LOVE'S CURE, OR THE MARTIAL MAID

BY JOHN FLETCHER AND PHILIP MASSINGER:

A MODERN-SPELLING CRITICAL EDITION

by

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A thesis submitted to the

University of Birmingham

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Shakespeare Institute

& Department of English

School of English, Drama, and American & Canadian Studies

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

June 2015

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first fully annotated modern-spelling critical edition of *Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid* by John Fletcher and Philip Massinger. The play, first published in 1647 as part of the first Beaumont and Fletcher folio, has been neglected in performance and relatively unappreciated by scholarship. It had not been edited critically since George Walton Williams published his old-spelling edition in 1976, which included little accompanying commentary.

This new edition offers a modernised text with annotation and a critical apparatus, generally following the editorial principles of the Arden Early Modern Drama series. It reconsiders the dating of the play, providing evidence to assign its composition to 1615. It traces the origins and processes of transmission of its main narrative source, *La fuerza de la costumbre* by Guillén de Castro, and also proposes for the first time a source for one of its characters in *Guzmán de Alfarache* by Mateo Alemán. Finally, it also reconsiders the staging possibilities of the play based on evidence from a practice-based project developed at the Shakespeare Institute in 2012 during rehearsals for a staged reading, a recording of which is included on DVD as an appendix.

Para mis padres y mi hermano,

y para Irma y David, que son mi alegría.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The considerable length of this section can only be justified by the great number of people who have helped me, in one way or another, to complete this thesis. The first debt of gratitude I must acknowledge is to the team that collaborated with me over four months in workshopping and performing *Love's Cure* at the Shakespeare Institute in the spring and summer of 2012. First and foremost, I am ever grateful to Robert F. Ball, *director magnificus*, who handled the production process with his usual gentle touch and firm efficiency, and who has remained a close friend since our MA years. Red Smucker, our costume designer, taught our male actors performing the female roles how to move in their dresses and use their bodies without feeling too odd. Dr Peter Malin, apart from playing the most perfect Álvarez I could have hoped for, quickly became our solid, insightful, and challenging textual advisor. Much of the text's accuracy of punctuation and modernisation is due to his advice, and he has most certainly saved me from quite a few embarrassments. The production also benefitted from his sharp theatrical awareness, and a number of problematic scenes were successfully negotiated following his suggestions. Helen Osborne, who was our stage manager, has been a continuous and fundamental support over the last five years in too many ways to explain here; her friendship is one of the treasures of my life. The whole cast bravely spent many hours running the scenes in different ways, and endured a long and tiring day on Saturday 7 July 2012 when we performed the play twice at two venues in Stratford and Birmingham. On that day, the symposium that I chaired about the play included valuable contributions from Professor Katherine Duncan-Jones, Professor Jonathan Thacker, and Dr Martin Wiggins (of whom more anon), plus perceptive comments from Professor Richard Proudfoot in the audience; their thoughts and suggestions then and on other occasions have been extremely useful.

I would like to thank as well the friends who crowded the Reading Room at the Shakespeare Institute to read the play again in the evening of Monday 17 July 2013 as part of the Beaumont and Fletcher Marathon, and especially to those who kindly left behind their annotated scripts with useful suggestions and corrections. I would like to thank particularly Clare Smout for her perceptive ideas on the traffic of some props; Richard Nunn (our original 2012 Piorato) for his inexhaustible wealth of military knowledge and his comments on the relative sizes of dags and petronels; and Dr C. K. Ash for her useful notes on punctuation (and for being a superb Clara on that occasion and at two staging workshops).

I must acknowledge my great debt to the previous editors of this remarkable play. Seward and Sympson were the first to attempt a serious appraisal of the text, providing numerous annotations that remain useful, and so did the 1778 editor, George Colman. However, there are two scholars whose work facilitated mine a great deal. On the one hand, for over a century and a half the Rev. Mr Alexander Dyce has remained the most perceptive and careful editor of the Fletcher canon; I am indebted to him for numerous details of punctuation and modernisation, and for his careful consideration of some key passages. On the other hand, Professor George Walton Williams produced in 1976 the magisterial old-spelling edition of the play that has been a constant guide through the

editorial process, and whose rigorous scholarship has been an inspiration. Professor Williams's encouragement has also been an unforeseen privilege.

This edition would not have been completed without the help of many librarians in the United Kingdom, Spain, the United States of America, and Canada. In particular I would like to acknowledge the kind assistance of the staff of the British Library in London; the Library of Birmingham; the Cadbury Special Collections Library at the University of Birmingham; the Biblioteca Nacional de España (though not their embarrassing security staff) and the Real Biblioteca, both in Madrid; the Houghton Library at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. In my adoptive hometown of Stratford-upon-Avon, I would like to extend especial thanks to the librarians of the Shakespeare Centre Library, past and present, particularly Sylvia Morris, Jo Wilding, Helen Hargest, Madeleine Cox, Mareike Doleschal, Amy Hurst, and Victoria Lawston. At the Shakespeare Centre I also had the privilege to learn my first palaeography with the superb Mairi MacDonald, which proved to be immensely useful while doing archival work on three extant manuscripts of *La fuerza de la costumbre*. Of course, my most important support has been the phenomenal team at the Shakespeare Institute Library who have helped me in my work in too many ways to detail here, and who, after years of sharing many cups of tea in the office, I am proud to count among my friends: Karin Brown, Kate Welch, Kelley Costigan, Bettina Harris, Dr Jami Rogers, Anne Phillips, Anne Catchpole, Dr Jill Francis, Dr Margaret Roper, Hannah Hickman, Sara Marie Westh, Steffi Schnabel, Dr Cathleen McKague, and Emer McHugh. In particular, John Settle and Lorna Burslem have honoured me with their wonderful friendship and have been a constant support.

I must also thank the members of the Renaissance Drama Research Group at the Institute, who continue to provide an enriching and stimulating forum to discuss all things related to the drama of this period and the slings and arrows of PhD work. My fellow Scholars of the Night have been: Dr C. K. Ash, Dr Catherine Clifford, Georgina Lucas, Helen Osborne (again), Miriam O'Connor, Jacqueline MacDonald, Jenna Owen, Dr Eoin Price, Margaret Sharratt, Dr Elizabeth Sharrett, Jan Tasker, and Dr Yolana Wassersug.

The Shakespeare Institute has been my home for many years and an ideal environment to grow as a scholar and as a person. For making this possible, I would like to thank the Director, Professor Michael Dobson, and the Fellows past and present: Professor John Jowett, Professor Ewan Fernie, Professor Kathleen E. McLuskie, Dr Erin Sullivan, Dr Abigail Rokison, Dr Tara Hamling, Dr Kate Rumbold, Dr Jacquelyn Bessell, Dr David Hopes, and Dr Chris Laoutaris. A special mention is due to Dr Catherine Alexander, the best teacher I have known, who convened my MA in Shakespeare and Theatre and who gave me useful advice when I was trying to decide what to do for my PhD; she suggested that I should seek the supervision of Dr Martin Wiggins: 'You two will get on very well.' She was right.

At the helm of the administration of the Institute, the indispensable Rebecca White, Juliet Creese, and Natalie Bell have been of immense help and support in many ways over the years. The support and encouragement of many students, past and present, at the Institute have also been vital, especially that of the successive generations of members of the Shakespeare Institute Players, our venerable dramatic society. They paid

me the great honour of electing me their President three times (2010-13), and generously gave me the opportunity to develop a set of creative skills without which my work on the performance aspects of this PhD thesis would have been impossible.

My colleagues at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust have always been supportive of my work in many ways: Catherine Fannin Peel, Dr Nick Walton, Dr Anjna Chouhan, Gennet Rich, and Katherine Ledwidge. The former Chairman and now Honorary President of the SBT, Professor Stanley Wells CBE, discussed with me my editorial principles with his usual charm, generosity, and insight, and offered useful advice when it was most needed. The support, encouragement, and editorial advice of the SBT's Head of Research, the Rev. Dr Paul Edmondson, was also extremely kind and helpful, as was that of Dr Paul Prescott of the University of Warwick.

The Artistic Director of the Royal Shakespeare Company, Gregory Doran, appointed me his Research Assistant for the development of the text of his productions of the Henriad while I was writing up this thesis, and gave me the opportunity to discuss with him his ideas on *Love's Cure*, a play that he particularly likes.

I owe much to the friendship and support of Dr Will Sharpe, with whom I have had many insightful conversations, including some on Fletcher's style while he himself was editing *All Is True* for the New Oxford Shakespeare. It was my privilege to found with him Ketterer's Men, the theatre company with which we chose to celebrate the life of Dr Elizabeth Ann Ketterer after her untimely demise in 2011; our work alongside Helen Osborne, Phillippa Kirkwood (née Green), and James Osborne at the Lizz Ketterer Trust remains a source of inspiration and personal satisfaction.

Dr Steve Orman is my partner in crime in all things related to Fletcher, and has remained a rock-solid support, particularly with respect to the monographic Fletcherian conference we organised in Canterbury in June 2015. Dr Kathleen Jeffs, a great Spanish Golden Age specialist and an expert in *La fuerza de la costumbre*, discussed the play with me and shared her superb English performance version. With Dr Brett D. Hirsch I have had interesting discussions about print and digital editions, and he sent me a transcription of the (amusing) marginalia that he found in a partial set of Colman's 1778 edition that he purchased. Dr Lucie Sutherland kindly dug out her copy of the programme of the 2001 production of the play at King's College London, which she produced. Professor Margaret Greer alerted me of the existence of a fourth manuscript of *La fuerza de la costumbre* in Parma, and provided useful advice on Spanish theatrical palaeography. Dr Jesús Tronch assisted me with repeated searches in the *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español*. Dr Alexander Samson shared with me some of his research on Anglo-Spanish literary relations, particularly his thoughts on Fletcher's Cervantian heritage. The Count of Los Acevedos, Chief Advisor to the Council of the Grandees of Spain, provided bibliographic information on the Dukedom of Osuna. Dr Nick Moon advised me on the origin of some ballads and printed music of the period. Dr Simon Smith discussed with me John Wilson's involvement with the King's Men. Tom Disney pointed me in the right direction when I was trying to locate the names of the Russian ambassadors to England in the Jacobean period. Graham Watts invited me to attend the performance of his production of the play at the British American Drama Academy, and kindly granted permission to film the dress rehearsal. Germán Rodríguez Balaguer,

composer extraordinaire, kindly edited Wilson's song for Piorato in modern notation.

But, above and beyond, this thesis would have been impossible to undertake without the help, encouragement, and meticulous advice of my supervisor, Dr Martin Wiggins, to whom I owe more than I can state here. As the numerous references to his work throughout this thesis attest, he remains the single most important influence on my academic work. He is also a valued friend. I will appropriate the words of the much-missed Dr Lizz Ketterer and will say that over the years Martin has also taught me, by example, what it means to be a scholar.

There are many friends who have walked by my side over the years, and whose love and support have been crucial and should be acknowledged here. John Langdon, his wife Karen Nichols, and their son Caelan became our American family up the hill, and have supported my family through thick and thin (including a house move a month before submission); we couldn't be more grateful or feel more blessed to know them. I should also mention a long list of valued friends who have also helped me in one way or another over the years: in no particular order, Yu Umemiya, Gareth Bernard, John Curtis and Emma Randle, David and Ingrid Stevens, Claire and Dr Tim Johnson, David J. Graybill and Vicky Stern, Jason Burg, Thea Buckley, emma poltrack, Jen Waghorn, Rachel Stewart, Jamie Sowers, Louis Osborne, Dr Paul Hamilton, Dr Harry Newman, Dr Victoria Jackson, Laura Young, Charlie Morton, John Conod, and Peter M. Smith.

The long way from the early school days to the end of a doctorate has allowed for many fellow travellers. My school friends, who all went on to have enviable professional careers away from the perilous oceans of the humanities, have always helped to put things into perspective since we started to grow up together: Borja Larroca, Ignacio Galán, Pablo Rodríguez, Dr Graciela Padilla, Enrique Marcos, and Juan del Busto. Later in life, those who continued to labour in a vocation that was never really my own, and became professional physicists, walked with me the first few miles of university life; in particular, Dr Irene Hernández, Dr Juan Carlos Muñoz, and Dr Antonio Martín. My fellow scholars at the School of Philology of the Complutense University of Madrid, David Algora, Miranda Mendoza, and Dr Francisco J. Cortés, were superb wayfarers in the next stretch of the long way to completing my studies.

Nothing could have been possible without the love and unconditional support of my family. My parents, Inmaculada and José Félix, have given me everything, and I am lucky to have such a kind and sensible sibling as my brother Juan Luis. My aunt and uncle, Almudena and Miguel, remain two of the most treasured people in my life. My grandmother Celia, and especially my late and much-missed grandparents, José and María Luisa, started it all.

Finally, my loving and all-enduring wife Irma has given me the best years of my life and remains my most important support. Together we embarked on our biggest adventure when, in the middle of writing up this thesis, we decided to get married and have our first child, David, the first member of the family to be born on English soil. He makes everything worthwhile.

Stratford-upon-Avon, June 2015

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British Library, London, reproduced on *EEBO*

BASIC REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Annals
Annals of English Drama 975-1700, ed. by Alfred Harbage, rev. by S. Schoenbaum, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1964)

Bible
Holy Bible: King James Version (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [n.d.])

Cal. Ven.
Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice (London, 1864-1947), in *British History Online* (University of London, 2001—) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

Characters
Berger, Thomas L., William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays, 1500-1660*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Classical Mythology
Grimal, Pierre, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, ed. by Stephen Kershaw (London: Penguin, 1990)

Collins
Collins Latin Dictionary and Grammar (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 1997)

DNB
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004—) <http://http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

DRAE
Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, 23rd ed. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2014) <http://www.rae.es> [Definitions are given in English translation.]

EEBO
Early English Books Online (ProQuest, 2003—) < http://eebo.chadwyck.com>

LiOn
Literature Online (ProQuest, 1996—) <http://literature.proquest.com>

OED
Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com/>

Statutes
Statutes at Large, of England and of Great-Britain from Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain *and* Ireland, *in Twenty Volumes*, vol. IV, *From 1 Mary, A.D. 1553 - To 16 Charles I. A.D. 1642* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1811)

SPD

Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1603-1610, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1857-59), in *British History Online* (University of London, 2001—) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

SPF: Elizabeth

Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1863-1950) in *British History Online* (University of London, 2001—) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

SPF: James I

Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland and Flanders, c1560-1780 (National Archives, 2010) in *State Papers Online, 1509-171* (Cerngage, [n.d.]) < http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>

STC

A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640, ed. by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edn rev. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991)

Tilley

Tilley, Morris Palmer, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Anne Arbor: University of Michingan Press, 1950)

Wiggins

Wiggins, Martin, *British Drama 1533:1642: A Catalogue*, 10 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012—)

EDITIONS OF *LOVE'S CURE* COLLATED

F	1647	(First Folio)
		Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beavmont and Iohn Fletcher Gentlemen. Never printed before, And now published by the Authors Originall Copies (London, 1647)
F2	1679	(Second Folio)
		Fifty Comedies and Tragedies. Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen, All in one Volume. Published by the Authors Original Copies, the Songs to each Play being added (London, 1679)
Langbaine	1711	
		The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont and Mr. John Fletcher, ed. by Gerard Langbaine the younger, 10 vols (London, 1711), vol. VII

Q	1718	(Quarto) *Love's Cure: or, the Martial Maid. A Comedy. Written by Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher* (London, 1718)
TSS	1750	(Theobald-Seward-Sympson) *The Works of Mr. Francis Beaumont, and Mr. John Fletcher*, ed. by Messrs Theobald, Seward and Sympson, 10 vols (London, 1750), vol. VII
Seward		Seward's notes in TSS.
Sympson		Sympson's notes in TSS.
Colman	1778	*The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, Collated with all the Former Editions, and Corrected, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by Various Commentators; and Adorned with Fifty-four Original Engravings in Ten Volumes*, ed. by George Colman the elder, 10 vols (London, 1778), vol. VII
Weber	1812	*The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, in Fourteen Volumes: with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes*, ed. by Henry Weber, 14 vols (Edinburgh, 1812), vol. VIII
Darley	1839	*The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. by George Darley, 2 vols (London, 1839), vol. II
Dyce	1845	*The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher; The text formed from a new collation of the early editions. With notes and a Biographical Memoir*, ed. by Alexander Dyce, 11 vols (London, 1843-6), vol. IX
Heath		Marginalia in a copy of TSS by George Craufurd Heath, quoted in Dyce.
GWW	1976	*Love's Cure or, The Martial Maid*, ed. by George Walton Williams, in Fredson Bowers, gen. ed., *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-96), vol. III
Mitchell	1992	*Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid*, ed. by Marea Mitchell (Nottingham: Nottingham Drama Texts, 1992)

Williams collated the text of four extant versions of the song in 3.2, set to music by John Wilson. I have included this information from GWW, as well as a facsimile of the first in Appendix 7. They are:

CA	John Wilson and others, *Cheerful Ayres* (Oxford: Printed by W. Hall for Ric. Davis, 1660), sig. $T2^{v}$-$T3^{r}$.
MSB	Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Mus b.1, fo. 28^{v}.
MSE	University of Edinburgh, MS Dc 1, 69, fo. 44^{v}.
MSR	Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia, MS 243/4, p. 55.

