees that "this comedy is called Twelfth Night to good purpose, for during the festivities of that night, the lowliest persons may become as lords, acting for the general merriment the role of the Lord of Misrule."[6] Again, in a study of errors or mistakes in Twelfth Night, Porter Williams finds such typical sports as disguises, jests and practical jokes thematically interwoven into the plot. He sees "something of the comic spirit of the Twelfth Night feast of the Epiphany in which the world is turned topsy-turvy," explaining that "traditionally in such celebrations, servants change places with their masters and say what they please, jests and pranks may be carried out with impunity, and the Fool becomes enthroned as the Lord of Misrule."[7] Examples from current criticism may be easily multiplied, but a probing reading of the play in John Hollander's "Twelfth Night and the Morality of Indulgence" (1959) seems to typify the direction of modern critics. Hollander suggests that Shakespeare has "analysed the dramatic and moral nature of feasting, and made it the subject of his play," and that "the Action of the play is indeed that of a Revels."[8]

While current critical studies continue to expand this view, there seems to have been no systematic exploration of the historical assumptions underlying the interpretation.

In this light, it is relevant that the modern association of Twelfth Night and the revels has a counterpart in the early stage history of the play. Throughout the seventeenth century, Twelfth Night was performed at actual Christmas revels, suggesting that those closest to Shakespeare in time also linked the play to the Christmas festivities. The first recorded performance took place at a legal society, the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court, on Candlemas, February 2, 1602, the last Christmas feast day on the Elizabethan calendar, during a revel known as the Reader's Feast. It was later presented before King James I at Court in 1618 and again in 1623, also on February 2, i.e., Candlemas. It seems to be no accident that the play was presented twice on Candlemas in this period: on that day, traditionally, plays were frequently given both at the Middle Temple and at court during the Tudor-Stuart period.[9] Although Twelfth Night apparently held the stage until the closing of the theatres,[10] the next recorded performance occurred after the restoration. Samuel Pepys saw the play twice during the revels season in performances at the Duke of York's. Although Pepys judged the play "not related at all to the name or day," it was, according to the theatrical manager Downs, who was responsible for the 1663 production, "got up on purpose to be acted on Twelfth Night,"[11] i.e., January 6. Despite Pepy's dissenting voice, then, the early stage history clearly links Twelfth Night

to the occassion of Christmas revels.

Although twentieth-century critics almost always interpret the play in relation to the "revels theme," problems nevertheless remain in the modern understanding of the early association. Source study, for example, has proved a stimulating but inconclusive field of scholarly inquiry. Study of the links between the various analogues of Twelfth Night and the revels might assist our comprehension of the literary-historical relations among Shakespeare's play, these works, and the revels theme. As it now stands, the sixteenth-century tradition of the "Viola plot," the story of the disguised page who woos her rival on behalf of her beloved, has proved difficult terrain to chart. There is general agreement that Shakespeare's direct source was a popular English prose romance, Barnabe Riche's tale "Of Apolonius and Silla," in Farewell to Militarie Profession (1581), a work unrelated--even opposed--to the revels.[12] No consensus has emerged, however, on the nature of Shakespeare's adaptation of Riche in the context of the analogues and the revels theme.

While it seems impossible to argue with any degree of certainty that Shakespeare was directly acquainted with such learned versions of the "Viola plot" as Gl'Ingannati (The Deceived, 1531) or Laelia (c. 1545), several were performed at English and continental aristocratic revels and seem capable of contextualization vis à vis Twelfth Night independent of Riche. In such learned analogues as the Sienese carnival farce Gl'Ingannati, the original Viola plot, or Secchi's Gl'Inganni (1547), a learned comedy derived from the older

play, both performed at aristocratic revels in Italy, for example, the Plautian influence is dominant. Shakespeare's use of Plautian motives in Twelfth Night seem deliberate: the playwright apparently made direct additions to the romance-derived materials from Riche out of Plautus, and shaped his play, in some important respects, in accordance with learned models. Learned plays derived from Plautian sources, such as Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, were frequently produced at aristocratic revels. The latter play's production at Gray's Inn's Christmas revels of 1594 is a case in point: not only did the ancient Roman comedian compliment the literary tastes of educated audiences, but the mistaken identity and disguise-plot motives of such plays as Menaechmus, Amphitruo and Captivi seem to mirror actual revels sports (see Appendix A). The Plautian influence in Twelfth Night, however, though rarely denied by contemporary scholars, seems nevertheless underestimated. Recent critics, apparently determined to choose between "classic" and "romantic" views of the play, invariably view the play as romantic. By this reckoning, the Plautian influence is viewed as nonessential, or even counter, to Shakespeare's artistic purposes. Shakespeare himself, however, practiced his art in an intellectual environment that did not force him to choose between such terms; they were, in fact, both coined somewhat later.[13] In this light, Shakespeare's handling of traditional "classic" and "romance" materials might be usefully analyzed in the context of contemporary revels literature in order to develop an accurate historical approach to this matter.

In addition to a study of the literary background, examination

of the social history of the revels, in England and abroad, should also prove useful. Largely unexplored in relation to Twelfth Night and the contemporary drama, typical revels sports seem to have found their way into numerous plays of the period. Although much has been made in recent criticism of the disguises, errors and jests in Twelfth Night, the proximate social background which supplied the context for these features of the comedy has not been carefully studied. This is not to suggest, however, that links between Twelfth Night and historical revels have gone unnoticed. In 1954, for example, Leslie Hotson, in The First Night of "Twelfth Night," attempted to demonstrate that the play was especially written for a January 6 (i.e., Twelfth Night) 1601 revel at which an Italian nobleman, Don Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, was entertained by Shakespeare's comedy as Queen Elizabeth's guest of honor. Although Hotson's case has been almost universally rejected, his study seems to have led scholars off the track. The apparent significance of Shakespeare's Illyrian Duke Orsino, not as a compliment to a visiting dignitary, but, more generally, as a possible topical allusion to him has apparently not been fully appreciated.[14] In brief, Duke Orsini's visit seems more probably to date Twelfth Night as a product of 1601 than to provide a key, as Hotson would have it, to the occasion of its first performance.[15]

On the other hand, study of another early seventeenth-century revel, the Middle Temple Reader's Feast of February 2, 1602, has been relatively neglected with respect to Twelfth Night, despite our knowledge that the play was performed there. This knowledge comes

from an entry in the Diary of John Manningham, a young barrister in attendance at the legal society.[16] Without mentioning Shakespeare by name, Manningham leaves no doubt whose play was performed that night. After naming the play and date at the occasion at which he saw Twelfth Night, he lists three plays, bearing, in his opinion, similarities to the one performed: Plautus' Menaechmus, The Comedy of Errors and an Italian play called Gl'Inganni. All three plays are classical in origin or derivation, making them appealing to the educated lawyers. All have links moreover to aristocratic, academic or Inns of Court revels. Then without mentioning the steward's name, Manningham devotes the latter part the entry to a description of the Malvolio gulling. Gullings, as such, were frequently found in plays of this period seen by sophisticated audiences at the newly re-opened private theatres. Thus, the story of Malvolio may have amused Manningham and his fellows as a parody of the proper education of the English gentleman as taught at the universities and law schools of the day.[17] Manningham's note on the Middle Temple performance shortly after the composition of the play suggests that a study of Inns of Courts revels might usefully supply part of the proximate social background.

Thus, by examining the English revels tradition generally, in addition to special studies of aristocratic, royal and law school revels, we may enhance our understanding of Shakespeare's use of the revels theme in Twelfth Night. It also appears that we may further our understanding through a study of the numerous literary works in the Viola-plot and the wider revels tradition. The following chap-

ters, therefore, attempt an exploration of the literary-historical background underlying the century-old belief that the revels are central to an understanding of this play. In so doing, the generally accepted association of Twelfth Night and the revels may be enhanced with further light on meanings in the text that has come down to us in the Folio.

1
Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from Twelfth Night J.M. Lothian and T.W. Craik, eds., (London, Methuen & Co: 1975).

2
See C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (Princeton, 1959), pp.16-57, for full discussions of Elizabethan outdoor festivals.

3
See, for example, the Oxfordshire St. George Play, in The English Drama, E.W. Parks and R.C. Beatty, eds., (New York, 1935), pp. 54-56.

4
The festivities at Gray's Inn in 1594 began, according to the Gesta Grayorum (1688), a contemporary record of these Christmas revels, on or about the twelfth of December.

5
Morris P. Tilley, "The Organic Unity of Twelfth Night," PMLA, 1914, 550.

6
John Russell Brown, Shakespeare and His Comedies, (London: Methuen, 1957), p. 174.

7
Porter Williams, Jr., "Mistakes in Twelfth Night," in Walter N. King, ed., Twentieth Century Interpretations of "Twelfth Night," (Prentice Hall, 1968), pp. 31-32.

8
John Hollander, "Twelfth Night and the Morality of Indulgence," Sewanee Review, 67(1959), 222.

9
E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (London, 1903), I, 416.

10
The play's popularity among select audiences is attested to by Leonard Digges' frequently quoted epigram of 1640:

> The cockpit, galleries, boxes are all full
> To hear Malvolio, that cross-garter'd gull.

quoted in A.C. Sprague, "Shakespeare's Plays on the English Stage," in A New Companion to Shakespeare Studies, K. Muir and S. Schoenbaum, eds., (Cambridge, 1971), p. 199.

11
quoted in H.H. Furness, ed., Shakespeare: A New Variorum Edition, Twelfth Night, or What You Will, (1901), pp. 377-378.

12
"Shakespeare's use of Riche's tale as his main source may be safely assumed," writes T.W. Craik, ed., p. xlvi. This opinion, first proposed as early as 1806 (Furness, p. 327), is now generally held by competent authorities.

13
According to the OED, "romantic" first appeared in print in 1659; "classic" first appeared in 1607. Both words had different meanings at their introduction than they have today.

14
The suggestion that Orsini might have inspired Shakespeare in the naming of the Illyrian duke was apparently first observed by Sarrazin in 1896 (see Furness, p. 1), but this view has been largely neglected.

15
Josephine Waters Bennett, "Topicality and the Date of the Court Performance of Twelfth Night," South Atlanta Quarterly (1972), 473-479, considers the possibility that the play was performed on January 6, 1602 at court, one year after the Orsini visit, as a nostalgic reminder of happier days before the execution of Essex (February, 1601), during the queen's quiet Christmas at Greenwich. This improbable view nevertheless dates the play in 1601, following the Orsini visit and topically linked to it.

16
An excellent transcript of Manningham's entry for 2 February, 1602 may be found in T.W. Craik, ed., p. xxvi. It appears here in chapter 3.

17
The proper courtesy of a gentleman was a subject of interest throughout the Elizabethan period, exemplified in the lives of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Ralegh (himself a member of the Middle Temple), and in such literary works as the Arcadia (1591) of Sidney and Edmund Spenser's The Faerie Queene (1591, 1595).

Chapter 2

Aristocratic Christmas Revels

Shakespeare apparently wrote his plays for the socially diverse Globe audience. Apprentices and tradesmen mingled with aristocrats in this theatre of the world. If cultural practices respecting revels varied from class to class, a stock of common traditions was nevertheless accessible to observers from every class. Shakespeare might draw from the practices of one class, knowing that his audience would have come in contact with and be able to identify outside traditions. Since one of the primary pastimes at revels was inversion of class distinctions, the Christmas festivities provided occasion for the mixing of social strata. Shakespeare draws upon a considerable body of traditional material in Twelfth Night: from the Lord of Misrule, the practice of physical violence, the reversal of social roles, to dance, gesture, gambling, the use of disguise, the performance of interludes, and the effects on character of melancholy and excess of appetite. By reading Twelfth Night in light of this stock of traditions, we may come to a fuller understanding of the significance of revels in this comedy.

Through Shakespeare's day, the content of Christmas revels seems to have varied slightly from that of the preceeding centuries. Marked differences, however, may be found in practices that crossed class and institutional lines. Royal, aristocratic and academic revels show affinities to one another and seem distinguishable from the folk games and pageants of town and country. The refined sophistication of the Viola-Orsino-Olivia love triangle and the learned sophistries of the gulling plots and the clown's jesting suggest an aristocratic perspective on revelry in Twelfth Night. The entertainments at which Shakespeare's play was performed, at the Inns of Court Reader's Feast of 1602 and the royal performances of 1618 and 1623 specifically, share traditions in common with those reflected in Twelfth Night. These attitudes would be readily accessible to Elizabethans of all classes, to be sure, but the proximate social background of the play nevertheless seems to lie in the area of aristocratic Christmas revels.

This background may be easily contrasted with Nashe's Summer's Last Will and Testament (c. 1592), a summer revel designed for the household of Archbishop Witgift. Although Nashe's pageant has aristocratic sponsorship, it seems designed for participation in and enjoyment by the commoners in the household and surrounding area. Class differences are preserved, for example, in the "guising" of simple folk in their visit to the Gentle Summer, Autumn and Winter. There is, nevertheless, a feeling of solidarity across class lines in the singing. Nashe preserves a dominant impulse in revels to dissolve class distinctions, but he approaches this from the perspective of

commoners, not, as in Twelfth Night from that of the aristocracy.[1]

Shakespeare's use of the word "revels" in conjunction with the play's title further points specifically towards aristocratic merry-making. Sir Andrew's "Shall we set about some revels?" (I.iii) names a later scene of general merrymaking (i.e., II.iii.). A narrow sense of revels as dance is at length developed by the two knights in their talk of galliards, corantos and similar aristocratic dances (I.iii.105-122). Sir Andrew's line immediately following this dialogue, "I delight in masks and revels sometimes altogether," links the term for general merriment, revels, with one specifically tied to aristocratic, if not royal revels, i.e., masks.[2] Thus, the particular jests, sports, disguises, embassies, and interlude in Twelfth Night all seem in keeping, at the very least, with contemporary usage of "revels" as a term for general merrymaking. The combined instances in the play, however, in conjunction with the title, suggest the practices of aristocrats at Christmas. This particular sense of revels seems reinforced in the play's subtitle, What You Will. Olivia uses the expression to instruct Maria to do "what you will" (I.v.109) to dismiss the disguised Viola, acting as Orsino's ambassador of love. It suggests a terms of license appropriate to answer Cesario's uncivil behavior at the countess' gates. Coincidentally, the phrase was used by John Marston, a member of the Middle Temple in 1602, as the title of his play. Marston's What You Will (c.1601-1602, publ. 1607), possesses many similarities to Twelfth Night in its depiction of aristocratic license.[3]

It seems safe to conclude that the aristocratic Christmas revels

of Shakespeare's day supply the proximate social background of Twelfth Night and that an examination of connecting links will enhance our understanding of the play. English nobleman at Christmas engaged in lavish feasts, at which they might indulge in jesting, dancing, singing and disguising, or play at cards and game at dice. They might bring in musicians to play for them, actors to present stage plays or interludes, and, in some places through the end of our period, set up a mock court headed by a Lord of Misrule, whose reign frequently extended from All Saints (November 1) until after Candlemas.[4] As chief reveller, the Lord of Misrule produced "the rarest pastimes to delight beholders" and "fine and subtle desguisings, masks and mummeries."[5] The Christmas Lord arranged the misrule in his mock kingdom by instigating jests and sports for the delight and at times the expense of his subjects. By the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, however, the Lord of Misrule had virtually passed out of the tradition. This was particularly true at court, where the Master of the Revels organized the theatrical and musical activitites, while the comptroller was in charge of preparing the feasts.[6] Like the Lord of Misrule, either of these functionaries might participate in a jest.

On the other hand, at the Universities and Inns of Court, and to some extent among the nobility as well, the practice of appointing a Lord of Misrule, though in decline, was still alive in 1601. For example, only four years before the Middle Temple performance of Twelfth Night, a student, one Richard Martin, served as Prince d'Amour under the title Sur Martino at that legal society's lengthy

revels of 1597/8.[7] The Christmas Lord ruled his mock kingdom with real powers. One jest, suggesting the extent of his authority, took place a few days after Candlemas, following the reign of the Middle Temple prince. On February 8, Sur Martino was bludgeoned with a sword by one Stradilax in the very hall where, a few years hence, Shakespeare's play would be performed. Wearing academic gown and carrying a sword in the company of a small entourage, this enraged student sought revenge on Martin for vicious libeling done against him throughout the revels. By waiting until the 1597/8 revels had ended, Stradilax, in reality the famous poet Sir John Davies (1569-1626), author of Orchestra (1596) and Nosce Teipsum (1599), seems to have shown respect for the quasi-real authority of the prince. Only when Davies and Martin were again both students did the insulted poet dare breach the divinity of even a mock ruler.[8]

The Prince d'Amour's powers as Christmas Lord are well documented in Benjamin Rudyerd's account of the 1597/98 revels at the Middle Temple. On the other hand, precisely what the Lord of Misrule's functions were in great aristocratic houses such as Olivia's is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, he seems similar in many respects to Shakespeare's Sir Toby who presides over and encourages the "uncivil rule" (II.iii.122) appropriate to revels. In contrast to the italianate elegance of Orsino's court, with its artificial manners and conceits, its courtiers with such foreign names as Curio, Shakespeare's audience would doubtless recognize the genuine English make-up of Olivia's household. With her steward, servants and attendants, gentlewomen and retainer, domestic fool, parasite relative and his

gull, Olivia is keeping house in the grand old style. If, by 1601, this state of affairs was largely obsolete, it was nevertheless within living memory of Shakespeare's Globe audience.

The gulling plots in Olivia's house, then, as a picture of contemporary revelry, resemble Christmas festivities in similar halls. One description of a semi-fictional household, written only about a year before Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night, appears in Robert Armin's Foole vpon Foole (1600).[9] The significance of this work lies in its being penned by the man who probably created the role of Feste about a year later. Shakespeare apparently studied Armin closely: the role of Touchstone in As You Like It (1600) seems to change in mid-play from the bumbling Kempe type clown to the sophisticated improvisational wit associated with Armin. As You Like It was probably written shortly after Armin's arrival at the Globe.[10] By the time Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night, the playwright seems to have had a clear conception of the nature and range of Armin's gifts: Viola's speech, "This fellow is wise enough to play the fool" (III.i.61-69), is widely taken as a compliment to Armin.

In his Foole vpon Foole, Armin narrates six semi-fictional tales about the adventures of various fools. The third tale, of Jack Oates, is set in a household not unlike Olivia's, at Christmas. Because of Armin's association with the Lord Chamberlain's Men, Shakespeare might have been acquainted with this description of Yuletide revelry. The tale, regardless of a possible direct link to Shakespeare, nevertheless shares certain features of revels in common with Twelfth Night. "At Christmas time," Armin begins, "when great logs furnished

the hall fire--when brawne is in season and indeed all revelling is regarded, a gallant knight Sir William kept open house for all comers, where beefe, beere, and breade was no niggard."[11] This Sir William had a large, busy household, including a cook, servants, musicians and a fool. We find no Lord of Misrule, per se, at Sir William's revels: like Sir Toby, the gallant knight of Armin's narrative presides over the uncivil rule himself, instigating jests at the expense of his fool for the delight of the household. In preparation for the revels, Sir William hires additional servants. Musicians serve meals and play in the manner of Orsino's consort; a bagpiper is engaged to supply lively dance music for the large household. Despite these elaborate provisions, the household seems more morose than merry, taking its cue from the master. Sir William, like Olivia, appears sad and civil, and the servants reflect the melancholy humour. In order to arouse them to merry disports, the knight, acting as a Lord of Misrule, dismisses his beloved Jack Oates, an unfortunate "natural," who, unlike Armin, "an artificial fool," has tainted wits. Although Sir William has no intention of thrusting poor Jack out of doors, the fool reacts violently as if to a serious threat. Taking matters into his own hands, he assaults the bagpiper and throws his pipes into the great fire in the hall. One of the musicians, picking up the scent of the jest, volunteers to relieve Jack of his duties prior to the arrival of a supposed replacement. The minstrel prepares to assume his new functions with the mock-solemnity befitting a coronation with bauble and bells. "Thinking to work wonders...away he flings his fiddle as if he went to tak posses-

sion of some great lordship." If the musician also supposed he might assume the dignities of the Lord of Misrule, he was presumptuous. Sir William, maintaining control of the revels, appears to fall into a deep grief over the loss of a second musical instrument. At last, the knight's tears of sorrow give way to tears of laughter at the excellent jest at the fool's expense. The jest, nevertheless, is pursued to the upshot with unabated fury, until, in the end, as indignity upon indignity is thrust upon the witless fool, Jack Oates maddens and rages.[12]

Frequent features of aristocratic Christmas revels may be observed both in Twelfth Night and in Armin's tale of Jack Oates. Both Olivia and Sir William affect a fashionable melancholy, which, while superficially opposing the spirit of merriment, serves to initiate a cruel pastime on a servant. Both Armin's and Shakespeare's fools are threatened with dismissal, but manage to retain their positions. Like Malvolio, Jack Oates is made the butt of a painful jest.[13] Again, Olivia's steward and Sir William's minstrel are both exposed as they aspire to higher social stations. These casual correlations suggest a core of old-fashioned revels traditions underlying these works that were apparently accessible to a wide range of readers and playgoers alike.

A keynote at Sir William's revels is its physical violence. This feature of revelling is shared both by Twelfth Night and by actual revels of the period. Sir Andrew is called a gull to his bleeding face following Sebastian's off-stage attack (V.i.205); Sir Toby's pate is also broken. As we have seen, John Davies basti-

nadoed Richard Martin and left him bleeding in the Middle Temple Hall. Within the surviving Tudor revels literature, accounts of the 1557 revels at Merton College, Oxford, contain evidence of corporal punishment. At these academic-aristocratic revels, the illusions and delusions of a world at jest merge with the reality of physical punishment in the authority of the Christmas Prince to dispense actual justice over his "subjects."[14] The prince's dominion extended not merely over his fellow students, to whom he frequently assigned ridiculous, at times humiliating, exercises, but to the servants as well. When there was difficulty with a servant, the Merton prince might dispense such harsh justice as seeing him bound in the stocks at the end of the hall opposite his chair of state.[15] This recalls both Malvolio's fantasies about such a chair as Count Malvolio, and anticipates the stage convention, also seen in the treatment of Kent (King Lear, II.iv.), in which the humiliated steward is displayed in stocks (see Appendix C).

One direction of the theatrical impulse of revels to transform every day reality into make believe is the mock prince's power to inflict actual punishment or to make a reveller the butt of a cruel joke. Another manifestation of this transforming impulse may be seen in the reverse, the temporary granting of servants and commoners the dignities of aristocrats. Only noble maskers, for example, might participate in a formal dance, while spectators from the surrounding town and country looked on. At some point during a revels, however, such class distinctions would dissolve, and servants and commoners might join their betters on the dance floor.[16] On the other hand,

Malvolio's presumptions, painfully anatomized in the letter scene by his self-instruction in gesture and smiling, are spurred on by a jest and cruelly punished when the steward starts to believe in them (IV.ii).

Similarly, dancing, a general feature of revels, is represented in Twelfth Night by a scene of instruction; for aside from Sir Andrew's memorable caper (I.iii.), dancing as spectacle seems otherwise absent from the play. The subject is discussed at length by the knights. Sir Toby expresses his astonishment at Sir Andrew's avowed prowess in the forms of aristocratic dancing. The foolish knight claims excellence in galliards, corantos, jigs and cinquepaces, and pre-eminence throughout Illyria in a caper known as the "backe tricke" (I.iii.105-122). In a line that would be ironic in the context of self-seeking or ambitious lawyers such as those at the Middle Temple performance, Sir Toby chides Sir Andrew for keeping his talents hidden in a world filled with self-seekers, saying, "Is it a world to hide virtues in?" (I.iii.128-129). Many of the dances mentioned here were performed at aristocratic revels. For example, it was a custom at the Middle Temple for revelling lawyers to dance galliards and corantos following the performance of a stage play at their Candlemas revel.[17] Indeed, the two knights depart from the scene (I.iii.) with Sir Andrew capering and with the intention of setting about midnight revels, saying "Shall we set about some revels?"

In addition to dance, gesture is another form of aristocratic movement subject to mockery in a commoner with presumptuous social asperations. In his scene of instruction, Malvolio practices "be-

haviour" before a glass (II.v.), aping fashionable aristocratic gestures. Gesture, per se, was considered part of the proper education of a gentleman, providing subject matter for the aristocratic schools and the literature of the period. The universities and the Inns of Court made rhetorical gesture a part of the curriculum, and such writers as Edmund Spenser in the Faery Queene and Sir Philip Sidney in the Arcadia dealt imaginatively with the same material. At the Middle Temple performance of Twelfth Night, John Manningham noted the part of Maria's forged letter which commended the unknown beloved's smiling, apparel and gesture (II.v.). Interestingly, in Gerard Leigh's account of the Inner Temple's 1561 Prince of Sophy revels (publ. 1576), led by the Earl of Leicester (1532?-1588), we read that the purposes of the mock kingdom include using "all other exercises of body and mind whereunto nature most aptly serveth to adorn, -- by speaking, countenance, gesture, and use of apparel, the person of a gentleman."[18] Leigh mentions "speaking," "gesture" and "apparel" just as Mainningham talks of Malvolio's "smiling," i.e., countenance, "gesture, and apparaile." Thus, the lawyers in Shakespeare's Middle Temple audience would seem to have a special appreciation of the apparent Shakespearean parody of their own education as a gentleman through the exhibition of Malvolio and Sir Andrew as gulls in scenes of instruction.

The meaning and derivation of the word "gesture" may be usefully examined in these contexts. Gesture is derived from the Latin, "gesta" (OED), meaning deeds. The term was frequently applied to the activities of chivalric knights. The law sports at Gray's Inn in

1594 were also called "Gesta," and the deeds done there were "jests." These terms, and the word for the fool, "jester," were all derived from the same Latin root. Such mock deeds, furthermore, were called sports, and there is a general element of make believe about them. An instance of Shakespeare's use of the word "sports" in Twelfth Night occurs as Fabian watches Malvolio's performance in cross garters as a presumptuous gentleman. "I would not give my part of this sport," says Fabian, "for a pension of thousands to be paid from the Sophy," (II.v.180-181). It has apparently gone unobserved that this remark may be linked to the law sports at the Inner Temple 1561 Prince of Sophy revels. There, according to Leigh, Leicester, as the Sophy, was munificent in his largesse, granting pensions freely to his favorites.[19]

Make-believe, or the reality-transforming components in revels, remains to be explored in domains beyond its cruder manifestations in physical jesting and violence or its less sophisticated tendency to dissolve social distinctions. We see this sophisticated theme in gambling that may take place at revels. By their very nature, games of chance are unpredictible in outcome. The make-believe element in revels manifests itself by reversing the normal gambling situation in two ways. Normally, gambling is a proscribed activity, particularly at the schools. During the revels, the prohibition is lifted, and the larger part of this gambling is unrigged. Revels jests, however, may be designed around a rigged game of chance. At Richard II's Candlemas revels of 1377, for example, mummers disguised as emperor and pope rode to the royal residence at Kennington and intentionally lost to

the king at dice. In Twelfth Night games of chance are mentioned, but not played. After Malvolio has read Maria's forged letter, Sir Toby says, "I could marry this wench for this device" (II.v.182). A moment later, Maria enters, and Sir Toby repeats the sentiment, using an image from cards: "Shall I play my freedom at tray-trip and become thy bond slave?" (II.v.189). The game alluded to here seems to have been played with cards and dice, success at which depended on throwing a three.[21] By joking about playing his freedom as a bachelor at tray-trip, Sir Toby touches a running gag on the number three, the fool's number in more ways than one. Maria says that the fool will make a third at the box tree in the letter scene, even though Fabian substitutes for Feste there (II.iii.173). Sir Toby mentions the barroom picture entitled "We Three," in which two asses are seen from behind grazing, the viewer being the third (II. iii.16-17). The fool, as clown, ass or cuckhold is frequently identified with the number three. Thus, in the salacious morality of the season, a cuckholded husband is the third party to his marriage. Olivia, says Feste, when asked if he is the countess' fool, "will keep no fool, sir, till she be married." (III.i.33-34). In his wit combat with Orsino (V.i.29-41), Feste, like Sir Toby, plays verbally with tray-trip, without ever coming out and naming the game. After succeeding in begging one coin from the duke, Feste speaks of "double dealing" in asking for another. Winning that, he hints at the jest of the fool as a third, saying, "Primo, secundo, tertio is a good play." Tertio, of course, wins a tray-trip. Punning now on "play" and "tertio," the clown switches the image to dancing, a form of

revels play: "The triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure." With three threes now in place--a third coin, a good play, and a tripping measure--Feste finally brings home the jest, "and the olde saying is, the third pays for all." This cascading display of wit is at last topped by the duke, punning in the same coin: "You can fool no more money out of me at this throw."

In this talk of gaming there is a theatrical element that is a central feature of revels: the impulse to turn even actual chance events into make-believe. We see this in Sir Toby's marriage, which seems to have been worked out in the margins of the play with an outcome as inevitable as Richard II's victory at dice at an early Candlemas. If the drunken knight is prepared to play his freedom at tray-trip, the clown, earlier, nevertheless anticipates the betrothal. Speaking to Maria at his first on-stage appearance, the clown says, "if Sir Toby would leave drinking, thou wert as witty a piece of Eve's flesh as any in Illyria" (I.v.26-27). Although she quickly retorts,"no more of that," she does marry Sir Toby for no apparent reason other than in recompense for the excellent jest she set in motion on Malvolio (V.i.362-364).