I have also collated the versions of the Epilogue and Prologue included in the following contemporary collection of poems:

Beaumont	'The Prologue to the *Martiall Maid*' and '*The Epilogue*' in *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent. Viz. The hermaphrodite. The remedy of love. Elegies. Sonnets, with other poems.* (London: Printed for Laurence Blaiklock, 1653), sig. $K7^{v}$-$K8^{r}$.

Common abbreviations

fig.	figure
fo. / fos.	folio/s
p. / pp.	page/s
n.	commentary note
om.	omitted
SD	stage direction
sig. / sigs	signature/s
SP	speech prefix
this edn	a reading adopted in this edition for the first time
t.n.	textual note

PREFACE

Writing about *Love's Cure* in 1956, G. E. Bentley declared that 'nearly everything about the play is in a state of confusion'.[1] Over the centuries since its first publication, scholars interested in the Fletcher canon have sporadically analysed the genesis of this text, and have seldom come to an agreement. Tracing its narrative sources has proved to be elusive; determining the patterns of authorship and collaboration has been controversial; and the precise dating of the text has remained a matter of scholarly contention. The three problems—sources, authorship, and date—are, in fact, inextricable.

The main plot of *Love's Cure* was identified by A. L. Stiefel in 1897 as being closely modelled on a Spanish play by Guillén de Castro y Bellvís (Valencia, 1569 - Madrid, 1631): *La fuerza de la costumbre* (*The Force of Custom*). But, if the analysis of its thematic, structural, and verbal parallels makes the identification unequivocal, the precise historical processes by which one play came to be refashioned into the other is almost a case for a literary detective. In brief: the first known printing of the Spanish play appeared only a few months before Fletcher's death in August 1625; consequently it is extremely unlikely that he could secure a copy in time for him to rework his source into a new play. If, as the evidence suggests, he had a hand in *Love's Cure*, then he could not have read it in print. And if so, he could have either read it in a previous printing, now lost, or in manuscript form. Alternatively, he might have heard or read an account of the play. But, in any of these cases, we have no direct evidence to determine when and how he had access to the Spanish original.

The authorship of the extant version of the text has also been under scrutiny. It

[1] G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Vol. III, Plays and Playwrights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 364.

was first printed in the 'Beaumont and Fletcher folio' of 1647, a collection of 34 plays, a masque, and some verses compiled by the royalist publisher Humphrey Moseley. In the middle of the English Civil War, and with the London theatres closed by the Parliamentary authorities, he had set out to offer the reading public every play by the famous collaborators that had not been printed previously.[2] In fact, in addition to titles actually written by Beaumont and Fletcher in conjunction, the collection includes plays by Fletcher alone, plus collaborations with other dramatists including Massinger, Field, and Ford. It also includes three plays that were not written by either Beaumont or Fletcher.[3] The text of *Love's Cure* concludes, in that order, with an Epilogue (sig. 5S5^{v}) and a Prologue 'At the reviving of this Play' (sig. 5S6^{r}). The first assigns the play to a single author, while the second attributes it to two, Beaumont and Fletcher. But by the end of the nineteenth century, the play was being studied as a product of collaboration and/or revision involving three dramatists: Fletcher, Beaumont, and Massinger. The authorship shares generally accepted were established by Cyrus Hoy in 1961, but the subsequent theories to explain the genesis of the play are dependent on the other two factors: who accessed the Spanish play in its pre-1625 form and when.[4]

Establishing the date of composition of the play is, however, the crucial factor to begin to unravel the mystery. Based on Martin Wiggins's recent re-fashioning of the chronology of the Fletcher canon, I will present the evidence that confirms that, most likely, *Love's Cure* was originally written for production in 1615. This practically rules out Beaumont as a possible collaborator: he seems to have stopped writing for the stage in or before 1613. And it also establishes that Fletcher and Massinger must have accessed a

[2] He failed to secure a copy of *The Wild-Goose Chase*, which he issued as an addendum some years later.
[3] *Wit at Several Weapons* (1613; Middleton and Rowley), *The Laws of Candy* (1620; Ford), and *The Nice Valour, or The Passionate Madman* (1622; Middleton).
[4] Note that there has not been a comprehensive stylistic survey of the authorship of the plays in the Fletcher canon since Hoy's.

pre-1625 version of *La fuerza de la costumbre* in its original language.

With Shakespeare and Beaumont seemingly away from all theatrical activity, the years 1614-15 heralded a new period in Fletcher's creative career. He had written *Valentinian* and *Bonduca* following Beaumont's apparent retirement and Shakespeare's return to his native hometown. Fletcher was now about to embark on a long and fruitful collaboration with Philip Massinger, which would last for the rest of his life. It is entirely possible that *Love's Cure* was actually their first extensive collaboration, after Massinger had contributed two small sections to *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613), which was otherwise authored by Fletcher and Field. *Love's Cure* addresses themes and uses techniques that are eminently and recognisably Fletcherian. It experiments with generic uncertainty in a way that the tragicomedies written with Beaumont had anticipated. The central concern of the play is also in line with Fletcher's frequent enjoyment of cross-dressing as a dramatic device: it presents the case of a pair of transvestite siblings, a boy and a girl, who have been brought up separately as members of the opposite sex, and who are reunited twenty years later and commanded to recover their expected gender identities. In addition, the play features two indomitable women, the manly and aggressive Clara and the formidable courtesan Malroda, who are part of a remarkably long list of strong female characters in his plays who defy patriarchal conventions and masculine authority. His unflattering portrayal of the young womaniser Vitelli, who ends up marrying the title heroine, and of other morally objectionable men—the corrupt Alguazir and his opportunistic associates, the violent and misogynistic Álvarez, the quick-tempered bully Lamoral, Clara's unwelcome suitor Sayavedra, and the cowardly braggart Bobadilla—also presents an interesting critique of a male-dominated world. The Spanish setting and its historical context in the aftermath of the siege of Ostend add flavour to an engaging and superbly performable play that has undeservedly languished in

the library for four centuries with just a handful of non- or semi-professional stagings since 2000.

The primary research for this edition has included two important projects developed at the Shakespeare Institute. On the one hand, in the spring and summer of 2012, a team of theatre practitioners under my coordination, in close collaboration with director Robert F. Ball and costume designer Red Smucker, staged the uncut text of the play using original staging practices: a cast of 21 male actors, full Renaissance costumes provided by the Royal Shakespeare Company, the acoustic performance of appropriate period music including John Wilson's setting of Piorato's song (3.2.118-25), and the use of a purpose-built *frons scaenae* with two side doorways, a central discovery space, and a limited above area. The project allowed me to field-test the freshly edited text, exploring the staging possibilities of each scene in a series of day-long workshops dedicated to each of the five acts. The actors and members of the crew creatively challenged my modernised spelling and my stage directions and, with their questions, signposted which expressions and archaic terms needed to be annotated for a modern readership. Most importantly, they generously suggested a large number of improvements that found their way into the final edition.

On the other hand, between 10 and 29 June 2013, a group of committed readers convened by Martin Wiggins worked their way through the whole canon of plays by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, reading three plays every day for three weeks, taking only two Sundays off. The marathon included 52 plays in which either Beaumont or Fletcher are known to have had a hand, either as single authors, in collaboration with

each other, or working with other dramatists.[5] The event, organised by the Lizz Ketterer Trust as a charity fundraiser, produced around 145 hours of archival recordings, and allowed me to get better acquainted with the rest of the vast Fletcherian corpus. This process also enabled me to read *Love's Cure* in the wider context of Fletcher's work, and to establish useful correlations with other plays, particularly those of the mid 1610s.

[5] It also included Beaumont's brief *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, and a play that is now generally attributed to Middleton, *The Nice Valour, or The Passionate Madman*.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF *LOVE'S CURE*

1. Epilogue and Prologue: first datings

Before the publication of F2 in 1679, the bookseller and author Francis Kirkman (1632-*c.*1680) included *Love's Cure* in his *A true, perfect, and exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, masques and interludes, that were ever yet printed and published, till this present year 1661*. It is listed there by its full F title, with the indication that it is a comedy and that it was written by John Fletcher.[1] This statement about its authorship is a simplification: Kirkman listed all the plays printed in F as the work of Fletcher alone, including plays in which he did not have a hand.[2] Kirkman issued a revised version of his catalogue ten years later, including the same information about *Love's Cure*.[3] In 1680, a year after the publication of F2, the Oxford publisher and bookseller Nicholas Cox issued a revised edition of this catalogue, and listed the play again as the work of Fletcher.[4] This notion was still prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century when Alexander Dyce published his edition, in which he proclaimed it to be the sole work of Fletcher without further comment or justification.

Gerard Langbaine (1656-1692), the aspiring writer, keen theatre-goer, and collector of plays, issued his own catalogue in 1687. As Paulina Kewes points out, the

[1] (London: s.n., 1661), sig. A4^{v}.
[2] He also listed the plays associated with Beaumont and Fletcher that had appeared in quarto as the unaided work of Fletcher. In addition, he lists *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, printed in 1634 as the work of Fletcher and Shakespeare, as being by Fletcher *solus*.
[3] Francis Kirkman, *A true, perfect, and exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, masques and interludes, that were ever yet printed and published, till this present year 1671* (London: Printed for Francis Kirkman, 1671), sig. A4^{v}.
[4] Nicholas Cox, *An exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, opera's [sic], masks, pastorals and interludes that were ever yet printed and published till this present year 1680* (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Nicholas Cox, 1680), sig. A4^{v}.

great innovation of this catalogue over its predecessors is the fact that it groups the plays by their author, rather than alphabetically by their title.[5] In this case, Fletcher and Beaumont appear jointly as authors of the plays published in F2. *Love's Cure* appears on the list as a comedy, but, unlike many of the other titles for which some narrative sources are given, Langbaine added no other comments.[6]

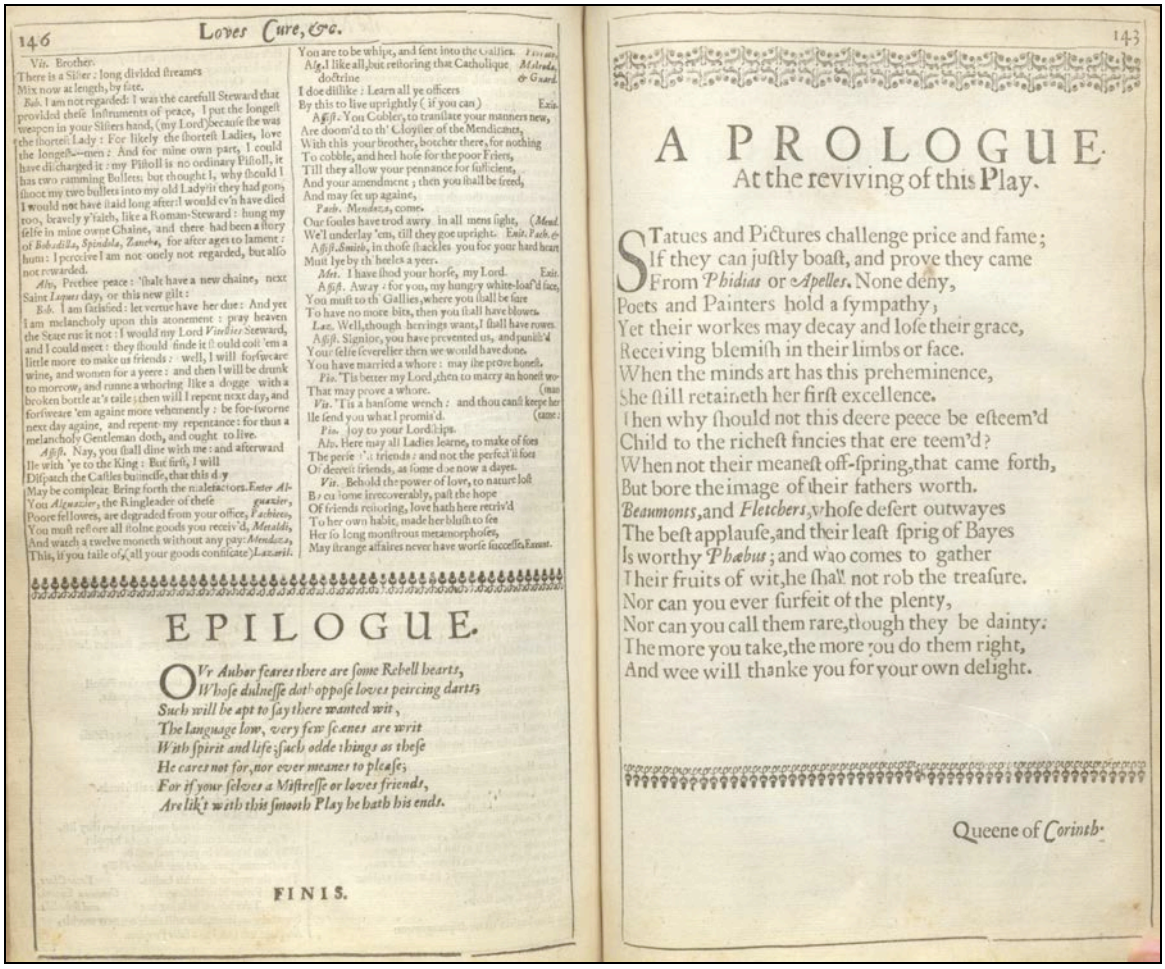
However, Kirkman, Cox, or Langbaine were uninterested in establishing any kind of chronology of the plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, and did not delve any further into the authorial attribution of the various scenes. Perhaps this is revealing of the relatively relaxed attitude to collaboration in the decades immediately following the closing of the theatres in 1642, and therefore within living memory of the Jacobean and Caroline periods. The first attempt to assign a date of composition to the play would not come until Henry Weber published his 1812 edition. In its introduction, Weber discussed it with respect to the authorship of the play as declared in the Epilogue and Prologue appended at the end of the F text, as well as to a topical allusion in 2.2 that has generated some controversy. The fundamental problem with the Epilogue and the Prologue is that they disagree in the number of authors who wrote the play. The Epilogue, printed immediately after Vitelli's final speech, only refers to one dramatist as being responsible for its triumphs or infelicities. But the Prologue, subtitled 'At the reviving of this play' and printed on the following page, ascribes the play to Beaumont and Fletcher.[7]

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[5] Paulina Kewes, 'Langbaine, Gerard', *DNB*.

[6] Gerard Langbaine, *A new catalogue of English plays containing all the comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, opera's [sic], masques, pastorals, interludes, farces, &c. both ancient and modern, that have ever yet been printed, to this present year 1688* (London: Nicholas Cox, 1687), sig. B4^{v}. However, the bibliographic information is incomplete or erroneous in some instances: he indicates that *The Two Noble Kinsmen* had only appeared in F2, ignoring the earlier quarto, while the only Fletcher play for which he includes an edition in quarto is *Thierry and Theodoret*.

[7] For full bibliographical details, see section IV.1 and Appendix 3.



146 Loves Cure, &c.

Vit. Brother:
There is a Sifter: long divided ſtreames
Mix now at length, by fate.
Bob. I am not regarded: I was the carefull Steward that provided theſe inſtruments of peace, I put the longeſt weapon in your Sifters hand, (my Lord) becauſe ſhe was the ſhorteſt Lady: For likely the ſhorteſt Ladies, love the longeſt—men: And for mine own part, I could have diſcharged it: my Piſtoll is no ordinary Piſtoll, it has two ramming Bullets; but thought I, why ſhould I ſhoot my two bullets into my old Lady? if they had gone, I would not have ſtaid long after: I would ev'n have died too, bravely y'faith, like a Roman-Steward: hung my ſelfe in mine owne Chaine, and there had been a ſtory of *Bobadilla, Spindola, Zanche*, for after ages to lament: hum: I perceive I am not onely not regarded, but alſo not rewarded.
Vit. Prethee peace: 'ſhalt have a new chaine, next Saint *Luques* day, or this new gilt:
Bob. I am ſatisfied: let vertue have her due: And yet I am melancholy upon this atonement: pray heaven the State rue it not: I would my Lord *Virelles* Steward, and I could meet: they ſhould finde it I could coſt 'em a little more to make us friends: well, I will forſweare wine, and women for a yeere: and then I will be drunk to morrow, and runne a whoring like a dogge with a broken bottle at's taile; then will I repent next day, and forſweare 'em againe more vehemently: be forſworne next day againe, and repent my repentance: for thus a melancholy Gentleman doth, and ought to live.
Aſſiſt. Nay, you ſhall dine with me: and afterward Ile with 'ye to the King: But firſt, I will
Diſpatch the Caſtles buſineſſe, that this day
May be compleat. Bring forth the malefactors. *Enter Al-*
You *Alguazier*, the Ringleader of theſe *guazier,*
Poore fellowes, are degraded from your offices, *Fachieco,*
You muſt reſtore all ſtolne goods you receiv'd, *Metaldi,*
And watch a twelve moneth without any pay: *Mendoza,*
This, if you faile of, (all your goods confiscate) *Lazarill.*
You are to be whipt, and ſent into the Gallies. *Fiorato.*
Aſſ. I like all, but reſtoring that Catholique doctrine. *Melenda, & Guard.*
I doe diſlike: Learn all ye officers
By this to live uprightly (if you can) Exit.
Aſſiſt. You Cobler, to tranſlate your manners new,
Are doom'd to th' Cloyſter of the Mendicants,
With this your brother, botcher there, for nothing
To cobble, and heel hoſe for the poor Friers,
Till they allow your pennance for ſufficient,
And your amendment; then you ſhall be freed,
And may ſet up againe,
Pach. Mendoza, come.
Our ſoules have trod awry in all mens ſight, (*Mend.*
We'l underlay 'em, till they goe upright. Exit. *Pach. &*
Aſſiſt. Smith, in thoſe ſhackles you for your hard heart
Muſt lye by th' heeles a yeer.
Met. I have ſhod your horſe, my Lord. Exit.
Aſſiſt. Away: for you, my hungry white-loaf'd face,
You muſt to th' Gallies, where you ſhall be ſure
To have no more bits, then you ſhall have blowes.
Laz. Well, though hernings want, I ſhall have roſes.
Aſſiſt. Signior, you have prevented us, and puniſh'd
Your ſelfe ſeverelier then we would have done.
You have married a whore: may ſhe prove honeſt.
Fio. 'Tis better my Lord, then to marry an honeſt wo-
That may prove a whore. (man
Vit. 'Tis a handſome wench: and thou canſt keepe her
Ile ſend you what I promis'd. (ſame:
Fio. Joy to your Lordſhips.
Alo. Here may all Ladies learne, to make of foes
The perfect friends: and not the perfect'ſt foes
Of deareſt friends, as ſome doe now a dayes.
Vit. Behold the power of love, to nature loſt
Brings home irrecoverably, paſt the hope
Of friends reſtoring, love hath here retriv'd
To her own habit, made her bluſh to ſee
Her ſo long monſtrous metamorphoſes,
May ſtrange affaires never have worſe ſucceſſe. Exeunt.

EPILOGUE.

OVr Author feares there are ſome Rebell hearts,
Whoſe dulneſſe doth oppoſe loves peircing darts;
Such will be apt to ſay there wanted wit,
The language low, very few ſcenes are writ
With ſpirit and life: ſuch odde things as theſe
He cares not for, nor ever meanes to pleaſe;
For if your ſelves a Miſtreſſe or loves friends,
Are lik't with this ſmooth Play he hath his ends.

FINIS.

143

A PROLOGUE.
At the reviving of this Play.

STatues and Pictures challenge price and fame;
If they can juſtly boaſt, and prove they came
From *Phidias* or *Apelles*. None deny,
Poets and Painters hold a ſympathy;
Yet their workes may decay and loſe their grace,
Receiving blemiſh in their limbs or face.
When the minds art has this preheminence,
She ſtill retaineth her firſt excellence.
Then why ſhould not this deere peece be eſteem'd
Child to the richeſt fancies that ere teem'd?
When not their meaneſt off-ſpring, that came forth,
But bore the image of their fathers worth.
Beaumonts, and *Fletchers*, whoſe deſert outwayes
The beſt applauſe, and their leaſt ſprig of Bayes
Is worthy *Phœbus*; and who comes to gather
Their fruits of wit, he ſhall not rob the treaſure.
Nor can you ever ſurfeit of the plenty,
Nor can you call them rare, though they be dainty:
The more you take, the more you do them right,
And wee will thanke you for your own delight.

Queene of *Corinth.*

Fig. 1. Epilogue and prologue, sigs 5S5^{v} and 5S6^{r}

For Weber this disagreement was easy to explain: the Prologue was written for a revival, and therefore 'is of no authority'. He added that the Epilogue, 'which is certainly the original one spoken at the first representation, speaks only of a single author; and Gardiner ascribes the play to Fletcher'. He concludes that 'the testimony of the epilogue I conceive to be sufficient to decide upon'.[8] Indeed Robert Gardiner contributed a poem to the long series of commendatory verses that prefaced F, 'On the Dramatic Poems of Mr John Fletcher' (sig. C2^{r}), in which he included *Love's Cure*: 'Is any *Lover Mad*? see here *Loves Cure.*' Later commentators assumed that the title of the poem automatically implied that all the plays mentioned were by Fletcher alone, and Gardiner was quoted as proof of the unaided authorship of Fletcher: it was first referred to in Peter Whalley's

[8] Weber, p. 381.

1811 reprint of Colman's text,[9] and it was echoed by Weber the following year. However, Gardiner's list has been misconstrued: his poem simply includes the titles of 29 out of the 34 plays actually contained in the volume, and he may not even have intended to comment on their individual authorship.

The problem of the Epilogue and the Prologue is intriguing in itself, but it may have little to do with establishing the authorship or the date of the play. As Humphrey Moseley confessed in his 'Postcript' [*sic*] preceding the catalogue of plays contained in F: 'We forgot to tell the *Reader*, that some *Prologues* and *Epilogues* (here inserted) were not written by the *Authors* of this *Volume*, but made by others on the *Revivall* of several *Playes*.'[10] It is not improbable that some of these pieces may have become attached to a given play by generic similarity: as Williams points out in discussing the neutrality of the tone of the Epilogue, 'it sounds as if it might serve as epilogue to any comedy'.[11] In fact, a version of this particular Epilogue seems to have been used in the first performances of another play in the repertory of the King's Men, *The Deserving Favourite* by Lodowick Carlell, printed (and probably premiered) in 1629:

> OVr Author feares there are some Rebell-hearts
> Whose dulnesse doth oppose Loues piercing darts:
> These will bee apt to say the Plot was dull,
> The Language rude, and that 'twas onely full
> Of grosse Absurdities; for such as these
> Hee cares not now, nor ere will strive to please:
>
> For if your selues as Masters, and Loues Friends,
> Be pleasd with this sad Play, hee hath his ends.

[9] Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher, and Ben Jonson, *The Dramatic Works of Ben Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher* (London: John Stockdale, 1811), p. 1.
[10] F, sig. g2^{r}.
[11] GWW, p. 3.

FINIS.[12]

If the piece was written by Fletcher—or any other dramatist for that matter—Carlell seems not to have minded to see it printed at the end of his tragicomedy. And if it is Carlell's original composition, and a version of it was later appended to the F text of *Love's Cure*, then its value as an indicator of single authorship is negligible.

The Prologue was laid out so as to fill a whole page (sig. 5S6^{r}). Quire 5S comprises six leaves rather than the usual four, as the compositors calculated that the remainder of the play would take up ten pages, exceeding the eight available in a quire of four leaves. The final leaf was to contain the Prologue on the recto and a blank page on the verso. For this reason, it stands as the only prologue in the whole volume to appear on a new page after the epilogue and the conclusive phrase *FINIS*.[13]

The poem, however, has no discernible thematic connection with *Love's Cure*. The catchphrase at the bottom of the page was originally placed there to link what was going to be the last play in F's section V to the first play in section VI (*The Queen of Corinth*); a last-minute readjustment of the contents of the volume must have advised to move *The Honest Man's Fortune* from section VIII.[14] R. Warwick Bond claimed that this fact 'shows it belongs rather to that play, to which its allusion to Phidias and Apelles is more appropriate'.[15] However, according to Hoy, *The Queen of Corinth* has no traces of Beaumont,[16] so the attribution in the poem would not be justified, unless it was meant to

[12] Lodowick Carlell, *The deseruing fauorite* (London: Printed for Mathew Rhodes, 1629), sig. N3^{v}.
[13] See Appendix 5.
[14] The catchphrase at the end of that play is *Four Plays in One*, which is the final work in section VIII, and therefore in F.
[15] R. Warwick Bond, 'On Six Plays in Beaumont and Fletcher, 1679', *Review of English Studies*, 11 (1935), p. 267.
[16] Cyrus Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (IV)', *Studies in Bibliography*, 12 (1959), pp. 98-100.

be understood as the undiscerning commercial label 'Beaumont and Fletcher'.[17] Be it as it may, its link to *Love's Cure* is dubious.

The contradiction between Epilogue and Prologue was seen by F. G. Fleay as evidence that the play was thoroughly revised years after it premiered, a theory that has proved to be influential. He wrote in 1886 that the Prologue made reference to Beaumont and Fletcher as the authors of a play that was later thoroughly reworked by a third dramatist, the one writer mentioned in the Epilogue. As sufficient reason to support this statement, he added that 'There is not the slightest reason for impugning the authority of a prologue spoken shortly after the death of Fletcher, and prefixed to a play remodelled by the hand of Massinger who was very scrupulous in his statements'.[18] In his 1891 *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, he referred to Massinger as 'the reformer of the play for the revival', and added that 'the Fletcher part is so worked over by Massinger, who was certainly the maker of the reformation, as to be inseparable, unless in detailed notes'.[19] He believed that only a few sections of the play showed evidence to have been written solely by Beaumont (1.3 and 3.5.3) or by Fletcher (the beginning of 3.2). Although Cyrus Hoy's attributions, as we will see, seem to disprove these statements, and regardless of how he reached that conclusion, Fleay was certainly the first critic of the play to identify Massinger's hand as a major creative input in the extant version.

He also attempted to date the play based on 'internal evidence', but the process was, at best, simplistic. He proposed that, given that the play is set in the aftermath of the siege of Ostend (1601-4), it necessarily follows that 'this makes the date of action, which

[17] Hoy, nevertheless, may not have been accurate with this attribution.
[18] F. G. Fleay, 'On the chronology of the plays of Fletcher and Massinger', *Englische Studien*, 9 (1886), p. 14.
[19] F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559- 1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), p. 180.

is, no doubt, as usual in plays where such chronological calculations are introduced, the date of writing the play, 1606-8'.[20] He subsequently concluded that, in his opinion, the play was 'acted originally by the Revels boys in 1607-8, and passed in natural course to Queen Henrietta's Men, for whom Massinger must have revised it after 1625, Nov. 17, when the plague fell below 40 [*sic*], and before 1626, Jan 22, when he had joined the King's Men.'[21] Such precision in the dating, which actually contains a factual error,[22] does not stand critical scrutiny as the argument is obviously flawed: why should the historical setting of a play necessarily coincide with the period of its composition, even if it makes reference to events within living memory?[23] The historical evidence that I will be analysing here, mostly based on company playing conditions and more specific topical references, reveals a different dating.

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Massinger had not strictly joined the King's Men by 1626: as a dramatist associated with the company, he had been writing for them possibly since 1615. The title 'resident' or 'principal' dramatist that Massinger is said to have taken on after Fletcher's death in 1625—just as Fletcher is said to have taken over from Shakespeare in 1614-16—is also a later fabrication: the concept was probably alien to the way companies understood their frequent collaboration with certain playwrights, even with those whose work they staged more often.
[23] If so, for example, Alsemero's reference to the 'late league' emerging from the 1609 Treaty of the Hague in 1.1.177-78 of *The Changeling* would date that play to *c*. 1610, when we know it dates from 1622.

2. The Russian Ambassador and the great frost

Fleay, as Weber a decade later, referred to the same topical allusion as a possible dating marker. In scene 2.2 Álvarez chides his son for his unmanly behaviour, jokingly theorising that his effeminate constitution—the result of an excess of wet and cold humours in his body—might be due to his not being his son at all, but that of a foreigner from a cold climate: 'did the cold Muscovite beget thee, / That lay here lieger in the last great frost?' (141-42) Fleay only suggested that it must have been inserted by Massinger when he revised the play. But Weber was the first editor to annotate this passage as an allusion to historical events that may help to date the play:

> Russian ambassadors were at King James's court in 1617, and in 1622; and as Sir Finnet [*sic*], in his *Philoxenis*, mentions, that in the latter year, on account of the great frost, they did not stir from their house till June; the text probably alludes to the latter embassy, and this fixes the date of the play.[24]

In fact, Sir John Finet does report both embassies, though Weber, in Malvolio fashion, did crush this a little. As Dyce reported in his footnote to the passage, Finet actually wrote: 'The nine and twentieth of *Aprill* [1622] the Russian Ambassador having not stirred from his home all the Winter, and being desirous to take the fresh Aire, was by me accompanied to Theobalds.'[25] He did not specify that the 1621-22 winter had been particularly cold. However, according to John Stowe and Edmund Howes's *Annals*, it was:

> The last weeke of November [1621], began a great frost, which continued the first weeke of December, so as the Thames was frozen all over so as the people went over the River in divers places. […] And also there was divers Boothes that sold drinke and other things upon the Ice, yea such was the greatnesse of the Frost.[26]

The arrival of the 1621-22 Russian legation was reported at Whitehall on 5 October

[24] Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, p. 419.
[25] John Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis* (London: Printed by T. R. for Henry Twyford and Gabriel Bedell, 1656), sig. G7^{r}.
[26] John Stow and Edmund Howes, *Annales* (London: Richard Meighen, 1632), sig. 4L6^{v}.