The impulse to transmute every day experience into make believe is, of course, a fundamental characteristic of all theatre, improvised or formal. In addition to the more formal plays and interludes performed at revels, the principal improvizational forms of theatrical entertainment seem to have been mummings, morris dances and disguisings. At a mumming, disguised revellers frequently assumed some of the characteristics of those whom they impersonated, even exer-

cising the authority represented by their vestments. For example, some chroniclers report that during a Twelfth Night mumming in 1400, supporters of Richard II attempted to assassinate Henry IV and return Richard to the throne.[22] Again, as recorded in Gregory's Chronicle (pre-1467), Sir John Oldcastle and the "lollers hadde caste to have a mommynge at Elthan, and undyr coloure of the mommynge to have destryte the Kynge and the Hooly Churche."[23] The transforming impulse at revels here manifests itself in the power of the disguise to alter identity, and hence the authority of the reveller.

In Henry VIII, Shakespeare exhibits this aspect of disguise in his dramatization of the famous mumming at which the king meets Anne Boleyn (I.iv.). Henry and a company of nobles disguised as arcadian shepherds arrive by riverboat unannounced at a banquet hosted by Cardinal Wolsey. True to their costumes, members of the king's party pretend to speak no English; their intentions are made known to the cardinal by the Lord Chamberlain acting as interpretor. The disguise merges with the reality of the situation, when, in the spirit of the occasion at which a rustic shepherd might rule a great kingdom, Wolsey announces, "There should be one amongst 'em, by his person/More worth this place than myself" (I.iv.78-79). At this moment, Henry's disguise merges with the actuality of his sovereignty. While there are no such mummings in Twelfth Night, the duke's instructions to Cesario to "Be clamorous, and leap all civil bounds" (I.iv.21) in order to secure an interview with Olivia, resembles the rowdiness of the behaviour of unannounced visitors to numerous typi-

cal mummings. Again, Sir Toby's suggestion to Sir Andrew to "go to church in a galliard, and come home in a coranto" (I.iii.125-126) recalls innumerable mummings and morris dances. The colored sock with which the foolish knight would flatter his leg is typical of mummers' or morris dancers' garb. Phillip Stubbes, in his Anatomie of Abuses (1583) describes such typical morris dances. "My Lord of Misrule...investeth everyone one of these his men with liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour... Then march these heathen company toward the church and churchyard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering."[24]

The terms "mmumings" and "disguisings" were from time to time used synonymously. Despite the overlapping meanings, however, they also had distinct connotations. In addition to its sense as a mumming, disguising was also used to include interludes, stage plays and masks. An instance of the variable usage of the term appears in Hall's description of a 1519 court "disguising" which seems to have included both a "goodly commedy of Plautus" and a masque.[25] The disguise element in the Plautian comedies of mistaken identity, particularly in the Menaechmus, the Amphitruo and the Captivi, invite their performance at aristocratic or learned festivities where the revellers have cultivated a taste for disguise plots conned from the Roman classics. Disguise in Twelfth Night, as in revels generally, has been seen as an identity-masking or altering device.[26] Viola changes her suits, transforming herself into the boy-page Cesario; Malvolio is gulled into wearing a costume resembling in some respects a mummer's disguise, one that makes him look ridiculous and

mad; Feste, finally, transforms himself into Sir Topas, by means of a beard and gown. Orsino's and Olivia's disguises, on the other hand, entail not a change of clothes so much as a change of humour. In these variable connotations, Twelfth Night possesses numerous similarities to a revels "disguising." A survey of disguise in Twelfth Night in light of the revels theme seems appropriate, character by character.

At her shipwreck, Viola hands over her maid's garments to the anonymous sea captain with the "fair behaviour" in him (I.ii) in exchange for more durable male suits. By the conventions of romance, as a shipwrecked heroine, she is vulnerable to sexual assault.[27] For example, the psychological brutality endured by the shipwrecked Marina in the brothel scene in Pericles (IV.vi) points to Shakespeare's sensitivity to this widespread romance tradition. In Shakespeare's probable source for Twelfth Night, Riche's tale of "Apolonius and Silla," the girl avoids rape at the hands of the sea captain only through the timely intercession of the shipwreck.[28] In a form drastically altering Riche's sensational rendering of the traditional plot materials, Shakespeare transforms Viola's vulnerability into a plot factor that motivates the all-important disguise, but only hinting at this well-spring of motive. Viola trusts the captain with the secret of her identity not on any evidence about his trustworthiness, but out of a conviction, later borne out in deed, that grows from her insights into his fine moral nature. She sees in this sea captain, who in Riche assaults the heroine, a fair behaviour that "suits his outward form" (I.ii.50-51). Moreover, she

trusts him with her maiden's garments and takes his advice to serve the duke and not the countess on the grounds that Olivia, whom she first considers serving, "will admit no kind of suit, no not even the Duke's." Shakespeare's use of the word "suit" twice in seven lines here seems to be a pun on the variable connotations of "suits" as (1) a legal term, (2) a term for courtship, and (3) a word naming articles of clothing. Thus, Viola plans a change of suit; she undertakes two suits in courtship: one on behalf of the duke for the countess' hand, the other on her own behalf, through patient silence, for the hand of Orsino. Her disguise later results in a mock-legal suit with Sir Andrew according to the law of duello. Finally, her disguise may be seen to result in Malvolio's law suit against the sea captain, who is thrown into prison at the steward's instigation (V.i.272-273). Here seems to be a saturnalia of suits, suits, suits.

Characters in Twelfth Night see through Viola's disguise in a variety of distorted ways. As Orsino's "embassador," for example, she is treated as if she were an uninvited guest at a mumming. Her ill and unruly manner at Olivia's "gates" [29] invites the countess' wonder (I.v.199). Olivia first commands a description of Cesario from Sir Toby, then from Malvolio, before she admits the disguised girl to her veiled presence. Through his drunken hangover, Sir Toby hits at the truth of Viola's disguise. Mishearing in his stupor Olivia's condemnation, "how come you by such lethargy at this hour," he replies, "Lechery, I defy lechery, there's one at the gates" (I.v.125-126). In his state, Sir Toby seems to proclaim his virtue

by having defied lechery despite Viola-Cesario's tempting presence. As Viola learns, her disguise is no protection whatsoever. Sir Toby sees through it darkly. Later, he plays upon Sir Andrew's doormouse valour until the foolish knight challenges the disguised girl to fight without at all suspecting that his opponent is actually female. "Pray God defend me! O a little thing would have me tell them what I lack of a man," she says in distress (III.iv.307-309). Here the bawdy jest is unmistakable, but, despite her fearful vulnerability, she nevertheless maintains the masquerade through the clash of swords and beyond.

On the other hand, Malvolio supplies a more coherent description of the duke's "embassador." Cesario, reports the steward, "is very well favored, and he speaks shrewishly," i.e., he is pretty and has a high-pitched voice (I.v.161-162). Malvolio's description, ironically, is of a maiden. The lines seem capable of being delivered with an unintentional sexual innuendo that mocks the steward's puritanical nature. In stiffly formal language that would be self-mocking in a less rigid character, Malvolio tells the countess that the page is "as a squash is before 'tis a peascod, or a codling when 'tis almost an apple" (I.v.159-160), i.e., as one not quite a man. Note also that suppressed pun on "peascod," "codling" and the missing amalgam "codpiece."[30]

Like Sir Toby and Malvolio, Olivia, too, fails to penetrate the truth of Viola's disguise completely: like the others, she sees in Cesario what she wills. At Viola's first visit (I.v.), the disguised page begins an oration, "Most radiant, exquisite, and unmatchable

beauty" (171-172). The countess immediately interrupts the set piece. "Are you a commedian?" she asks. Answering by the theatrical method that suits her disguise, she offers s suprising reply: "No my profound heart; and yet, by the fangs of malice I swear, I am not that I play" (184-185). Olivia senses that Cesario is disguising, but she cannot fathom the nature or purpose of the impersonation. Only after some fanciful word play with Maria does Viola unmask, revealing her "role" in the disguising.

> Maria: Will you hoist sail, sir? Here lies your way.
>
> Viola: Now, good swabber, I am to hull here a little longer. Some mollification for your giant, sweet lady! Tell me your mind, I am a messenger.

I.v.204-207

Following the page's depature, Olivia, still self-aware despite an apparent descent into moral blindness, says, "I do not know what, and fear to find/My eye to great a flatterer for my mind" (I.v.312-313). She fears something in her understanding of the page is awry, but nevertheless she sends Malvolio out on a wild-goose chase which culminates in the steward stumbling upon the page between scenes (II.ii.) and throwing down a ring which the countess claims she just received from Viola. All this bustle seems well calculated to suggest the confusions of a saturnalia. Viola, whose breadth of moral vision is matched only by the fool's, puts her finger on the problem instantly: "Disguise, I see thou art a wickeness" (II.ii.26). Here already the positive value of the disguise as a device to protect her until her occasion should mellow has

already turned against her on the first time out.

The disguise later allows for the bitter-sweet melancholic touches of her second interview with Orsino (II.iv), who has no inkling of his page's true identity. The sickly sentimentality of the clown's song, "Come away, come away, death" (II.iv.51-66) is replayed in a different key with Viola's invocation of "Patience on a monument" (II.iv.115). Like her fictional unnamed sister, Viola also cannot tell her love. If, despite the temptation, she unmasked at this point, she might never win the duke's hand, and, instead, risk the hazards of her unprotected position. For Orsino, Viola's disguise is impenetrable. The delicate ironies of the second interview are only possible through the duke's inability to see beneath the costume. An early analogue of this scene, incidentally, first exploited its sentimental possibilities. Niccolo Secchi's L'Interresse (1547) bears some slight resemblances to Twelfth Night in the "Patience on a Monument" scene, and, it will be recalled, its author used the disguised-page plot in his Inganni, possibly one of the plays mentioned by Manningham.

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Similar to Viola's disguise, Feste's appearance as Sir Topas (IV.ii.) does not entail a change of character. At the beginning of the scene, Maria presents him with his costume: "Nay, I prithee, put on this gown and this beard; and make him believe thou art Sir Topas the curate" (102). The imprisoned Malvolio, without seeing the disguised fool, nevertheless grants the clown the powers invested in his robes. Thus, at Maria's departure in the middle of the scene, the gentlewoman remarks to Feste, "Thou might have done this without thy

beard and thy gown, he sees thee not" (66-67), pointing to the burlesque in Malvolio's punishment.

In contrast to Viola's and Feste's disguise, Malvolio's costume change is accompanied by an alteration in character. This somber, puritanical kill-joy turns into a gay courtier, his yellow stockings recalling apparel worn by mummers and morris dancers. Like the duke and the countess, Malvolio suffers from a form of melancholia which seems to be both the key to his character and his character change. Shakespeare specifically names the form of melancholy from which Malvolio suffers. Olivia says, "you are sick of self-Love, Malvolio, and taste with distempered appetite" (I.v.89-90). The contemporary medical name for this disease is Philautia, and, as Robert Burton described it some two decades later, "proceeds inwardly...from an over-weening conceit we have of our good parts, our worth, (which indeed is no worth,) or bounty, favor, temperence we admire, fallter, and applaud ourselves, and think all the world esteems so of us."[33] Such a man as Malvolio, devoid of moral vision, seems a ready target for gulling into a costume change identifiable with wanton behavior appropriate to revels and assuming characteristics associated with his costume.

Olivia's and Orsino's disguises, on the other hand, are of a different sort than those considered thus far. Reminiscent of Sir William in Armin's tale of Jack Oates, their disguise entails not a change of clothes, but a change of character. Their assumption of a melancholic mask, the onset of the infection, so to speak, is recorded in the first scene of the play. Orsino says, "O when my eyes

did first Olivia see, methought she purged the air of pestilence" (I.i.19-20). He is forthwith afflicted with love-melancholy, subsuming all other appetites to the insatiable appetite of love. Feste underscores the melancholic nature of Orsino's love-longing by invoking the "melancholy god" to protect the duke's changeable mind (II.iv.73). For her part, Olivia has turned "Cloystress" on the death of her brother. Her mourner's veil (I.v.) hints at a change of vestments, pointing to the alteration in her normal good sense. Indeed, her love-melancholy is seen by characters in the play as a form of madness. Sebastian, for example, adumbrates the evidence of her sanity before granting her possession of her wits. Were she mad indeed, he reflects, and not merely apparently so, "she could not sway her house, command her followers," etc., (IV. iii.16-17). Like Orsino, Olivia, too, is seen as "being addicted to a melancholy" (II.v.202-203), as Maria says of her.

In the case of Olivia and Orsino, where the disguise proceeds from within the character, Shakespeare grounds the new giddiness in the medical knowledge of his day. Such a background provides a basis for the imagery associated with appetite, the physiological basis of

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feasting. Shakespeare transmutes physiology into a poetic statement about the revels. Toward the end of the sixteenth century in England, melancholy had become a fashionable aristocratic pose not only in life but in literature. Jack Donne of Lincoln's Inn and Ben Johnson come readily to mind as men of black humour in this period, and Jacques in As You Like It resembles more than one melancholic fantastic. The fashion seems to have followed the publication of

several medical treatises on humours, including melancholy.[35] All Fools (1596), by George Chapman, Every Man In His Humour (1598) and Every Man Out of his Humour (1599) by Jonson brought this medical knowledge in popularized form to the general London public. The great medical treatise of this period, Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, however, was published some two decades after the writing of Twelfth Night. It may nevertheless serve as a useful compendium of current medical opinion in considering melancholy in the earliest work.

On the basis of Burton's analysis, we seem to find Duke Orsino suffering from a form of melancholy called Heroical by Burton. This subspecies of "Love Melancholy" afflicts "young and lusty" men, "in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, and such as live idly and at ease."[36] In the first scene of the play, we see Orsino true to this type, surrounded by attendants and musicians, filled with thoughts of music, food and love, dreaming idly of "sweet beds of flowers" where "love thoughts lie rich" (I.i.40-41). Burton further characterizes Heroical Love in a citation from Avicenna, as an "anguish of mind, in which a man continually mediates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his Mistress."[37] Orsino never strays from from the subject of his beloved. For example, when Cesario ventures to tell of his sister who never told her love, she catches herself before telling too much, saying, "Sir, shall I to this lady," i.e., Olivia, to which the duke replies, "Ay, that's the theme/To her in haste" (II.iv.123-124).

For her part, Olivia seems to suffer from a kind of melancholy

found, according to Burton, in maids, nuns and widows. She is a maid, posturing as a nun or cloistress, whose grief at the loss of her brother recalls that of the widow. In his note on the Middle Temple performance, Manningham refers to her as a "widdowe." The young lawyer's confusion on her status may result in large part from the singular convergence of the maid, nun and widow in Olivia's person. These types of melancholics, writes Burton, "but love to be alone and solitary, though that do them more harm. And thus they are affected so long as this vapour lasteth; but by and by as pleasant and merry as ever they were in their lives, they sing, discourse, and laugh, in any good company, upon all occasions; and so by fits it takes them now and then."[38] Orsino anticipates such skittish mood changes: "How will she love, when the rich golden shaft/Hath killed the flock of all affections else" (I.i.35-36). In this vein, Olivia invites Cesario into her hall for the first time "rather to wonder at... than to hear" (I.v.199-200), and is herself surprised at her sudden reaction to the charming page: "How now? Even so quickly may one catch the plague?" (I.v.298-299). Unable to account for the change, she throws herself upon fate: "Fate show thy force; ourselves we do not owe./What is decreed, must be: and this be so" (I.v.314-315). Her moods are nevertheless unstable, for despite her sudden amorous inclinations, we find her calling the somber Malvolio prior to her third interview with Cesario (III.iv.5-6), because his "sad and civil" temperament is well suited to her own.

When Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night, melancholy affectation was a suitable subject of social satire. Such posing, as in the case

of Armin's Sir William, had ready applications in revels as a metaphor for disguise. Shakespeare, as we have seen, seems to use the convention in original ways, far removed from Jonson, in his character painting of Malvolio, Orsino and Olivia. The medical background also has links to a second, literary, tradition that modern critics have seized upon as central to the reading of the play as a revels: imagery associated with appetite, describing the movement from desire to surfeit.[39] In his opening oration, Duke Orsino describes this movement: "If music be the food of love, play on,/Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,/The appetite may sicken, and so die" (I.i.1-3). The duke then proceeds to live what he has just described: he gluts himself on his consort's music. Speaking to the on-stage musicians, he calls for "That strain again, it had a dying fall" (I.i.4). He then offers a simile which, despite its lovely verbal surface, depicts through synesthesia the rapidly cloying sense of smell. The music, he says, "came o'er my ear like the sweet sound/That breathes upon a bank of violets,/Stealing and giving odour" (I.i.5-7). The metaphor of the breathing sound readily gives way to perfumed fluvial images, and with these the easily surfeited sense of smell is introduced harmoniously into the poetry. The trick of imagination here seems of the highest order: "Enough, no more," says Orsino upon hearing the measures for a second time, "'Tis not so sweet now as it was before" (I.i.7-8). Orsino surfeits on the second hearing of the music and turns to something for which surfeit is impossible for him, the spirit of love. Unlike other human appetites, love, or fancy as he calls it, knows no surfeit.

> O spirit of love, how quick and fresh art thou,
> That notwithstanding thy capacity
> Receiveth as the sea, nought enter there,
> Of what validity and pitch so'er,
> But falls into abatement and low price,
> Even in a minute! So full of shapes is fancy,
> That it alone is high fantastical.
>
> I.i.9-15

Orsino further develops the theme of love as appetite in his second interview with Cesario (II.iv). Here medical imagery is accurately used to describe the motion from desire to surfeit. In the previously discussed scene, Orsino compares his appetite for love with the inexhaustible capacity of the sea to digest matter without surfeit. Here, his capacity for love "is all as hungry as the sea,/ and can digest as much" (I.iv.101-102). He begins his discourse, however, with a medical analysis of women's limited capacity to love:

> There is no woman's sides
> Can bide the beating of so strong a passion
> As love doth give my heart; no woman's heart
> So big, to hold so much: they lack retention.
>
> II.iv.94-97

Retention is a medical term referring to the liver's capacity to retain its proper contents.[40] Orsino promptly mentions this organ:

> Alas, their love may be call'd appetite,
> No motion of the liver, but the pallate,
> That suffers surfeit, cloyment, and revolt.
>
> II.iv.98-100

This is, metaphorically, the movement of the revels. Thus, just as in the first scene, music, food and love were functionally correlated, so here too are appetite and love found to be interrelated according

to the latest medical theories.

The discussion of theatrical disguise in Twelfth Night throughout the revels may be concluded with a consideration of the interlude in English revelling with respect to Twelfth Night. As a form of theatrical "disguising," interludes form a part of the social background of the English Christmas revels from at least the mid-fifteenth century until Shakespeare's day.[41] In general, these plays often featured such allegorical figures, derived from the psychomachia, as the devil and the vices in a struggle for the soul of a sinner. The clown invokes the devil and vice of the moral interludes in a song which suggestively identifies his own role with that of the vice and of Malvolio's with the devil:

> I am gone, sir, and anon, sir,
> I'll be with you again,
> In a trice, like to the old Vice,
> Your need to sustain;
>
> Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath,
> Cries, 'Ah, ha!' to the devil:
> Like a mad lad, 'Pare thy nails, dad.
> Adieu, goodman devil!'
>
> IV.ii.122-129

One particular convention of these dramatic entertainments seems well preserved in Twelfth Night: when performed before private aristocratic audiences, interludes occasionally alluded to the very hall in which the performance was presented. Reference to "this hall" have been observed in several interludes. In Johan Johan, for example, the hearth referred to in the text is apparently the fireplace in the hall itself.[42] Again, in Impatient Poverty, Abundance enters with the greeting, "Joye and solace be in this hall."[43]

E.K. Chambers infers from these scattered allusions to the hall that "the setting of the interludes was nothing but the hall in which the performances were given, with for properties the plenishing of that hall or such movables as could be readily carried in."[44] Similarly, in Twelfth Night during the Sir Topas scene, Malvolio speaks twice of "this house." The steward, incarcerated for madness, complains of the "hideous darkness" of his prison: "I say to you this house is as dark as ignorance, though ignorance were as dark as hell;...I say to you this house is dark" (IV.ii.48-50). Such a line would presumably have special force when delivered at a performance in an aristocratic hall such as the Middle Temple.

The link to the old moral interludes is, from the literary perspective, hardly capricious, since the scene distantly resembles the psychomachia, in which the fool, acting as both exorciser and vice, struggles with the devil for possession of Malvolio's soul. Nor is the identification of Feste with the vice and Malvolio with the devil unanticipated. In the moralities, the figure of the vice and his wooden dagger had, by 1600, become indistinguishable from the domestic fool, of which Feste and Jack Oates are representative. During the 1551 Christmas season at court, for example, the famous fool Will Somers made an appearance in a "vice's coote."[45] Malvolio, for his part, is frequently referred to in images associated with the devil, and Sir Toby, Fabian and later Feste bait him with the notion that the devil has possessed his soul.[46] A direct, verbal link between the Sir Topas scene and the interludes is made by Feste when scoring his final jibes at the steward. Shortly before Malvolio's last exit

in Act V, the clown reveals his part in the plot against the steward: "I was one, sir, in this interlude, one Sir Topas, sir, but that's all one" (V.i.371-372). Viewed as an interlude inserted into the action of Twelfth Night, the Sir Topas scene seems to function within the framework of such dramatic disguisings at aristocratic revels.

Twelfth Night, then, with its consort of musicians, its drinking and singing, its disguisings its "sport royal" in the gulling of Malvolio, its scenes of rowdyness on and off stage, its talk of dancing and dicing, and its interpolated "interlude," seems to reflect the general spirit and pastimes of Tudor aristocratic revels. As we have seen, the comedy has been linked to two particular revels which occurred about the time of its composition: those at court on Twelfth Night, 1601 and at the Middle Temple, Candlemas, 1602. In the following chapters we examine these revels in relation to our play.

Notes, Chapter 2

1
See C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (Princeton, 1959), 16-57, for discussions of Elizabethan outdoor festivals in relation to the contemporary drama.

2
For more discussion on this dialogue, see p. 20.

3
For detailed discussion of links between Twelfth Night and Marston's What You Will, see Chapter 5, "Romance Antecedents of the Viola Plot," pp. 118-120.

4
E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (London, 1903), I, 403-407.

5
Ibid., I. 403, n.3. quoting Stowe, Survey of London, p. 37.

6
See Chambers, I. 404, and Leslie J. Hotson, The First Night of Twelfth Night (1954), p. 159.

7
Benjamin Rudyerd, Noctes Templariae, (London, 1660). cf. Philip J. Finkelpearl, John Marston of the Middle Temple, p. 49.

8
Finkelpearl, pp. 48-55. See Also, The Poems of Sir John Davies, Robert Kruger, ed. (Oxford, 1975), p.xxxiii-xxxvii.

9
T.W. Baldwin, The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company, (1927), pp. 241-246; E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, (London, 1924), II, 299-300, 326; A.K. Gray, "Robert Armine, The Foole," PMLA 42(1927), 673-685; T.W. Baldwin, "Shakespeare's Jester: The Dates of Much Ado and As You Like It," Modern Language Notes, 39(1924), 447-455.

10
See Baldwin, MLN and chapter 7, "Date and Text" for a full discussion of these inferences.

11
Armin, Foole vpon Foole, p. A4^{r}. The ensuing jest is reminiscent of the trick on the waiter, Francis, I Henry IV, II.iv.

12 Ibid., $A4^{r}$-$B2^{r}$.

13 Cf. Falstaff's beating on Gadshill, I Henry IV, II.i.

14 Teachers' beating of students in inverted at revels.

15 Chambers, I. 408.

16 Chambers, I, 399.

17 William Dugdale, The History and Antiquities of the Four Inns of Court, (London, 1780), p. 95.

18 Dugdale, p. 29.

19 Dugdale, p. 31

20 Chambers, I, 394.

21 H.H. Furness, ed., A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Twelfth Night or, What You Will, (J.B. Lippincott, 1901, reprinted, Dover, 1964), p. 178. Furness cites numerous seventeenth-century examples of tray-trip.

22 Chambers, I, 395.

23 Chambers, I, 395, n.3. Finkelpearl, p. 40 and elsewhere speaks of the "quasi-real aspect of [the revellers] roles....They were endowed with some of the power their clothing symbolized."

24 Phillip Stubbes, Anatomie of Abuses...in the Country of Ailgna (1583), quoted in Barber, p. 27.

25 Chambers, I, 400, n.4.

26
Joseph H. Summers, "The Masks of Twelfth Night," The University Review 12(1955), 25-32.

27
Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and The Greek Romance: A Study of Origins, (Lexington, 1970), p. 17.

28
Barnabe Riche, Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession, "Of Apolonius and Silla," T.W. Craik, ed. Twelfth Night, p. 163.

29
Possible bawdy pun. See Eric Partridge, Shakespeare's Bawdy, (New York, 1948), p. 119.

30
See John Hollander, "Twelfth Night and the Morality of Indulgence," Sewanne Review, LXVII(1959), 227.

31
Sir Toby: 'Accost' is front her, board her, woo her, assail her.

32
Helen A. Kaufman, "Nicolo Secchi as a Source of Twelfth Night," Shakespeare Quarterly 5(1954), 272.

33
Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith, eds., (publ. 1621; New York, 1927), Part.I, Sect.2, Memb.3, Subs.14, p. 253. See also Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady (1951), pp. 99n, 103n, 170-171 for discussions of melancholy in Twelfth Night, and pp. 189-195 for a bibliography of principal primary sources.

34
Sir Thomas Elyot, Castel of Helth, 1539, revised, 1541, at least fifteen editions through 1618, was perhaps the most popular exposition of the theory of humors. See Hereford and Simpson, eds., Ben Jonson, (Oxford, 1950), X, 391-394, for discussion of extracts of Elyot. See also Babb, pp. 189-195.

36
Burton, Part.3, Sect. 2, Memb. 1, Subs. 2, p. 657.

37
Ibid, p. 657-658

38
Burton, Part 1, Sect. 3, Memb. 2, Subs. 4, p. 354.

39
This discussion is indepted to Hollander, p. 222-223.

40
OED.

41
D. S. Bland, "Interludes in fifteenth-century revels at Furnivall Inn," Review of English Studies, ns 3(1952), 263-268.

42
T.W. Craik, The Tudor Interlude, (Leicester, 1967), p. 10.

43
Ibid.

44
E. K. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III,23.

45
Chambers, Medieval Stage, I, 406.

46
See III.iv.85-143.

Chapter 3

Royal Revels:
Twelfth Night, 1601

On Twelfth Day and Night, 1601, Queen Elizabeth entertained Don Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, at Whitehall Palace. That evening, following a ball and a feast, Shakespeare's company presented a comedy, a description of which is extant in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts in the form of an order from the queen. Elizabeth commanded the players to "make choyse of a play that shalbe best furnished with rich apparell, have great variety and change of Musicke and daunces, and of a Subject that may be most pleasing to her Maiestie."[1] A play of this description was indeed performed that night; in a letter to his wife, the Duchess Flavia, Duke Orsini writes, "there was acted a mingled comedy, with pieces of music and dances."[2] In 1954, Leslie Hotson attempted to show that the play performed before Orsini was Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. The appearance of a Duke Orsino in a play bearing a title naming the day on which the Italian nobleman was present at court and on which Shakespeare's company was known to have performed gives Hotson's thesis a superficial plausibility; but few scholars today accept Hotson's conclusion that Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night as a compliment to Don Virginio. Not one of the documents mentioned by Hotson mentions the play by name. More telling, the description in Lord Hunsdon's accounts, quoted above, does not resemble Shakespeare's

comedy. Although there is music enough, and, possibly, rich costuming, there are no dances in the play save Sir Andrew's capers (I.iii.). Furthermore, the portrait of Duke Orsino in Twelfth Night, while respectful, seems hardly complimentary. The most telling argument, however, is that, since definite word of Orsini's intentions to visit England reached court on Christmas day, the queen's order through Lord Hunsdon would have allowed, at most, only eleven days for Shakespeare to write and the company rehearse the new play, in all an unlikely if not impossible circumstance. It seems more probable that some play fitting the queen's command and already in the repertoire was selected for the evening's entertainment.

If Twelfth Night were not especially designed for the 1601 court revels honoring Duke Orsini, there nevertheless seem to be numerous links, topical, literary and thematic, connecting the duke's visit to the play. In portraying a public figure on the stage, a playwright is likely to emphasize well-known, easily identifiable characteristics. Shakespeare's Illyrian duke resembles Don Virginio at several points. In addition to the name (Shakespeare's character takes the Italian grammatical singular of Orsini), they resemble one another in their Italianate backgrounds, their age, their identical aristocratic rank, their naval exploits and their learning. Olivia's description of Shakespeare's Orsino as he appeared to her prior to the onset of his love melancholy equally recalls numerous estimates of the Italian nobleman's exemplary character. Speaking to Cesario, Olivia remarks:

> I suppose him virtuous, know him noble,
> Of great estate, of fresh and stainless youth;
> In voices well divulged, free, learn'd and valiant,
> And in dimension, and the shape of nature,

A gracious person.

I.v.263-368

Reports of the twenty-eight year old Don Virginio from those present at court speak of him in similar glowing terms. The court gossip John Chamberlain wrote that Orsini left "behinde him a generall report of a very courtlike and compleat gentleman."[3] Dr. John Herbert, P.C., second Secretary of State, was equally impressed; "his carriage," he writes, is "answerable to his birth and place."[4] Writing to Henri IV, the French Ambassador M. de Boissise, comments on Orsini's "virtues and merits, in which he seems to be well accomplished."[5] A fuller but not atypical appraisal of this brilliant nobleman was written by a Venetian ambassador when the young duke was only sixteen. "He has every grace, is ingenious, and discourses well on all subjects; apt to apply himself and to succeed in any profession, especially in the military, to which it would seem he is pointing himself."[6] Indeed, Orsini pointed himself toward a naval career. In 1599, he led an unsuccessful expedition against the Turk off Chios.[7] Like Orsini, Shakespeare's duke also saw naval action; for he had engaged pirates "once in a sea-fight" (III.iii.26). Thus, in outward form and grace, in career and interests, the Italian and Illyrian dukes parallel each other.

Orsini's visit attracted considerable attention in court circles, and, presumably among the London populace as well. Shakespeare, of course, might have caught a glimpse of him during the performance, for the duke stood beside the queen under the canopy of state throughout.[8] All the nobility within two days' riding of court were sum-

moned to Whitehall for this last of her grand Christmasses.[9] Those, like John Chamberlain, with access to court circles, would presumably have taken a keen interest in these lavish revels, and the general population, ever hungry for court gossip, would presumably have discovered the reason for the brilliant carriages surrounding the palace. Some lucky Londoners might even have seen him at his departure on January 13 being escorted to Rochester up Gadshill by Sir Walter Ralegh, on the way to the fleet.[10] Thus, it seems safe to assume that any London audience, at least through the revels season of the following year, 1601-1602, might readily recall the visit of Don Virginio, seeing an allusion to him in Shakespeare's duke. With this recollection might follow some particular knowledge of events at court and a general acquaintance with royal Christmas and Twelfth Night revels.

Shakespeare's play seems to share with the events of the Orsini visit some common attitudes, thematic ideas and literary motifs associated with aristocratic revels. Among the Twelfth Night festivities at court, for example, were instructions to the queen's comptroller, Sir William Knollys, to make provision for a period of uncivil rule. The queen ordered Sir William to set a "bankett" of confections "of better stuffe for men to eate and no paper shews at it is want to be."[11] Evidentally, the queen had in mind a delightful practice that she had used in past years to divert an honoured guest. It would appear that the comptroller possessed a property of "paper shews," which at a distance presumably looked like an edible banquet. The purpose of the deception would be to give occasion for a satur-

nalian romp. After midnight, the play having been concluded, Orsini was conducted to the queen's apartment, laid with the banquet and attended by ladies of the court. As Orsini describes the event to the Duchess Flavia,

> When the comedy was finished, I waited upon her to her lodgings, where there was made ready for her Majesty and for the ladies, a most fair collation, all of confections. The Queen, having taken but two morsels, gave order that it should be put to spoil; which was done amid a graceful confusion.[12]

Clearly, the duke had no idea of the deception. This Twelfth Night disorder in the queen's apartment seems of a piece with Sir Toby's misdemeanors in the buttery.

Another link between these revels and Twelfth Night appears in the love theme. Among leading sports at aristocratic revels was the pursuit of love, courtly and otherwise. Critics of Twelfth Night have singled out the sophisticated courtly-love game between Orsino and Olivia as a subject fit for aristocratic revelry.[13] Such a game seems apparent in Elizabeth's treatment of Don Virginio. The French ambassador's dispatch to Henry IV seems to describe in broad outline such activity. He writes that Orsini

> offered all possible honour and submission to the Queen of England, and more than foreigners, even of his rank, have used. The said Lady likewise looked most favorably upon him, feasted him, danced, played and sang for love of him.[14]

Orsini's first meeting with Elizabeth, as he tells it to his wife, seems to have set the tone for the courtly-love game which ensued.

> The Queen came to the door [of a room in Whitehall], and I presently approached in all humility to do her reverence; and she drew near to me with such fine conceits, that I might have been taking lessons from

15

Boccaccio or the Academy.

The Accademica della Crusca referred to here by Orsini had been established in 1583 at the duke's home city of Florence for the purpose of maintaining the purity of the Tuscan language as a literary vehicle.[16] Thus, as Orsini approached Elizabeth with the reverence of a courtly lover, the queen addressed him, not in colloquial Italian, but in the artificial, literary and courtly language of Italy.

Similarly, in the first scene of Twelfth Night, we find Orsino speaking of his love for Olivia in the conceits of the courtly lover:

> Curio: Will you go hunt my Lord?
> Duke: What Curio?
> Curio: The hart.
> Duke: Why so I do, the noblest that I have.
> O, when mine eys did see Olivia first,
> Methought she purg'd the air of pestilence;
> That instant was I turn'd into a hart,
> And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,
> E'er since pursue me.
>
> I.i.15-23

The images of love as pestilence (here inverted), and of the lover transformed into a hart, are typical of the Petrarchan or courtly lover. The courtly-love game in Twelfth Night is pursued through Cesario's embassy on Orsino's behalf to his lady in which the manners and language of the courtly lover are sustained. Likewise, Elizabeth sent an embassy to Duke Orsini in the climactic episode of their courtly-love game about a week following the Twelfth Night revel at which Shakespeare's company appeared. The event has further interest in that it points to the literary fashions in vogue in aristocratic circles in 1601. On the morning of January 12, as the duke

tells his wife,

> It was signified to me that her Majesty wished to enjoy me in private, to use her own word; and after dinner she dispatched two of her most confidential gentlemen to fetch me and convey me in a close carriage; and by way of a back garden gate they brought me in to her Majesty. What the Queen did I am saving for you at my return. But I shall only say that it seemed to me I had become one of the paladins who used to go into those enchanted palaces.[17]

The apparent secrecy surrounding the queen's entertainment points to courtly-love conventions, and the game she played with him in "those enchanted palaces" recalls the once-fashionable romances from the early decades of her reign, which, on this evidence, still had currency in aristocratic circles.

It seems unnecessary to look for specific parallels between the Elizabeth-Orsini courtly-love game and the Illyrian duke's suit of Olivia, or the details of these royal revels and Sir Toby's sports and jests. What seems probable is that the romance themes and courtly-love sports, interlaced with the unbridled merriment in Twelfth Night allude topically to Duke Orsini's visit of January 1601 in a general way that London audiences would particularly appreciate during the following year's revels season. As we turn to the first-recorded performance at the Middle Temple about a year after Orsini's departure and to the relevant Inns of Court background, we find additional hints which may further fill in the picture of the social customs and background of our play.

Notes, Chapter 3

1
Hotson, p. 15.

2
Ibid, p. 202.

3
P.R.O., State Papers, Domestic, S.P. 12/278/223; quoted in Hotson, p. 212.

4
Cal. Carew MSS. 1601-1603, p. 8.; quoted in Hotson, p. 212.

5
P.R.O. Paris Archives, Transcripts 3/32/6; quoted in Hotson, p. 211.

6
Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senat, A. Segarizzi, ed. (1916), p. 3; Relazioni..., E. Alberi, ed, Ser. III, 4.282; quoted in Hotson, p. 37.

7
Hotson, p. 42; Philip P. Argenti, The Expedition of the Florentines to Chios, 1599 (London, 1934).

8
Archivo Storico Captiolina. Roma. Archivo Orsini, Corrispondenza di Viginio II, S.P.Q.R. nri. 0395, 0394; trans. Hotson, 202.

9
Hotson, p. 182.

10
Ibid, p. 213

11
Ibid., p. 180.

12
Ibid., p. 203-204.

13
C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy, (Princeton, 1959), pp. 248-257; Joseph H. Summers, "The Masks of Twelfth Night," UKCR, 22 (1955), 25-32.

14
Hotson, p. 211.

15 Ibid., p. 199.

16 J.H. Witefield, A Short History of Italian Literature (1960), p. 164.

17 Hotson, p. 210.

Chapter 4

Inns of Court and Middle Temple Revels

Just over a year after Duke Orsini's visit to England, the first recorded performance of Twelfth Night took place at the Middle Temple. Inns of Court lawyers had presumably heard of the duke, possibly through Lord Treasurer Sackville (1536-1608). As a member of Gray's Inn (he co-authored Gorboduc with Thomas Norton for the Gray's revels of 1561), Sackville undertook to entertain the Italian nobleman at that legal society. According to John Chamberlain, Sackville and members of Gray's were readying a feast and making "preparation of shewes to entertain him, but he made such haste away that they were disappointed."[1] Duke Orsini, on the day following his private audience with the queen on January 12, 1601 in the enchanted palaces, hurried off to join his party at the court of Henry IV for the wedding of his cousin Maria de Medici to the French sovereign, never to return to England. We turn now to the legal revels, where, at the end of the following Christmas, the Italian duke, apparently transmuted into Shakespeare's Orsino, did, finally, put in an appearance at an English law-school revel, as a character in a stage play.

Law-school revels were celebrated every Christmas at each of the four legal societies, Gray's and Lincoln's Inns, the Inner and Middle Temples. From time to time, the revels would be extensive and elaborate, as they were, for example, at the Inner Temple in 1561, at

Gray's in 1594 and at the Middle Temple in 1597. During these Grand Christmases, as they were called, a mock court was formed in which a Christmas prince was appointed, who, as a Lord of Misrule, formulated satiric laws and regulations for his mock kingdom, superintended ficticious arraignments, and generally encouraged such typical revels activities as dancing, dicing, feasting and sexual joking. In contrast to these Grand Christmases, the 1601/2 Middle Temple revels at which Twelfth Night was performed were apparently not conducted on an elaborate scale. The occasion at which the performance took place was one of two "solemn" feasts held annually during the Christmas season to honor the Judges and Serjents-at-Law who had issued from the society.[2] Such revels were filled with rituals and ceremonies; they were led by the newly installed Readers, men chosen from among the "utter barristers," or younger members of the bar, "to reade, expound, and declare some estatute openly unto all the company of the house, in one of two principal times of their learning, which they call their grand vacations,"[3] as Dugdale tells us. The newly installed Readers, wearing scarlet robes and carrying white staves of office, served dinner to the honoured guests. Following the performance of the play and the clearing of the hall, they led members of the society in stately dances called the measures. During the last measure, the gentlemen of the Inn sang psalms as they danced and afterward, in formal procession, served wafers and hippocras with a low congy, or bow, to the guests. After these "Solemn Revels" the younger members of the society entertained the Judges and Serjents with lively dances, corrantos and galliards, at the "Post Revels," following which they might play at

games of chance into the small hours.[4]

At the 1602 Candlemas Reader's Feast, a young lawyer and a member of the Middle Temple, John Manningham, recorded in his Diary, a performance of a play:

> at our feast
> 2/.wee had a play called ~~mid~~ Twelue night
> or what you will/.//much like the commedy of
> errors / or menechmi in plautus / but most
> like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni
>
> ---
>
> a good practise in it to make the steward
> beleeue his Lady widdowe was in Loue wth him
> by counterfayting a lett^{r} / as from his Lady
> in generall tearms / telling him what shee
> liked best in him / and prescribing his gesture
> in smiling his apparraile /&c/.And then
> when he came to practise making him beleeue
> they tooke him to be mad / : /[5]

Manningham's note is the only known commentary on the play written within Shakespeare's lifetime: as such it has unique authority as our sole Elizabethan view. The entry focuses in literary matters, recalling plays which had previously entertained Inns of Court audiences at revels. Such plays generally had antecedents in classical and Italian learned comedies, and featured such Plautian motifs as disguises and errors. George Gascoigne's Supposes, for example, performed at Gray's on Candlemas, 1566, is a translation of Ariosto's I Suppositi (1509), one of the first learned comedies. Like Twelfth Night, Supposes features confusion of identity resulting from disguise, and is derived from classical models. Ariosto, as we are told in the prologue of I Suppositi, derived the situation of the servant-master switch from the Captivi of Plautus and the Eunuchus of Terence.[6] Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, based, as Manningham indicates, on Plautus' Menaechmus, was performed at the famous Gray's

revels of 1594. The Italian play named by Manningham, Inganni, might refer to one of three distinct, but related plays. Whether the Inganni of Nicolo Secchi (1562) or of Curzio Gonzaga (1592), or the anonymous Gl'Ingannati (1537), the play is a learned comedy performed at aristocratic-academic entertainments. In addition to these plays which Manningham sees as resembling Twelfth Night, the lawyer singles out the "good practise" on the steward for an extended description, a typical gulling plot favored by Inns of Court audiences at the private theatres in plays by Chapman, Jonson and Marston. Manningham's description suggests how apt a performance of Twelfth Night might be to the educated aristocrats of the Middle Temple at their revels. The classical reminiscences and the satisfying gulling plot of Shakespeare's comedy, however, point to the play's literary background and sources, a topic addressed in the two proceeding chapters. Here the inquiry is directed at the social background, in links between the law school revels and the comedy presented on February 2, 1602.

Revelling and academic studies seemed linked both at the law schools and in Twelfth Night. The connection is explicitly stated by Sir George Buck writing in the year of Shakespeare's death: "The Art of Revels," he says, "requireth knowledge in Grammar, Rhetorick, Logicke, Philosophie, Historie, Musicke, Mathematicke, and other Arts (in all more than I understand I confess)."[7] These requirements must be amply salted with the spirit of mirth, as the following entry from Manningham's Diary suggests. After discussing a law case following dinner in the hall with John Bramston, the future chief justice, and

Thomas Fleetwood, a lawyer and son of the late Recorder of London, Manningham writes,

> Mr. Fleetwood, after he was gone from supper, remembering a case to the purpose he was talking of before he went, and came againe to tell us of it, which Mr. Bramston said was as yf a reveller, when he had made a legg at the end of galliard, should come againe to shew a tricke which he had forgotten.[8]

In this light, academic jests in Twelfth Night are a subject to which, apparently, not enough attention has been paid. Indeed, Sir Andrew's failings as a scholar is a consistent source of humour. Prior to the foolish knight's first appearance, Sir Toby recommends him to Maria as a paragon of learning:

> He plays o' th' viol-de-gamboys and speaks three or four languages word for word without book and hath all the good gifts of nature.
>
> I.iii.26-28

But Maria knows him for a fool:"He hath indeed, almost naturall," she quips (I.iii.29). Sir Andrew's witlessness appears almost immediately, as he fails his first language test: "What is pourquoi?" he asks, "Do, or not do?" (I.iii.89). He then confesses his abysmal ignorance: "I would that I had bestowed that time in the tongues, that I have in fencing, dancing and bear-baiting: O had I but followed the Arts" (I.iii.89-92). Later, his ignorance is affirmed in his letter of challenge to Cesario:

> Sir Toby: Now will I not deliver his letter....This letter being so excellently ignorant, will breed no terror in the youth: he will find it comes from a clodpole.
>
> III.iv.181-187

At the start of the revels scene (II.iii.), Sir Andrew fails to recog-

nize a Latin tag from Lyly's Grammar (1553) which any schoolboy would have been able to identify:

> Sir Toby: Approach, Sir Andrew. Not to be abed after midnight is to be up betimes: and "Deliculo surgere," thou knowest.
>
> II.iii.1-3

But the hapless Sir Andrew fails to recognize "Diluculo surgere saluberrium est," i.e., "to get up at dawn is most healthy." The foolish knight is capable only of the tautology: "I know to be up late is to be up late" (II.iii.6-7), an absolute reply which lends occasion for Sir Toby's jest on the absurd conclusions possible through strict applications of logic:

> A false conclusion: I hate it as an unfilled can. To be up after midnight, and to go to bed then, is early; so that to go to bed after midnight is to go to bed betimes.
>
> II.iii.7-9

Like Sir Toby, Feste also exploits the ease with which words may be used to prove almost anything. As Olivia's "corrupter of words" (III.i.37), he is ready to point out that "a sentence," i.e., a legal opinion, "is but a chev'ril glove to a good wit. How quickly the wrong side may be turned outward" (III.i.13-15). Words may be used to alter the meanings of "bonds" or contracts, as an audience of lawyers would well appreciate. Feste observes, "But indeed, words are very rascals, since bonds disgraced them" (III.i.21-22). When Cesario demands proof of this last statement, Feste refuses to supply one on the grounds that he "can yield none without words, and words are grown so false I am loath to prove reason with them" (III.i.24-26).

Feste's earlier "catechism" of Olivia is another corruption of logical proofs. The clown employs formal logic to prove his mistress a fool.

> Clown: Good Madona, give me leave to prove you a fool.
> Olivia: Can you do it?
> Clown: Dexteriously, good Madona.
> Olivia: Make your proof...
> Clown: Good Madona, why mournst thou?
> Olivia: Good fool, for my brother's death.
> Clown: I think his soul is in hell, Madona.
> Olivia: I know his soul is in heaven, fool.
> Clown: The more fool (Madona) to mourn for your brother's soul, being in heaven. Take away the fool, gentlemen.
>
> I.v.55-70

When it serves her turn, Olivia too, uses reason to disprove conclusions reached with reason. Infatuated with the disguised page, she says...

> I love thee so, that maugre all thy pride,
> Nor wit, nor reason can my passion hide:
> Do not extort thy reasons from this clause,
> For that I woo, thou therefore hast no cause:
> But rather reason thus, with reason fetter;
> Love sought, is good: but given unsought, is better.
>
> III.i.155-160

Reason or wit should "hide" passion, but Olivia's passion overwhelms her logical faculties. She attempts to use the implements of reason, clauses and causes, to disguise the patent illogicality of her conclusion.

Feste further demonstrates the corruptibility of reason through deliberate perversions of the syllogism, the bulwark of logical reasoning. In fact, the sole use of "syllogism" in Shakespeare appears in Twelfth Night in a technical term from Ramist logic, the "simple syllogism,"[9] used to prove that sin and virtue are identical. Feste says

to Olivia:

> Anything that's mended is but patched; virtue that transgresses is but patched with sin, and sin that amends is but patched with virtue. If that this simple syllogism will serve, so; if it will not, what remedy?
>
> I.v.45-49

In Ramist logic, the simple syllogism combines three universal affirmative statements of the form "All men are mortal": so, too, in Feste's simple syllogism, which has been reformulated as follows:

> Major Premis: All mended things are patched things.
> Minor Premis: Broken virtue is sin-mended.
> Conclusion: Therefore broken virtue is sin-patched.

[10]

The clown again employs mock-syllogistic reasoning at the beginning of Act V to prove to the duke the absurd conclusion that one is better for one's enemies and worse for one's friends:

> Marry, sir, they praise me and make an ass of me. Now my foes tell me plainly I am an ass; so that by my foes, sir, I profit in the knowledge of myself, and by my friends I am abused; so that conclusions to be as kisses, if your four negatives make your two affirmatives, why then, the worse for my friends, and the better for my foes.
>
> V.i.17-23

This reasoning seems to be esoteric fare that an audience of lawyers, skilled in the technicalities of logic, would presumably appreciate. The clown is here playing on the "fallacy of two negative premises," in which no conclusions follow from two negative premises. The two false conclusions, that "one is better for one's foes" and "one is worse for one's friends" are as true as false kisses, i.e., they are not true at all. Hence from a logical point of view, Feste's argument is valid, but his conclusions are false.[11]

Mock learning, delivered by the clown, provides a final form of academic jesting. Sir Andrew, whose shortcomings as a scholar have been previously noted, supplies an abstract of Feste's disquisition on the voyage of Pigrogromitus, near the start of the midnight revels:

> In sooth, thou was in very gracious fooling last night, when thou spok'st of Pigrogromitus, of the Vapians passing the equinoctial of Queubus: 'twas very good, i'faith.
>
> II.iii.22-25

Scholars have searched through Rabelais unsuccessfully for Shakespeare's source on this exquisite piece of mock learning. While the jesting seems Rabelaisian in spirit, "Pigrogromitus" is a name that suggests the tradition in Latin comedy of the braggart warrior with a lengthy, unpronouncible name: Pyrgopolynices in the Braggart Warrior and Therapontigonus in the Curculio, both by Plautus. Feste's mock learning also occurs in his invocation of "Quinapalus" just prior to the cathachism of Olivia:

> Wit, and't be thy will, put me into good fooling! Those wits that think they have thee, do very oft prove fools: and I that am sure I lack thee, may pass for a wise man. For what says Quinapalus? 'Better a witty fool than a foolish wit.'
>
> I.v.30-34

The nonce name Quinapalus may be built on the model of Quintilian, the great first-century rhetorician, still an authority in sixteenth-century rhetorical training. A final example of mock learning occurs when Feste, disguised as Sir Topas, plays fancifully on the Aristotelian law of identity, the very foundation of formal logic:

> As the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and ink, very wittily said to a niece of King

> Gorboduc, 'That that is, is': so I, being Master Parson, am Master Parson; for what is 'that' but 'that'? and 'is' but 'is'?
>
> IV.ii.13-17

Disguise, of course, alters identity. Feste "proves," by the law of identity, that he is Master Parson Sir Topas despite the disguise. The law of identity, "a thing is what it is" tests what assertions are free of contradiction. Even though Feste is not Master Parson, he proves, by the law of identity, that he is. Like Quinapalus, the old hermit of Prague is here cited by the clown as a mock authority.

When dissembling as Sir Topas, Feste jests on the subject of honesty i.e., chastity: "but to be said an honest man and a good housekeeper goes as fairly, as to say, a carefull man, and a great scholar" (IV.ii.8-10). Since Feste's "carefull man" seems only concerned with his reputation, his "great scholar" is "honest" only inasmuch as his reputation remains intact. The jest on "carefull man" and "great scholar" seems to have point at an academic revels: for although Twelfth Night is seen by some critics as one of Shakespeare's least bawdy plays, several jests on sex, some of which have academic overtones, have apparently been overlooked. When, at the clown's first appearance, Olivia accuses him of being "dishonest," he answers in typical syllogistic obscurity: "as there is no true cuckold but calamity, so beauty's a flower" (.v.49-50). In this vein, when he later declares "Cucullus non facit monachem" (I.v.53-54), he means not only literally that the cowl does not make the monk, i.e., he does not wear motley on his brain, but also that a vow of chastity is no guarantee of a man's honesty. We also find an academic jest with

sexual overtones in Maria's puns on "dry" and "barren," and in the rhetorical figure of the metaphor.

> Maria: I pray you bring your hand to th' buttery bar, and let it drink.
> Andrew: Wherefore, sweetheart? What's your Metaphor?
> Maria: It's dry, sir.
> Andrew: Why, I think so: I am not such as ass but I feel I can keep my hand dry. But what's your jest?
> Maria: A dry jest, sir.
> Andrew: Are you full of them?
> Maria: Ay, sir, I have them at fingers' ends: marry, now I let go your hand, I am barren.
>
> I.iii.69-78

"Dry" and "barren" both refer to wit, impotence and infertility; Shakespeare points to the double entendre through Sir Andrew's inability to comprehend Maria's significance in her "dry jest" on the metaphor of a drinking hand.

Sexual jests veiled in naval metaphors appear in Twelfth Night. At his first appearance, Sir Andrew is made the butt of lewd suggestions by Sir Toby. He is encouraged to "front" Maria, "board her, woo her, assail her" (I.iii.55-56). This is reminiscent of a "letter" from the Lord Admiral to the Christmas Prince of the 1594 revels at Gray's Inn:

> On the 9th of January, in the straights of the Gulf of Clerkenwell, there was an hot Skirmish between a Merchant of St. Giles, called Amarpso, and the Admiral of the Amazons, called the Rowseflower; wherein the Merchant, having gained the Wind, came up with her in such close manner, that he brake his Boltsprite in her hinder quarter....Then the Merchant perceiving his Power to be spent, was inforced to grapple; and so, with great resolution, laid her a-board on the Waste, which he found stoutly defended by the French.[12]

Viola's sex-change comes in for a jest. When challenged to a duel against Sir Andrew, she says in fright, "Pray God defend me:

a little thing would make me tell them how much I lacke of a man" (III.iv.299-300). Malvolio's description of the disguised page, as observed in chapter 2, plays on peascod, codling and codpiece (I.v. 159-160). Viola herself is not above bawdy banter. In her encounter with Feste outside Olivia's gates on her second embassy, she says to the clown, "they that dally nicely with words may quickly make them wanton." Feste picks up the scent of a jest, replying,

> I would therefore my sister had no name sir.
> Viola: Why, man?
> Clown: Why, sir, her name's a word, and to dally with that word might make my sister a wanton.
>
> III.i.14-19

Here and elsewhere, the clown seems to instigate much the play's bawdy jesting. His first dialogue with Maria seems filled with sexual innuendo:

> Maria: Nay, either tell me where thou hast been, or I will not open my lips so wide as a bristle may enter, in way of thy excuse: my lady will hang thee for thy absence.
> Clown: Let her hang me: he that is well hanged in this world need fear no colours.
>
> I.v.1-7

In the course of this dialogue, Feste comments, "Many a good hanging prevents a bad marriage"(line 19). Dead man cannot marry, literally, but the bawdy pun on "well hung" gives another significance to the line.

If sexual jests in Twelfth Night are not absent, neither are legal allusions. Legal jests, would, of course be absolutely required at an Inns of Court revels, and Twelfth Night, like many plays of the period, contains numerous allusions to the law. We find

legal expressions in this play, however, that differ from other Shakespearean plays not so much in quantity but in technicality and irreverant usage. In addition to legal terminology and jests upon legal terms, we have allusions to law suits, a mock-trial performed on stage, a possible topical allusion to a recent well-publicized Star-Chamber case (see Appendix B), and fanciful allusions to minor officials of the law.

The best-known legal allusion in Twelfth Night is Sir Toby's reply to Maria on his immoderate habits:

> Maria: My lady takes great exceptions to your ill hours.
> Toby: Why, let her except, before excepted.
>
> I.iii.5-7

Sir Toby here parodies the language of contracts and leases, exceptis exceptiendis, i.e., "with the exceptions previously noted." Other references to the law of contracts may be found. Olivia, following her dismissal of the two knights after they have accosted Sebastian (IV.i.49), alludes to a "writ of extent," in speaking to Viola's twin:

> I prithee, gentle friend,
> Let thy fair widom, not thy passion, sway
> In this uncivil and unjust extent
> Against thy peace.
>
> IV.i.50-52

An "extent" or "writ of extendi facias" is an order whereby the sovereign, with the aid of a sheriff, proceeding by due process, might seize the goods of a subject. Olivia's allusion is technically incorrect, since Sebastian's "peace" is not properly subject to a writ of extent.[13] A further reference to contract law occurs when

Olivia inventories her beauty to Viola-Cesario:

> I will give out diverse schedules of my beauty...
> and every particle and utensile labelled to my will.
>
> I.v.241-243

According to the Elizabethan law of testaments, a "label" was "a paper annexed by way of addition or explication to a will or testament."[14] In Act IV we find a legal quibble in a reference to real-estate contracts in the clown's reply to Sebastian when the latter refuses to be begged out of a coin.

> These wise men that give fools money get themselves
> a good report--after fourteen year's purchase.
>
> IV.i.22-24

A "report," according to Dover Wilson in the NCS edition, is "the official record of a decision in a case"; "purchase," according to the same source, is the marketable value of land "computed to be the sum of its annual rentals, or the total return from it, for a certain number of years." Since the current price of land was twelve year's purchase, Feste hints that the full value of his foolery takes an excessively long time before it is realized. A final reference to contracts occurs when Olivia brings in the priest to confirm her betrothal. The mock-solemnity of the priest seems to parody legal jargon:

> A contract of eternal bond of love,
> Confirm'd by mutual joinder of your hands,
> Attested by the holy close of lips,
> Strengthen'd by the interchangements of your rings,
> And all the ceremony of the compact
> Seal'd in my function, by my testimony.
>
> V.i.153-159

In addition to these allusions to the law of contracts, we find

at least two jests on legal terms and several references to minor officers of the law in Twelfth Night. Feste, correcting Olivia for believing his wit had grown stale, says to the countess, "Misprision in the highest degree" (I.v.53), where "high misprision," according to Attorney General Coke, signifies "compassings or imaginings against the King by word, without overt act."[15] Here the fool is claiming an offence that can only be committed against a king, a claim that is itself high misprision. Thus, by identifying himself with his sovereign, Feste gives occasion for a legal jest. Another jest on the technicalities of the meaning of legal terms occurs just prior to the mock duel between Sir Andrew and Cesario. Sir Toby, taking the law of the duello as if it were the law of the land, suggests that the foolish knight's "indignation derives itself out of a very computent injury" (III.iv.245-246), an absurdity in this instance. "Computent" is a term that signifies that an injury is within the jurisdiction of a court, and the duello was nothing more than a code of behaviour in private feuds between gentlemen.[16] As for allusions to minor officers of the law, Feste, in one of his fanciful utterances, says, "the Myrmidons are no bottle-ale houses" (II.iii. 29). This apparent piece of nonsense may be an allusion to inferior justices, who, in seventeenth-century legal parlances, were called myrmidons (OED). Again, at Viola's first appearance outside Olivia's gates, Malvolio reports to the countess that the page will "stand at your door like a sheriff's post, and be the supporter to a bench" (I.v.147-149). On this matter, Halliwell observes,

> The houses of Mayors and Sheriffs of towns here dis-

> tinguished by large posts set up before the doors. These posts were often elaborately carved, and were generally repainted on an accession or re-election to the office.[17]

The line might mean, then, that the page puts on an appearance as if her presence at Olivia's door had the force of law. Another reference to petty law officers is in Sir Toby's order to Sir Andrew to scout for Cesario "like a bum-baily" (III.iv.178). Bum bailies were petty officers of the lowest kind, employed in arrests for debt, who came up to their quarry from behind (hence their name).[18] In this instance, Sir Toby's suggestion seems to reinforce and play upon Sir Andrew's cowardice. A final instance draws together a legal allusion and the absurdities of logical demonstrations based upon reason. Fabian derides such proofs by swearing to Sir Andrew "upon the Oathes of judgement and reason" (III.ii.12-13) that Olivia's signs of favor to Cesario were intended for him. Sir Toby then adds that judgment and reason "have been grand-jurymen since Noah was a sailor" (III.ii. 14-15). This wild legal allusion seems intended in jest, since witnesses, not grandjurymen swear upon oaths; the latter find verdicts or bills.[19]

If Twelfth Night contains a fair share of legal allusions and jests, it is also filled with law suits, even staging a mock trial, and allusions to law suits and legal actions. A reference to law suits occurs in Sir Andrew's fatuous letter challenging Cesario to a duel. As Sir Toby reads, Fabian comments on the care the foolish knight has exhibited in side-stepping legal complications and entanglements:

> Toby: Youth, whatsoever thou art, thou art but a scurvy fellow....Wonder not, nor admire not in thy mind, why I do call thee so, for I will show no reason for't.
> Fabian: A good note; that keeps you from the blow of the law....
> Toby: Thou kill'st me like a rogue and a villain.
> Fabian: Still you keep o' th' windy side of the law: good.
>
> III.iv.149-166.