1621;[27] the Venetian Ambassador, Girolamo Lando, wrote about it on 29 October.[28] The *Calendars of State Papers* (Domestic or Venetian) are silent about his departure, but Finet reported it as having occurred on or shortly after 13 June 1622.[29] The ambassador had lived in London for just over eight months, and the Western sources seem to be silent about his name; but the conjunction of the presence of an embassy from the Tsar and a particularly severe winter seems to be persuasive.

However, there is a fundamental problem with this dating if we assume that the lines were in the text of the play when it premiered. Even if we set aside various lexical and stylistic considerations, in 1622 Fletcher was too busy composing other plays. According to Martin Wiggins's chronology, he produced no less than four plays that year.[30] In 1623 Fletcher seems to have been occupied as well with a considerable number of plays.[31] Dating *Love's Cure* to either year seems, therefore, difficult to contemplate. Moreover, *Love's Cure* does not appear on the list of plays licensed for performance from 1622 in the records of Sir Henry Hebert, Master of the Revels, that Edmond Malone transcribed, which makes this particularly late ascription extremely unlikely.[32] Finally, dating the play to 1622-23 does not make the process of transnational adaptation any easier than assigning an earlier date, as *La fuerza* had not been printed yet. It seems, therefore, safe to dismiss the possibility that the play may date from the immediate aftermath of the 1621-22 Russian embassy, and the explanation has to be found

[27] *SPD* 14/123, 11.
[28] *Cal. Ven.*, October 1621, entry 205.
[29] Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, sig. H4[r].
[30] *The Double Marriage*, *The Prophetess*, *The Sea Voyage*, and *The Spanish Curate*.
[31] *A Very Woman*, *The Maid of the Mill*, *The Devil of Dowgate*, and *The Lovers' Progress*.
[32] As Martin Wiggins states, 'Malone found eleven licenses for Fletcher plays […] and transcribed ten. […] there was only one other Fletcher play licensed during the years 1622-5. […] The strongest candidate for the eleventh 'Fletcher' license is *The Nice Valour* (2023), which was part of the received Fletcher canon in Malone's time, while the 'missing' Fletcher play was probably *A Very Woman* (2043), which was not.' (Wiggins 1799, *Beggars' Bush.*)

elsewhere.

The other Russian embassy alluded to by Weber was that of 1617-18.[33] Piero Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in London, had reported on 10 November 1617 the recent arrival of the ambassador 'from the Grand Duke of Muscovy [Tsar Michael I] for the affairs of the merchants and he likewise is awaiting audience of his Majesty'.[34] Sir John Finet specifies that he had arrived on 5 November.[35] Just eight moths later, on 10 July 1618 he had departed, as Christofforo Surian, the Venetian Secretary in the Netherlands, reported.[36] Contarini specified that he had left in June.[37] However, this time Stow and Howes's *Annals* do not report any meteorological anomaly in the wintry weather, which seems to eliminate the possibility that this might be the diplomatic event alluded to in the play.

E. K. Chambers agreed with Weber in pointing at the winter of 1621 as the historical referent for the passage, adding that he could not 'trace any earlier great frost in which a Muscovite embassy may have been in London'.[38] Weber relied on Finet, while Chambers referred to the volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic* documenting the reign of James I. However, there was in fact an earlier embassy from Russia during the Jacobean period. Tsar Michael I sent ambassadors to several foreign countries including England within months of his election on 7 February 1613.[39] The ambassador Aleksei Ivanovich Ziuzin resided in London for seven months between

[33] Again the name of the diplomat who headed it has not survived in the standard Western accounts.
[34] *Cal. Ven.*, 15, 78.
[35] Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, sig. D3^{v}.
[36] 'The other Muscovite ambassador had left England with the presents and honours accorded to him by the merchants there in their own interests.' *Cal. Ven.*, 15, 436.
[37] *Cal. Ven.*, 15, 570.
[38] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), III, p. 232.
[39] His coronation took place on 21 July the same year; *England and the North: The Russian Embassy of 1613-1614* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994), p. 182.

October 1613 and May 1614.[40] His arrival was recorded by John Chamberlain in a letter to his usual correspondent Sir Dudley Carleton dated in London on 27 October 1613.[41] Within three days, he was taken to see the Lord Mayor's show, *The Triumphs of Truth*, scripted by Thomas Middleton and performed on 29 October.[42] Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador in England, reported that his first audience had taken place on 22 November.[43]

Stow and Howes's *Annals* do not record that that winter was particularly cold. The usual diplomatic sources do not specify what the weather was like either. All attention was focused instead on the celebration on 26 December of the marriage of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, to Frances Howard, whose marriage to the Earl of Essex had been annulled in September. In this respect, Chambers was right in stating the non-correspondence between the presence of an earlier Russian ambassador and a period of extreme cold weather. However, the historical sources document that the following winter, 1614-15, was especially severe. The parish register of Youlgrave, Derbyshire, for example, records that on 'January 16th began the greatest snow which ever fell upon the earth within man's memorye. It covered the earth fyve quarters deep upon the playne.'[44] But the harshness of the weather was not restricted to the east Midlands of England, and it affected other parts of the country including London. This geographical circumstance is

[40] Ibid., p. xxxi and 202.
[41] 'Yesterday here arrived an ambassador from the newly elected emperor of Moscovie', John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), p. 482.
[42] Ziuzin reported the spectacle to his master upon his return in his ambassadorial book; see Thomas Middleton, *The Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 2010), p. 977.
[43] 'The ambassador of Muscovy had a solemn audience, being received by their Majesties and the prince in the great hall, full of lords and ladies', *SPD* 14/75, 142.
[44] The register continues: 'There fell also ten less snows in Aprill, some a foote deep, some lesse, but none continued long. Uppon May-day in the morning instead of fetching in flowers the youths brought in flakes of snow, which lay above a foot deep uppon the moores and mountaynes.' Quoted in W. C. Bolland, 'Great Snow in 1614', *Notes and Queries*, s11-III (1911), p. 14.

well attested in a dialogue, *The Cold Year*,[45] that was published in 1615 and was probably written in the early months of the year. It presents a discussion of the harsh weather of that winter between a visitor from the north of England and a London shopkeeper. In addition, Stowe and Howes's *Annals* record the same event, using, as in 1621-22, the term *great frost*:

> The 17. of January 1614 [for 1615], began a great Frost, with extreame snow, which continued until the 14. of February: And albeit, the violence of the Frost and Snow some dayes abated, yet it continued freezing and snowing much or little, untill the 7. of March.[46]

In view of these historical circumstances, we may contemplate several different possibilities to account for the presence in *Love's Cure* of an allusion to one of these Russian diplomatic missions, in order to be able to use it as a dating marker. The play, though set in Spain, was meant to be appreciated by an English audience in London, so that any allusion to contemporary events would add a touch of immediacy to the dialogue. In fact, the sole purpose of this particular allusion is to explain Lucio's effeminacy in terms of an imbalance in his bodily humours, as the product of the wetness and coldness of his supposed parentage. A foreign dignitary from a faraway country proverbial for its cold climate, in conjunction with a bout of harsh wintry weather experienced by the original audience in recent times, would illustrate the point Álvarez is making by relating the humoral discussion to events that would be immediately recognisable. If we assume that the lines were originally in the premiere of the play, then the references have to be to Ziuzin (1613-14) and the cold winter of 1614-15, made to blend into one fictitious allusion that a London audience might correlate to real events from the immediate past. In this allusion we have, therefore, an effective earliest limit for the composition of *Love's Cure*: the cold beginning of the year 1615.

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[45] Wiggins 1765.

[46] Stow and Howes, *Annales*, sig. 4L1^{r}.

3. Searching Lucio and Clara: possible allusions to Frances Howard and Thomas Overbury

In the same speech that I have considered, a despairing Álvarez promises to find out whether his children's physiological sexes have not actually been changed by their unusual upbringing: 'I'll have you searched.' (2.2.145) The phrase may be reminiscent of a notorious episode in the 1613 legal process initiated by Frances Howard for the annulment of her marriage to Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, who was reportedly unable to consummate the relationship. During the trial, a panel of matrons was commissioned to inspect the Countess's genitalia to verify whether she was capable of sustaining sexual intercourse and whether she was still a virgin, both of which were claimed to be true. The annulment from Devereux was granted on 25 September 1613, and Howard married the King's favourite Robert Carr, first Earl of Somerset, at the chapel of Whitehall Palace on 26 December. Sir Thomas Overbury, who had been Carr's close friend but who had opposed the marriage, had died as a prisoner in the Tower on 15 September in mysterious circumstances. However, in September 1615 the case took an unexpected turn when it was discovered that Howard had commissioned Overbury to be poisoned in his imprisonment. This murder, and her responsibility in it, was particularly topical in the autumn of 1615. In early September, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Gervase Elwes, admitted to have known of a plot to have Overbury poisoned, and his statement, written on 10 September, 'triggered the investigation and legal proceedings that eventually took four lives, destroyed the fortunes of Somerset, the royal favourite, and supplied the Jacobean public with a disturbing parade of scandalous revelations implicating the court in moral and political transgressions ranging from ambition, adultery, and sartorial excess to murder, witchcraft, and popery.'[47] Stow and Howes's

[47] Alastair Bellany, 'Elwes, Sir Gervase', *DNB*.

Annals record that the results of the investigation rendered several death sentences from late October, including that of Elwes, who was executed on Tower Hill on 20 November.[48] What is relevant for the dating of *Love's Cure* to the summer of that year is that a joking reference to the 1613 panel of matrons would have been less likely to be tolerated later in 1615 while the scandalous trials were being carried out, especially since the recognisable episode with the matrons were, in a way, the trigger of the annulment, and subsequently of the new marriage, the imprisonment of Overbury, and later of his murder.[49] Middleton and Rowley referred to the matrons' examination in *The Changeling* (1622) when Beatrice-Joanna is trying to find out whether Diaphanta is a virgin; the maid exclaims: 'She will not search me, will she, / Like the forewoman of a female jury?' (4.1.102-3) By then, the issue was perhaps less controversial, as the Somersets had been released in January 1622.[50]

In addition, in the final scene of the play there is also a possible allusion to the enmity between Overbury and Carr, who had been close friends before the former was imprisoned. Álvarez moralises on the outcome of the duel, aborted by the intervention of the three women:

> Here may all ladies learn to make of foes
> The perfect'st friends, and not the perfect'st foes
> Of dearest friends, as some do nowadays.
> (5.3.252-54)

Overbury and Carr could have been the most perfect friends who 'nowadays' may become the most perfect of foes through female agency (Howard's). Again, given his indirect implication in Overbury's murder, a reference to Carr's enmity to the poisoned nobleman after September 1615 would have been toxic. If these passages do indeed

[48] Stow and Howes, *Annales*, sig. 4L1^{v}.
[49] For further discussion, see David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[50] See Annabel Patterson's introduction to *The Changeling* in the Oxford Middleton.

allude to Carr and Howard, this may be the latest limit for the composition of the play. In that case, it would be likely that the premiere took place in the summer season of 1615.

4. Other historical dating markers

There are a number of other historical allusions in the text that support this dating, as they refer to events and historical figures that were current in the early 1610s, and that the playwrights and the audiences may have had in mind at the time. Firstly, the case of the 'miraculous maid in Flanders' who, according to Pacheco, 'lived three year without any other sustenance than the smell of a rose' (2.1.21-26) had been first reported in England in a printed pamphlet in 1611, *The protestants and Jesuites vp in armes in Gulicke-land*. The maid, Eva Fliegen of Meurs, is reported to have been fasting since 1597, though it does not specify that she subsisted on the scent of roses.[51] The story was retold in a ballad said to have been composed by Fliegen herself in 1613 as a wedding present to Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine. [52]

The reference to Prince Maurice of Nassau in 1.2.33 helps to contextualise the play with respect to an important military commander in the Dutch-Spanish wars of the early seventeenth century. However, he might have been a particularly current figure when the play premiered on account of his having been awarded the Order of the Garter in January 1613.[53] In 1613, Adam Islip printed a translation of Jan Janszn Orlerls's hagiographic account of Nassau's heroic deeds under the title *The Triumphs of Nassau*, which may also indicate that he was capitalising on his recent topicality as a historical figure.[54]

The fact that Lucio mistakes her sister's petronel (a large cavalry carbine, see

[51] *The protestants and Iesuites vp in armes in Gulicke-land* (London: [By Nicholas Okes] for Nicholas Bourne, 1611), sig. A3^{v}.
[52] The ballad has survived in the Shirburn MS: *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907). For further information, see 2.1.22 n.
[53] *England and the North: The Russian Embassy of 1613-1614*, p. 6. He did not visit London, however, as it was Sir Raphe Winwood who travelled to the Hague to deliver the Order to Maurice; see Sir Raphe Winwood to James I, *SPF: James I*, 84/69, ff. 7-10.
[54] Jan Janszn Orlers, *The triumphs of Nassau* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1613).

1.1.74 n.) for a dag (a small pocket gun, see 2.2.121 n.) would have been a humorous error for a contemporary audience, but it is also a reference to a recent piece of legislation that the audience may have recognised. On 16 January 1613, although they had been nominally forbidden in the realm, James I issued a proclamation to terminate the use of dags and pocket handguns on account of the fact that 'the vse of them is suddenly growen very common'.[55]

Another legal controversy would have been current shortly before the original performances, and it also concerns a central theme of the play. Between 1613 and 1614, James I conducted a campaign against duelling in England responding to the remarkable increase in the number of people who had died while engaging in private duels in recent times. As Markku Peltonen points out, 'The peak was reached in the 1610s with thirty-three recorded duels and challenges. The actual number of duels and challenges was of course much higher.'[56] In the first decade of the century there had been twenty-two recorded duels, while in the 1620s the number of cases was reduced to fifteen, probably due to the effectiveness of the campaign.[57] Two royal proclamations were consecutively issued on 15 October 1613, prohibiting the publication of reports of duels in print,[58] and on 4 February 1614, banning private challenges and any duelling activity.[59] The royal printer, Robert Barker, also issued in 1613 a brief unsigned treatise, *A publication of His Ma[jes]ties edict, and severe censure against priuate combats and combatants,*

[55] *A proclamation against the vse of pocket-dags* (London: Robert Barker, 1613).
[56] Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 82.
[57] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 245, 770.
[58] *A proclamation prohibiting the publishing of any reports or writings of duels* (London: Robert Barker, 1613).
[59] *A proclamation against priuate challenges and combats* (London: Robert Barker, 1614).

apparently written by the Earl of Northampton,[60] that extended the ideas that guided both proclamations.[61] The fact that the play is so heavily reliant on duelling culture could hardly be a coincidence, and it seems to respond to the anti-duelling campaign of 1613-14.[62]

In 2.1.147 the Alguazir is accused by Lazarillo of being 'a Portuguese-born descended o' the Moors', perhaps implying a double accusation of heresy. On the one hand, Portugal was the neighbouring kingdom where many Castilian and Aragonian Jews had emigrated after the 1492 expulsion dictated by the Catholic Monarchs. On the other hand, and most importantly, between 1609 and 1613 Philip III of Spain had conducted a campaign to ensure that all Moriscos—descendants from the Spanish Moors who had converted to the Christian faith—abandoned the country. The issue was topical in Spain—for example, Cervantes made extensive reference to it in the Second Part of *Don Quixote*, published in 1615—and news of the situation might have travelled to England.