The phrases of the challenge are carefully framed after such treatises on the duello as Segar's Booke of Honor and Armes (1590).[20] Fabian's "windy side of the law" is a nautical metaphor, suggesting that Sir Andrew is keeping a safe distance from the law, which, to proceed against him, must sail against the wind.[21] The legal implications of Sir Andrew's intended assault on Cesario are pursued with precision after the knight has been struck by the page's twin brother. Sir Andrew declares that he will

> have an action of battery against him, if there be any law in Illyria; though I struck him first, yet it's no matter for that.
>
> IV.i.33-35.

In Shakespeare's time, if a person received a beating as a result of an action which he himself provoked, he was not entitled to the law's protection.[22] Sir Andrew's dismissal of the fact that he initiated the assault lies at the heart of this legal jest.

Andrew is not the only litigious Illyrian. In Act V, Malvolio brings Viola's sea captain to the bar of justice. The commentators have generally dismissed this law case as a way of preparing for Malvolio's final entrance some one-hundred lines later, but there may be more involved. On discovering that Cesario is a woman, the duke asks

to see his new mistress in her woman's clothing (V.i.271). Viola replies:

> The captain that did bring me first on shore
> Hath my maid's garments; he upon some action
> Is now in durance, at Malvolio's suit,
> A gentleman and follower of my lady's.
>
> V.i.272-275.

"In durance" is a legal pun, meaning, on the one hand "in jail," and on the other "in stout cloth." In other words, "durance" is a pun on "suits," legal and sartorial. Curiously, the only other occurance of "durance suits" in Shakespeare is in The Comedy of Errors (IV.iii.27), the play that entertained the lawyers at the 1594 Gray's Inn Christmas. There may be more in this legal allusion than meets the eye: at Malvolio's final, infuriated exit, the duke says,

> Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace:
> He hath not told us of the captain yet.
> When that is known,and golden time convents,
> A solemn combination shall be made
> Of our dear souls.
>
> V.i.380-383.

It seems as if the union of Duke Orsino and Viola must await knowledge of Malvolio's durance suit. What this is about, the text is silent.[23]

The most important law case in Twelfth Night is the staged mock trial of Malvolio. This scene has far-reaching implications in our reading of the play in relation to the revels theme. The revels at which Twelfth Night was performed were conducted in the Middle Temple Hall, "the fairest structure belonging to this [society]....it being very large and stately."[24] This edifice, begun in 1564 and completed ten years later, still stands today despite the ravages of the Nazi

blitz. The hall was the center of Middle Temple life: meals were served, moot courts and parliaments held, stage plays presented, and revels undertaken. Indeed, the generation of lawyers responsible for constructing the hall emblazoned their heraldic devices on the two bay windows and ceiling rafters. In this light, it appears significant that the interior of the Middle Temple Hall seems to be described during Malvolio's mock trial, suggesting a direct link between Twelfth Night and the revel at which it was presented. In accord with the convention, described in the previous chapter, in which stage and hall merge, the performance area seems transformed into the Middle Temple Hall itself. Locked in "prison" after being charged with madness, Malvolio complains of the hideous darkness into which he has been cast. Feste, disguised as the curate Sir Topas, points at the windows of Malvolio's "dark room";

> Why it hath bay windows transparant as barricadoes, and the clerestories toward the south-north are as lustrous as ebony.
>
> IV.ii.37-39.

Over twenty-years ago, G.P.V. Akrigg observed that these lines apparently picture the interior of the Middle Temple Hall itself.[25] The clown's "bay windows" (in the plural) and small second-story windows, or clerestories, located "toward the south-north" correspond to features within the hall. Although most Tudor halls had but one bay, Feste speaks of more than one. The bay windows played an important part in the education of the fledgling lawyers. According to Dugdale, "immediately after supper," during their grand vacations, or learning periods, "the benchers assemble themselves in the bay window at the

upper end of the hall...to hear a moot."[26] Again, Feste's mention of the "clerestories toward the south-north" match those on the south and north walls of the hall.

Shakespeare further exploits the tradition of alluding to "this hall" in interludes presented at aristocratic halls. Malvolio's complaint about the darkness of his prison seems to have special comic point in a house of learning: "I say this house is as dark as ignorance, though ignorance were as dark as hell" (IV...1.46-47). The steward's subsequent call for a trial of his sanity seems well designed to divert the legal company assembled in "this hall." Malvolio entreats Sir Topas to make trial of his sanity "in any constant question" (IV.ii.49-50). The "trial" which follows, on Pythagoras' opinion on wildfowl, is a travesty of the English legal system in cases of mental incompetence.[27] Given a tradition of interludes at Inns of Court revels dating back to the middle of the fifteenth century, these passages seem to link the play to the revel at which it was performed on February 2, 1602.

Malvolio's imprisonment for madness has also been compared to incidents in The Commedy of Errors. In Errors, Antipholus of Ephesus is taken to be mad by his wife, and a conjuror, Doctor Pinch, is brought in, like Sir Topas, to exorcise his devils. Antipholus's denials of performing deeds actually done by his double convinces the conjuror he is mad. As a result, he and his slave are bound over in a dark room (IV.iv.129). Not only does this recall Malvolio's fate, but it seems to reflect actual events at the Gray's Inn revels leading up to the performance of Errors. At Gray's revels, as in Errors and

Twelfth Night, a mock-arraignment is held, a conjuror is brought in, witchcraft is cited as a cause of madness and the guilty parties are sent off to prison (see Appendix A).

We find then in Twelfth Night an abundance of academic jesting that seems appropriate to a play produced at an Inns of Courts revel. We have seen a preoccupation with demonstrations and logical proofs, with the absurdities possible through logical reasoning, with technical syllogistic jesting and mock learning, and, in the figure of Sir Andrew, a paragon of ignorance who turns to revelling as a substitute for learning. Such jesting is in keeping with the main theme of the play: folly and wisdom, the unreasonableness of reason, appropriate subjects in a season of revelry at a law school. The preceeding analysis suggests that the English law-school revels, c. 1600, provide the immediate social background of Twelfth Night. The climactic scene of Malvolio's incarceration and trial is apparently an interlude set in the revels hall itself and a reminiscence of earlier revels at Gray's Inn. The scattering of academic, legal and bawdy jests set in the context of aristocratic revelry points to this background.

The Middle Temple audience had particular attitudes toward revelry, including literary expectations as well. Manningham's astute remarks suggest and unusually high level of literary sophistication among the lawyers. In satisfying the literary tastes of a legal audience without simultaneously distancing his Globe spectators, Shakespeare apparently faced, and solved, a problem similar to that of particularizing the social background within the law-school revels without destroying the universality of his theme. We turn now to

Shakespeare's handling of his source materials with respect to this problem.

Notes, Chapter 4

1
Hotson, p. 212.

2
Dugdale, p. 95.

3
Ibid., p. 70.

4
Ibid., p. 95.

5
Craik, ed., p. xxvi; see also photographic facsimile in S. Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare, A Documentary Life (New York, 1975), p. 156, from Brit. Lib. MS Harley 5353, f12v.

6
Richard Warwick Bond, ed., Early Plays from the Italian (New York, 1967),p. 1.ii.

7
Finklepearl, p. 33; quoted in "The Third University." Appendix in John Stowe Chronicle of England (London, 1615),p. 988.

8
Finkelpearl, p. 33.

9
Frank Pierrepont Graves, Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1912), p. 151.

10
C.W. Hutson, "Three of Shakespeare's Merry Men," Southern Magazine, May, 1875, 483; quoted in Furness, ed., p. 65.

11
J. Rea, "Feste's Syllogisms in Twelfth Night," Ball State University Forum, 3(1964), 59-62. Feste's use of logic is also studied in Toshiko Oyama, "The Language of Feste, the Clown," Studies in English Grammar and Linguistics in Honor of Takanokie Otsaka, Kazuo Araki, et al, eds., (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 379-393.

12
Finklepearl, p. 42.

13
See Furness, ed., AYLI, A New Valiorum Edition, III.1.18n.

Notes, Chapter 4

14
W. L. Rushton, Shakespeare's Testamentary Language (London, 1869), p. 9, as quoted in Furness, ed., TN, p. 88.

15
See Furness, ed., TN, p. 66.

16
See John Dover Wilson, ed., TN (Cambridge, 1949), p. 154.

17
See Furness, ed., p. 77.

18
OED.

19
See Furness, ed., p. 230.

20
Craik, ed., lists these books, published in the 1590s on the duello: The Practice Proceedings and Lawes of Armes (Mathew Sutcliffe), 1593; Vincentio Saviola, His Practise, in two bookes; the first intreating of the use of the Rapier and Dagger, the second of Honour and Honourable Quarrels, 1595; p. 110.

21
Craik, ed., p. 102.

22
Wilson, ed., p. 158.

23
Could it be that Malvolio has discovered the secret of Cesario's identity, and thinking to work his "revenge" by a "barful strife" (II.i.) have the captain present Viola's suits in a court of law?

24
Dugdale, p. 58.

25
G. P. V. Akrigg, "Twelfth Night at the Middle Temple," SQ 9(1958), 422-424. A description and photograph of the hall appear in John Bruce Williamson, Middle Temple Hall (London, 1930), p. 30.

26
Dugdale, p. 102.

Notes, Chapter 4

27

C. J. Sisson, "Tudor Intelligence Tests: Malvolio and Real Life," Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama in Honor of Hardin Craig (Missouri University Press, 1962), p. 200.

Chapter 5

The Viola Plot:

Classical and Learned Antecedents

> ...much like the commedy of
> errors or Menechimi in plautus
> but most like and neere to that
> in Italian called Inganni
>
> John Manningham's Diary

To modern scholars, Manningham's allusion to the antecedents of the main plot of Twelfth Night seems to suffer from misplaced emphases. The Elizabethan lawyer focuses on classical and learned models, apparently showing no appreciation for the "romantic" elements of the plot which inform present-day views. The link to Plautus and Errors, while undeniable, is generally seen as inessential to Shakespeare's artistic purposes, and the similarity to Gl'Inganni has been shown to be far from the mark: nearer Italian versions have been subsequently discovered.[1] Yet Manningham's authority as a Shakespearean contemporary suggests that his views should be weighed with considerable care, serving to assist in a reconstruction of an Elizabethan perspective on the play. In this way, we may come closer to Shakespeare's intentions, while disengaging our reading from that which we have inherited. We may usefully begin such a reconstruction with a survey of the history of the scholarship of the sources from the date of Manningham's entry to its first publication in 1831.

As we have seen, Manningham linked Twelfth Night to academic, classical and learned models of comedy. The only other seventeenth-century commentator on the sources of the main action stresses the links to classical comedy. Writing in 1692, Gerald Longbaine says of the sources:

> The Resemblance of Sebastian to his Sister Viola, and her change of Habit, occasioning so many mistakes, was doubtless first borrowed (not only by Shakespeare, but all our succeeding poets) from Plautus, who made use of it in several Plays, as Amphitruo, Menaechmi, &c,"[2]

Although Longbaine wrote about half a century after the closing of the theatres, he nevertheless agrees with Manningham on the Plautian roots of the comedy. Significantly, for the future course of Twelfth Night scholarship, he fails to suggest a possible source of the disguised-page love-triangel plot, as Manningham had in Inganni. His emphasis on the classical "errors" plot nevertheless accords with Manningham, and suggests that a search for structural and thematic links among classical and learned models might be useful in developing contemporary perspectives on Shakespeare's handling of familiar plot materials.

Eighteenth-century Shakespearean scholars, however, failed to pursue this direction. The search for the source of the Viola plot, after Longbaine, led away from classical and learned comedy and in the direction of prose romances. Our next commentator on record, Charlotte Lennox, writing in 1753, grants that Shakespeare may have taken "hints" from Plautus, but nevertheless believed that Shakespeare's direct source was an Italian prose version of the Viola plot. She identified Bandello's tale of Niculoa and Lattanzio (1554)

as a possible source, having both the disguised-page love triangle-plot as well as an aristocratic attitude toward courtship and manners.[3] Further discoveries revealed adaptations of the "Viola plot" in prose romances. In 1779, Capell announced the discovery of the tale of Nicole and Lattance in François de Belleforest's Histoires Tragiques (1570), a moralized and romanticized retelling of Bandello. Capell prophetically suggested that Belleforest "must be accounted the source 'till some English novel appears, built (perhaps) upon that French one, but approaching nearer to Shakespeare's comedy."[4] Precisely such a novel first came to notice in 1806.[5] In 1820, J.P. Collier published excerpts from this work, Barnabe Riche's tale "Of Apolonius and Silla," a prose romance which fulfills Capell's prediction and which has been acknowledged the probable source by most scholars since Collier's announcement.[6]

Only eleven years after publishing extracts from Riche, Collier printed Manningham's entry pertaining to Twelfth Night.[7] Manningham's comments seem worlds apart from a play the immediate source of which is generally believed to be a popular English prose romance. It is possible to misread Manningham by supposing he was naming sources in the modern manner: the modern student of sources intends to identify the work or works actually used by Shakespeare in building his play, those closest in details of plot, names of characters, or which exhibit demonstrable verbal borrowings. If this purpose were also Manningham's, the findings of modern scholarship should rightly supersede him. As an Elizabethan with a humanist-legal training, however, Manningham would be understandably receptive to the play's classicism.

His interest, apparently, was not to name sources in the modern fashion, but to identify a domain of drama which suits Twelfth Night. His message seems clear: Twelfth Night, in its links to Plautus, Errors and Inganni, belongs to learned comedy.

An examination of the origins and history of the analogues of the Viola plot points to a continuous handling of these materials within academic comedy. Most of the variations of the Viola plot exhibit four core characters in fundamentally similar situations. (1) A young girl (Viola) who disguises herself as a page to serve her beloved; (2) her aristocratic lover (Orsino), who sends the page to woo a rival lady on his behalf but ends up marrying her; (3) a rival lady (Olivia), who falls in love with the messenger, and (4) a look-alike brother (Sebastian), whose timely but unexpected appearance leads first to mistakes in identity and ultimately to a happy resolution in which the disguised page is revealed to her beloved and marries him, while the look-alike brother conveniently marries the rival lady. Shakespeare varies the core situation only in minutiae. In most versions, the young girl puts on the disguise in order to serve her beloved; Viola, on the contrary, falls in love with Orsino after three days in the duke's service. The alteration seems to arise in the interests of dramatic economy, and, in the main, Shakespeare preserves the essentials of the disguised-page story as it had come down in more than a score of sixteenth-century versions.

The Viola plot, then, had its origins in the Italian Renaissance learned adaptations of the Plautian "twin plot" of the Menaechmus and Amphitruo, as Longbaine and Manningham knew. In several cinquecento

Italian plays, the confusions of identity were combined with a love story devised by turning one of the male twins into a girl. This romance-derived motif apparently made its initial appearance in modern comedy in one of the first erudita penned, Bibbiena's La Calandria (1513), a play of mistaken identity in which male-female twins dress in clothes of the opposite sex. The appearance of this romance motif in classically-constructed cinquecento comedy seems to have been a momentous event for modern drama. By the time Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night, the disguised-twin heroine had found her way back into most contemporary genres through successive borrowings. She first appears in the variant of the twin plot used by Shakespeare in Twelfth Night in Gl'Ingannati (The Deceived Ones), an erudita written and performed by the Accademia Degl'Intronati (The Academy of the Thunderstruck) of Siena during carnival, 1531. This academic festival comedy, one of the most widely dispersed erudita ever written, was disseminated through Western Europe in a variety of editions, translations and adaptations throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appears in a recognizable adaptation as late as the Restoration period, in Wycherly's The Plain Dealer (1676).[8]

In estimating the relevance of the Viola plot to an audience of English lawyers at a revels, the social background of the originators of the plot may be usefully explored. The Intronati was a society of educated aristocrats with sophisticated, cynical attitudes toward love, who, among other pastimes, presented stage plays through a lengthy revels season, extending, at times, from All Souls through

carnival.[9] Gl'Ingannati was written for the entertainment of their lady friends during their carnival festivities. In a masque, Il Sacrificio, presented three days before the first performance of Gl'Ingannati, the Intronati burned tokens of love in a travesty of Petrarchan conventions. Indeed, one of the aims of this fools' society was to engage in playful self-mockery on the norms of courtship. Gl'Ingannati was then written, supposedly in the three intervening days, to atone for offenses the ladies may have taken when, in Il Sacrificio, the Intronati "burned all those things which," according to the prologue, "might direct their fancies to [the ladies in the audience] and increase their longings for [the ladies] and [their] ways."[10]

Gl'Ingannati, like Twelfth Night at the Middle Temple, was performed at the occasion of a feast. The plays bear similarities that befit comedies produced under such auspicies. Like Sir Toby, Stragualcia of Gl'Ingannati is devoted to the pursuit of food and drink:

> I have already had three drinks and ordered another. I shall not leave the kitchen, for I shall gorge on whatever there is in it, and then I'll sleep beside some good fire. A plague on anyone who tries to stop me.

References to Sir Toby's appetite for food and drink abound in Twelfth Night.[11] In the epilogue, Stragualcia invites the audience to the feast:

> Spectators, do not expect these people to come out any more, for we have been a long time telling this story. If you wish to dine with us, I await you at the Madmann Inn.
>
> V.viii.

At the Middle Temple, Twelfth Night, too, was performed at the occasion of a feast. While Twelfth Night avoids the grosser indelicacies of Gl'Ingannati, it is, as we have seen, not without bawdy. The deceptions found in the Italian play have salacious overtones; they are similar to those the Intronati would like to practice on the ladies, particularly, as the prologue hints, that in which Fabrizio (Sebastian) is locked in a room with Isabella (Olivia) with the unknowing consent of her parents, there to receive her eager embraces.[12] Another theme common to Twelfth Night and Gl'Ingannati and appropriate to the occasion of a revel is that of folly and madness in love. The servant Spela rails against the lunacy of his master Gherardo, who has fallen in love with Lelia (Viola), though old enough to be her father. Spela says:

> If anyone wanted to put all the folly in the world into a sack he would only have to pop my master inside to have it all there.
>
> I.v.

Like Feste and Sebastian Spela sees love as a form of madness. "Don't you realize you are out of humor," he says to Gherardo, "distressed, raving, and don't know what you say?"(I.i.v). Spela's cure for love's madness, recalling Malvolio's fate, is to "keep a close guard" on Gherardo. Like Malvolio, the old man exhibits himself in absurd dress in order to play the amorist. He swears he will appear in "the finest stuff of any man in Modena," vowing henceforth "to lead the amorous life" (I.v). He too is played for a gull (II.v.).

Despite general similarities in plot and theme between Twelfth Night and Gl'Ingannati, the majority of scholars believe there to be

only a slight possibility that Shakespeare was directly acquainted with the Italian play.[13] The parallels probably result, not from a direct influence, but rather indirectly by way of a stock of widely disseminated literary and social traditions held in common by these two works. In terms of social traditions, societies of learned fools mocking manners were popular at this time not only in Italy, where the Intronati were the first and most famous, but in France as well.[14] In Love's Labour's Lost (c.1594), Shakespeare apparently shows an acquaintance with such fools' academies. The continental academies also seem to have influenced the Inns of Court revels by way of the French Basoche tradition: a direct link between the English and French law revels, however, has yet to be demonstrated despite obvious resemblances. Although hard evidence is lacking, it nevertheless seems likely that the Italian, French and English fools societies (if the mock-kingdom at an English law-school revel can be so called) were aware of each and influenced one another.[15]

On the other hand, Gl'Ingannati's literary influence was demonstrably enormous. It was first published in Venice in 1537 and reissued at least sixteen times prior to the composition of Twelfth Night. The learned comedy was turned into pastoral romance, prose narrative both realistic and romance, popular and learned plays in English, Spanish, Latin, Italian and French. Our immediate interest lies with the learned versions; others are considered in the following chapter. In 1540, Gl'Ingannati was translated into French by the law clerk Charles Estienne for a learned readership in a version called Les Abusez that follows the original closely, omitting only three

scenes from a minor gulling sub-plot.[16] Les Abusez was issued five times by 1556, and was translated into Latin by an anonymous Cambridge scholar as Laelia in the 1540's.[17] This version re-entered the tradition of academic festival comedy shortly before the Middle Temple performance of Twelfth Night. It was performed before the Earl of Essex at the Christmas festivities at Cambridge 1594-95. Though not printed until 1910, Laelia may nevertheless have been known to Shakespeare.[18]

Continuing the line of learned redactions of Gl'Ingannati, we have the anonymous Buggbears (c.1563), another Cambridge comedy, based primarily on La Spiritata (1561), an erudita by A. F. Grazzini, with additions from Terence's Andria and Gl'Ingannati.[19] More important for our purposes are two plays of Nicolo Secchi, Gl'Inganni (t.p. 1547, but possibly 1551; printed in Florence, 1562) and L'Interesse (1547?; printed 1581). While the latter play contains only faint resemblances to Gl'Ingannati, the former combines the original Viola plot with scenes from the Asinaria of Plautus among other classical borrowings. Gl'Inganni was reissued seven times by 1600. A close adaptation of this play by Secchi is one of the same title by Curzio Gonzaga (1592), which features a "Cesare" in the role of the disguised page. Manningham's mention of Gl'Inganni (whether that of Secchi or Gonzaga cannot be determined) in combination with Shakespeare's use of "Cesario" as Viola's disguised name suggests that the relevance of this learned comedy, though recognized as significant by our Elizabethan observer, has been neglected.[20]

In Secchi's Gl'Inganni, Genevra/Ruberto (Viola/Cesario), dis-

guised as a boy, is a servant in Sr Massimo's household. She is in love with Sr Massimo's son Costanzo (Orsino). When Costanzo sends her to woo Dorotea (Olivia) on his behalf, the courtesan, unlike her Shakespearean counterpart, does not fall in love with the disguised girl. The three scenes of Genevra/Ruberto's courtship of Dorotea were lifted word for word from Plautus' Asinaria, duplicating the suit directed in the Roman comedy at the courtesan Phronesium.[21] Instead of Dorotea, Costanzo's sister Portia develops an insatiable passion for the disguised page. In her anxiety to rid herself of Portia, Genevra/Ruberto substitutes her look-alike brother Fortunato (Sebastian) for herself. The young man impregnates the love-struck girl, a motif which Secchi apparently borrowed from Plautus' Truculentus.[22] The originality of the plot in Gl'Inganni results from the division of the role of the rival lady between two characters, the courtesan Dorotea and the anamored girl Portia. In contrast, Olivia incorporates both roles: (1) she is wooed, like Dorotea, through the disguised page, and (2) like Portia, she falls in love with the messenger. Secchi varies the situation by lifting scenes from Plautus' Asinaria for the Dorotea branch of the plot and borrowing the pregnancy motif from Truculentus for the Portia branch.

The technique of adapting various plots of classical origin or derivation in the creation of Renaissance learned comedies had ancient precedent. Known as contaminatio, this technique, first mentioned in the works of Terence, apparently exerted a wide influence on writers of of learned comedy, Shakespeare in Twelfth Night apparently among them. In this sense, then, Manningham may have observed a profound link be-

tween Shakespeare's comedy and the Italian play, a link which unites these plays in the domain of learned comedy. Let us, therefore, examine closely this principle of plot construction by turning to our earliest sources. Roman playwrights commonly derived their plots by combining two Greek plays to form new Latin. The rules on borrowing were flexible, the sole restriction being that no Latin playwright could use Greek material that had previously been lifted from the Greek without incurring a charge of plagiarism. Such writers as Naevius, Ennius, Plautus and Terence employed contaminatio regularly as a principle of plot construction.[23]

Terence's discussion of contaminatio in the prologues of the Andria, Heutontimorumenos, Eunuchus and Adelphi, brought about by a charge of plagiarism from the rival poet Luscius, are the earliest texts known describing the practice: Terence's answers to Luscius give a general idea of the meaning of the term. In the Andria, Terence admits a debt to plays of Menander. He says that he has "transferred such passages as suited him from The Perinthian to The Adrian, and used them as his own."[24] In the Eunuchus, he admits to transferring the buffoonery of the flattering parasite Gnatho and the swaggering soldier Thraso from Menander's The Flatter to his own play.[25] In Adelphi, Terence allows borrowings from Diliphilus' Synapothnescontes, a play which Plautus had previously rendered into Latin as the Commorientes; Plautus, however, omitted several early scenes in which a young man "takes a girl by force from a pimp"; these scenes, which had never appeared in a Latin play, Terence "transferred...word for word into his Adelphi."[26]

Just what Terence meant by "contaminatio" is a problem that modern scholars have been unable to resolve, despite the amplification of Donatus, the fourth-century grammarian, whose commentaries accompanied most Renaissance editions of the Roman playwright.[27] Donatus assessed Terence's debt to his Greek originals on the basis of extant texts. Since these have subsequently disappeared, modern scholars have had to guess about Terence's practices in his use of contaminatio. Generally, it appears that the Roman playwright not only incorporates whole scenes word for word, as he tells us, but he also changes many components of his sources, altering characterizations, names, styles, and when it suits his purposes, details of plot. He further adds characters not found in his sources or substitutes characters from the plot of one source into that of another.[28] Thus, as Terence used it, contaminatio seems to have been a flexible method whereby the playwright might employ a body of traditional materials in a somewhat original manner.

Renaissance authors, through their reading of Terence in the editions prepared with the commentary of Donatus, were presumably familiar with contaminatio. It seems to have been a widely accepted principle of play construction throughout the sixteenth century with no stigma of plagiarism attached to it. On the contrary, the humanist impulse seems to have been well served by citing ancient authority on the source of the plots and by the suggestion that the new work is done in imitation of classical works. We see this impulse at work in the prologue to Ariosto's I Suppositi. The playwright confesses a considerable debt to Latin comedy; he

> has followed both Plautus and Terence, the one who made Cherea take the place of Dorus, and the other who made Philocrates exchange with Tyndarus, the one in the Eunuchus, and the other in the Captivi; because not only in the manners, but in the arguments also of his plays, he wishes to imitate to the best of his ability the ancient and famous poets.[29]

As the prologue suggests, Ariosto weaves an original fable out of traditional plots by means of contaminatio. He reshapes the Roman plots freely, maintaining the core situation of the master-slave switch, but altering incident in the direction of the love story of Eunuchus. Ariosto's originality is sometimes underestimated, perhaps owing to his close imitation of classical staging conventions; he has, nevertheless, created a new plot out of conventional materials, using conventional techniques.

Before turning to contaminatio in Twelfth Night, it will be useful to trace English contaminated comedy prior to our play in order to shed light on Shakespeare's probable use of the Terentian technique. Contaminatio was first practiced in England by academic playwrights. Nicholas Udall's Ralph Roister Doister (c.1553), apparently intended for performance by students, gives an English setting to the Thraso-Gnatho plot of Eunuchus, which, as we have seen, Terence lifted out of Menander's The Flatterer. The mock-duel plot became widely disseminated in Renaissance drama: it appears, for example, among learned versions of the Viola plot, in Gl'Ingannati, in Secchi's L'Interesse[30] and, of course, in Twelfth Night itself. It seems not to have been observed, however, that the Amphitruo of Plautus is also a source of Roister Doister.[31] In the Plautian comedy, Amphitruo, the husband of Alcmena, is away fighting the Teloboans while Jupiter, impersonating

him, assumes his shape and takes his place. The central comic moment occurs in the confusion of identity resulting from the arrival of Amphitruo while Jupiter is with Alcmena.[32] Shakespeare borrows this incident in Errors (III.i), and it also appears in Roister Doister. Dame Custance's betrothed, Gawyn Goodluck is delayed in the harbor, while his servant, Sym Suresby, observes a scene between Ralph and Custance which he easily confuses for a betrothal.[33] Thus, in addition to the well-known similarities of the characterization of the braggart warrior in Plauts' Miles, and the mock-battle derived from Eunuchus, Roister Doister seems to be a contaminated comedy in its adaptation of material from Amphitruo.