The references to the Infanta in *Love's Cure* are also a clear historical marker in terms of dating the play. The historical character in question is Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), daughter of the late King Philip II of Spain, and, as the wife of Archduke Albert, joint Sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands until his death in 1621, and Governor of the same (under Spanish sovereignty) until her death. Her Christian name seems to have been the source for those of two (out of the four) female characters in *Love's Cure*,[63] and her agency in the main plot of the play is crucial: she is reported to have written to her half-brother, King Philip III, to secure a pardon for Álvarez in recompense for Clara's deeds at the siege of Ostend, thus enabling his return to Seville and the reunion of his

[60] Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*, p. 89.
[61] *A publication of His Ma[jes]ties edict, and severe censure against priuate combats and combatants* (London: Robert Barker, 1613).
[62] For further discussion of this theme, see section IV.3.
[63] See section IV.2.

family. Her intervention, therefore, prompts Vitelli's revenge and sets the whole play in motion. A reference to the title of Infanta—the child of a King of Spain who is not the heir apparent—in connection with the siege of Ostend would have immediately entailed a connection with Isabella Clara Eugenia. But in 1615 there were two other living Infantas, the daughters of Philip III, and therefore two members of the younger generation: Anne of Austria and Maria Anna of Austria. The first became Queen consort of France in November 1615 upon her marriage to King Louis XIII. The second would occupy a relevant place in English foreign policy, as King James started negotiating with Spain a potential marriage between her and the Prince of Wales. The long negotiations culminated with a politically fruitless, but culturally fascinating, journey to Madrid of the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham in 1623 that ultimately failed to secure her hand. During the long negotiations, therefore, the title of Infanta would have been immediately associated in English public discourse with Maria Anna, rather than her aunt Isabella Clara Eugenia. This shift must have occurred when the negotiations became public knowledge. According to Glyn Redworth, the ambassador of Spain in London, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Lord (and later Count) of Gondomar, had initiated discreet discussions with King James about a potential marriage treaty shortly after the failure and dissolution of the 'Addled Parliament' of 1614.[64] The first draft of the treaty was sent to the English ambassador in Madrid in March 1615,[65] presumably still under diplomatic secrecy. But it was only on 2 March 1617 that the matter was taken to the Privy Council.[66] Soon after this date, the issue seems to have become public knowledge. John Chamberlain's correspondence records the gossip as early as 15 March 1617 in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton: 'The Spanish match said to be half made. Sir John Digby [English

[64] Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 15.
[65] Ibid., p. 16.
[66] Ibid., p. 17.

ambassador in Madrid] complained of, as speaking too much Spanish.'[67] Then, later in the year, on 20 December 1617, Sir Gerard Herbert wrote to Carleton that 'The Spanish match spoken of again'.[68] And a third correspondent, Nathaniel Brent, reported to Carleton on 2 January 1618 that 'Nothing is yet known of the Spanish match'.[69] It seems, then, that within a fortnight of that Privy Council meeting in March 1617, the matter was publicly known, at least in courtly circles, and probably not long after it became public knowledge. Thus the association of the title with a particular woman shifted from the Sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands to her niece, who was, suddenly, the potential future Queen consort of England, and therefore a central figure for public discussion. We must assume, therefore, that after 1617 a reference to '*the* Infanta' in an English play would have carried the wrong association; this supports a pre-1617 dating of the play through the two scenes that mention the Infanta (1.1 and 2.2).

[67] *SPD* 14/90, 122.
[68] *SPD* 14/94, 73.
[69] *SPD* 14/95, 3.

5. The Alguazir and the 'Gang of Four'

In an article in *Around the Globe*, Martin Wiggins has established that a number of plays written by different dramatists for the King's Men between 1613 and 1618 saw the appearance of 'distinct groups of four characters who interact primarily with one another and whose contribution to the play as a whole might not be felt to justify the deployment of quite so many actors'.[70] The 'Gang of Four', as Wiggins terms them, first emerged in the second half of 1613 after the fire that destroyed the Globe. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613) and *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613) there are 'inserted set-pieces featuring dances recycled from recent court masques' in which 'four actors carry the main dialogue establishing the situation, and are then augmented by others for the dancing itself'.[71] These are the four speaking Countrymen in 3.5 of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the four speaking madmen in 4.2 of *The Duchess of Malfi* (the mad Doctor, Priest, Lawyer, and Astrologer). In the winter of 1614, Fletcher 'attempted to give the Gang a more integrated part in the narrative' as the four panders in *The Tragedy of Valentinian* (Chilax, Balbus, Proculus, and Lycinius).

In his next play for the King's Men, *Bonduca* (1614), a fifth character was added to the equation, turning the 'Gang of Four' into a 'Gang of Four Plus One'. This fifth member would invariably play the role of the leader of the other four, connecting them to the main plot. In *Bonduca* he was Judas, the merry corporal in command of the four hungry soldiers. In Middleton's *The Widow* (1615) he was Latrocinio, leader of a gang of four thieves (Occulto, Silvio, Stratio, and Fiducio). In *Rollo, Duke of Normandy* (1617) he was Latorch who subsequently leads two different groups, the kitchen staff (Cook, Yeoman of the Cellar, Butler, and Pantler) commissioned with the murder of Otto, Rollo's brother and rival, and the four astrologers (La Fiske, Russee, Norbret, and De

[70] Martin Wiggins, 'Signs of the Four', *Around the Globe*, 57 (2014), p. 48.
[71] Ibid.

Bube) contracted to fabricate a horoscope to implicate Aubrey in a plot against Rollo. In *The Loyal Subject* (November 1618) he was the Muscovite Ensign to Archas who leads a group of four discharged soldiers who are re-employed as street sellers. After that date, the recurrent groups of subplot associates in plays of the King's Men were reduced to three; for example, 'the comedy executioners in *Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt*, or the male prostitutes, old before their time from their exertions, in the bawdy farce *The Custom of the Country*'.[72] The reason seems clear: one of its members had left the company or had died. Wiggins has identified that, apart from Richard Burbage himself, March 1619 saw the death of another actor of the company: Richard Cowley, who was probably one of the four. Wiggins has identified two of the others from the cast list of *The Duchess of Malfi* as Nicholas Tooley (active 1603-23)[73] and John Underwood (*c*.1587-1625).[74]

Baldwin Maxwell, in his essay about the figure of the hungry knave in the Fletcher canon,[75] tried to identify the actor who played various roles written for a comically thin member of the King's Men, and who would have played the part of Lazarillo in *Love's Cure*. He traced the recurrent role in a number of plays: Judas in *Bonduca* (1614), Lazarillo in *Love's Cure* (1615), Onus in *The Queen of Corinth* (1617), Penurio in *Women Pleased* (1620), Geta in *The Prophetess* (1622), Mallfort in *The Lovers' Progress* (1623), and Hilario in *The Picture* (1629). Although he seems to have been thin, Maxwell dismissed as less probable that the hungry knave may have been played by Tooley, as he had been in the company since 1603-5 and the hungry knave

[72] Ibid., p. 49.
[73] John A. Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 220.
[74] Ibid., p. 222.
[75] He published the essay in 1926 in *Philological Quarterly*, and then revised it for his 1939 monograph. See Baldwin Maxwell, 'The Hungry Knave in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', *Philological Quarterly*, 5 (1926); and Baldwin Maxwell, *Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1939).

does not emerge until a decade later; he also died in 1623, while the 'lean-gut' parts continue after his death.[76] He favoured instead the possibility that it was John Shank (*c.* 1570-1636), who left Prince Henry's Men—the Palsgrave's / Elector Palatine's Men since the death of Prince Henry in 1612—and joined the King's Men around 1613, according to John Astington, who confirms the date given by Maxwell.[77] M. E. Williams, however, favours a later date, speculating that 'Perhaps Shank supplied the company with the wherewithal for costumes, since on 24 December 1614 a John Shank of St Giles was involved with receiving goods stolen from a linen draper'.[78] She prefers the safer estimation that Shank must have been with the King's Men by the end of 1618. This would, of course, discard him as a member of the Gang of Four. In any case, the only two roles that were definitely played by Shank were the lean Hilario in the first performances of *The Picture*, as well as a servant in *The Wild-Goose Chase* (1621). Maxwell argues that it is 'not impossible that he took the part of Judas in *Bonduca*, [and] that shortly after his company acquired the services of the "lean fool" Fletcher began to introduce parts for him'.[79]

However, Wiggins argues that Judas, as the detached member of the 'Four Plus One', was an actor who was not Shank and who must have had red hair: Fletcher would have chosen the name Judas, the betrayer of Christ, for that reason. He would have followed suit with Latorch, who is described as a 'firebrand'. An actor who had joined the King's Men in the spring of 1614, just before the fifth associate started to make his appearance, was William Ecclestone (1590 - before 1624),[80] who had begun his career in the King's Men, but had spent two and a half years working with Lady Elizabeth's Men

[76] Maxwell, *Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger*, p. 78.
[77] Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time*, p. 214.
[78] M. E. Williams, 'Shank, John', *DNB*.
[79] Maxwell, *Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger*, p. 80.
[80] Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time*, p. 197.

from 1611, before returning to the company. During his time with Lady Elizabeth's Men, in mid 1613, Middleton wrote the only other role in the period outside the repertory of the King's Men specifically written for an adult actor with red hair: Sir Walter Whorehound in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside.* It is unknown whether Ecclestone acted it, but 'it would be a very curious coincidence that the decade's only red-haired adult roles were in plays written for just those companies at the time he was a member of them'.[81]

If he played the red-haired Judas and Latorch, then we can assume that he also took on Latrocinio and the Ensign as the leader of the Four Plus One, even if they are not described as having red hair. Of course, the Alguazir, whom Malroda calls a 'poisonous red-haired de'il' (3.1.58), and who is 'the ringleader of these / Poor fellows' (5.3.221-22; i.e. the four false watchmen), fits into the model. It seems safe to assume, then, that Ecclestone played the Alguazir, while Tooley, Underwood, Cowley, and perhaps Shank played the roles of Pacheco, Mendoza, Metaldi, and Lazarillo. In any case, there are three important conclusions to extract from these pieces of evidence. Firstly, they confirm that the play was indeed written for the King's Men, and not for any other company, as it relied on the available personnel at the time. If the premiere took place after May 1615, the venue must have been the Globe, as a performance in the Blackfriars playhouse would have probably taken place later in the year, and perhaps not before the date we have established as the latest limit: September 1615.[82] Secondly, since it contains the Gang of Four Plus One, the subplot of the play must have been composed and acted in the years between 1614 and 1618, and not any earlier; this date is compatible with that derived from the topical allusions found, rather, in the main plot (2.2) discussed earlier. These dates practically eliminate any possibility that Beaumont had a hand in any of the sections

[81] Wiggins, 'Signs of the Four', p. 49.
[82] The Globe, according to Malone's transcription of Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, was used by the King's Men from May; see *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), p. 67.

dealing with the three craftsmen, the hungry knave, and the constable, or indeed in the main plot, as he had apparently stopped writing for the theatre in or before 1613. Thirdly, and most importantly, the coincidence in the dating of the whole subplot—through a piece of external evidence such as the deployment of members of the King's Men in 1614-18 to particular roles—and the internal evidence that dates the main plot to 1615, suggests that the two plots of the play were conceived and composed simultaneously in 1615. This would account for the high degree of stylistic unity of the play that Williams ascribed to the hand of the reviser. Instead of a major revision by Massinger, as Fleay or Hoy have proposed, the play could have been, in fact, the first full-scale collaboration between Fletcher and Massinger, a collaboration that would prove fruitful over the years.

6. The Fletcher plays of 1614-16: thematic and linguistic links with *Love's Cure*

It is also possible to relate the dating of *Love's Cure* to that of the plays immediately adjacent to it in Wiggins's chronology by tentatively tracing a number of verbal, thematic, and situational coincidences that seem to have been concentrated in a certain period of Fletcher's career. In the absence of a recent comprehensive stylometric analysis of his plays, these identifications, which may be too scant to be statistically reliable, seem to offer a picture that is consistent with the dating of *Love's Cure* to 1615 and with Wiggins's proposed chronology for 1614-16.[83]

Wit without Money, solely authored by Fletcher, is a play that can be dated with some precision based on a reference to the sighting of a dragon in Sussex in August 1614 in 2.4.53,[84] which determines that, 'allowing for writing time, it must date from near the end of the year or early the next'.[85] There are a number of familiar phrases, images, and themes that connect it with *Love's Cure*. Lance stresses the importance of clothing to signal a gentleman's social status—'take your Cloake with you, / Which by interpretation is your state, sir' (1.1.116-17)—which is echoed in Pacheco's first speech (2.1.1-2). A general geographic coincidence occurs in 1.1.212, when Valentine refers to Andalusia, as

[83] A reappraisal of Fletcher's stylistic development and a thorough study of his collaborations with other dramatists beyond Shakespeare is overdue. This could be done by extending the studies performed on his Shakespearian collaborations by Matthews and Merriam, Vickers, Taylor, Proudfoot, and Jackson. See Robert A. J. Matthews and Thomas V. N. Merriam, 'Neural Computation in Stylometry I: An Application to the Works of Shakespeare and Fletcher', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 8.4 (1993), 203-09; Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-author* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and the chapters by Gary Taylor, MacDonald P. Jackson, and Richard Proudfoot in *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes, and the Lost Play*, ed. by Gary Taylor and David Carnegie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Additionally, the computerised studies of authorship initiated by Jonathan Hope and his group at the University of Strathclyde with the DocuScope software could be usefully applied to the Fletcher canon; see Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore, 'The Hundredth Psalm to the Tune of "Green Sleeves": Digital Approaches to Shakespeare's Language of Genre', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61.3 (2010), 357-90.

[84] Lance: 'Dragons in *Sussex* sir, or fierie battles / Seene in the aire at *Aspurge*.'

[85] Wiggins 1758.

the Alguazir does in 4.3.81. In 2.4.78-79 Valentine asks Francisco: 'Thou art passionate, hast thou beene brought up with girles?', which brings Lucio to mind. In 3.1.32, Isabella uses the word *dogbolt*, which seems to have been a favourite of Fletcher's, as he used it in six plays, including *Love's Cure* (4.3.85),[86] while *LiOn* only returns eight other occurrences in the rest of English drama printed before 1650.[87] In the same scene 3.5, Valentine uses the phrase 'this fashion will not fadge with me' (127), which is echoed by Clara in 2.2.60-61: 'These clothes will never fadge with me'. Isabella declares that 'now I have found the scab, I will so scratch her' (4.2.28), and Lance says 'beleeve me / She has an itch' (4.4.74-75); both are reminiscent of the Alguazir's 'he that mainly labours to be rich / Must scratch great scabs, and claw a strumpet's itch' (3.1.85-86). Finally, the phrase 'bestride the Dragon' (Valentine referring to himself as St George, 5.2.24) is reminiscent of Bobadilla's 'He that shall come to bestride your virginity, had better be afoot o'er the dragon.' (2.2.90-91) All these similarities do perhaps indicate that the composition of the two plays was close in time, and that these phrases and words were fresh in Fletcher's mind when he wrote *Love's Cure*.

According to Wiggins, the play immediately following *Wit without Money* was *The Night-Walkers*, perhaps staged by the same company, the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope, a little later in 1615.[88] The nocturnal scene 4.3 of *Love's Cure* is reminiscent of the sequences that take place in the dark in *Wit without Money* (5.3) and *The Night-Walkers* (2.4); in all three, characters bear torches and have difficulties in seeing other

[86] Also in *The Coxcomb*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Pilgrim*, and *The Spanish Curate*.

[87] In chronological order: Lyly's *Campaspe* (1583), Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (1598), Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho!* (1604), Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), Middleton's *The Entertainment at Sir Francis Jones's at Christmas* (1620), Shirley's *The Traitor* (1631) and *The Gamester* (1633), and Robert Chamberlain's *The Swaggering Damsel* (1639).