Other contaminated comedies to appear in England prior to Twelfth Night include the previously mentioned Cambridge play Buggbears and George Gascoigne's translation of Ariosto's I Suppositi, performed at Gray's Inn in 1566 with the title The Supposes. In addition to these academic playwrights, popular dramatists also employed contaminatio in the construction of their plays. Two comedies written within the generally accepted terminal dates of Twelfth Night (1598-1602) are fine specimens of this technique. Ben Jonson's The Case is Altered (1599) contaminates plots of the Captivi and the Aulularia of Plautus.[34] As in I Suppositi, a master and slave exchange identity, but unlike Ariosto's comedy, the Captivi situation is closely preserved in The Case. In the Plautian and Jonsonian comedies, the switch is used to deceive the captor of the master and servant. Thus, in The Case, Count Ferneze, who offers the two captives for ransom during a war, is found to be the father of the servant, as is his counterpart in Plautus.

The love interest is created by romanticizing the plot of the Aulularia and contaminating it with the Captivi plot. The resulting action ingeniuously combines the Plautian plots. Rachel (Plautus' Phaedra in Aulularia), the supposed daughter of the miser Jacques de Prie (Plautus' Euclio, the ancestor of Molière's Harpagon), is beloved of Paulo Ferneze, the Count's other son. Rachel, pursued by many suitors (some as ridiculous as Sir Andrew or Malvolio), holds together the two plots: (1) she is discovered to be the sister of Chamont, the master in the Captivi "switch" plot, and (2) she finally marries her beloved Paulo in the "pot of gold" plot. Jonson further develops this plot through the miser Jacques as a realistic comic underplot with links both to the humours and the so-called "city comedies."[35] In its use of classical sources, then, The Case is Altered seems to follow the practices of the ancient authors, and has come to be generally recognized as a contaminatio. Jonson, nevertheless, departs from classical models, adapting and adjusting his derived material to the conventions of the Elizabethan stage and the tastes of its audience. The comedy is free of the rigidities of classical staging techniques, and the treatment of the love story, a plot-line virtually unprecedented in classical plays, makes The Case possibly Jonson's most "romantic comedy."[36] Elements of comic realism appear in the underplots in the gulling of Jacques and the absurdities of Juniper's suits for the hand of Rachel. These non-classical elements seem typical of English adaptations of Roman comedy at the end of the sixteenth century.

George Chapman's All Fools (1598) is another English contaminated

comedy which, like The Case, adapts classical materials to Elizabethan standards while appending an original underplot. Chapman generally follows the plot of Terence's Heutontimorumenos, but bases his characterization of the two fathers, the indulgent Gostanzo and the strict Marc Antonio, on the fathers of the Adelphi. The self-tormenting motive, however, is preserved from Heutontimorumenos, as is the device of transferring the beloved from the house of one father to the other. In addition, from the Eunuchus, Chapman added a rambling and pointless humours underplot concerning the unfounded jealousies of the foolish husband Cornelio.[37]

The two comedies, Jonson's The Case is Altered and Chapman's All Fools, were written within a year of each other and no more than three or four years prior to Twelfth Night and seem to share structural similarities with the Shakespearean comedy. Both derive their main plots through contaminatio, and both append a realistic gulling or humours plot to the contaminated main action. In addition, their stage histories suggest that plays constructed according to this model might succeed both before the popular audiences on the outdoor stages, and before private, aristocratic audiences as well. Both the Jonson and Chapman comedies were apparently first performed in the outdoor theatres, The Case at the Globe by Shakespeare's company and All Fools at the Rose by the Admiral's Men.[38] In 1600, The Case seems to have been revised and presented by the newly reorganized boys' company at the Blackfriars; four years later, All Fools was presented by this same company, both at the private theatre and before King James (probably after minor revision).[39] Twelfth Night's early stage

history presumably parallels that of these comedies. Manningham's note assures us of its success before an audience similar to those attending performances at Blackfriars, an educated, aristocratic assemblage. Like All Fools, it was also presented before King James (1618, 1623). Although we have no record of performances of Twelfth Night at the Globe, it seems unlikely that Shakespeare would write the play for a single, private performance at the Middle Temple; the presumption is that the play was given at the Globe in addition to any private performances it received.

The preceding discussion of non-Shakespearean English contaminated comedy suggests (a) its association with academic and private auspices, and (b) its adaptability to popular tastes as well. Shakespeare's essays in contaminatio in The Comedy of Errors and apparently in Twelfth Night support both suggestions. He contaminates in Errors as follows: to the "twin plot" of Menaechmus, he adds a scene (III.i.) adapted from the Amphitruo in which the true husband is locked out of his home by a servant identical to his own, while the wife mistakenly entertains a look-alike brother-husband. We previously observed Udall's adaptation of this scene in Roister Doister. Shakespeare further complicates the action of the Menaechmus "twin plot" by providing a double set of master-slave twins, a motive also derived from the Amphitruo. Thus, in Errors, Shakespeare contaminates in two familiar ways: (1) by adapting a whole scene, and (2) by freely employing a motif from one source (i.e., two sets of twins) in the circumstances of a second (the Menaechmus plot).[40]

In Twelfth Night, on the other hand, Shakespeare seems to contam-

inate the Renaissance Viola plot with materials both from Plautus' Menaechmus and his own Comedy of Errors. It should be noted that Manningham's allusion to both these plays in combination with Gl'Inganni, a contaminated Viola plot, seems to accord with the view here under consideration. The Shakespearean additions to the Viola plot seem to be original elaborations of classical motifs not previously developed in earlier versions of the disguised-page story. The motives from Menaechmus and Errors are developed in the main through Sebastian and Antonio of Twelfth Night; numerous parallels among the three works may be cited.[41]

Like Antipholus of Syracuse in Errors, Sebastian is separated from his twin in a shipwreck. In Menaechmus the twins are separated at a busy mart.[42] In all three works, the traveling brother and a companion subsequently arrive at the town inhabited by the twin.[43] Like his counterpart in Errors (and incidentally Gl'Ingannati and "Apolonius and Silla"), the traveling twin sets out to tour the sights of the city.[44] Again, as in Errors and Gl'Ingannati (but not in Riche), the companion makes arrangements for lodgings while the brother tours the city.[45] Then, in a series of episodes similar in all three works (Errors, Menaechmus and Twelfth Night), the traveling twin encounters the local inhabitants who belong to or attend the household of a lady who mistakes him for his twin. In Errors and Menaechmus, she is the twin's wife; in Twelfth Night, she is his would-be wife (i.e., Olivia). In these three plays, the twin is threatened by the lady's attendants, must fight for his safety, and finally accepts an invitation and a gift from the lady herself.[46] The traveling

twin thinks the lady or her attendants is mad, or that he himself is either mad or dreaming.[47] Later, he misses his companion at the inn,[48] encounters the hostile local inhabitants a second time with drawn sword,[49] and, in Errors and Twelfth Night, he agrees to marry.[50] Finally, of course, he meets and recognizes his twin.[51] Thus, in his treatment of Sebastian, Shakespeare seems to follow in outline the movement of the traveling twin in Errors and Menaechmus.

Like Sebastian, his companion Antonio shares incidental details with his counterpart in Gl'Ingannati and "Apolonius and Silla," but nevertheless seems to be more a compound of direct borrowings from Errors and Menaechmus. Shakespeare apparently went directly both to his Plautian source for those aspects of the Antonio-plotting resembling that of the traveling Menaechmus' slave Messino and to Errors for materials derived from Antipholus of Syracuse's slave Dromio. In addition, Shakespeare seems to have added a motif, the travel ban on Antonio, derived immediately from the Aegeon plot of Errors, but with an interesting history of its own. As the companion to the traveling twin, Antonio, like Messino, warns his master of the dangers of travel.[52] Messino, Dromio of Syracuse in Errors and Antonio all exchange a purse with their master, head for an inn to find lodging and set out from the inn to look for their masters before their anticipated return.[53] Like Messino, Antonio unwittingly protects his master's twin from danger and is denied acquaintance by the mistaken twin.[54] This last motif has no counterpart in Errors; it points to Shakespeare's direct debt to the Plautian play.

In addition to these "twin-plot" motives, Antonio's role combines

these Plautian ideas with material derived from the Aegeon plot in Errors. This plot, probably derived from Gower's tale "Apollonius of Tyre" in his Confessio Amantis (c.1390) and used, as we shall see, in a very different way by Riche in his "Apolonius and Silla," is employed in Errors primarily to lend a romance framework to the classical plot.[55] Although it derives from a traditional romance banishment or exile plot, the motif had found its way into learned plays in I Suppositi, and, by way of Gascoigne's translation, into Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew in the trick played on Lucentio's father to make him believe he would be arrested if his identity were revealed.[56] In Errors and Twelfth Night, Aegeon and Antonio are arrested for violating a ban restricting their travel. The ban has resulted from a commercial quarrel in both instances. Both are brought before a duke and claim a relationship with the wrong twin which the duke rejects based upon discrepencies in their testimony respecting the length of separation.[57] In Twelfth Night Antonio claims to have been with Sebastian that very afternoon, but the duke insists that Viola/Cesario, who is here mistaken for her brother, has been at court with him for the past three months. Aegeon, for his part, insists that he has seen his son seven years ago, but Antipholus of Ephesus has been a resident for twenty years.[58]

With only minor divergences from the core Viola plot, then, Shakespeare elaborates materials from classical (Menaechmus) and classically-derived sources (Errors) not previously developed in the original Renaissance Viola plot. His method, like that in the other contaminated comedies we have discussed, is to incorporate motifs from

classical sources and freely adapt them to the new plot circumstances. Thus Twelfth Night seems linked to the learned versions of the Viola plot not through a conscious imitation of classical dramaturgy or Roman whorehouse morality, but by means of a structural principle set forth in Terence and known to every Renaissance schoolboy through the commentaries of Donatus. We have seen this principle at work in learned comedy generally, in redactions of the Viola plot specifically, in non-Shakespearean academic and popular comedy, and finally in Shakespeare himself. Manningham also seems to have recognized the classical influence in Twelfth Night, and in Gl'Inganni to have named a learned Viola plot contaminated, like Twelfth Night, with Plautian sources.

The classicism of Twelfth Night, however, does not end with Shakespeare's use of contaminatio. We find reminiscences of classical technique and tone in the play. First, Shakespeare modifies, without abandoning, some of the so-called rules of comedy. The Elizabethans wrote little about their own dramatic theories. Jonson, the most consciously classical playwright with the possible exception of Chapman, provides an index to the freedom with which the Elizabethans viewed the classical "Law of Comedy."[59] In the Induction to Every Man Out Of His Humour (1599), Jonson suggests that the Greek and Latin models need not be strictly followed. English playwrights, he argues through the Choric figure of Cordatus, should enjoy "the same license, or free power to illustrate and heighten our inuention as the Greeks did, and not bee tyed to those strict and regular formes, which the niceness of a few (who are nothing but forme) would thrust upon us."[60] Jonson cites the example of the Greek and Latin poets who improvised freely

in altering dramaturgical conventions to suit their purposes.

> Menander, Philemon, Cecilius, Plautus, and the rest...have utterly excluded the Chorus, altered the property of the persons, their names, and natures, and augmented it with all liberty, according to the elegancie and disposition of those times wherein they wrote.[61]

Jonson selectively chose those formal aspects of classical comedy that suited his purpose. In EMO he furnishes a Chorus, as in the Greek Old Comedy; as for the unity of time, the whole argument falls "within the compasse of a dayes business."[62] He modifies the notion of unity of place by supplying his characters with "a whole Iland to run through."[63] In this way Jonson satisfies his own relaxed requirements of classical decorum, as well as that of Sir Philip Sidney.[64]

Jonson's commentary in the Induction to EMO suggests the latitude that even a classicist might allow for himself in rendering the ancient rule of comedy for his contemporaries. As we have seen, Jonson modifies some of these rules in EMO without abandoning them. Shakespeare, in Twelfth Night, follows the looser Elizabethan standards approved of and practiced by Jonson. This is most apparent in the time scheme. After the first three expository scenes, the remainder of the action of Twelfth Night takes place within a 24-hour period. Sir Toby's midnight revels at II.iii. mark the end of the first evening, and the duke's "Good morrow" (II.iv.1) at the opening of the next scene indicates the new day. All subsequent action takes place that day, before nightfall. The duke sends Cesario to Olivia (II.iv). That visit takes place at III.i. Sebastian and Antonio arrive in Illyria in III.iii. The action in III.iv. and following

continues without significant time lapse from that initiated in II.iv--III.ii. Finally, as we have observed, Antonio tells the duke that he and Sebastian have arrived in Illyria "today" (V.i. 92.).[65] While there is classical precedent for the action taking place over night and into a second day,[66] Shakespeare lengthens the time period by allowing three days to elapse prior to Viola's first scene at Orsino's court (I.iv) and by suggesting, through the duke, that, in fact, three months have gone by (V.i.97.).

Twelfth Night apparently follows Jonsonian precepts with respect to unity of place. In every scene but two, the locale shifts from one Illyrian place to another. We move from the duke's court, to Olivia's house, to her garden or her gate. Two scenes, however, have unspecified locations. Viola's first scne (I.ii.) has often been localized, since Nicholas Rowe's edition of 1709, at the seacoast. It is clear, however that Viola is somewhere in Illyria, as the sea captain informs her (I.II.2). Sebastian's first scene (II.i.) is also in an unspecified location, probably not in Illyria: Rowe suggests the seacoast, Dover Wilson, Antonio's house.[67] Wherever the location, it is clearly not very far from the duke's court, where Sebastian is headed, arriving the next day. Thus, in his treatment of the unity of place, Shakespeare seems to adhere in spirit to the classical standards as they were contemporaneously practiced.

Renaissance dramatic critics did not universally prescribe the three unities with the dogmaticism of the later French classicists. Commentators like Castelvetro apparently substituted unity of action with the unity of persons. Sometimes called "the unity of one hero,"

this precept seems to suggest that the action ought to focus on a single figure.[68] In the prologue to Volpone (1606), a play with links to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to which it was dedicated, Jonson mentions this unity while he parades his classical dramaturgy: "The laws of time, place persons he [i.e., Jonson] observeth,/From no needful rule he swerveth" (Prologue, 31-32). Jonson seems to have made a special effort to impress upon his academic audience at the universities his close observance of classical precepts. With a far lighter touch, Shakespeare apparently puts into Malvolio's mouth a humourous allusion to the unities. When the steward interrupts the drinking party, he protests that Sir Toby's uncivil rule violates classical decorum: "Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you" (II.iii.92-93).[69] In this apparent allusion to the unities and in Shakespeare's relaxed recognition of classical precedent, Twelfth Night preserves a core of classical dramaturgy in a play apparently designed for audiences of divergent backgrounds and tastes.

In addition to Shakespeare's modification of classical rules, we find reminiscenses of classical technique which contribute to the atmosphere of the play. The place name "Illyria" suggests the classical world: for it was the name of the seacoast across the Adriatic from Italy during the days of Plautus and Terence. The Italianate setting of Twelfth Night is consistent with the situation of 1600, when Illyria, known in Shakespeare's day as Dalmatia, was then under Venetian control.[70] The area had a contemporary reputation for drinking, riotous behaviour and piracy, making it an appropriate locale for a play

associated with the disruptions of a revels. This reputation, however, was inherited from antiquity, in which the sparcely populated area was known for its barbarous, uncivilized and savage people. It shared a reputation for rudeness with the Epidamus of the Menaechmus. Classical comedy is also recalled in Shakespeare's adaptation of certain comic types. Sir Andrew, although distinctly Elizabethan, nevertheless bears resemblances both to the foolish senex in his absurd courtship of Olivia and ridiculous capering and to the thrasonical braggart-coward in his mock-duel with Viola-Cesario. Maria, although she is a gentlewoman, recalls the scheming maid of learned comedy (derived from the wiley servant of Roman comedy), who, like Pasquella in Gl'Ingannati, tricks a foolish suitor of the rival lady. Sir Toby, for his part, has points of resemblance to the parasite of Roman comedy in his enormous appetite and dependency on Olivia.

Classical echoes may also be heard in casual references to the Roman pantheon. Feste invokes Mercury, the god of cheats to "endue [Olivia] with leasings, for thou [i.e., Malvolio] speak'st well of fools!" (I.v.97-98). The steward frequently calls upon Jove, presumably a jest on his puritanical values: "Jove and my stars be praised. ...Jove, I thank thee (II.v.173., 178). The classical world is invoked in passing in references to the Acteon myth (I.i.21-23), Elysium (I.ii.4), the myths of Arion (I.ii.15), Tartarus, (II.v.206) and Troilus, Cressida and Pandarus of Phrygia (III.i.51-52). A final allusion to classical dramaturgy is the allusion to the "knot," a technical term commented upon equally by Donatus, the sixteenth-century Italian theorists as well as Aristotle himself.[71] The knot,

these commentators generally agree, should be a well-contrived complication in the happy resolution of the action. When Viola realizes at the end of II.ii that Olivia has fallen in love with her, she supplies a studied exegesis of the "knot" in Twelfth Night:

> As I am man,
> My state is desperate for my master's love;
> As I am woman (now alas the day!)
> What thriftless sighs shall poor Olivia breathe?
> O time, that must untangle this, not I,
> It is too hard a knot for me t'untie.
>
> II.ii.34-40

Here, Viola anatomizes the complication the moment it occurs.

Shakespeare's use of this technical term out of ancient and Renaissance comic dramatic theory, rare in the canon, returns us to Manningham's pointers to classical and learned plays. We find ample justification for a classicist's view of Twelfth Night in the appearance of contaminatio, modified observance of the unities, and casual allusions to classical characterizations, background and ambience. Manningham's allusion to three plays of classical origin or derivation suggests that an educated Elizabethan might perceive the play in terms of its classicism. "Classical" versions of the Viola plot, as we have seen, abound within the traditions of the disguised-page plot. The learned versions of the plot form an unbroken branch in the large family of redactions of Gl'Ingannati. We have seen that plays constructed along lines similar to Twelfth Night were produced within the generally accepted terminal dates of our play: Jonson's The Case is Altered and Chapman's All Fools are, like Twelfth Night, contaminated comedies

with appended English humours or gulling plots. These plays, performed both before select audiences and the wider public at the outdoor theatres, suggest that the classicism under consideration here would not interefere with the broad popularity generally associated with Twelfth Night. The neglect of Manningham's views, once they were made known in 1831, may be ascribed to the trend in Shakespeare criticism that had firmly taken hold, namely the view of Shakespeare as a preeminent romantic. If, however, the links to classical and learned comedy can no longer be denied, then neither too should the elements of romance, neglected by our seventeenth-century commentators. To romance, then, and to Shakespeare's sublime fusion of romance and classical materials in Twelfth Night, we now turn our attention.

Notes, Chapter 5

1
The major recent discussions of the sources of Twelfth Night include Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, (London and New York, 1958), II, 269-272; T.W. Craik, ed., Twelfth Night, New Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1975), pp. xxxv-1: Kenneth Muir, Shakespeare's Sources (London, 1957), pp. 66-77; Joseph Satin, Shakespeare and His Sources (Boston, 1966), pp. 315-380. Other more specialized recent studies include Helen A. Kaufman, "Nicolo Secchi as a Source of Twelfth Night," SQ V(1954), 271-280; Robert C. Melzi, "From Lelia to Viola," Renaissance Drama IX(1966), 67-81; David Orr, Italian Renaissance Drama in England Before 1626 (Chapel Hill, 1970), pp. 41-44, and Fitzroy Pyle, "Twelfth Night, King Lear and Arcadia," MLR XLIII(1948), 449-455.

2
Gerald Longbaine, An Account of the English Dramatic Poets (Oxford, 1691), p. 466; quoted in Brian Vickers, Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage, 1623-1692, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 423.

3
Charlotte Lennox, Shakespeare Illustrated: or the Novels and Histories on which the plays of Shakespeare are Founded (1753), I, 197; quoted in H. H. Furness, ed., Twelfth Night, A New Variorum Edition (1903), p. 326.

4
E. Capell, Notes (London, 1779), I, 69; quoted in Furness, p. 327.

5
James Boswell, Variorum (1821), xi, 321, gives credit for the discovery of Riche to Octavius Gilchrist of Stamford in a letter to Malone dated 1806; quoted in Furness, p. 327.

6
Craik ed., xlvi, sums up the prevailing opinion today with the view that "Shakespeare's use of Riche's tale as his main source may be safely assumed."

7
History of English Dramatic Poetry, (London, 1831), i.321.

8
W.C. Ward, ed., William Wycherly, Introduction to The Plain Dealer in The Mermaid Series (London, 1888), p. 366.

9
E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (London, 1903), I, 413-417.

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10
Anonymous, Gl'Ingannati, the prologue, Geoffrey Bullough, trans., II, 287. Subsequent quotations given in the text by act and scene are taken from this translation.

11
Twelfth Night, I.iii.11-12, 38-39; I.v.26, 117, 121-122, 131; II.iii.6, 13-14, 114-115, 119, 190; II.v.73, 196; V.i.191.

12
Gl'Ingannati, prologue and III.vii, IV.vii.

13
See Craik, ed., xxxvii, xl, "Many things in Gl'Ingannati have been thought to have provided direct suggestions for Twelfth Night." "There is no substantial evidence for regarding any of these as a source."

14
See Enid Welsford, The Fool (New York, 1968), pp. 203-210; Thomas Frederick Crane, Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century (New Haven, 1920), pp. 141-142; Frances A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1947), pp. 123-124, and Roger Calkins, "The Social and Intellectual Background of Twelfth Night" (unpbl. diss., Yale Univ., 1966), pp. 34-35.

15
Welsford, p. 211.

16
The three omitted scenes are those in which the maid Pasquella cheats the Spanish braggart soldier Giglio, i.e., IV.v., vi, and V.iv.; see Bullough, II, 328, 338.

17
Craik, ed., p. xl; Calkins, p. 243.

18
G. E. Moore-Smith, ed.; for a useful discussion, see Frederick Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford University Press, 1914; reprinted, 1966), pp. 296-297.

19
Richard Warwick Bond, Early Plays from the Italian (New York; B. Blom, 1967), pp. xlvii-lxxii.

20
See, for example, E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare: Facts and Problems (London, 1930), I, 407; Craik, xli.

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21
Thomas Love Peacock, in the preface to his translation of Gl'Ingannati (London, 1862), first observed this borrowing in Gl'Inganni; he also observed a link to Terence's Eunuchus; see discussion in Furness, ed., pp. 340-341.

22
Antonio Capuani, "Nicolo Secco," Bollettino Della Civica Biblioteca di Bergamo, XIX(1925), 100-101; see also Calkins, p. 50.

23
Terence, Andria, trans. Anonymous, George Duckworth, ed., in The Complete Roman Drama (New York, 1942), II, 143.

24
Ibid.

25
Terence, Eunuchus, Prologue, in Duckworth, ed., II, 254.

26
Terence, Adelphi, Prologue, Duckworth, ed., II, 406.

27
See T.W. Baldwin, Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure (Urbana, Il., 1960), p. 3. For recent discussions of contaminatio, see J.W.H. Atkins, Literary Criticism in Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), pp. 13-18; George D. Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy (Princeton, 1952), pp. 199-208, and J.F. Dalton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism (New York, 1962), pp. 8-10.

28
Dalton, p. 9.

29
Quoted in Bond, trans., p. lii.

30
Kaufman, pp. 271-280, presents an unconvincing case for Shakespeare's borrowing from Secchi's L'Interesse.

31
I have surveyed the following studies: Baldwin, pp. 400-401; David M Bevington, From Mankind to Marlowe (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 33; C. F. Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama (London, 1964), pp. 161-165; John Addington Symonds, Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama (1924; reprinted, Greenwood Press: New York, 1969), pp. 163-165; D.L. Maulsby, "The Relation between Udall's Roister Doister and the Comedies of Plautus and Terence," Englische

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Studien, XXXVIII(1912), 251 ff.

32
Amphitruo, Sir Robert Allison, trans., in Duckworth, ed. IV.ii., pp. 50-51.

33
Nicholas Udall, Roister Doister, in Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama, John Matthews Manly, ed., (1897; reprinted Biblio and Tannen: New York, 1967), II, 62-68; IV.i.-iii.

34
T.M. Parrott, ed., The Plays of George Chapman (reprinted New York, 1961), II, 702-703; see also Duckworth, The Nature of Roman Comedy, p. 419.

35
C.H. Hereford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, eds. Ben Jonson, IX, 323-325; see also Parrott, ed., Chapman II, 702-703.

36
Hereford and Simpson, IX, 317-321.

37
Parrott, ed., All Fools, Introduction II, 705, 708.

38
Hereford and Simpson, eds., The Case is Altered. Introduction, IX, 305-307; Parrott, ed., Chapman, All Fools, Introduction, II, 701-702.

39
Parrott, ed., Ibid.

40
Allison Gaw, "The Evolution of The Comedy of Errors," PMLA 41(1926), 625.

41
The following discussion of parallels between Twelfth Night and Errors is indebted to L.G. Salingar, "The Design of Twelfth Night," SQ(1958), 137-139. The text of Errors in Paul A. Jorgensen, ed., The Pelican Text Revised (1969); Menaechmus, Edward C. Weist and Richard W. Hyde, trans., in Duckworth, ed.

42
Errors, I.i.62ff; Twelfth Night, I.ii.9ff; Menaechmus, II.i.

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43
Errors, I.ii; Twelfth Night, III.iii.; Menaechmus, II.i.

44
Errors, I.ii.12; Twelfth Night, III.iii.41; Gl'Ingannati, III. i.; "Apolonius and Silla," l. 361.

45
Errors, I.ii.91; Twelfth Night, III.iii.39-40; Gl'Ingannati, III.i.

46
Errors, I.ii.41; II.ii.109; III.ii.; IV.iii.; V.i.; Twelfth Night, IV.i.; IV.iii. Menaechmus, II.ii.; II.iii.; III.ii.; III.iii.; V.i.; V.ii.

47
Errors, III.ii.54; Twelfth Night, IV, IV.iii.; Menaechmus, V.i.

48
Errors, II.ii.; Twelfth Night, IV.iii.; Menaechmus, V.ii.

49
Errors, V.i.32; Twelfth Night, V.i.170.; Menaechmus, V.ii.

50
Errors, III.ii.; Twelfth Night, IV.iii.

51
Errors, V.i.; Twelfth Night, V.i.; Menaechmus, V.ix.

52
Menaechmus, I.i.; Twelfth Night, III.iii.

53
Errors, I.ii.; Menaechmus, II.i.; Twelfth Night, III.iii.

54
Twelfth Night, III.iv.; Menaechmus, V.ii.

55
John Gower, Confessio Amantis, Trans. Terence Tiller (Penguin Books, 1963), "Apollonius of Tyre," pp. 262-267.

56
Shrew, V.i.

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57
Errors, I.i., V.i.; Twelfth Night, III.iv., V.i.

58
Errors, V.1.310, 328.

59
Bernard Beckerman, Shakespeare at the Globe, 1599-1609, (New York, 1962), p. 25.

60
Hereford and Simpson, eds. Johnson's EMO, Induction, 266-270.

61
Ibid., 260-265.

62
Ibid., 240-241.

63
Ibid., 279.

64
Sir Philip Sidney, The Defence of Poesie. Albert Feuillerat, ed., (Cambridge, 1912), p. 38.

65
Sebastian and Antonio arrive at II.i., which takes place before Sir Toby's midnight revels at II.iii. and the duke's "Good morrow," II.iv.

66
See Terence, Heut., George Duckworth, ed., The Complete Roman Drama, III.i.410: Chremes: It is just getting light.

67
John Dover Wilson, ed.

68
Marvin T. Herrick, Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century, (Urbana, 1964).

69
See Hollander, 230.

70
Encyclopaedia Britannica, (Chicago, 1957), VI, 992.

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71
T.W. Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure, (Urbana, 1963), p. 716.

Chapter 6

The Viola Plot: Romance Antecedents

Bibbiena created his learned comedy La Calandria (acted, 1513) by changing one of the Plautian twins into a girl, disguising her as a male, and turning the action on multiple confusions of identity.[1] His achievement results from the fusion of classical technique with material previously found in romance in the perils of the vulnerable heroine. Within two decades, the heroine thus introduced into learned comedy then made her debut in the love-triangle we call the Viola plot. In Gl'Ingannati her romance antecedents are almost completely subsumed by classical stagecraft and the unsavory morality of Plautian comedy; touches of romance are nevertheless preserved through several minor threads in addition to a standard romance motif: the low-service in disguise to her beloved.[2] From the outset, then, clearly definable romance conventions appear in the Viola plot which were developed in various ways by sixteenth-century authors. During the course of the century, writers who took up the plot developed the romance germs in Gl'Ingannati while reducing the Plautian elements. Two techniques were employed: the first developed and elaborated the romance possibilities of the core plot while "explaining away" the

errors in various ways; the second truncated the plot by omitting the twin brother and the confusions resulting from his arrival. Among the first group is Matteo Bandello's tale of Nicuola and Lattanzio, the version of the Viola plot mentioned by Charlotte Lennox.[3] Bandello's tale was published in 1554 and reprinted in 1560 and 1566. This version, appearing in part II, story 36 of the Novelle, was adapted by François de Belleforest in his Histoires Tragiques (1570), part IV, story 59, six editions of which appeared by 1591. Barnabe Riche's tale "Of Apolonius and Silla" adds material to Belleforest from the Apollonius of Tyre,[4] including the shipwreck motif, also used by Shakespeare. Riche apparently derived additional material (possibly the shipwreck) from Giraldo Cinthio's Hecatommithi (1565), the fifth decade, novel eight, in which the Viola plot appears in truncated form.[5]

By omitting the twin brother and the resultant errors motif, sixteenth century authors adapted the Viola plot to pastoral, romance and popular forms. Montemeyor's Diana (1559), a Spanish pastoral romance, in the story of Felix and Felismena, Parts 2 and 7, is such an adaptation.[6] It appeared in twenty-four editions by 1600, plus a French translation in 1578 and an English version by Bartholomew Yong in 1598.[7] The Diana is thought to be a source of the Julia plot of Shakespeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona (c. 1594).[8] In Two Gentlemen, Julia, in disguise, pursues her beloved Proteus and wooes Sylvia on his behalf; she wins her beloved, not as a result of the timely appearance of a look-alike brother, who, in the Viola plot, provides a suitable substitute for the rival lady's land, but through Proteus'

renunciation of Sylvia, which leaves him free to take her. The truncated Viola plot also appears in two chivalric romances, published shortly before the composition of Twelfth Night: the anonymous Sir Clyomon (1598) and Parismus by Emanual Forde (1599).[9] Though doubtless dating from the 1570's or thereabouts, these works are related to our play in the pursuit of the disguised page through enchanged landscapes in order to be with her beloved. In addition, Forde's play has been linked to Twelfth Night through two names: the play contains a Queen Olivia as well as a Violetta in the role of the disguised page. A final analog worth mentioning in this context is Sydney's Arcadia. First published in 1593 and reissued twice before the turn of the century, it features a disguised girl who dies pathetically[10] while pursuing her beloved.

The redactions of the Viola plot of most interest to students of Twelfth Night are those of the prose versions from Bandello, through Cinthio and Belleforest, to Riche. In each successive version, we find a tendency to elaborate romance motifs and diminish the emphasis on errors as the mainspring of the plot. In Bandello this is achieved by realistic settings and characterizations. When, for example, the look-alike brother Paolo is mistakenly addressed by the rival lady's maid, he is supplied with a plausible set of motives for pursuing the improbable masquerade:

> He perceived that he was mistaken for another and was the more certified of this that he saw the maid bespoke him as they had been familiar together; wherefore he resolved in himself to see who was this madam that sought him and thinking her to be a woman of pleasure said in himself, "Let us go try our luck; she cannot gain much by me."[11]

Bandello treats confusions of identity as matters of fact. They are even cause for humourless consternation. Near the end of the novelle Paolo muses:

> I have e'en been twice mistaken to-day for some one else. This old fellow's daughter [referring to the rival lady's father] thinketh I am a certain Romolo [the disguised girl], and he himself taketh me for my sister.

A few lines later he is booted out of doors. The concluding recognitions are completed with only token enchantment. Lattanzio [Orsino] "abode dumbfounded" at seeing the twins together, and Gerardo, father of the rival lady, "clasping his hands, abode all full of wonderment."[13] Compared with Sebastian's enchanted "This is the air" speech (IV.iii.1-21), the scene in Bandello radiates none of the charm of Shakespeare's romanticism. Like the narration in Riche, Bandello's tale moves swiftly to a concluding double nuptials.

Riche's technique for explaining away the errors motif, and with it the plot's classicism, is at marked variance with Bandello. In the Introduction to the tale, Riche acknowledges error as the mainspring of his plot, but transforms and romanticizes it into a poisoned chalice, the "Cupp of Errour," as he calls it. Later in his Introduction, Riche refers to "Dame Errour," who, like the Medieval "Dame Fortune" of the romances, governs men's destinies.[14] In the story proper, Riche relies on an overblown enchanted atmosphere to account for the mistakes in identity. We may compare his treatment of the look-alike brother's reaction at his first encounter with the rival lady, to that of Bandello, quoted above:

> Siluio wonderyng at these woordes, but more amazed that she could so rightlie call hym by his name, could not tell what to make of her speeches, assurying him self that she was deceiued, and did mistake hym, did thinke notwithstandying, it had been a poincte of great simplicitie, if he should forsake that, whiche Fortune had so favorably proffered vnto hym, perceiuying by her traine, that she was some Ladie of greate honour, and vewyng that perfection of her beautie, and the excellencie of her grace and countenaunce, did thinke it vnpossible that she should be despised...[15]

Riche uses an enchanted Fortune to gloss over errors of common sense which lead to morally questionable actions. He moralizes errors, using them to tell a salacious tale in the seduction of Julina [Olivia] and then to sermonize upon them. After Silvio has impregnated Julina, the rival lady understandably accuses the look-alike disguised page of fathering the child. Here Riche interrupts his narrative and reveales his moralizing purpose:

> I praie you Gentilwomen, was not this a foule ouersight of Iulina, that would so precisely sweare so greate an othe, that she was gotten with childe by one, that was altogether vnfornishte with implements for suche a tourne. For Gods loue take heede, and let this bee an example to you, when you be with childe, how you sweare who is the Father, before you haue had good proofe and knowledge of the partie, for men be so subtill and full of sleight, that God knoweth a woman may quickly be deceiued..[16]

Riche's tale has travelled far in moral purpose from the original story of carnival license as it was told by the Sienese Academy. Whereas Gl'Ingannati, and in a profounder sense Twelfth Night, is a celebration of human appetite, even in its excesses, in Riche, appetite is a cause of condemnation:

> For the louer is so estranged frō that is right, and wandereth so wide from the bounds of reason, that he is not able to deeme white from blacke, good from badde, vertue from vice: but onely led by the apetite

> of his owne affections, and groundying them on the foolishnesse of his owne fancies, will so settle his likying, on such a one, as either by desert or vnworthinesse, will merite rather to be loathed than loued."[17]

Just as Riche's "Apolonius and Silla" has been transformed from a tale of license to one with a moral purpose, so too has it been thoroughly transformed from a work of classical inspiration to one modelled on romance conventions. The fully-developed romance treatment of the Viola plot in Riche's tale is world's apart from the mere hint of romance in Gl'Ingannati. In Riche, episodes ultimately derived from romance sources are added to the Viola plot. Although the author demonstrates an awareness of the classical antecedents of the main action, these are nevertheless subordinated to the romance-derived material. Riche's tale exemplifies the almost total absorption of the Plautian Viola plot by romance. Since it is generally held that Riche's tale played a seminal role in shaping Shakespeare's treatment of the disguised-page plot,[18] it seems worthwhile to explore the stock of Greek, Medieval and Renaissance romance motifs available both to Riche and Shakespeare. A study of this material should prepare our understanding of Shakespeare's adaptation of Riche.

We may usefully begin a survey of romance conventions with the Apollonius of Tyre (ca. 6th century A.D.), a Greek tale containing elements found in most romances.[19] In a small way it contributes to our story through links to Riche and the Aegeon plot in Errors. The plot of this Greek romance begins with Prince Apollonius' arrival at the court of Antioch. There he solves a riddle posed by the king that the ruler and his daughter are guilty of incest. The king then

orders Apollonius' death, but the prince manages to escape. He is shipwrecked on an island where he falls in love with and marries the ruler's daughter. Continuing his travels with his wife, he is separated from her during a tempest at sea and supposes her dead. He hands his infant daughter over to foster parents. After a series of humiliating adventures, he is united with his family at Ephesus. Apollonius of Tyre is a variation of a basic plot that recurs in almost every romance. It features a flight at sea resulting from treachery and leading to a shipwreck; married lovers of noble rank separated from one another and their child during a storm at sea; severe hardships, including kidnapping by pirates; near or supposed death; episodes in jail or time spent in slavery or in low service in disguise. Typical of many romances, the lover's wealth is lost; they believe each other dead, and in the end they are brought together in a miraculous reunion, their fortunes restored and the loose ends in the plot resolved.[20]

We find many of the same motifs in the Greek romance Clitophon and Leucippe (c. third century A.D.) of Achilles Tatius. This romance provides an early example of the disguised heroine in a situation which bears some resemblance to that in Twelfth Night.[21] Clitophon is engaged to his cousin Leucippe. They are separated at sea and believe the other dead. Leucippe, in disguise, becomes a slave in the household of the wealthy widow Melitte. Clitophon, not knowing his beloved is part of the household, marries Melitte without consummating the marriage. Melitte's husband, who is thought dead at sea, returns, thereby dissolving the marriage and reuniting the lo-

vers. Olivia parallels Melitte in certain respects. They share a high social position; they are both in mourning over the death of a relative; they both marry a man whose beloved relative (Viola in Shakespeare and Leucippe in Tatius) is thought lost at sea but who is nearly in disguise.

The parallels between Twelfth Night and Clitophon and Leucippe, however, at this stage of the discussion, only serve as general representatives of the conventions of Greek romance. In order to suggest the wide dispersal of these conventions we may explore models in Medieval and Renaissance romance with distant links to our comedy. In Tristan de Nanteuil (c. 1200), for example, the heroine, like Viola, is disguised as a man. Tristan's bride Blanchdine, disguised as a knight, is separated from her husband and thinks him dead. She arrives in disguise at the court of the sultan, where one of the women falls in love with her.[23] In many Medieval romances, the heroines follow their beloved in disguised and serve him without revealing their identity. In Du Roiz Flore et de la Belle Jehane (13th century), for example, the wife, Jehane, disguised as a squire, follows her husband and serves him faithfully for seven years without being recognized.[24] The motif of the disguised heroine following her husband also appears in the early 13th-century romance Le Liure du tres Chevalereux Comte d'Artois et de sa Femme. The wife of Philip I follows her husband in disguise, and, like Viola, becomes her beloved's confidant and servant while wooing a high-born lady on his behalf. In the Medieval romance, however, the wife substitutes for the princess in the familiar bed-trick (as in Measure for Measure and All's Well),

while in Twelfth Night the look-alike brother replaces the disguised page.[25] The situation resembles that in Riche, where, it will be recalled, Silla, disguised as Silvio, follows her beloved Apolonius from Cyprus to Constantinople, there to become his faithful servant. Shakespeare, as we have seen, also employed this motive in the Julia plot of Two Gentlemen of Verona. In Twelfth Night, however, Shakespeare alters this fundamental motif: Viola falls in love with Orsino only after she has entered his service in disguise. In Renaissance versions of the disguised-page plot, a mutation occurs in that the lovers are frequently un-married, allowing for the introduction of the new courtship conventions. We find examples in prose tales by Boccaccio, Fiorentine, Salernitano, Straparole, and Bandello in works dating from 1358 to 1554.[26] To complete the cylce of evolution, the disguised unmarried heroine was finally transferred to the stage from the novel in La Caladria, as we have seen at the outset of this chapter.

We have thus far (1) explored the ways that Shakespeare's predecessors in the Viola plot reduced the Plautian element and (2) touched upon the background of the Greek and Medieval romance in order to suggest a range of stock conventions available to Renaissance writers. We are now in a position to trace the augmentation of these romance conventions within the specific literary antecedents of Shakespeare's comedy, leading to Riche. The incorporation of romance motifs in the "twin plot," the classical ancestor of the Viola plot, begins with Menaechmus,[27] a play that is probably older than any extant romance. Such stock romance motives as the sea voyage, the separation of

the family and the grief and subsequent death of the father are found in this early Plautian play. Typical of New Comedy conventions, the twin is separated from his father not at sea, as in many romances, but at a busy mart while accompanying his father on a business venture.

The romance material in Menaechmus, undeveloped as it is, nevertheless shows typical Greek-romance plot elements as later found in such works as the Aethiopica of Heliodorus (c. third century A.D.) or the previously mentioned Leucippe and Clitophon and Apollonius of Tyre. In developing the separation background of twin plot, Renaissance writers elaborated this unadorned romance motif. In Gl'Ingannati, the motif is developed through a few lines of expository dialogue. Virginio, the father of Lelia (Viola), had lost most of his fortune and was separated from his son in the historic sack of Rome by Charles V in 1527.[28] Thus, the conventional separation at sea is replaced with a reference to a contemporary event. We find other romance motifs in the Sienese comedy: at the sack, Virginio and Lelia were imprisoned, but eventually escaped; later, the son is freed and his unexpected return results in the Plautian confusions. In Bandello, as in Gl'Ingannati, the sack of Rome provides the background for the separation. The Germans of Charles V's army, like the conventional pirates of romance, capture prisoners and demand high ransom for their return. Nicuola, in the hands of Spanish soldiers, like a typical heroine of romance, preserves her chastity through her nobility of mind and birth. Other romance motifs appear in her ransoming by her father, the use of ransom letters inquiring into the

whereabouts of the son and the restoration of the family fortunes. This growing germ of romance material first appears as a fully-developed backdrop to the main Plautian action in Secchi's Gl'Inganni. Anselmo, a merchant, like the father in Menaechmus, takes his wife and two children with him on a sea voyage to have them beside him on his lengthy travels. The family is attacked by pirates, its members taken prisoner and sold into slavery. To these conventional romance motifs we also find separations of the married lovers and of the parents from their children; the subsequent death of the mother, and the daughter's assumption of the male disguise in the service of a great man in order to preserve her chastity.[29]

Thus far, romance motifs have served as expository material, providing the background for the action. A truncated version of the disguised-page story is incorporated into a larger pattern of romance in Cinthio's tale in the Hecatommithi. A husband, wife and twin children flee their home after being falsely accused of treason. The family is separated at sea by a storm, and each believes the other is dead. The daughter is kidnapped by corsairs and sold into slavery. Mistaken for her look-alike brother who has impregnated a young girl, she is thrown into jail for his crime. Finally, through a set of tokens, the family is reunited and its fortunes restored when the truth about the accusations is learned. The disguised-page plot is but a minor episode. Giulia (Viola), in disguise, slips out of her master's house to visit her beloved but is arrested before her arrival there. The Plautian mistake in identity, while of interest in the tale, is nevertheless subordinated by a world of romance full of catastrophe and

miraculous reunions.

The same may be said of Riche's "Apolonius and Silla," a work which seems to have derived some leading motifs from Cinthio. Riche begins the tale, like Shakespeare in Errors, with an episode from the Apollonius of Tyre. The young Duke Apolonius, like the hero of the Greek romance from which his name seems derived, is washed ashore at Cyprus after a sea tempest following a battle against the Turk. Like the hero of the Greek romance, Riche's Apolonius is entertained by a local ruler whose beautiful daughter, Silla, falls in love with him. At this point Riche departs from the romance. While the Greek romance hero returns the girl's love, Riche's hero takes no notice of Silla, and after a time returns to his native Constantinople. Like the familiar romance heroine, Silla, in disguise as a peasant girl, follows her beloved by ship accompanied by her servingman Pedro. Here follows conventional romance motifs: an assault on her chastity by the sea captain, her attempted suicide, a storm and a shipwreck. Then, like the wife of the Apollonius of Tyre, Silla is washed ashore at Constantinople clinging to the captain's chest, while everyone else on board is drowned. Like Viola, Silla now assumes her disguise, serving her beloved Apolonius by bringing love messages to the wealthy widow Julina. Meanwhile, the pattern of romance is continued in the movements of Silla's brother. Silvio, on his return from the African wars, sets off to find his sister and avenge the supposed villanies of Pedro, the servingman whom he believes had abducted her. Arriving in Constantinople, he is mistaken for his sister by Julina (with whom the widow has fallen in love), and invited to dine with her

that night. Here Riche's narrative apparently picks up hints from Cinthio's tale. Silvio leaves Julina pregnant the next morning, and, like Cinthio's Giulia, the disguised Silla is thrown into jail for the deed. Apolonius, after discovering that Silla is a woman, releases her from jail, and, seeing how faithfully she has served him, proposes marriage. Silvio's return to Constantinople on hearing of these strange events secures the happy ending in a double wedding. Thus, Riche's tale exemplifies the almost total absorption of the Plautian Viola plot by romance. The germ of romance inherent in the Menaechmus and Gl'Ingannati developed successively in Bandello's and Cinthio's tales and Secchi's comedy reach full flower in Riche's "Apolonius and Silla."

Having explored Riche's use of romance conventions, we are now in a position to assess Shakespeare's adaptation of this material. Like Riche's tale, Twelfth Night is a variation of the romance separation and mistaken-death plot. We find in Shakespeare's comedy the following romance outline: a shipwreck which divides members of a family; the belief that the other is dead; the girl's assumption of low service disguised as a male; her secret love and subsequent marriage to a noble gentleman; her brother's courtship by a high-born lady, and his physical prowess exhibited in his beating off an attack by local inhabitants; a reunion in which tokens of identity are exchanged and members of the divided family are reunited.[31]

In addition to these major motifs, other recollections of romance may be observed at various points. In romances, characters frequently invoke a cruel and overriding Fortune. Olivia says: "Fate,

show they force: ourselves we do not owe;/What is decreed myst be, and this be so!" (I.v. 194-195). Again, recalling mythic monsters who guard captive ladies in many Medieval romances, Viola amusingly invokes this convention by calling the petite Maria a "giant" who requires "mollification" (I.v.206). A further recollection appears in Olivia's denunciation of Sir Toby in language suggestive of such romance figures as the barbarized Greek, Cnemon, who, in the Aethopica of Heliodorus, hides out in the safety of a cave.[32] After Sir Toby has attacked Sebastian, Olivia says to him:

> Ungracious wretch,
> Fit for the mountains and the barbarous cave,
> Where manners ne'er were preached!
>
> IV.i.46-48.

Mountains and caves were typically identified with "romantic" scenery in the learliest uses of the word (OED). Later, Shakespeare apparently alludes to the Aethiopica directly in a moment reminiscent of numerous romance plots. Believing that Viola-Cesario has betrayed him in courting Olivia, Orsino precipitiously threatens to kill his page, comparing his rage "to th'Egyptian thief at point of death" who, like the duke, also threatens to "Kill what I love" (V.i.116-117). This is an apparent allusion to Thyamus of Memphis, who, having captured and fallen in love with the lady Theagenes, attempts to kill her rather than yield her up to a band of attacking thieves.[33] A variant of this motif appears in the Apollonius of Tyre where the daugher is kicked, and in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing (1598), when Beatrice would have Claudio killed for causing Hero's death (IV.i.285). In these instances, the blow, threatened, delivered, or merely called for,

results from some mistake or confusion. A further romance strain in Twelfth Night is the atmosphere of enchantment. Olivia experiences it during her first interview with Viola/Cesario (I.v.): Sebastian expresses his wonder following his initial meeting with Olivia (IV. iii.). This motif may be found in numerous romances. In the Aethiopica, for example, dreams, witchcraft and portents lend an air of the miraculous to the fable. In Twelfth Night, as in Errors, the enchantment motif links the romance motifs to the Plautian action as a cause or consequence of the confusions of identity. Inasmuch as enchantment results in displays of folly, the romance-derived motif may be seen to link the main action of the Viola plot with the uncivil rule of the underplot as part of the larger revels theme. In this way, the enormous variety of the play is in part held together.

The Viola plot as Shakespeare found it, then, has a dual ancestry. On the one hand, the disguised heroine originated in romances dating back to the Hellenistic Greeks. On the other hand, this motif was incorporated into learned plays of mistaken identity in which the romance world of shipwrecks and separations was superceded by Plautian sex farce. In the various prose tales derived from Gl'Ingannati, the Plautian elements are replaced by romance conventions. In Riche's tale, while the debt to Plautus is acknowledged, the world of romance has almost completely replaced that of the sex farce. Although Shakespeare probably used "Apolonius and Silla" as a direct source, he also seems to have discarded much of the romance material in Riche, leaving only a relatively unadorned separation-by-shipwreck romance plot. Most of the romance material, as in Gl'Ingannati and the early

versions, takes place prior to the opening of the play. The consequences of the shipwreck and separation, however, are realized within the play proper, but have been influenced strongly by the classical "errors" plot. Thus, Shakespeare appears to have modified the wide-ranging action of typical romance plots, adjusting it to the narrower confines of classical comedy. It seems safe to conclude that the world of Twelfth Night is at once a scaled-down romance world while at the same time it is also broader than the single street scene of classical comedy.

Another way of assessing Shakespeare's use of romance materials in Twelfth Night is by comparing it with contemporary "classical/academic" comedies that bear some resemblance in their use of romance materials. Three such comedies seem relevant: The Supposes of George Gascoigne, Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors and John Marston's What You Will. These plays call our attention because of their links to the Inns of Court. Like the early learned versions of the Viola plot, The Supposes contains several romance motifs in the otherwise uniform classical fabric of the play. We have a near shipwreck (II.ii.1-7), a threatened suicide (III.iii.111-112), and an apostrophe to Fortune (V.iii.5-25). More importantly, a miniature romance plot is incorporated wholesale into the play. Erostrato's servant Dulypo is the typical wiley slave of Roman comedy derived from Plautus' Captivi. His past, however, is a composite of familiar romance motifs. At the age of five, he was kidnapped by Turks during the storming of Otranto and brough to Sicilian waters in a vessel laden with riches. Sicilian pirates defeat the Turkish ship in a naval skirmish, cap-

ture the boy and sell him as a servant to Erostrato's father. Meanwhile, during the raid at Otranto, Dulypo's father Cleander sees his treasure stolen and himself driven into exile. All this is antecedent to the action. In the play proper, the grieving father, a doctor at law, having already recouped his fortune, lives, nevertheless, in the unhappy memory of his lost child. He therefore seeks the hand of Polynesta in order to marry and produce and heir. His son, Dulypo, although unknown to him as such, wooes Polynestra as his father's rival in disguise as his master Erostrato. When Dulypo's true identity is revealed to Cleander through a set of tokens, the father drops his suit for the hand of Polynestra, his wish for an heir fulfilled through his lost son.[34]

Although this romance plot of separation of father and son is a minor episode in an otherwise classical comedy, it is essential to the untying of the knot. The Dulypo plot, then, suggests that fully developed romance materials were incorporated into classical English comedy nearly from the outset and were no strangers to Inns of Court plays. Another instance of the use of romance materials in a play associated with the legal societies is Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors. The Aegeon story of Errors is well known to have been derived from the tale of Apollonius of Tyre, probably out of Gower's Confessio Amantis, a source Shakespeare later used in Pericles (c. 1609). Numerous romance motifs in Errors parallel those found in Apollonius but not in the Plautian sources: the storm and shipwreck at sea; the separation of husband, wife and children (in Apollonius only a single infant girl is lost); the father's grief and years of wandering, and

the wife's entry into religious life at Ephesus where the reunion of the family occurs after many years of separation.

The romance plots of Errors and Supposes, then, serve the similar function of providing plot machinery for the resolution of the main action. In neither play, however, does the romance material function as an integral part of the errors-derived action. Such does not seem to be the case with Marson's What You Will (published 1607). Links between Marston's comedy and Twelfth Night further connect Shakespeare's play to the Middle Temple performance. As a member of that legal society at the time of the performance of Twelfth Night, Marston may have had first-hand knowledge of Shakespeare's play. Several obvious parallels between his play and Shakespeare's may be observed: the titles, the mistakes in identity derived from Plautian sources, the gulling plots and the general mood of festivity. These resemblances suggest that Marston's play, like Shakespeare's, may also have entertained an Inns of Court audience on the occasion of a revel.[35] The main action of What You Will is ultimately derived from classical models with a considerable debt to romance. Paralleling the action of Plautus' Amphitruo, the motif of the returning husband locked out of doors while his wife entertains a look-alike rival also recalls Errors, III.i. Marston, however, apparently did not employ the Amphitruo directly: his main source seem to have been I Morti Vivi (1576) by the Italian Sforza D'Oddi.[36] D'Oddi preceded Marston in making additions from the Amphitruo to a romance plot, supplying thereby a farcical contrast to his sentimental story.

The main action of D'Oddi's play is derived from a Greek romance

we have examined in another context, namely the Clitophon and Leucippe of Achilles Tatius, Books V-VIII, which, in the motif of the returning husband coincidentally resembles the Amphitruo. D'Oddi presumably acknowledges his debt to Achilles Tatius in naming his returning husband Tersandro, the Italian form of the Greek Thersandro, the husband's name in Clitophon and Leucippe. Similarly, Marston borrows a name from the Greek romance in an Italianate form. Central to these three works is the figure of the supposed widow: in I Morti Vivi she is called Oranta, in What You Will, Celia, and in Clitophon and Leucippe she is called Melitte. Marston provides the supposed-widow Celia with a sister named Melitza. Such a direct link is bibliographically possible, since Achilles Tatius' romance was available in numerous editions, having been translated into Latin and Italian (which Marston read fluently) several times before 1600 and into English as proximately as 1597 by William Burton.[37]

The plot of the Melitte episodes of Achilles Tatius, which we saw resembled Twelfth Night in the rival lady-disguised page scenes, is closely followed in D'Oddi's I Morti Vivi. The return of the husband, however, provides the Italian playwright with an opportunity for complicating the action with motifs from the Amphitruo. These complications form the core of Marston's borrowings. In D'Oddi, a rejected suitor, Luigi, disguises his servant Fabrizio as the supposedly dead husband. The plan is discovered when Tersandro, the real husband, unexpectedly returns and, in a farcical scene, is mistaken for his counterfeit. Like Tersandro, Albino, in What You Will, returns also to discover that he must prove himself the true husband versus his impersonator.

Thus, What You Will involves complications in the Melitte episodes of the Clitophon by way of D'Oddi's I Morti Vivi and the Amphitruo in the action following the husband's return. Twelfth Night, on the other hand, resembles at a distance the action of the Greek romance prior to the husband's return in the importunate courtship of the disguised heroine by the rival lady. It is interesting to note that What You Will depends on Amphitruo as Twelfth Night depends on Menaechmus for its errors plot, just as Shakespeare's comedy resembles the first part of the Melitte episodes and Marston's the second part in the Clitophon. Whether such a reciprocal relationship between the two Elizabethan plays is intentional we may never know. It suggests however the widespread diffusion of these plot motives at the beginning of the seventeenth century in romance and works of classical origin or inspiration. What You Will resembles Twelfth Night, as well as Jonson's The Case and Chapman's All Fools in that these plays "contaminate" a classical plot with one derived from romance sources, and employ satirical underplots involving gullings.[38]

The wide dissemination of the Viola plot in classical and romantic works of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century apparently appealed to readers and theatre-goers at every level of society. The analysis in the preceeding two chapters suggests that such a plot, if handled carefully, might satisfy the popular desire for a romantic story. By focusing our study on the classical and romance antecedents of Twelfth Night within the context of contemporary plays with similar antecedents, however, we seem to link Shakespeare's comedy time and again to the Inns of Court. Manningham wrote sensitively on the

origins of Twelfth Night with respect to its antecedents in classical, academic and Inns of Court comedy. Our analysis has followed the path originally marked by our sole Elizabethan commentator. While we must assume that Twelfth Night was designed to satisfy the popular taste of the Globe audiences, the study of the literary background in the context of the revels suggests that Shakespeare took his Middle Temple audience into consideration when composing Twelfth Night.

Notes , Chapter 6

1
Victor Oscar Freeburg, Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama, (New York, 1915), p. 45.

2
Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and The Greek Romance: A Study of Origins, (Lexington, 1970), p. 4.

3
Shakespeare Illustrated; see above, p. 73.

4
Gesner, pp. 60-61.

5
Ibid.

6
Los siete Libros de la Diana de Iorge de Montemayor, dirigidos al muy Illustre senor don Ioan Castella de Vilanoua, senor de las baronias de Bicorb, Y Questa. Impresso en Valencia, n.d. (probably 1559).

7
Calkins, p. 243.

8
T. P. Harrison, "Concerning Two Gentlemen of Verona and Montemayor's Diana, "Modern Language Notes, XV (1926), 252; see also Gesner, p. 176; Calkins, p. 95, and John Dunlop, The History of Fiction (London, 1816), III, 160.

9
The History of two valiant Knights, Syr Clymon Knight of the Golden Sheeld, sonne to the King of Denmarke: And Clamydes the white Knight, sonne to the King of Suauia. As it hath been sundry times Acted by her Majesties Players. London. Printed by Thomas Creede. 1599. (Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. John S. Farmer, 1913). Parismus The renowmed prince of Bohemia, His most famous, delectable and pleasant Historie...And a description of the Chivalrie of the Phrygian Knight, Pollipus: and his constant love to Violetta. Imprinted at London by Thomas Creede, for Richard Olive. 1598.

10
The Covntesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, ed. Albert Feuillert, (Cambridge, 1912), I, 290-299; see also Fitzroy Pyle, "Twelfth Night, King Lear and Arcadia," Modern Language Review XLIII (1948), 449, and Calkins, p. 115.

11
The Novels of Matteo Bandello Bishop of Agen now first done into English Prose and Verse by John Payne (London, 1980), IV, p. 121ff, reprinted in Horace H. Furness, ed., Twelfth Night, p. 369.