[88] In *The Night-Walkers* there is a 'reference to a ship's gun as a dragon with long-range firepower, which resonates with one of Lance's piece of unlikely news, the Sussex dragon of 1614 (which could also kill at a distance)' (Wiggins 1772).

characters on stage.[89]

Some verbal echoes are also noticeable in *The Night-Walkers*. In 1.1 Hartlove says to Wildbrain 'Prethee leave fooling' (116), which anticipates Lucio's 'prithee, Bobadilla, leave thy fooling' (2.2.31). The Lady, before her daughter Maria's wedding, asks 'Are the best hangings up, and the plate set out?' (1.3.9);[90] in *Love's Cure,* Eugenia instructs her servants to 'hang up […] the rich Persian arras / Used on my wedding night' (1.2.93-94). Justice Algripe uses the diminutive *Mal* to refer to Maria (1.5.21); Vitelli uses it with Malroda (3.3.32). The resourceful Maria bears some resemblance to Clara in her determination to defend her principles even with a sword: in 1.8.1-2 she threatens Frank Hartlove with 'Y'are most unmanly, yet I have some breath left; / And this steele to defend me, come not neere me.' Wildbrain uses the image of a mine in the Indies to comment on the wealth given to him by his aunt ('I ha found a Mine, / A perfect Indie'; 4.1.12-13); Malroda is described by herself and the Alguazir as an Indian mine (3.1.60-61; 4.2.88). Lurcher in the same scene comments on female indiscretion in an aside, 'Infidell! / […] who would trust a strumpet!' (4.1.75-77); this is reminiscent of Vitelli's comment on Malroda, 'I'll keep no more faith with an infidel' (3.3.102). Lurcher refers to Bridewell as a place where Wildbrain 'Under correction may rest your self' (5.1.100); Vitelli threatens to send Malroda to 'a correction house hard by' (3.3.93). In the same scene Lurcher asks Wildbrain 'Where are thy golden days' (14), which resonates with Clara's 'I shall no more see those golden days!' (2.2.60). Finally, Wildbrain threatens Lurcher to 'lay my bill o'thy pate' (5.1.126), which replicates Clara's 'I break your office o'er your pate' (2.2.95).

The thematic parallels are also striking. As in the final scene of *Love's Cure*, in

[89] Lucio declares that ''Tis so dark / I dare not see my way' (4.3.21); Wildbrain says 'Lend me thy Lanthorne, I forgot 'twas darke' (3.1.75).
[90] Snap confirms this in 2.1.16: 'I saw the old Lady […] / Put up her plate, and some rich hangings.'

3.2 a duel is halted by a woman: Frank Hartlove and Wildbrain are fighting in the dark, when Maria, posing as her own ghost, manages to stop them. The successful intervention of a woman in a fight between men would also be taken up by Fletcher a year later in *Love's Pilgrimage*, in which the two angry fathers, Sancho and Alfonso, are on the brink of fighting a duel in the final scene when they are stopped by female intervention: Eugenia, the Governor's wife, ushers in their 'seconds', who turn out to be their daughters Leocadia and Theodosia. They manage to stop the duellists by giving them their pistols and then standing in between them. Throughout the play Sancho also refers obsessively to a famous duelling manual, Jerónimo Sánchez de Carranza's *De la filosofía de las armas* (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 1582), which also resonates with the Jacobean anti-duelling campaign of 1613-14.

Love's Pilgrimage also shares with *Love's Cure* its Spanish setting, its use of a Spanish source, and a number of verbal parallels. In the first scene, complicated by its relationship with passages from Jonson's *The New Inn*,[91] there is a running joke around walking in the street *in cuerpo*, which recurs in *Love's Cure* 2.1.2 and which L. A. Beaurline could not explain in his edition.[92] Incubo uses the salutation 'I kiss your hands' in 1.1.4 and 325, while it appears in its Spanish form in *Love's Cure*, 3.2.82. Geographical references to Seville and to Madrid occur in 1.1.30 and 45; the two places feature in *Love's Cure* as the actual setting of the play and as Malroda's hometown (2.1.113). The Archdukes are mentioned in 1.1.238, as several times in *Love's Cure*, as well as the title of the King of Spain as the 'Catholique King' (*Love's Pilgrimage* 1.1.217; *Love's Cure* 5.3.7). The relationship between the host Diego and his ostler

[91] See L. A. Beaurline's edition, pp. 692-95.
[92] 'Fletcher uses the expression elsewhere, in *Love's Cure* II.i, and although the joke first appears in the 'Jonsonian' passages, it is found in other dialogue in act I of *Love's Pilgrimage*. No earlier use has been recorded in the *OED*. This circumstance makes the priority of the passages from *The New Inn* harder to explain.' See Beauline's edition, p. 573.

Lazaro recalls that of Pacheco and Lazarillo: Diego advises Lazaro to 'mend our manners' (1.1.), while Lazarillo comments on cobblers' inability to be 'manners-menders' (2.1.90); referring to a horse, Lazaro says that 'He shall look lean enough' and that the hay 'will as soon choak him, / Unless he eate it butter'd' (1.1.349-50), which recalls the jokes about Lazarillo's starvation ('Live lean and witty still'; 2.1.9) and the phrase he uses to describe Mendoza: 'This botcher looks as if he were dough-baked: a little butter now, and I could eat him.' (2.1.58-60) Philippo tells Theodosia that Mark-Antonio has been 'carried to the Gallyes' there to be whipped 'With knotted ropes, and pizzels' (4.1.168-70); Mendoza asks if the Alguazir has been 'Next condemned to the galleys for pilfery, to the bull's pizzle?' (2.1.141) Sancho is outraged to find his daughter Leocadia cross-dressed as a page, saying 'what now? run / Out o' your sex? breech'd?' (5.4.44-45), which recalls Álvarez's 'How now, Clara, / Your breeches on still?' (2.2.138-39). Finally, Eugenia is a name common to both plays, while Mark-Antonio is a womaniser in the same vein as Monsieur Thomas and Vitelli.

Fletcher's *Father's Own Son, or Monsieur Thomas*, according to Wiggins, would have been written between *Love's Cure* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, probably towards the end of 1615.[93] A reference in *Love's Pilgrimage* to the Dean of Seville having 'been tane a bed with the *Moore*' (1.1.117) supports the connection with *Monsieur Thomas*, in which the title character is tricked into getting into bed with a blackamoor maid instead of his sweetheart Mary. The relationship between Sebastian and his prodigal son Thomas is reminiscent of that of Álvarez and Lucio, as both sons are repeatedly threatened with disinheritance. Lancelot bears traces of Bobadilla and Lazarillo in *Love's Cure*: Lancelot says to the Fiddler 'Do something […] That we may eat, and live: I am almost starv'd' (3.3.30), which is reminiscent of Lazarillo's obsession with food. There are other verbal

[93] Wiggins 1788.

parallels. The phrase 'by my truly' recurs in both plays (*Monsieur Thomas* 2.2.17; *Love's Cure* 3.4.27).[94] Thomas's exclamation when cross-dressed 'I shall bepisse my breeches if I cowre thus' (5.1.14) recalls Bobadilla's comment on Lucio in male clothes, 'how he walks as if he had bepissed himself' (2.2.21-22). Hylas's comment on his bride-to-be (the cross-dressed Thomas) coming 'of a lusty kindred' (5.9.11), and his 'Well, let's together then, a lustry kindred' (5.12.116), echo the Alguazir's description of Malroda, 'Marry, is she, sir, / Come of a lusty kindred' (3.2.95-96).[95] Finally, Mary's phrase 'What a coyle has this Fellow kept' (5.11.1) resonates with Lucio's 'What a coil you keep' (2.2.38).

According to Wiggins, after *Love's Pilgrimage* Fletcher wrote *Beggars' Bush* with Massinger and another collaborator.[96] The play also contains some noticeable echoes of *Love's Cure*. The opening scene, attributed by Hoy to Massinger,[97] contains Herman's long account of certain wars in Flanders that resonates with Lamoral's tale in 1.1 in terms of its rhetoric and imagery.[98] In 2.3, Van-dunck uses the phrase 'under the rose' repeatedly; the phrase seems to have been introduced to English drama by Fletcher in *Love's Cure* (Piorato in 3.2.73), and was used extremely infrequently in the rest of the

[94] The phrase seems to be rare in English drama published before 1650, as a search in *LiOn* only returns five other occurrences, in chronological order: Munday's *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon* (1598), twice in Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1601), in Dekker and Webster's *Westward Ho!* (1604), in Heywood's *The Wise Woman of Hoxton* (1623), and in Abraham Cowley's *The Guardian* (1642).

[95] The phrase is, again, rare in English drama before 1650; there are no other instances of the phrase 'of a lusty kindred', while there is 'of his lusty kindred' in Massinger's *The Emperor of the East*, 'of lusty kindred' in Shirley's *The Ball* (1632), 'your lusty kindred' in Nathaniel Richards's *The Tragedy of Messalina* (1635), and two occurrences of just 'lusty kindred' in Jonson's masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) and Shirley's *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635).

[96] Cyrus Hoy found traces of a collaborator whom he took to be Beaumont in *Beggars' Bush*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, and *Thierry and Theodoret*, which, as in the case of *Love's Cure*, is a chronological impossibility; see section I.7.

[97] Cyrus Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (III)', *Studies in Bibliography*, 11 (1958), p. 87.

[98] It includes the phrase being 'at his devotion' (1.1.49), as in *Love's Cure* 1.1.9.

period.[99]

To summarise, all these linguistic traits tentatively support Wiggins's chronology of the Fletcher plays from the end of 1614 to 1616. A similar reading of his plays in the earlier period (1606-13) and in later years, particularly after 1620, seems to suggest a linguistic distance, in diction and turns of phrase, from this central period around *Love's Cure*. The textual echoes I have traced seem to lead up to the play, and then gradually disappear, which is consistent with the present chronological hypothesis. The evidence works by accumulation: these coincidences are quite numerous and seem to have been concentrated in time, though the set of data is too scant to provide statistical reliability. In any case, the coincidences between *Love's Cure* and *Wit without Money*, a play that can be dated to the end of 1614, seem to suggest a proximity to that date, as do the other parallels with the plays that plausibly came before and after in Fletcher's output, and could strengthen the case for 1615.

[99] There are only three other instances in drama printed before 1650, according to *LiOn*: in Jonson's *The Staple of News* (1626), and in Shirley's *The Ball* (1632) and *The Duke's Mistress* (1636).

7. Modern authorship attribution

If previous scholarship had generally accepted the contents of the two Beaumont and Fletcher folios as the work of the famous collaborators, by the mid nineteenth century scholars had started to question some of its attributions and attempted to organise the plays into some kind of chronology. The first one to attempt to establish the patterns of authorship was F. G. Fleay in his inaugural paper for the New Shakspere [*sic*] Society in 1874. He had analysed the plays of the Beaumont and Fletcher canon using a series of pioneering metrical tests from which he had established that Beaumont and Fletcher were the sole authors of *Love's Cure.*[100] Two years later, however, he proposed in his *Shakespeare Manual* that the play was instead the work of Fletcher, Middleton, and Rowley, although he included this information as part of a table and did not give any explanation.[101] He apparently made up his mind again soon after, and, as we saw, in 1891 he declared Massinger to have been the reviser of an earlier collaboration of Beaumont and Fletcher.[102] R. Boyle was working on the same issue throughout the mid 1880s, when he published a series of essays on the authorship of the Beaumont-Fletcher-Massinger plays in *Englische Studien*. He first ascribed the extant text of *Love's Cure* to 'Massinger and a 2nd Author (not F[letcher])',[103] but, as Oliphant noted, in subsequent issues and 'equally regardless of the evidence', Boyle 'later included Fletcher, though, when he came to a division of the work, [he] left Fletcher out altogether'.[104] In his entry for Fletcher in the early edition of the *DNB*, A. H. Bullen acknowledged Fleay's theory of the

[100] F. G. Fleay, 'On Metrical Tests Applied to Dramatic Poetry: Part II. Fletcher, Beaumont, Massinger', *Transactions*, 2 (1874), p. 64.
[101] F. G. Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual* (London: Macmillan, 1876), p. 152.
[102] Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559- 1642*, p. 180.
[103] R. Boyle, 'Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger [III]', *Englische Studien*, 7 (1884), 75; see also his table of attributions in R. Boyle, 'Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger [I]', *Englische Studien*, 5 (1882), p. 95.
[104] E. H. C. Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 415.

Massingerian revision, but dated the play to 1623 and claimed that it 'is probably by Massinger and Middleton'.[105]

A number of scholars proposed various solutions over the next decades. A. L. Stiefel found the play to be representative of Fletcher's 'own style, characters, and situations', and declared him to be the sole author.[106] A. H. Thorndike supported the theory that Beaumont was co-author of the play, while Charles Mills Gayley rejected that theory.[107] Macaulay claimed again that '*Loves Cure, or The Martial Maid* apparently contains little or nothing which can be ascribed to Fletcher'.[108] Cruickshank stated that there is 'nothing like Massinger, except a few touches in I. 1, 3', and hinted at the possibility that Middleton may have had a hand in the text.[109] Maurice Chelli conceded that 'it is probable that the piece was by Beaumont alone, and that Massinger revised it'.[110] H. D. Sykes found absolutely no trace of Fletcher or of Beaumont, and assigned the authorship to Massinger, Webster, and Dekker without providing any evidence.[111]

Perhaps the most convoluted solution to the problem was proposed by William

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[105] A. H. Bullen, 'Fletcher, John (1579–1625)', in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889).

[106] A. L. Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* 99 (1897), pp. 308-9; my translation.

[107] A. H. Thorndike, *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare* (Worcester, MA: Press of Oliver B. Wood, 1901); and Charles Mills Gayley, *Francis Beaumont: Dramatist. A Portrait with Some Account of his Circle, Elizabethan and Jacobean, and of his Association with John Fletcher* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1914), pp. 305-6.

[108] G. C. Macaulay, 'Chapter V: Beaumont and Fletcher', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature: Vol. VI, The Drama to 1642, Part Two,* ed. by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), pp. 82-140 (p. 136).

[109] A. H. Cruickshank, *Philip Massinger* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920), summarised in Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others*, p. 415.

[110] Maurice Chelli, 'Le drame de Massinger' (thesis at the Univeristy of Paris, 1923), p. 77; my translation.

[111] In particular, 'Act I, Massinger; Act II, Webster and Dekker; III. 1-4, Webster, III. 5 Dekker; IV and V. 1, 2, Massinger and Webster; V. 3 Webster'; see Henry Dugdale Sykes, *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama: A Series of Studies Dealing with the Authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Plays* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 224.

Wells in private correspondence with Oliphant: 'I am sure that Fletcher is in the play, but not quite convinced of Beaumont's presence. A more reasonable arrangement [than Sykes's] seems to me to be a partnership between Fletcher, Massinger, and Field; IV seems to be entirely Massinger's; therefore I conclude that he was either one of the original authors or an original partner with Fletcher in an alteration of a still older play (*circa* 1604), which *might* have been by Dekker and Webster.'[112] However, Oliphant himself regarded *Love's Cure* 'as originally written by Beaumont for the Paul's boys not later than 1605, revised by Jonson and another in 1622 for the Lady Elizabeth's, and revised once again, this time by Massinger, when it came into the hands of the King's men, probably about the same time as *Love's Pilgrimage* and others'.[113] He justified the revision on the assumption that all plays with a title and a subtitle had been reworked years after their premiere.[114]

This debate, offering such startlingly divergent solutions, has not been settled definitively. However, today the most widely accepted study of the authorship of the plays in the Fletcher canon is Cyrus Hoy's series of seven articles in *Studies in Bibliography* that appeared between 1956 and 1962. He acknowledged that out of the 52 plays traditionally ascribed to 'Beaumont and Fletcher', only a small percentage, 'less than twelve', are actually collaborations between the two dramatists, while 'some forty' represent the unaided work of Fletcher and his collaborations with other dramatists, most importantly Philip Massinger.[115]

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[112] Quoted in Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others*, p. 415.
[113] Ibid., p. 431.
[114] 'The plays to which double titles are given in either folio are *The Woman's Prize*, *Rollo*, *Love's Cure*, *Philaster*, *The Night-walker*, and *The Nice Valour*; and there is not one of these that is to be considered as wholly of one date.' See ibid., p. 420.
[115] Cyrus Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (I)', *Studies in Bibliography*, 8 (1956), p. 129. The essays were very much work in progress. For example, Hoy varied his stance on Beaumont: in the first

His methodology was relatively straightforward: 'To distinguish any given dramatist's share in a play of dual or doubtful authorship, one must possess some body of criteria which, derived from the unaided plays of the dramatist in question, will serve to identify his work in whatever context it may appear.'[116] These criteria ranged from particular linguistic preferences to patterns of versification. For example, based on earlier scholarship, Hoy established that Fletcher seems to have preferred the use of *ye* over *you* for the second person pronoun, and in his solo plays there seems to be a tendency to use pentameters with double or feminine endings (i.e. with an extra unstressed syllable at the end of the line). While he contemplated the task of identifying the shares of other dramatists as a relatively difficult problem, he claimed that distinguishing the work of Fletcher from that of Massinger was easier: 'the pattern of linguistic preferences which emerges from Fletcher's unaided plays contrasts sufficiently with the language practices in the unaided plays of Massinger as to afford a basis for distinguishing the work of the two dramatists one from the other.'[117]

The tests seem generally persuasive enough to accept their conclusions as to the authorship of the different sections of plays in which Fletcher and Massinger collaborated. However, they remain unconvincing as to the intervention of Beaumont in some of them. He openly acknowledged that, even in plays in which we know that they clearly collaborated, 'To distinguish, on the basis of linguistic evidence, the respective shares of the Beaumont-Fletcher collaborations is not always easy or possible'.[118]

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article of the series he claimed that 'with the exception of his *Masque*, there is no play that can with any certainty be regarded as the unaided work of Beaumont.' (p. 130) By the time he published the third in the series he had determined that *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is 'a play which I regard as wholly his'; see Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (III)', p. 85.