12
Ibid., p. 375.

13
Ibid.

14
Craik, ed., Twelfth Night, p. 158.

15
Ibid., p. 167

16
Ibid., p. 174.

17
Ibid., p. 158.

18
Craik, editor of the 1975 New Arden edition, calls it the "direct source," p. 158.

19
Gesner, pp. 6-7.

20
Gower's Confessio Amantis, Book VIII, (London, 1532; reissued 1554), contains a version of Apollonius. Other English versions were available by 1600. See Gesner, pp. 156-157.

21
Gesner, p. 56; de Perrot "Noch eine eventuelle Quelle zum Heiligen Dreikonigsabend," Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, XLVI (1910), 118-120.

22
Achilles Tatius, S. Gaselee, trans. (Cambridge, Mass and London, 1969), V.23, pp. 290-291.

23
Victor Oscar Freeburg, Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1915), p. 42.

24 Ibid, p. 41.

25 Ibid.

26. Ibid., p. 42

27 Gesner, p. 59.

28 Gl'Ingannati, C. Bullough, trans., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (London, 1958), II, 289.

29 Bullough, trans., pp. 339-340.

30 Calkins, p. 69. n. 52.

31 Gesner, p. 61.

32 Ibid., pp. 36-37.

33 See Craik ed., p. 137n

34 Supposes, R.W. Bond, ed., V.x.17-24.

35 Philip Finkelpearl, John Marston of the Middle Temple (Cambridge, Mass, 1969), p. 176.

36 Anthony Caputi, John Marston, Satirist (New York, 1976), pp. 160-167.

37 Gesner, p. 154-155.

38 In this regard, it may be no accident that Manningham mistakenly viewed Olivia as a widow in mourning for a husband, not an unmarried

virgin grieving her brother's death. He may have seen her in terms of the characters whom she resembles in such works as Riche (Julina), Achilles Tatius (Melitte), and D'Oddi (Oranta), all widows. Celia, in What You Will, of course, supposes herself a widow.

Chapter 7

Date and Text

If Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night with the Middle Temple lawyers in mind, as the preceding survey of Inns of Court revels and literary traditions suggests, then the Folio text might preserve indications of this performance dating from the period immediately prior to February 2, 1602. The generally accepted terminal dates of Twelfth Night are supplied on the one hand by the play's absence from Mere's list of Shakespeare's works in the Palladis Tamia (S.R. September 7, 1598),[1] and, on the other, by Manningham's note. Within the period 1598-1602 several possible topical allusions have been received with varying degrees of conviction. Although the play is generally dated 1600-1601, some scholars prefer a date in 1599, and others find 1601 more acceptible.[2] Two relatively neglected indications, however, support the latter opinion, one concerning Robert Armin's arrival at Shakespeare's company, the other pertaining to the London visit of Don Viriginio Orisini. If Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night as early as 1598 or 1599, it might be plausibly argued that his use of the name Orsini was merely coincidental. If, on the other hand, Shakespeare wrote the play in the months just prior to the duke's unannounced visit, the coincidence might reasonably be ruled out.

If Orsini's visit of January, 1601 were not sufficient evidence for dating Twelfth Night in 1601, then the evidence concerning the dating of Armin's arrival would support that viewpoint. The assumptions here are (a) that the role of Feste was written for Armin, and (b) that Twelfth Night was written after the composition of As You Like It, which presumably contains Armin's first role, Touch stone. Soley upon the great authority of E. K. Chambers, most scholars hold that Armin joined the Chamberlain's Men in 1599.[3] If, as I shall argue, Armin arrived in the late winter, 1600, at the earliest, then, allowing time for the composition of As You Like It, the earliest Twelfth Night might have been composed was late summer or early autumn 1600. But this is precisely the months just prior to Duke Orsini's visit. A simpler solution, I suggest, might be to date the play after the duke's visit, allowing thereby the topicality of his name in the play, but avoiding the unlikely coincidence of Shakespeare selecting the name of a duke who happens to arrive in England unannounced within months of the penning of the play.

The date of Armin's arrival at Shakespeare's company, then, seems crucial in the dating of play. In this regard, an error of about a year apparently resulted from Chambers' oversight of a crucial piece of contemporary documentary evidence on the title page of Armin's Quips Upon Questions (1600). Armin wrote Quips under the pseudonym "Clonnyco de Curtainio Snuffe," i.e., "Clown of the Curtain." It is known to be the work of Armin because he used the same pseudonym in another work of 1600, Foole vpon Foole, and proceeded to reveal his identity in subsequent editions. When he revised Foole

Vpon Foole in 1605, he called himself "Clonnico del Mondo Snuffe," i.e., "Clown of the Globe." Finally, in the enlarged edition of 1608, retitled A Nest of Ninnies, Armin signed his own name, revealing thereby the author of all these works. Although Shakespeare's company played at the Curtain through the summer of 1599 while awaiting the completion of the second Globe, Chambers ignores the title page and its date of 1600, assigning the work to 1599 on the basis of a chance remark in the epistle dedicatory. By preferring 1599, Chambers places Armin in the Curtain with Shakespeare's company. According to epistle, Innocents Day, celebrated on December 28, falls on a Friday, an event which occured in 1599, but not 1600. This apparently seemed to Chambers sufficient evidence for overruling the title page. In linking the writing of Quips to 1599, however, Chambers fails to observe the apparently contradictory notice on the title page that the piece was "clapt up...in this last restraint." The only restraints on the players on record for the period in question, 1599 and 1600, are the regular Lent prohibitions.[4] Such evidence would throw the period of composition back to February-March, 1599, a time when indeed the Chamberlain's Men were at the Curtain. By this reckoning, however, it would be difficult to account for the gap of about a year between the writing of the work and its publication. It seems more plausible to suppose that Quips was written during the restraint of the subsequent year, which ended at the Curtain no later than March 11, 1600.[5]

In this view, we may account for the reference to Innocents Day by recalling the alternate system of marking the new year which began at court on March 25. By that reckoning, both Innocents Day and the

1600 Lent restraint (n.s.) occured in 1599 (o.s.). Were the work then printed after March 25, but written before that date during the restraint, Armin's remarks in the epistle and on the title page would both be consistent without contradicting the 1600 date of publication. This line of reasoning suggests that Armin played at the Curtain, as "Clonnyco de Curtainio Snuffe," with another company after the Chamberlain's Men had transferred to the Globe by September 21, 1599, when a foreign visitor recorded a performance. Indeed, an unnamed company is reported at the Curtain in a record dating from October, 1599 and in a second for March 11, 1600.[6] Since Armin played with the Lord Chandos men prior to joining Shakespeare's company, it seems consistent with the evidence to conclude that the Lord Chandos men superseded Shakespeare's company at the Curtain, Armin among them. By August 4, 1600, however, we may be sure that the Clown of the Curtain had transferred to the Globe. On that date, Shakespeare's As You Like It, which is generally thought to contain Armin's first Shakespearean role, and The Second Part of Tarleton's Jests, which gives evident of his whereabouts, were both entered on the Stationer's Register. "At this houre," it says in this latter work, "at the Globe on Bankside, men may see him."[7] Thus, it seems safe to conclude that Armin joined Shakespeare's company at the Globe sometime after the Lent restraint of 1600, but before August 4, 1600.

This evidence finds indirect support in our knowledge of Will Kempe's departure from the Chamberlain's Men. Kempe, Armin's predecessor in the role of company clown, apparently left the company early in 1599. Although his name appears in the actors' list of Every Man

in his Humour (1598), it is omitted in that of _Every Man Out_ (1599). In a curious use of the evidence, Chambers speculates that a passing allusion to piece of clowning in a play by Jonson associated with Kempe might have originated in performances at the Curtain.[8] There is, however, no corroborating evidence for this view, and we have sufficient grounds for believing Armin to have been at the Curtain. Despite the lack of evidence concerning Kempe's whereabouts in 1599, it seems clear that the position of the company clown was kept open for a year in the hope that Kempe might return. Indeed, the absence of a role for the clown, either of the Kempe or the Armin variety, in Shakespeare's plays of 1599, _Henry V_ and _Julius Caesar_, substantiates this view. By the spring of 1600, however, following Kempe's apparent departure for the continent on tour with a company of players, the Chamberlain's Men may have viewed their former clown's separation as permanent. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that Armin arrived at the Globe, after writing _Quips_ during the Lent restraint of 1600, while still a member of Chandos men at the Curtain, in sufficient time for Shakespeare to have written a role for him by August 4 of that year.

Returning now to the discussion of the dating of _Twelfth Night_, it readily follows that the earliest time Shakespeare might have picked up his pen to compose _Twelfth Night_ would be in the latter half of 1600, following the completion of _As You Like It_. Orsini's arrival, shortly thereafter, suggests that a period of composition after January, 1601 is more probable than that just prior to the London visit of the Italian duke. How late in the year the play was written is a matter that depends on our reading of topical allusions to London (Appendix B) and

Middle Temple (Appendix C) life. Such allusions converge on the last four months of 1601, the time in which Twelfth Night would presumbably have been commissioned by the sponsors of the Middle Temple Reader's feast.[9] The Folio text seems to preserve indications of such a private occasion, and to these indications we now turn our attention.

The oldest surviving text of Twelfth Night was entered in the Stationer's Register November 8, 1623 to the printers Blount and Jaggard with fifteen other plays "not formerly entred to other men," and was printed in the Shakespeare first Folio (1623).[10] Thus, F is the only authoritative text we have, and, containing the Malvolio plot fully described by Manningham, we may suppose that it preserves, in some form, a version of the play witnessed by the lawyers. Although most scholars see the promptbook or a transcription of it as the basis of F,[11] it has nevertheless recently been suggested that the text was printed from a transcript of Shakespeare's foul papers made at the time of the printing.[12] Scholarly opinion is further divided on whether F shows signs of revision. The evidence of the older promptbok theory is admittedly tenuous, and the newer theory of the transcript of foul papers seems suspect. With attempts to determine the copy for F thus far inconclusive or inadequate, a new approach may prove useful which takes into account the Middle Temple performance. Despite the consensus among all textual scholars on the orderly nature of the text and the likelihood of a transcript, consideration of the possibility of fair copy underlying F has been generally neglected. Such a copy would presumably have been prepared

for the sponsors of the Middle Temple revel by the Chamberlain's Men, and the Folio editors, Hemminge and Condell might have consulted such a presentation copy, along with the regular promptbook in their possession, in preparing copy for F. Indeed, the Folio text exhibits the regularity of fair copy in its spelling, punctuation and competent though spare stage apparatus.[13] Minor inconsistencies, presently tied to theories of revision or foul papers, may, in this view, be seen as editorial oversights or difficulties in reconciling two slightly divergent texts, the Middle Temple presentation copy and the Globe promtbook.

Before considering arguments supporting this view, it should prove useful to comment on present theories of foul papers and promptbook as underlying copy for F. R. K. Turner, Jr. has recently argued that a scribal copy of Shakespeare's working papers underlies F.[14] While Turner offers several new and useful observations in his re-examination of the textual evidence, his conclusion nevertheless seems forced. He observes, for example, that a possible indicator of foul papers is the absence of a specificed number of supernumaries in the stage directions. Even if in Twelfth Night this is the case, no sure conclusion pointing to foul papers may be drawn. Conceding that "the number of supernumaries was by no means always specified in the promptbooks,"[15] Turner leaves open the possibility of the copy for F having arisen in the playhouse. A second feature of foul papers claimed by Turner for F is a single inconsistant character designation in the stage apparatus. Scholars since Rowe have emended the stage direction at III.1.85 "Enter Olivia and Gentlewoman" to

indicate an entrance for Maria, since she is elsewhere referred to as a "gentlewoman."[16] The point is well taken, even though the Folio text may be correct and a supernumary intended; neither is it certain that the inconsistency would cause the bookeeper difficulty. Even if this is the sort of evidence which points to foul papers, the single instance here may be viewed as an inconclusive anomaly. Turner finds further problems in the stage apparatus in the apparent mishandling of the exit and reentrance of Viola and Fabian at III.iv. 227 and 296, prior to the mock duel, as evidence of foul papers. Since Turner himself has accurately observed that provision for exits is unsystematic in F, its presence here, contrary to Turner's conclusion, suggests its intentionality. The considerable mass of conflicting argument that has gathered around the staging of this exit and reentrance seems to cancel all arguments in the observation that the scene seems to play perfectly well as it stands.[17] Even if one or two of Turner's instances are allowed, no added support to his theory may be found in the categories of evidence generally adduced as signs of foul papers. No doublets or cancelled speeches or false starts have been observed as in the case of Love's Labour's Lost or Timon of Athens, to cite two well-known examples. The handwriting, which in foul papers tends to be difficult to read, a frequent cause of corruption, seems to have caused the scribe or compositor little difficulty.[18] Act and scene division is complete and competent. Finally, the apparatus is consistent in the designation of character, except, possibly, in the isolated instance noted above.

Rather than foul papers, scholars prior to Turner have found evi-

dence of carefully edited copy. Wilson's view is typical: he finds "few verbal cruxes...no serious trouble either in the arrangement of its verse or...in the distribution of its speeches. In short the Folio text is on the whole happy and well-ordered."[19] If Turner has given us little reason to accept his theory, the evidence generally put forward favoring the promptbook is itself unimpressive. The bare stage directions advanced as signs of a playhouse copy are all within the capacity of an experienced dramatist. Such a direction as "Enter...at severall doores," put forward by Wilson as a sign of the promptbook does not necessarily point thereto; Shakespeare himself may have written the direction in anticipation of a performance and in full knowledge of the requirements both of the scene and his stage. In the absence of similar directions this single clue provides no sure pointer to the bookeeper.[20] As in Turner's proposal, the usual signs of the suggested copy are not in evidence. We find, for example, no actors' names in place of, or side by side with, those of minor characters, as in the text of Romeo and Juliet and Much Ado About Nothing. There are also no anticipatory stage directions or warnings for actors or properties to be ready. Indeed, the copy for F seems to have been carefully prepared, obliterating the most obvious signs of either foul papers or the promptbook. Such apparent editorial preparation supplies initial ground for the belief that a carefully prepared transcript was in the line of transmission.

Turner has found convincing evidence for such a transcript: for following the first, second and fourth acts, the text of Twelfth Night contains the words "Finis, Actus Primus," "Finis Actus Secun-

dus," and "Finis Actus Quartus."[21] After examining thirty-seven contemporary Elizabethan and Jacobean texts with similar notations, Turner concludes that act-end notation originates not in the promptbook, but rather as scribal or authorial flourishes. Since Shakespeare apparently never used the notation, and since its presence in Twelfth Night is virtually unique in the Folio, Turner finds here evidence of a scribal hand.[22] Such a conclusion seems satisfactory as far as it goes; Turner, however, seems to have misinterpreted the purpose of act-end notation. Although his investigation was limited to only thirty-seven texts, act-end notation was apparently a relatively frequent feature of academic and private-theatre plays prior to 1623.[23] Specifically, none of the surviving texts assignable to the public theatres from 1591 to 1607 display act-end notation in their printed editions for the simple reason that, aside from the plays of Jonson, none were divided into acts.[24] Significantly, none of the texts examined by Turner originating prior to the publication of the Folio may be assigned exclusively to the public theatres, but all apparently have some connections with the private theatres or special occasions. Thus, for example, the Inner Temple Comedy of Timon (c. 1607)[25] and Thomas Middleton's The Witches (c.1607-1615) appear to be literary transcripts or presentation copies with links to private performances. Thus, the act-end notation seems to (a) point away from the promptbook, (b) give strong indication of a transcript, and (c) suggest a text not designed for the public theatres, but one designed for private performance.[26] Both W.W. Greg and John Dover Wilson have anticipated these conclusion, Greg hint-

ing that they might have been added in conjunction with a revival and Wilson seeing in them the practices of the private theatres.[27]

Act-end notation points in the direction of a carefully edited literary transcript such as presumably was prepared as a presentation copy for the Middle Temple performance of 1602. Other evidence in support of such a transcript may be adduced. The initial stage direction, "Enter Orsino, Duke of Illyria," is not essential in its statement of the noble title for the stage apparatus, but is descriptively useful in a reading copy. The omission in the stage directions of the entrance of Olivia's attendants, addressed by the clown at I.v.37 and 70, might be a printer's error, but could not have arisen in the promptbook.[28] It would, moreover, probably pass unnoticed in reading copy.

A number of problems in viewing the underlying copy as deriving solely from a literary transcript, however, suggests a more complex transmission than previously suspected. In their letter "To the Great Variety of Readers" in the front matter of the Folio, editors Hemminge and Condell comment on the pains they have taken to secure excellent texts. They may have recalled the presumed Middle Temple presentation copy and the care that would have gone into its preparation. Such copy would make an excellent text for the printer, but a difficulty may have arisen in that this text might have differed from a presumably revised "popular" version designed for Globe audiences. Such a text, we may suppose, diverged slightly from the Middle Temple text to accomodate divergent tastes and staging practices. The copy for F, then, may comprise a presentation copy collated with a copy de-

signed for performances at the public theatre. Inconsistencies generally tied to theories of revisions may, in this view, be seen as a result of editorial efforts or oversights in reconciling divergent texts designed for different provenances.

The inconsistency most frequently noted as pointing toward revision is the apparent dislocation at II.iv in which Viola's song is claimed to have been transferred to the clown.[29] Orsino apparently asks the disguised Viola to sing: "Now good Cesario, but that piece of song...we heard last night....Come but one verse" (I.iv.3-9). Curio, however, interrupts the duke, saying, "He is not here, so please your lordship, that should sing it" (II. 10-11), and he shortly brings out Feste. Many scholars have suggested that Shakespeare originally wrote the song for Viola, but later brought in the clown in a revised version. It may be, however, that Viola sang in the Middle Temple performance and that the clown was brought in at the Globe. Boy singers were then popular at the private theatres at Blackfriars and the Chapel Royal at St. Paul's, which were frequented by Inns of Court men. If Viola sang at the Middle Temple to satisfy the taste for boy sopranos, then we can account for the clown's appearance in II.iv. by noting that Robert Armin, who presumably played Feste, had newly joined the Chamberlain's Men and would be in demand on the public stage where he seems to have been considerably popular.

The treatment of the clown, as Dover Wilson has observed, raises further problems that may equally be accounted for by hypothesizing a dual provenance and two texts.[30] The initial stage direction at III.i., "Enter Viola, and Clown," is commonly expanded to read, "Enter

Viola, and Clown playing pipe and tabor."[31] The pipe was traditionally played with one hand while the other beat the tabor, or small side-drum, as in the famous picture of Richard Tarlton (d.1588). Viola's first speech suggests that the clown has indeed performed his music: "Save thee, friend, and thy music! Dost thou live by thy tabor?" (III.i.1-2). Viola's lines suggest that a musical interval preceeded Act III, and such an interval points to the practices of the private theatres. Whereas on public stages plays were apparently performed without a break, act-intervals seem to have been a standard practice at public theatres and presumably at the Middle Temple performance as well.[32]

A second frequently mentioned discrepency in F that points toward two texts is Maria's announcement that the fool should make a "third" witness to the letter scene (II.iii.173-174). Instead, it will be recalled, Fabian makes an unprepared appearance in lieu of the clown (II.v.1.50). Evidence that in an alternate version Feste was present appears in the clown's mimickry of the lines "Some are born great," (V.i.369-370), which are overheard by Fabian in F (II.v.145-146). If, in an alternate version Feste appears in the garden in II.v., as Maria's lines in II.iii. suggest, and the clown then stays on stage during the act interval for the beginning of Act III, we have a situation which would work well at a private performance, but would prove awkward when transferred to the Globe. Such movements violate the so-called "law of re-entry" which prohibits a character from exiting at the end of one scene and reappearing at the beginning of another at a second location.[33] At a private performance, however, no such

difficulty would obtain: the clown's musical act-interval with tabor would clearly mark the change of locale from inside the garden to the gates outside in conformity with the practices of the private theatres. These two inconsistencies, then, suggest that Shakespeare may have originally conceived the play with somewhat differing roles for the clown and Viola than that preserved in F. In such a version, Viola may have sung in II.iv and Feste appeared in the garden in II.v. This version would presumably suit conditions at a private performance, but, as noted above, might not please the divergent tastes, or, alternately, might create staging problems, at the Globe.

That this private version preserves the Middle Temple performance is suggested by Manningham's note in conjunction the apparent allusion to the hall at the mock trial scene (IV.ii.) as well as the pattern of evidence adduced here pointing to the law-school revels. Thus, when preparing the copy for the printer in 1623, Heminge and Condell may have acquired the fair copy (or a transcript thereof) presumably presented to the Middle Temple in 1602. Also in their possession was the regular promptbook, for the play was revived in 1623 for its second royal performance on record. In preparing a text for F, the actors would in all likelihood consult both texts. If evidence pointing to the promptbook in F has thus far proved tenuous, additional grounds may be adduced in signs of Jacobean expurgation in accordance with the Act of Abuses (1606) forbidding asseverations in stage plays. It is known that the Jacobean censor was not thorough in his expurgations and may have altered systematically only the oaths of the worst offender. Thus, Sir Toby, whom we rea-

sonably suspect as a great swearer, is guilty of no more than an occasional "faith" or "fie." On the other hand, his pallid companion Sir Andrew utters no less than five asservations banned by the 1606 statue.[34] Such signs of Jacobean expurgation point to a text designed for the playhouse in the possession of the company after 1606.[35] If Hemminge and Condell consulted both the promptbook in their possession and the Middle Temple copy, then such inconsistencies as we have observed may be viewed as editorial decisions by the actors.

Such a theory allows us to reconstruct the editing of the copy for F. Briefly, where the promptbook differed from the Middle Temple copy, the editors preferred the former, preserving thereby the "popular" version designed for the Globe; where the texts were in substantial agreement, however, the editors apparently preferred the proposed well-edited Middle Temple copy. Thus, in the first two acts, the editors seem to have followed the Middle Temple version. The literary stage direction at I.i.1., "Enter Orsino, Duke of Illyria," and the act-end notation point to this text. At II.iv., however, with Feste's appearance at Orsino's court, the Globe text may have been superimposed over the Middle Temple copy. The references to Viola's singing (II.iv.) and Maria's plan to have the fool make a third (II.iv.) were probably consistent in scenes from a Middle Temple text. Feste's later aping of lines (in V.i.) heard by Fabian in the garden (II.v.) may be explained in this view by supposing that the clown indeed makes the third at II.v. in the Middle Temple copy, remaining on-stage for the musical interval marked, apparently, by

the act-end notation. Other evidence of the care which went into the preparation for the copy for F may also be observed. The editors were apparently intent to preserve later allusions to Feste's court appearance (at III.i.38 and V.i.9) taken, in this reconstruction, from the promptbook. They moved Fabian's initial entrance in the supposed Middle Temple copy from III.ii to II.v. without dislocation, preserved the act-end notation from the Middle Temple copy and, finally, preferred promptbook expurgations in their copy for F.

This theory suggests that two slightly differing versions of Twelfth Night were conflated in preparation for F, the regular promptbook and a fair copy, presumably the Middle Temple presentation copy. The findings here respecting both date and text in sum, seem to support the theory that Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night with one eye on the Middle Temple performance and another on a presumed Globe production. His sensitivity to the nuances of taste seem reflected in differences we may adduce in the two texts and their provenances. That he wrote for the Globe has never been doubted. That he may have written for a private audience is a matter that, in light of the preceeding discussion, ought to be weighed carefully.

Notes, Chapter 7

1

Within the 1598-1602 period numerous topical allusions have been adduced and are received with varying degrees of general concensus. T.W. Craik, the New Arden editor, discusses the more significant possible allusions, here summarized and listed according to year:

1598. Fabian's reference to "an icicle on a Dutchman's beard" (III.ii.24-26.) is generally seen as an allusion to an Arctic voyage by the Dutch seaman Berentz., an account of which was entered on the Stationer's Register June 13, 1598; the voyage itself, however, took place in 1596.

1598-1601. Two references to the Sophy, II.iv.180-181 and III. iv.283-284, are usually seen as allusions to the Sherley brother's visit to the Persian court, 1599-1600, an account of which was published late 1601.

1599-1600. Maria's reference to the "newe mape with the augmentation of the Indies," (III.ii.75-77) is generally regarded as an allusion to a map published in Haklyut's Voyages (1599; reissued 1600). Haklyut's interest in voyages was originally sparked, in his own account, by examining old maps in his uncle's chambers in the Middle Temple in the 1570s.

1600: The clown and Sir Toby parody "Farewell, dear heart, since I must needs be gone," (II.iii.102-112), originally published in Robert Jones' First Book of Songes and Ayres.

2

The common dating, accepted by most scholars today, has the authority of E.K. Chambers, William Shakespeare (London, 1930), I, 405, and Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum, Annals of the English Drama, 975-1700 (University of Pennsylvania, rev. 1964): 1600-1601. R.K. Turner, cited in Craik, ed., xxxi, however, finds in the supposed topical allusions no reason to narrow the 1598-1602 terminal dates. J.D. Wilson, Shakespeare's Happy Comedies (Evanston, II and London, 1962), and Sylvan Barnet in his general introduction to the Signet editions, date the play 1599-1600. The following, among others, date the play in 1601: Craik, ed., xxix-xxx; S. Musgrove, ed. Twelfth Night (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 1-2; Robert C. Melzi, "From Lelia to Viola," Renaissance Drama 9(1966), p. 80.

3

E.K. Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, (London, 1932), II, 300.

4

W.W. Greg, ed., Henslowe's Diary, II, 94.

5

J.Q. Adams, Shakespearean Playhouses (1917), pp. 85.

Notes, Chapter 7

6
See E.K. Chambers, E.S. II, 306, who puts Kempe in the Curtain in the autumn of 1599.

7
reprinted in William Hazlitt, Jest Books (1864), II, 217.

8
Chambers, E.S., II, 306. The discussion of Armin's arrival at the Chamberlain's was presented by T.W. Baldwin, "Shakespeare's Jester: The Dates of Much Ado About Nothing and As You Like It," MLN, 39 (1924), 447-455. Although the evidence is weighed fairly, the safe conclusion has been generally neglected. Among the few exceptions may be listed the respected study "Jonsonian Elements in the Comic Underplot of Twelfth Night," PMLA, 48(1933), 722, by P. Mueschke and J. Fleisher, in which Baldwin's reasoning and implications for the dating of Twelfth Night are accepted.

9
Shakespeare's probable connection to the Middle Temple by way of his cousin Thomas Geene, who was admitted to the bar from the Middle Temple November, 1602, supplies a link to Shakespeare's personal availability to the sponsors of the law-school feast.

10
quoted in H.H. Furness, ed., Variorum Edition, p. v.

11
E.K. Chambers, William Shakespeare (London, 1930), I, 404-407; John Dover Wilson, ed., Twelfth Night (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 89-101; W.W. Greg, The Shakespeare First Folio (Oxford, 1955), pp. 296-298. Most modern editors accept these findings.

12
R.K. Turner, Jr., "The Text of Twelfth Night," SQ 26(1975), 128-136; Craik, ed., pp. xvii-xxv.

13
John Dover Wilson, ed., pp. 89-90.

14
Turner, "The Text," 128-126.

15
Ibid., 132, n.11.

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16
See Craik, p. 77.

17
The debate receives an excellent summary in Craik, ed., p. 107n.

18
John Dover Wilson, ed., p. 89-90.

19
Ibid., p. 89.

20
Turner, 132.

21
Turner, 131.

22
R.K. Turner, Jr., "Act-End Notation in Some Elizabethan Plays," Modern Philology, 72 (1975), 238-247.

23
Published documentation is limited to Turner's study which focuses on the origin of act-end notation, whether authorial, scribal or prompt copy. While Turner finds that act-end notation seems not to originate in prompt copy, he fails to note that the notation, particularly around the year 1600, is almost a sure pointer away from the public stages.

24
W.T. Jewkes, Act Division in Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays, 1583-1616 (1958), pp. 337-352.

25
Turner, "Act-End Notations," p. 240-241; for Timon as an Inner Temple play see M.C. Bradbrook, "The Comedy of Timon: A Reveling Play of the Inner Temple," Renaissance Drama, IX (1966), 83-103.

26
A survey of texts listed in Jewkes supports this view; no systematic study, however, has yet been published.

27
Greg, p. 296; Wilson, pp. 104-104.

Notes, Chapter 7

28
Turner, "The Text," p. 132, p. 13.

29
See Turner, "The Text," p. 132-133 for a summary of the discussion.

30
Wilson, pp. 93-95

31
See Craik, ed., p. 74, for summary and discussion.

32
T.S. Graves, "'Act-Time' in Elizabethan Theatres," Studies in Philology (1915), 112.

33
John Dover Wilson, ed., p. 94.

34
"'Slight," II.v.33 and II.ii.10; "Pray God," III.iv.317; "'Slid," III.iv.400; "For the love of God," V.i.170; "'Od's Lifelings," V.i. 182.

35
Wilson, followed by Greg and others, finds evidence of a 1606 revision; see pp. 94-96. S.L. Bethell, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (New York, 1970), pp. 170-180, and Turner, "The Text," pp. 134, argue against Wilson.

Chapter 8

Occasional Plays and Romantic Comedies

The preceding discussion of the social and literary background of Twelfth Night seems to reinforce the prevailing modern view that, in Tilley's formulation, the revels theme is central to an understanding of the comedy. Manningham's note has guided us into the area of Inns of Court revels out of which a pattern of evidence has emerged suggesting that the Folio version of Twelfth Night preserves a text designed by Shakespeare with the Middle Temple performance in mind. It further suggests that this text was adapted to the requirements of the socially diverse background of the Globe audience. Such findings, however reasonable they might appear in this context, conflict with two prevailing modern views: (1) that Shakespeare wrote no plays for private audiences, and (2) that Twelfth Night, as a "romantic comedy," would not appeal to the classically-oriented lawyers. Let us, therefore, examine these objections before drawing conclusions.

In Chapter 5 and 6 on sources and analogues in classical and romantic literature of the period, we observed Shakespeare's balancing of the two traditions with numerous links between them. To suggest that Twelfth Night is "romantic," however, is to force choice upon

ourselves that would have been meaningless in Shakespeare's day. The idea that Twelfth Night and a group of comedies similar to it may be styled "romantic comedies" is post-Shakespearean. The terms "classic" and "romantic," not to mention the opposition "classic versus romantic," were conceptualizations of a later age. Although not without anticipation in Shakespeare's time, the word "romantic" did not actually appear in print until 1659, after Shakespeare had been dead 43 years. The term "romantic" has been well studied, and it is known to have gradually taken on the connotations we now associate with it concerning love. Originally, it modified substantives to suggest the wild and unruly, as in landscapes and imaginings.[1] "Romance" was a term of greater antiquity, referring first to the language spoken in southern France and then, in the middle ages, to works written in that language. Finally, it took on the meaning of a wide-ranging genre, featuring in lengthy prose works, the adventures of knights in armor and ladies in distress. The contents of such works came to be known as "romantic," a negative term in the Restoration, descriptive of the ill repute into which the genre had fallen. The interesting history of the 18th-century triumph of the "romantic" is well known. By 1800, an age would name itself "romantic," and find the romantic everywhere. Thus, the notion of a romantic drama is a product of the fertile critical mind of A.W. Schlegel, whose lectures on Shakespeare of 1808 had such a profound influence on Coleridge.[2] Romantic comedy, as such, seems to have been coined somewhat later in the century to signify a species of romantic drama.

"Romantic Comedy" may be a useful term to describe similarities among plays as critics have grouped them since Coleridge's day. It should be quite clear, however, that Shakespeare and his contemporaries could not have conceptualized in this way. Their notions of what these plays were must have been limited by modes of thought available to them at that time. They would neither conceptualize in terms of romantic comedy or of "classic" plays. This latter term first appeared in writing in 1607, shortly after Twelfth Night was written, but strictly in reference to a work of Greek or Roman antiquity. Further, the critical dichotomy "romantic versus classic" seems to have been relatively new in 1820, when Byron referred to it as such in a letter to Goethe.[3] Thus, while the utility of the term "romantic comedy" is not to be denied, it must be used with considerable care. Despite its evocation of imaginative realms and tales of love, it has no historical validity with respect to Shakespeare's time. It finally has no place in historically-based discussions of Elizabethan drama as a term diametrically opposed to, and exclusive of, "classic comedy."

The classification of Twelfth Night as a "romantic comedy" seems to have led, not to a fuller appreciation of the play, but to a narrowing of critical focus on the love theme. We have seen Shakespeare carefully blend romance strains with classic motifs in such a way that a sophisticated Elizabethan audience might enjoy its modernity while a Globe audience would not lose interest in an overly-academic handling of plot materials. In stressing the love theme, however, modern critics slight that very theme which is generally agreed to

be central to a reading of the play: the revels themes, of disguise, madness and reason, "surfeit cloyment and revolt" inversion of the social order, jesting, love and folly. If a genuine Elizabethan nomenclature is to be sought, one is ready at hand: the Elizabethans had a term for such plays as Twelfth Night; they would have called them "revels."[4] As such, the categorical dismissal of the play as unsuitable to the "classical" requirements of the Middle Temple audience dissolves.

Our first objection, however, must now be addressed, regarding the status of so-called "occasional plays." Today, the majority of scholars seem to agree with Alfred Harbage's opinion that the professional companies in general and Shakespeare in particular never supplied occasional plays. "There is no supporting external evidence," writes Harbage, "to prove that any regular play performed by any regular company, juvenile or adult, was originally written for a special occasion during the whole rein of Elizabeth and lifetime of Shakespeare."[5] This statement has apparently never been challenged, although a persistent minority of scholars continues to name occasional plays in the Shakespeare canon. As Richard Levin, emphatically supporting Harbage, has put it, the

> absence of external evidence is itself important evidence against the occasionalists, because if plays were commissioned for these special performances one would expect to find this recorded in household accounts, on title pages, and the like.[6]

The case of Twelfth Night at the Middle Temple is no exception to these claims: for although a record of the performance exists in

Manningham's Diary, we have no evidence of a commission and no external indications that the play was designed for a special performance. In short, the evidence is circumstantial and internal. How, then, can the apparent description of the Middle Temple Hall in IV.ii. be accounted for? If it is argued that the description might well be of some other hall, this suggests that Twelfth Night was designed for performance in that hall. We then assume for an unknown hall with no record of performance what we deny the Middle Temple Hall where we know the play to have been presented. Furthermore, if it is argued that the apparent description is merely coincidence, then we must inquire whether Manningham's fellows would have taken it as such. On little other evidence than Manningham's Diary and Feste's apparent description of the hall, a case for Twelfth Night as a Middle Temple revels play might rest, as Akrigg has proposed. Since publication of Akrigg's findings in 1958, however, scholars seem to have ignored his suggestion. T.W. Craik, the New Arden Editor, for example, in his gloss on these lines, (II.iv.) addresses Hotson's discredited claim that the location is Whitehall, where Orsini, it will be recalled, was entertained. Akrigg, however, had already shown that the room at Whitehall under consideration by Hotson had but one bay, and Feste clearly speaks of "bay windows," a description more befitting the Middle Temple Hall.[6] Again, Craik's quibble that the clown's direction "south-north" in reference to the location of the clerestories as merely an instance of meaningless patter seems to have little force in light of the architectural layout of the Temple Hall. Feste's babble time and again has been shown to have relevance, and the presence

of two bay windows and clerestories on the south and north walls of the Middle Temple Hall points clearly at the clown's meaning here.

The opinion put forward by Harbage and seconded by Levin seems to overstate the case against so-called occasional plays in its reliance on external evidence and household accounts. Lyly's court comedies and Peele's Arraignment of Paris (1584) seem to be special plays in the sense that Harbage intends: regular plays, presented by a professional company, produced between 1558 and 1616, and designed for a special performance, namely before the queen. This view is not based, however, on external records or household accounts, Harbage's first criterion, but rather on internal evidence. The title page of Endymion (1588, Q 1591), for example, supplies no information on the first performance. It only states that this comedy was "Played before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenwich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules."[7] The household account is equally uninforming, recording the payment to Thomas Giles, the Master of the Children at Paul's, without even naming the play performed at Greenwich on Candlemas, 1588. Further, there is no record of other performances; no prologue or epilogue for such performances, no indications of other performances in the prologue and epilogue specifically addressed to the queen, at the Candlemas performance; and, indeed, if other performances were given, they were considered merely rehearsals for the court performance. The play seems designed as a compliment to Elizabeth, and the consensus is that Endymion is, in other words, an occasional play in Harbage's sense, despite the lack of external evidence.

An even stronger case may be made for George Peele's Arraignment.

The title page does not tell us that this play was especially designed for performance before the queen, only that it was "Presented before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her Chappell,"[8] in 1584. The household accounts are less helpful: they indicate that this company performed before the queen on Twelfth Night and again on Candlemas, 1584, but omit the names of the plays performed on those nights. Nowhere do we find any external evidence that the Arraignment was designed for a special performance. The text, however, leaves no doubt of this fact. Toward the end of Act Five, we find the following stage direction: "The song being ended, Clotho Speaks to the Queen" (S.D. V. i.136). In this speech, Elizabeth herself is named as the "fair Queen...our fair Eliza," to whom Diana "delivereth the ball of gold to the Queen's own hands." This scene cannot be played to the same effect before any but a royal audience, and, like the action leading to the mock-trial of Malvolio, the plot converges on this scene. Brooke and Paradise state the generally held view: that The Arraignment was "obviously designed for a performance before Queen Elizabeth."[9] The absence of evidence on title pages and household accounts, then, should not deter us from concluding that from time to time a "regular play," in Harbage's formulation, was designed with a special performance in mind. Evidentally the Elizabethans did not think such a fact worth preserving on these records.

Next, Levin scores further points in his general opposition to the occasional play. He argues that

> the dramatic companies would wish to avoid all the trouble and expense involved in having a play (even if enough time were available for this, which would

> itself be a major problem), and the celebrants would find it more costly to commission a tailor-made play than to accept a ready-made one from the repertory.[10]

Levin's assumption that a "tailor-made play" would be performed but once seems warrantless. A tailor-made theatrical production, such as a masque, might indeed be designed for a single production. Even if the professional companies were brought in, these shows would not qualify as a regular play in Harbage's sense. A play designed for court performance, however, might simultaneously be prepared in an alternate version for the public theatre. The added expense of the additions for the court would be absorbed, first by the regular court fee of £10, secondly by anticipated added receipts at the gate resulting from increased public interest in a court-produced play, and finally, through the sale to the printer of the one-time text of the court version.

Dekker's revision of Old Fortunatus follows precisely such a scenario. This play, performed before the queen on December 27, 1599, is a revision of a two-part comedy probably dating from the early 1590s. Henslowe's Diary indicates that Dekker was paid for extensive changes in the text expressly for the court performance.[11] It seems that the masque-like scenes, a prologue and epilogue and a compliment to the queen at 2799-2834 were added for the court.[12] Dekker was paid £3 for these additions, fully half the sum he received for the entire revision. The £10 court fee was apparently consumed in special properties purchased for the occasion (used also in the Rose production) and in the added payments to Dekker.[13] As for production time,

the company, according to Henslowe, was able to put up the new show in about a month. As for profits, the company seems to have made money on the sale of the court version to the printer. In his textual introduction, Fredson Bowers views the quarto text (S.R. Febr. 20, 1600) as the foul papers governing the court performance. The alternate version, presumably designed for production at the Rose, apparently never reached the press since only publication of the court version advertised on the title page could be expected to boost gate receits.[14]

Thus, as an independent text, Dekker's court version of Old Fortunatus in Q seems to qualify as a regular play in Harbage's sense and to meet Levin's production considerations as well. It might nevertheless be argued that Dekker's revision disqualifies his Old Fortunatus as a new play receiving a performance at a special occasion. This objection points up the rigidity of Harbage's criteria. If we are talking about plays designed with special audience's in mind, then we should, I think, look for evidence in the play on the special requirements of this audience in light of the occasion and not, as is generally done, inquire into whether or not the play received a first performance at the intended occasion. Elizabethan practices in these matters did not follow a rigid formula. Old Fortunatus may have opened at the Rose in Dekker's revision and, in some sense, still be a "special play." Indeed, the impetus behind Dekker's revision was not the court performance, since the additions for court were only ordered after the revision was under way. Yet the court text evidentally differed sufficiently from the Rose text to justify

publication, apparently during the play's run at the Rose. Although a revision, Henslowe considered it "ne," so marking it in his Diary. If Shakespeare's adaptation of the old King Leir (c.1580, Q 1605) is considered a new work, so, by extention, might Dekker's revision of Old Fortunatus.

Levin, in agreeing further with Harbage, admits that his arguments do

> not preclude the possibility that an occasional play may have occasionally been written, but it does place an extremely heavy burden of proof on anyone who wishes to convince us that he has found such an exception to the normal theatrical practice of the time, since he must establish a positive case of that particular play which is impressive enough to outweigh these very basic objections.[16]

It is hopefully clear that Harbage's and Levin's basic objections are in effect a set of criteria with no apparent relevance to the drama under consideration. This arises from a formulation which relies on external evidence rather than internal, by overlooking evidence within the 1558-1616 time frame and furthermore by ruling out all evidence following Shakespeare's death and prior to the closing of the theatres in 1642.

Let us review some of this overlooked evidence. First, an entry in Philip Henslowe's Diary for November 9, 1602 indicates that As Merry As May Be, by Day, Smith and Hathaway, was designed for a court performance by the Admiral's Men. On that date, Henslowe writes, Day was given 40s "in earneste of a Booke called mery as may be for the corte."[17] On the 17th, an additional payment of £6 was made to the three authors. The Admiral's Men were at court at December 27, 1602,

March 6 and possibly March 8, 1603. On one of these dates, this play was presumably performed. The evidence in Henslowe's Diary, according to Bernard Beckerman, who has studied all the plays presented at court between 1590 and 1642, suggests that As Merry as May be was "probably first presented at court" in the period under question. Beckerman's study adds to the belief that from time to time a play may have been first performed at court. Of the 144 plays included in his survey, seven plays, all written after Shakespeare's death, are listed as having been first produced at court.[18] Thus, by limiting their views to plays produced between 1558 and 1616, Harbage and Levin omit seven post-Shakespearean plays apparently first performed at court. Finally, if Merry as May Be did indeed premier at court in 1602 or 1603, the case collapses in its own terms on this single instance.

To suggest that Dekker wrote Old Fortunatus or that Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night with a special audience in mind is not to imply, therefore, that the play was written exclusively for a special audience or even for a first performance before that audience. Manningham's note assures us of the occasion of a performance of Shakespeare's comedy before a select audience, namely one-hundred and fifty lawyers at a Middle Temple Candlemas feast. As stated, Harbage's and Levin's general objections to occasional plays seem moot. The examination of the English revels, c. 1600 undertaken here continually points toward the special requirements of these revelling lawyers. Without losing sight of the divergent requirements of his Globe audience, Shakespeare seems to have composed a comedy with one eye on the Middle Temple engagement and another on the popular stage. The result, neither clas-

sical nor romantic, not "occasional," though specially designed for a special audience (not necessarily for a first performance), seems to reveal its meaning through the revels theme. Indeed, it was apparently designed as a "Revels."

Notes, Chapter 8

1
OED

2
August Ralli, A History of Shakespearean Criticism, (New York, 1965), I, 122-123.

3
OED

4
Hollander, 222.

5
Alfred Harbage, "Love's Labour's Lost and the Early Shakespeare," Philological Quarterly, 41 (1962), 19-20; see also his Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, (New York, 1952), p. 116.

6
Richard Levin, "The King James Version of Measure for Measure," Clio, 3(1973), 131.

7
C.F. Tucker Brooke and Nathaniel Burton Paradise, eds., English Drama 1580-1642, (E.C. Heath: 1932), p. 39.

8
Ibid , p. 1.

9
Ibid., p. 3.

10
Levin, 132.

11
Beckerman, p. 11.

12
Chambers, ES, III, 201-202.

13
Beckerman, p. 20.

14
Fredson Bowers, ed. "Textual Introduction, "Dekker's Old Fortunatus, The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, (Cambridge, 1970), I, 107-

110.

[15] Beckerman, 20.

[16] Levin, p. 132.

[17] Beckerman, p. 20.

Chapter 9

Summary and Conclusion

The seasonal festivity or revels which seem to provide Twelfth Night (c.1601) with its title and theme have been acknowledged by critics of the past century as central to an understanding of Shakespeare's comedic masterpiece. This accords well with the early stage history of the play: Twelfth Night was performed at private, aristocratic and royal revels during Queen Elizabeth's and King James' reigns in addition to its presumed performances at the Globe. Despite this coincidence, modern scholars have generally neglected the Elizabethan revels in their study of the social and literary background of this play. The purpose of this dissertation, then, has been to supply such a study in the hope of developing an authentic Elizabethan perspective on the play.

A general examination of revelry in Twelfth Night suggested the perspective of English aristocrats at Christmas. The sophisticated courtly love and gulling plots recall the interests of the English upper class at the start of the seventeenth century at Christmas. Shakespeare's fool, Robert Armin, provided a semi-fictional account of an English baronial house at Christmas, not unlike Olivia's household. The Lord of Misrule, knock-about jesting or physical violence, dancing,

gesture or behaviour, jests, gambling, mummings, disguisings, melancholia, suits, class inversions, bawdy, appetite, madness and love, enchantment and interludes all seem reflected in Twelfth Night.

The appearance of a Duke Orsino in a play bearing a title naming the day on which an Italian nobleman, Don Virginio Orsini was present at court and on one which Shakespeare's company was known to have performed gives a superficial plausibility to Hotson's thesis that the play was written as a compliment to the visiting dignitary. Few scholars today hold this position. There nevertheless seem to be numerous links, topical, literary and thematic connecting Orsini's visit to the play. These include a midnight saturnalian romp and a romantic courtly-love game centering on Orsino/Orsini.

Although Duke Orsini was invited to an Inns of Court revel at Gray's Inn, he returned to the continent five days before the feast scheduled for January 18, 1600. He nevertheless apparently put in an appearance a year later at one of the other Inns, The Middle Temple during their Candlemas (February 2, 1602) revel as Shakespeare's Illyrian duke. John Manningham's Diary assures us of the performance. Links to the law-school revels generally suggested a coincidence of interests: academic jesting, logical absurdities, an assault on the syllogism, mock learning, bawy jesting, mock-trials, legal parodies, suits, and an interlude with an allusion to "this hall." The analysis here suggested that the English law-school revels c. 1600 supply the immediate social background of Twelfth Night.

Manningham's allusion to Twelfth Night focuses primarily on literary concerns. The sophistication of his remarks suggests that as an

educated Shakespearean contemporary his views should be weighed with considerable care. In this way, we may attempt to construct an Elizabethan perspective on the play. In order to understand the neglect of Manningham's views, the history of Twelfth Night scholarship was studied up to the publication of the lawyer's Diary (1831). As scholars sharpened their tools, they discovered, as early as 1806, Shakespeare's probable immediate source in Barnabe Riche's "Apolonius and Silla" (1581), a full-blown romance opposed in spirit to revelry. It is, in short, everything the discussion has suggested the play is not. In order, then, to understand Shakespeare's transmutation of these inferior materials, the large canvas of the analogues of Twelfth Night was closely studied.

With Manningham's remarks as a guide, we were pointed to Italian learned comedy, there to find the first appearance of the Viola-plot in Gl'Ingannati, an academic festival comedy in Siena, Italy (1531). The plot was later contaminated with Plautus by Secchi, renamed Gl' Inganni, the play named by Manningham, and given a royal performance, c. 1547. A discussion of Terentian contaminatio and its influence on the Renaissance drama followed. The inquiry focused on English contaminated comedy, including the academic play Roister Doister (c. 1553) by Udall and the Inns of Court Supposes (1566). In this context, the Comedy of Errors, another work mentioned by Manningham, was considered as a contaminatio. The performance of Errors at the Gray's Inns revels (1594) in conjunction with Manningham's allusion assures us of the relevance of this early Shakespeare play.

Two other plays were considered: Ben Jonson's The Case is Altered

(1599) and George Chapman's All Fools (1598). These plays seem to form a group with Twelfth Night consisting of three plays written within as many years with contaminated main plots and gullings or humours plots appended. All apparently succeeded both before the general audiences outdoors and private, aristocratic audiences indoors. What You Will (c. 1601) seems to make a fourth in this group, except that it probably didn't have outdoor sponsorship.

Shakespeare's classicism in Twelfth Night was then studied. We saw the playwright bend the laws of classical comedy to suit his own dramaturical ends, to meet tastes of his audiences, scattering classical allusions throughout the play, anatomizing the Terentian "knot" the moment it occurs (II.ii.34-40), making casual allusions to classical stereotypes in characterizations. Manningham's allusion then seems to open for us a "classicists" view of Twelfth Night. The void Manningham apprently leaves on the romantic elements may be filled through the study of romance, beginning with its seeds in Plautus.

The emergence of "Viola" as a romantic heroine i. learned comedy was the culmination of centuries of literary development. The seed of romance in Plautus' Menaechmus, the third play mentioned by Manningham, in the separation of the twins, is seen in full flower in Apollonius of Tyre, a Greek romance (c. 6th century A.D.). Parallels between Twelfth Night and another Greek romance Achilles Tatius' Clitophon and Leucippe (c. 3rd century A.D.), were examined. Medieval romances featuring the disguised heroine in low service to their beloved were mentioned. The disguised-heroine met up with Plautian comedy initially in Bibbiena's La Calandria (1513) and was soon transformed into

"Viola" in the Sienese carnival farce Gl'Ingannati. From there she had a lengthy career, spanning almost 150 years, in numerous redactions in many genres. In the line of works that led to Riche, the classical "errors" motif was systematically explained away, while numerous romance motifs were added to the plot, including shipwrecks, attempted rapes, imprisonment, and the like. We find all of these in Riche, but in Shakespeare only the shipwreck survives, and that is antecedent to the action. Shakespeare, then, pulls back from a full-blown romance world and scales it to the similar proportions of the surrounding comedy, i.e., Jonson's the Case, Chapman's All Fools, etc. The comedy is broader than the single street of classical comedy, and narrower than the endless by-ways of the typical romance. Shakespeare's proportions seem to have satisfied a wide spectrum of theatre-goers.

The links to What You Will in title and theme provide another reminder of the proximity of Twelfth Night to the performance viewed by Manningham including the large debt to romance. Thus the apparent void in Manningham on romance was supplied through a study of the surrounding Inns of Court comedy. If Shakespeare wrote Twelfth Night with the Middle Temple audience in mind, then, it seems reasonable to believe that the Folio may supply indications of a text that preserves, in whole or part, this performance. The 1601 date of composition is reasonably assured by Armin's arrival at the Chamberlain's Men shortly prior to the visit of Duke Orsini. This date would be in keeping with a commission from the sponsors of the Middle Temple feast. The study of the text suggests that the Folio may be a carefully edited conflation of the presumed Middle Temple presentation copy and the prompt

book. Features of the staging and matters of taste that presumably would work well at the law school but not at the Globe, were, in this view, replaced by alternate copy from the prompt book. In this way the Folio editors may have sought to preserve the play for all men of all time while assuring us of an excellent text.

In conclusion, this discussion suggested that Manningham's allusion to Twelfth Night supplies a key to an Elizabethan perspective on the play. Not only does he name the immediate social context of the play, but he also points us to a literary position with appeals both to learned audiences and to the general populace. Such conclusions, however, were seen to be in apparent contradiction to the widely held beliefs that Shakespeare wrote no plays for private audiences and that as a romantic comedy, Twelfth Night would not appeal to the classically-trained lawyers. On the other hand, however, it was suggested that the term "romantic comedy," a critical category first proposed in the nineteenth century, could have little bearing on an attempt to construct an authentic Elizabethan perspective on the play. Second, it was suggested that the present formulation of the notion of "occasional plays" was moot; Elizabethan practices seem to indicate that playwrights indeed wrote plays with private audiences in mind while still intending the play to be performed before the public.

Thus, a reformulation of the critical categories "romantic comedy" and "occasional play" seems called for. In the case of Twelfth Night the two might be reduced to one. In sum, from an authentic Elizabethan perspective Twelfth Night should be called a "Revels.".

Appendix A

Gray's Inn, 1594

The Gesta Grayorum (first published 1688), a contemporary account of the 1594 revels, contains a lengthy report on the events immediately following the performance of Errors which suggests that the play and the ensuing law sports mutually reflect one another. On the night of December 28, 1594, a stage was built at Gray's Inn and scaffolding erected to the top of the house. Throughout the evening, "Throngs and Tumults, Crowds and Outrages disturbed our whole Proceedings...A Company of base and common Fellows came to make up our Disorders with a Play of Errors and Confusions; and that...Night had gained to us Discredit, and it self a Nickname of Errors."[1] The play is elsewhere named: "A Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the Players." On the next evening, an inquiry was made to determine the causes of the "great Disorder and Abuses late done." The law sports continued on the second night following the play during which judgments were read suggestive of themes from the play.

Charges were first brought against "a Sorcerer or Conjuror that was supposed to be the Cause of that confused Inconvenience." The judgment told how the conjuror had prepared the hall with the stage and scaffolds, caused the tumults, and foisted the players upon the

house. As in Errors, witchcraft is cited as the cause of the confusions. It was disclosed that the conjuror was merely the dupe of several functionaries of the revels. The Attorney General and the Solicitor, working with the Master of Requests, "had brought all this Law-stuff on purpose to blind the eyes of his Excellency [i.e., the Christmas Lord], and all the honorable Court there, going about to make him think, that those things which they all saw and perceived sensibly to be in very good deed done, and actually performed, were nothing but vain illusions, Fancies, Dreams and Enchantments." The theme of enchantment is paralled not only in Errors but in Twelfth Night as well. In the earlier comedy, Antipholus of Syracuse interprets the strange events that befall him in Ephesus as a product of witchcraft: he suspects from the outset that the very air is "full of cozenage," that his love for Luciana is a result of bewitchment, and that the courtezan is a "fiend" or "sorceress." "Here we wander in illusions," he says, and his remark seems applicable to him as well as to the revellers in Gray's Inn and Sebastian in Shakespeare's Illyria as well. The wandering twin in Twelfth Night, following a series of improbable events in which he is mistaken for the disguised Viola, is ready to distrust his eyes and let reason pursuade him he is mad: "'tis wonder that enwraps me thus," he says (IV.iii.3).

Since both Twelfth Night and Errors were both performed at Inns of Court revels, and Manningham links the two plays, further connections between the plays points toward the law school revels. Malvolio's imprisonment for madness, in this context, has also been compared to incidents in Errors. In the Gray's Inn comedy, Antipholus

of Ephesus is taken to be mad by his wife; a conjuror, Dr. Pinch, is brought in, like Sir Topas, to exorcise his devils. Antipholus' denial in participating in events actually performed in the play by his double convinces the conjuror he is mad, and with his slave, he, like Malvolio, is bound over in a dark room (IV.iv.129). This not only recalls the steward's fate in Twelfth Night, but seems to reflect actual events at the Gray's Inn revels on the night of the performance of Errors and on those nights immediately following.

Links between the Comedy of Errors, Twelfth Night and the Gray's Inn 1594 Christmas revels may be briefly summarized: a mock arraignment is held, a conjuror is brought in, and witchcraft is cited as a cause of madness with the guilty parties sent off to prison.

Appendix B

Sir Toby and Sir Posthumous Hoby

Malvolio's interruption of Sir Toby's festivities in II.iii. has been seen as a topical allusion to a famous Court of the Star Chamber Case about which there was much talk in London in the months prior to the Middle Temple performance of Twelfth Night.[1] Shakespeare, in devising a comedy with an audience of lawyers in mind, may have drawn upon a recent law case to lend topical point to his play. Specifically, the steward's actions in II.iii. have been compared to the case of Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby. Hoby had brought charges in the Star Chamber against Mr. William Eure, the son of the Lord Eure, Sir William Eure and others, owing to an injury received during the summer of 1600. Sir Thomas was visited by the Eure hunting party at his hall in Hackness in Yorkshire. Although he had expressly informed their footboy that their company would not be welcome in his home, they nevertheless arrived two hours later.

The behaviour of the party at Sir Thomas' hall recalls Sir Toby's drinking party. The Eures ate supper, tol "lascivious tales where every sentence was begun or ended with a great oath," and drank inordinately. After supper they played at dice, and, while Sir Thomas and

his family were at evening prayers singing psalms, "the company above made extraordinary noise with their feet...and laughed all the time of the prayers." Sir Thomas' angry confrontation, as described in a contemporary account, recalls Malvolio's:

> The next morning they went to breakfast in the dining room, and Sir Thomas hearing them call for more wine, sent for the key of the cellar, and told them they should come by no more wine from him. Then Sir Thomas sent to Mr. Eure to know how he would bestow that day, and told him if he would leave disquieting him with carding, dicing and excessive drinking and fall to other sports, he should be very welcome.

Sir Thomas' message is similar to Malvolio's:

> If you can separate your self and your misdemeanors, you are welcome to the house; if not, and it would please you to take leave of her, she is very willing to bid you farewell.
>
> II.iii.97-100.

Just as the puritan-minded Malvolio later falls victim to a jest, so is the puritanical Sir Thomas subjected to a prank: as the Eure party left shortly after receiving the message cited above, they threw stones and broke some precious windows. By bringing them to court, however, Sir Thomas sought to avenge these misdemeanors.

Appendix C

The Trial of the Steward

Malvolio's interruption of Sir Toby's festivities, his subsequent arraignment and mock trial, recalls the treatment of the Middle Temple steward at a 1589 Christmas revels. At that time, the gentlemen of the society apparently carried their revelling to extremes and were constrained from pursuing their excesses by the steward, Henry Poole. According to an order of the Parliament of the Middle Temple for that year, members of the society, including the Christmas Lord (a student) and utter barristers, removed Poole "from his office for ill provision of victual and other abuses." Poole, like Malvolio, apparently opposed the revelry, and the young lawyers retaliated by instituting legal proceedings against him. Because they had "no sufficient authority" to proceed, however, the order was revoked and the case referred to the highest authorities of the Inn, the treasurer and two others of the bench. The revellers nevertheless appear to have had some justification for their actions because the order admits of the steward's "misdemeanours and evil usage of the Butlers and other officers."[1]

Notes

Appendix A

1
All quotations are from Gesta Grayorum 1688, W.W. Greg, ed. (Malone Society Reprints, 1914), pp. 20-24.

Appendix B

1
"Salisbury Papers" 10:303, quoted in G.B. Harrison, ed., The Elizabethan Journals, (Garden City, 1965), II, 183-184.

Appendix C

1
Middle Temple Records, Charles H. Hopwood, ed., (London, 1904), I, 303-304; quoted in Finkelpearl, Marston, p. 38.

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