[116] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (I)', p. 130.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher

Misconceptions about the dating of some of the plays resulted in a number of extremely unlikely attributions. For instance, he assigned a large share of *Love's Pilgrimage* to Beaumont,[119] when the play was written around 1616 and therefore three years or more after he had presumably stopped writing for the stage, and within months of his death.[120] He also declared that 'in the collaborations with Fletcher and Massinger, *Beggars' Bush* and *Thierry and Theodoret*, Beaumont's work accounts for approximately a third of the whole',[121] when this is also extremely unlikely, as, according to Wiggins's chronology, the plays date from around 1616 and 1617, respectively.[122]

Hoy also claimed to be able to discern whether a text was the product of a straight collaboration by two or more dramatists, or of a later revision. The criteria in these cases are more subjective and speculative, and are based on distinguishing the different layers of the text by an intimate acquaintance with the linguistic idiosyncrasies of each dramatist, particularly with respect to recurrent characteristic expressions that he sometimes did not specify. In the case of *Love's Cure*, Hoy defended that the text of the play is multi-layered due to a superposition of collaboration and revision:

> The one certainty about the authorship of this play is the presence of Massinger. In the only extant text, that of the 1647 folio, he is responsible for virtually all of Acts I, IV, and V. The great authorial problem which the play poses centers upon the authorship of the non-Massinger scenes, all of which, with the exception of the prose passages of 1,2 and V,3b, occur in Acts II and III.[123]

The shares he assigned, expanded and summarised by George Walton Williams,[124] are:

Canon (III)', p. 85.
[119] Ibid., p. 92.
[120] Wiggins 1794.
[121] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (III)', p. 85.
[122] Wiggins 1799 and 1848.
[123] Cyrus Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', *Studies in Bibliography*, 14 (1961), p. 48.
[124] GWW, p. 4; the line numbers have been re-keyed to the present edition.

1.1		Rewritten by Massinger
1.2		Fletcher revised by Massinger
1.3		Rewritten by Massinger
2.1		Beaumont and Fletcher (‘essentially the work of Beaumont’)
2.2	(a) 1-110	Fletcher (‘essentially the unaided work of Fletcher’)
	(b) 111-59	Fletcher revised by Massinger
	(c) 159-250	Beaumont and Fletcher (‘essentially the unaided work of Beaumont’)
3.1		Beaumont (‘wholly’ Beaumont’s)
3.2		Fletcher revised by Massinger
3.3	(a) 1-17	Fletcher
	(b) 18-77	Beaumont
	(c) 78-123	Fletcher revised by Massinger
3.4		Fletcher revised by Massinger
3.5		Fletcher
4.1		Rewritten by Massinger
4.2		Rewritten by Massinger
4.3	(a) 1-19	Rewritten by Massinger
	(b) 20-71	Fletcher revised by Massinger (‘basically the work of Fletcher’)
	(c) 71-132	Rewritten by Massinger
4.4		Rewritten by Massinger
5.1		Rewritten by Massinger
5.2		Rewritten by Massinger
5.3	(a) 1-194	Beaumont and Fletcher revised by Massinger
	(b) 195-254	Beaumont and Fletcher
	(c) 255-60	Massinger

Hoy’s theory was that, as it stands, the text is the product of a thorough revision by Massinger of the original version by Beaumont and Fletcher. Hoy quotes Oliphant’s theory of Beaumontian authorship before 1605 with subsequent revisions by Jonson and a

collaborator in 1622, and again by Massinger, probably in the early 1630s.[125] Hoy quickly disproves the Jonsonian attribution on stylistic grounds, but he concurs with Oliphant in the identification of different textual layers due to a major revision by Massinger:

> The play has been re-worked, in some degree, from beginning to end, but it has been re-worked much more extensively in some places than in others. Massinger's revision of the first and the last two acts has been so extensive as to amount to re-writing, though there are faint traces of the original in the prose of I,2, and distinctly clearer ones in that of V,3b. His handling of Acts II and III was much less thoroughgoing; there he has been content to stitch some of his favorite turns of phrase on to a textual fabric clearly not of his own devising.[126]

However, the dating of the subplot to 1614-18, as we have determined, shows that the attribution to Beaumont of any of those sections is extremely unlikely. What Hoy took to be Beaumontisms in this and other post-1613 plays could be explained by an alternative theory. They could be idiosyncrasies that Fletcher incorporated into his style after working with him for seven years (1606-13). Or they could be the traces of a third, unidentified collaborator, who might or might not have had a career as a dramatist outside these plays. In other words, 'Shadow Beaumont', as Martin Wiggins has called him, could be an actual, and otherwise unknown, writer whose style does not coincide with that of the usual suspects (Field, Jonson, Dekker, etc.), or he could be a fabrication to explain that some sections of plays by Fletcher sounded like Beaumont to Hoy's literary ear (or, by exclusion, that they did not show the Fletcher markers that Hoy had formulated).

One of the reasons given to attribute the prose sections of the subplot (most notably 2.1) to Beaumont is the presence of Lazarillo, a character that Oliphant and Hoy

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[125] Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others*, pp. 431-32.
[126] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', p. 49.

took to be 'a distinctly Beaumontesque character'.[127] Oliphant argued that the Lazarillo of *Love's Cure* is an earlier sketch for the more developed version of the character in *The Woman-Hater*.[128] Setting aside the chronological impossibility of that dating, the fundamental problem is to attribute Beaumont with the exclusive, or predominant, dramatic exploitation in England of a figure that, by the early decades of the seventeenth century, was already a well-known literary trope throughout Western Europe, and which was used in plays by other dramatists. Apart from the recurrent gastronomic motif, there is an immediate social difference between the two. The Lazarillo (or Lazarello) of *The Woman-Hater* is a courtier in pursuit of a dainty dish, the head of an umbrana (a particular type of fish), that he chases from scene to scene in episodic form. Lazarillo in *Love's Cure* is the serving boy to a cobbler who constantly complains of being hungry; he never gets but a promise of a meal during the action of the play, and he is finally sent off, hungry, to the galleys. The comic whereabouts of a gourmet courtier following a certain whim of his stomach are very different from the bleak prospects of the servant of a miserly cobbler with criminal tendencies. The characters, despite their name and their fixation with food, have actually very little in common. As I will show, the Lazarillo in *Love's Cure* is, in fact, a direct version of the Spanish original character as it appears in *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1553); in fact, it is the most faithful version of the character that would appear on the English Renaissance stage. Charles Mills Gayley, in his study of Beaumont's work, may have rightly said that 'Lazarillo […] does not speak Beaumont's language'.[129]

Hoy argued, however, that Massinger could not have collaborated in the

[127] E. H. C. Oliphant, 'Three Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', *Review of English Studies*, 12 (1936), p. 199.
[128] Ibid., p. 200.
[129] Gayley, *Francis Beaumont*, p. 305. For an extensive discussion of this picaresque novel as a source for the character in *Love's Cure*, see section III.2.

composition of the play when it was originally conceived:

> It is not credible that Massinger's contribution to a play written in collaboration with Beaumont and Fletcher prior to 1613 (the date of Beaumont's retirement from the theatre) should far exceed the combined shares of both his more celebrated associates.[130]

The share, as described by Hoy, is indeed very large, though it does not predate 1613. In his previous collaboration with Fletcher (and Field) in that year of 1613, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, Massinger was only responsible for two small sections, according to Hoy.[131] In the play that, according to Wiggins's chronology, he wrote in direct collaboration with Fletcher immediately after *Love's Cure*, *Beggars' Bush*, he is responsible for the whole of the first act and the first 65 lines of the final scene.[132] And in the following extant collaboration with Fletcher and Field, *The Queen of Corinth*, he wrote the entirety of the first and fifth acts.[133] In each of these cases, the share is comparatively much smaller than the large share of the extant *Love's Cure* that Hoy attributed to him.

There are, at first sight, two distinct possibilities. Either *Love's Cure* was indeed the first straight collaboration of the two dramatists, and Fletcher deposited unprecedented trust on his younger colleague; or, as Hoy suggested, the play was thoroughly revised by Massinger for the revival announced in the subtitle of the extant Prologue. If we accept the second possibility as being more likely—as it would pose a notable discontinuity in the evolution of the Fletcher-Massinger collaboration to assume that the anomalously large share was a one-off choice in the early period—then we have to speculate as to what might have been there before the revision. Was it an unaided

[130] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', p. 49.
[131] 3.3 (with Field; 226 lines) and 3.1.1-143 (to the entrance of Montaigne/Montague).
[132] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (III)', p. 87.
[133] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (IV)', p. 98.

Fletcher play? And if so, why did Massinger deem it necessary to take the trouble to rewrite it to such a large extent?

The situation is, in some respects, analogous to that of *The Lovers' Progress* which premiered in 1623 and was revised by Massinger a decade later. Hoy assigns a slightly larger share to Massinger,[134] and speculates about the nature of the revision: 'The only question that arises, then, is whether Massinger was in fact revising a play of Fletcher's sole authorship—as prologue and epilogue declare—or whether he was reworking a play of which he and Fletcher were joint authors.'[135] He favours the first option, given that the Fletcherian linguistic markers are evenly spread throughout the text.[136] This is not the case with *Love's Cure*:

> The occurrence of *hath* [Massingerian marker], which is found in the play 27 times as well, complements the occurrence of *ye* [Fletcherian marker] in a manner that is familiar. The tendency here, as with the joint work of Fletcher and Massinger elsewhere, is to find *ye* and *hath* appearing solely in alternating scenes, but seldom together in the same scene. Thus Acts I, IV, and V (excluding V,3b) of *Love's Cure* contain 20 *hath's*, no *ye's*. […] But the 5 *hath's* that are found anomalously occurring side by side with the 9 *ye's* of Fletcher's II,2 are almost certainly evidence of Massinger's revising hand.[137]

According to Hoy's analysis, the other Fletcher-Massinger markers—respectively, the preference for *'em* or *them*, *i' th'* or *i' the*, *ha'* or *have*, *to* or *t'*—point towards the same solution: the play is a revision by Massinger of an earlier play. But the absence of Fletcherian markers in Massinger scenes, and that of Massingerian traits in Fletcher sections (i.e. what Hoy took to be Beaumont and Fletcher), may reveal an alternative solution to the problem. Following Hoy's own reasoning for *The Lovers' Progress*, could

[134] Half of acts I and III, plus acts IV and V in their entirety.
[135] Cyrus Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (II)', *Studies in Bibliography*, 9 (1957), p. 151.
[136] 'The [Fletcherian] preference for *'em*, like the occurrence of *ye*, is not confined to specific acts or scenes, but seems to provide the play as a whole with a single, underlying linguistic pattern, that of Fletcher.' Ibid., p. 152.
[137] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', pp. 49-50.

Love's Cure have been a straight collaboration between Massinger and Fletcher back in 1615 that Massinger returned to in the 1630s for a revival, and chose to polish the text without eliminating the substantial and conclusive dating markers we have traced? If this is so, then *Love's Cure* was effectively the first of the long series of collaborative plays between Fletcher and his younger collaborator.

As Will Sharpe has argued, 'a writer could be modifying their style to make the play feel more of a piece, and not too jarringly schizophrenic in its linguistic and dramatic energies'.[138] This phenomenon would account for the 'surprising' stylistic integrity of the text of *Love's Cure* that Williams commented on.[139] We cannot overlook the difficulty of trying to discriminate Massinger's and Fletcher's hands in this play, either as straight collaborators, one as reviser of the other, or a mixture of both processes.[140]

Fletcher, however, and even if we disregarded other considerations, seems to have known the plot involving the transvestite siblings, as his hand is traceable, for example, in the climatic speech in which Clara gives up her manhood in 4.2, exclaiming 'from this hour / I here abjure all actions of a man' (184-85). The phrase 'from this hour' seems to have been a favourite of his for this kind of climatic moments. A search on *LiOn* for occurrences of the phrase in plays printed before 1650 returns 42 hits, out of which 24 are from plays in the Fletcher canon. In plays by Massinger without Fletcher, only *The Duke of Milan* contains the phrase (twice). Even if Massinger, according to Hoy, reworked the

[138] Will Sharpe, 'Authorship and Attribution', in *William Shakespeare and Others: Collaborative Plays*, ed. by Jonathan Bate, et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013), pp. 641-745 (p. 648).
[139] GWW, p. 7.
[140] As Sharpe acknowledges: 'One writer could be revising the other's work, or they could both have contributed passages and lines to same scene as they were composing it, thus commixing and complicating the stylistic data we want or expect to find. If the attribution scholar assumes that the units of individual composition break down as whole scenes or acts then he/she will be blinded to this possibility: we need to consider that both writers may be present within a single scene, or even a single speech.' See Sharpe, 'Authorship and Attribution', p. 648.

whole scene, there seems to have been a Fletcherian layer underneath that engaged with Clara's transformation. If so, he must have crafted the play with the main plot from Castro already in place.

In any case, and based on Hoy's study, we can safely argue that *Love's Cure*, as it stands, is the work of Fletcher and Massinger, originally conceived as a whole in 1615 by Fletcher alone, or by Fletcher and Massinger in collaboration, and perhaps revised more or less thoroughly some twenty years later by Massinger. This might have happened before 1633 when the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, required all old plays to be re-licensed if they were to be revived,[141] as the license would presumably survive if he issued it after that date.[142] For example, *Love's Pilgrimage*—which was originally performed around 1616 and shares with *Love's Cure* the Spanish setting, a plot involving a brother and a sister, and what Hoy took to be Beaumontisms—was re-licensed on 16 September 1635;[143] if *Love's Cure* had followed suit, then, most probably, there would have been an entry in the office-book about the revision. If it was indeed re-licensed after 1633, either it was not recorded or the record has not survived, or the King's Men performed the original play or a revision somehow without renewing the license, which would have been illegal. In addition, the original license of *Love's Cure* must have predated Herbert's office-book (which Sir John Astley, his predecessor, had started on 10 May 1622),[144] and if the play had premiered after that date, as Williams believed,[145] it would most probably have been registered in it. Although Martin Wiggins is unpersuaded as to the reality of the 1630s revision, as the evidence is internal and there are no external

[141] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673*, pp. 20-21.
[142] However, the office-book has only been preserved in fragmentary form, so this is a tentative argument.
[143] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673*, p. 36.
[144] Ibid., p. 23.
[145] GWW, p. 7.

records to confirm it, he concludes that, nevertheless, 'the hypothesis is consistent with Massinger's work on other Fletcher plays at that time (for example, *The Lovers' Progress*, 2077 [which was transformed into *Cleander* in 1634])'.[146]

In view of these facts, we should now examine the theory about the dating and composition of the play formulated by George Walton Williams in the introduction to his edition. He supported a post-1625 dating, and regarded Massinger as being responsible for most of the play after having effected a thorough revision:

> The most reasonable conclusion is that already advanced by Mr Hoy: the Folio text presents a composite play the sub-plots of which, joint efforts of Beaumont and Fletcher in *ca*. 1605, have been revised, rewritten, reordered, and fitted into a main plot by Philip Massinger after 1625. Original material in this reworking has been made uniform, and the whole has been given a final integrity surprising in light of its fragmented composition.[147]

As I have shown, there is almost no ascertainable truth in these claims. The date 1605 is impossible, chronologically the subplots can hardly be by Beaumont, and the integrity and uniformity may well have been in place in the original composition. The two separate subplots that Williams, based on Hoy, identified are, on the one hand, that of 'Malroda, Vitelli, Piorato, and the Alguazier and on the other of Mendoza, Metaldi, Pachieco, and Lazarillo'. These would constitute 'the vestigial remains of a Beaumont and Fletcher collaboration, dating from the early years of the century, probably between 1602 (the publication of *Blurt, Master Constable*) and 1606 (the date of *The Woman Hater*)'.[148] Apart from the dating and authorship problems, there are several misconceptions in this description. Firstly, the character of Piorato, so closely associated with Malroda in his wish to rid her of Vitelli's attentions and marry her, is also derived from the Spanish source: as in *Love's Cure*, he is in charge of educating the male cross-dresser in the ways of manly violence. His plot line is therefore inextricable from the main narrative, and so

[146] Wiggins 1779.
[147] GWW, p. 7.
[148] Ibid., p. 6.

is Malroda's as the victim of Vitelli's womanising habits, even if she is not in Castro's play. The attribution of the Malroda-Vitelli plot to an adaptation of certain passages in *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard* by Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, first proposed by R. Warwick Bond, is not demonstrable.[149] In addition, the Alguazir also makes an appearance in *La fuerza*, which is the most likely source of his inclusion in *Love's Cure*, even if the character (a corrupt constable) was commonplace in English drama by then. As I will also show, and although it is suggested in Castro, the fully developed revenge plot involving Vitelli's family is the only ascertainable dramatic addition outside *La fuerza* that is implicitly included on that list, apart from the four rogues. As to these, who very much constitute a detachable plot from the main narrative involving the cross-dressed siblings, we have seen that they were included for practical reasons—to employ the recurrent 'Gang of Four'—and possibly to add some padding that would complete the running time of a standard show at the Globe (or the Blackfriars). Most importantly, in the absence of the two cross-dressed siblings, as Wiggins has suggested, 'there would be no play, only a series of disjointed episodes'.[150]

However, Williams also suggested the possibility that the main plot dealing with the 'reversal of the sexes and transvestism' involving Clara, Lucio, and Bobadilla may have been derived independently by Fletcher (and Beaumont) without knowing the Spanish source. Therefore that part of the narrative may have already been in place when the unrevised version premiered. As justification he offered the following:

> Amazonian maidens were known from classical times, but Bond has noticed the presence of martial maids on both warring sides during the siege of Ostend. It may be suggested further that twenty years later, Massinger undertook to refurbish this old and apparently not popular comedy by revising it in light of his knowledge of *La fuerza de la costumbre*,

[149] See Appendix 8.
[150] Wiggins 1779.

another play referring to the Spanish wars in Flanders. [151]

However, as the next section will show, the structural, verbal, and narrative similarities between both plays are so startling that there can be no doubt that Fletcher, with or without Massinger's collaboration, knew Castro's play when *Love's Cure* was conceived in the early months of 1615.

[151] GWW, p. 6.

II. *LOVE'S CURE* AND *LA FUERZA DE LA COSTUMBRE*

1. Introduction: the main narrative source of *Love's Cure*

The first scholar to identify Castro's play as the source of the main plot of *Love's Cure* was A. L. Stiefel in an article published in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* in 1897.[1] The piece had comparatively little influence on Anglo-American scholarship, probably due to the language in which it was published. For instance, Adolphus William Ward in his 1899 *History of English Dramatic Literature*, otherwise up to date with the scholarship he quoted from, did not include any reference to the peculiar case of *Love's Cure* as revealed by Stiefel: 'I can perceive no indication that Beaumont and Fletcher knew much or anything of the plays of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and their contemporaries.'[2] R. Warwick Bond, who thought that the title was promising upon seeing it in an anthology of Spanish plays, verified independently in 1905-6 that the plot of *Love's Cure* 'is closely borrowed from a comedy *La Fuerza de la Costumbre* of the Valencian poet Guillen de Castro'. Even though he knew little Spanish, he managed to produce a faithful plot summary just 'with the aid of a Spanish dictionary'. He thought that he was the first to make this discovery, when in 1908 a doctoral student informed him that Stiefel had anticipated it in his essay.[3] G. C. Macaulay, who did know about Stiefel's work, stated with condescension in 1910 that 'a recent attempt to prove that *Love's Cure* is taken from a comedy by Guillen de Castro can hardly be regarded as successful'.[4] He added that *Love's Cure* 'is not without merit, if we concede the very improbable situation upon which its action depends; but the merit, perhaps, is chiefly due

[1] Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts'.
[2] Adolphus William Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 753.
[3] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 263.
[4] Macaulay, 'Chapter V: Beaumont and Fletcher', p. 124.

to a Spanish original, though it seems unlikely that this original was the comedy of Guillen de Castro which deals with the same story'.[5] But this attitude merely demonstrates a lack of comprehension of Stiefel's contribution, whose detailed analysis of the parallels between the two plays could not be more persuasive. In his 1927 monograph, E. H. C. Oliphant declared that 'I am now given to understand that Guillen de Castro's drama is not the source: the story is the same, but the treatment is very different'.[6] However, in a later article he recanted this position and stated that Macaulay's claim was 'unwarranted, though I was myself misled by it. The likenesses between the plots of the two plays are too marked to be the result of coincidence.'[7]

Stiefel probably identified the source in the first place by the recurrence of the word *custom* in the English play, following an obvious and direct translation of the title of Castro's *comedia*.[8] It is repeated no less than nine times across four of the five acts,[9] and it works as a kind of *Leitmotiv* in the play, as it encapsulates one of its main themes: the power of nurture over nature, upbringing over natural instincts, gender as a social construct over the predetermination of physiological sex. The term is also insistently recurrent in *La fuerza*. But the fact that Stiefel's article appeared in German limited its influence on later English-speaking scholars, and only Martin E. Erickson quoted from it at length, albeit in German with no accompanying translation. His essay 'A Review of Scholarship Dealing with the Problem of a Spanish Source for *Love's Cure*' summarises the state of the debate up to 1962. Overlooking an obvious historical inaccuracy, his opening comment still stands true: 'Of all the problems involving questions of possible

[5] Ibid., p. 136.
[6] Oliphant, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: An Attempt to Determine their Respective Shares and the Shares of Others,* p. 418.
[7] Oliphant, 'Three Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', p. 199.
[8] Note that the Spanish Golden Age term *comedia* is a false friend in English: it should be translated as 'play', as it does not allude to its genre. Tragedies and historical plays were also referred to as *comedias,* and were acted by *comediantes* ('players').
[9] In 1.3.21, 173, and 179; in 2.2.85 and 131; in 4.4.80; in 5.1.80; and in 5.3.88 and 256.

Spanish sources for Elizabethan plays, possibly none are beset with greater obscurity or controversy than those involving *Love's Cure.*'[10]

In an influential 1984 article, the Hispanist John Loftis studied the two plays closely, concluding that 'the resemblances to *La fuerza de la costumbre* in theme, in situations, and at times even in dialogue are striking',[11] and dismissed all alternative theories: 'There can be no reasonable doubt that the main plot of *Love's Cure* is based on *La fuerza de la costumbre*.'[12] The rest of the essay is dedicated to tracing the very few other known cases of adaptation of a Spanish *comedia* into an English play in the period, of which there are only three: *The Renegado* (1624), partly based on Cervantes's *Los baños de Argel*, and two plays by James Shirley, *The Young Admiral* (1633), based on Lope de Vega's *Don Lope de Cardona*, and *The Opportunity* (1634), based on Tirso de Molina's *El castigo del penséque*.[13] Loftis proclaimed that 'All four English plays based on the *comedia* follow Prince Charles' journey to Madrid in 1623 to court the sister of Philip IV'.[14] The statement had the appeal of adding to the cultural mystique of the Spanish Match, but, as I have shown, *Love's Cure* does not fall chronologically into that category, and it is, as far as we know, the first English play to have been based on a Spanish *comedia* of the same period.

Part of the disbelief that some scholars demonstrated in accepting *La fuerza* as the

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[10] Martin E. Erickson, 'A Review of Scholarship Dealing with the Problem of a Spanish Source for *Love's Cure*', in *Studies in Comparative Literature,* ed. by Waldo F. McNeir (1962), pp. 102-19 (p. 102).
[11] John Loftis, 'English Renaissance Plays from the Spanish Comedia', *English Literary Renaissance,* 14 (1984), p. 243.
[12] Ibid., p. 244.
[13] The first was identified by Emil Koeppel, *Quellen-studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's* (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1897), p. 100; the other two were discovered and analysed by A. L. Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts', *Romanische Forschungen,* 5 (1890). (Note that the title is the same as his 1897 article, but it is a separate piece in a different journal.)
[14] Loftis, 'English Renaissance Plays from the Spanish Comedia', p. 139.

main source is grounded on two facts: they knew too little Spanish to ascertain the remarkable verbal and narrative parallels, and they assumed Fletcher knew no Spanish at all, or not enough to come to terms with an untranslated text. This matter has been contentious. If Ward in 1899 claimed that Beaumont and Fletcher's 'acquaintance with the Spanish language, and later Spanish literature is removed beyond all doubt',[15] the celebrated American Cervantian scholar Rudolph Schevill dismissed that theory, and claimed that 'an examination of the facts makes it appear extremely credible that [Beaumont and Fletcher's] acquaintance with the literature of the Peninsula was attained entirely from translations'.[16] In 1910, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly categorically stated that, to his knowledge, the 'balance of probabilities is against the view that Fletcher knew Spanish'.[17] However, the controversy, as Edward M. Wilson demonstrated, is entirely unjustified: '[Fletcher's] knowledge of Spanish was obviously not profound and sometimes he used translations to save himself trouble, but there is no justification for assuming that he always used a translation whenever he wanted to adapt a Spanish novel.'[18] This was the case of *The Island Princess*, whose source, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, Fletcher accessed first in a partial French adaptation,[19] and then in the original Spanish, as there are passages that he used which were not present in the translated excerpts.[20] The same goes for any other kind of text,

[15] Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, p. 753.
[16] R. Schevill, 'On the Influence of Spanish Literature upon English in the Early 17th Century', *Romanische Forschungen*, 20 (1907), p. 616.
[17] James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1910), p. 23.
[18] Edward M. Wilson, 'Did John Fletcher Read Spanish?', *Philological Quarterly*, 27 (1948), p. 190.
[19] In Sieur de Bellan's *Histoire mémorable de Dias espagnol et de Quixaire Princesse des Moluques* (1621).
[20] See John Fletcher, *The Island Princess* (London: Methuen, 2013), pp. 49-57; and Trudi L. Darby and Alexander Samson, 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage', in *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain*, ed. by J. A. G. Ardila (London: MHRA, 2009), pp. 206-21 (p. 210). Stiefel had already traced the Spanish direct influence in 'Über die Quelle von J. Fletchers *Island Princess*', *Archiv für das*

including a play.

There is, therefore, every reason to believe that Fletcher was able to read Spanish. He had been educated in Latin, and he could write fluently in that language.[21] There is evidence that he also read French with some fluency. And if he knew those two languages, it is almost certain that he could read Spanish well enough to gather the main details of the plot of a play or novel. He may perhaps have missed precise cultural references and linguistic nuances, but he would have understood the text sufficiently to borrow from it. In fact, as I will show with *Love's Cure*, his use of some untranslated Spanish sources was remarkably sophisticated and suggests a higher level of proficiency in Spanish than has been traditionally acknowledged.[22]

By contrast, there has been scholarly consensus around Massinger's ability to read Spanish. Maurice Chelli declared that '[Massinger] must have studied modern languages. He could read French and Spanish; the examination of his sources has convinced us of that fact.'[23] Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, Massinger's Oxford editors, quote Chelli approvingly.[24] Massinger had received a similar kind of education as Fletcher, and would have had a similar linguistic awareness of foreign, especially Romance, languages.

Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 103 (1899).

[21] For example, the short Latin prefatory poem he contributed to Mabbe's translation of *Guzmán de Alfarache*; see Mateo Alemán, *The rogue, or, The life of Guzman de Alfarache* (London: Printed for Edward Blount, 1622), sig. A3^{v}.

[22] The unwillingness of some Anglo-American scholars in the past to believe in Fletcher's linguistic abilities says more about them than about him. In a world where, rather than the global language that it is today, English was only spoken in a small, peripheral nation of north-western Europe, Fletcher would have been aware of the importance of knowing Latin and continental Romance languages to engage in the wider cultural discourse of the Renaissance.

[23] Chelli, 'Le drame de Massinger', pp. 42-43; my translation.

[24] Philip Massinger, *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), vol. II, p. 2, n. 3.

2. Guillén de Castro y Bellvís and *La fuerza de la costumbre*: life, text, performance

The author of *La fuerza de la costumbre* was born in Valencia in 1569 to a family whose paternal side claimed to trace their ancestry to Rodrígo Díaz de Vivar, the medieval hero generally known by the alias given to him by his Moorish enemies: the *Cid*. This would explain the dramatist's interest in the theme of his most enduring plays, the two parts of *Las mocedades del Cid* (*The Youthful Deeds of the Cid*). His mother was descended from a King of Aragon, John I. His native city was a major cultural and theatrical hub, and he very probably met Lope de Vega there.[25] He was a member of the short-lived, but much praised *Academia de los Nocturnos*, a School of Night of sorts where local wits assembled, on Wednesday evenings, to share their literary work. He was awarded several prizes at poetic contests, but not all his efforts were devoted to writing: in 1593, as a member of the mounted coast guards, he defended the city from raiding Northern-African pirates. After his first brief marriage to Doña Marquesa Girón de Rebolledo, who died around 1600, he travelled to Italy, where he was appointed Governor of Scigliano. Upon his return to Spain in 1609, he was sent to North Africa to escort the Moriscos of Valencia.[26] Probably due to poor health he was replaced as Governor of Scigliano, but he returned to Italy around 1613 and remained there until the summer of 1616, when he went home to Valencia. He then founded the *Academia de los montañeses del Parnaso* (*Academy of the Dwellers of Mount Parnassus*), which survived for a few months before Castro left his native city for the court. He moved to Madrid around 1618,[27] and received the patronage of the son of the powerful Duke of Osuna. He was invited to join the same

[25] After his banishment from court due to his fighting in a duel, Lope resided in Valencia in 1595-97, and then returned to the city in 1599.
[26] These were the Moors who had converted to the Christian faith, but who were permanently suspected of religious hypocrisy, and had been banished from the territories under the Spanish crown by royal decree; see *Love's Cure* 2.1.147 n.
[27] He was residing in the city by 8 January 1619; Guillén de Castro, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Fundación J.A.Castro-Akal, 1997), vol. I, p. XIV.

literary society as his most celebrated contemporaries: not only Lope de Vega, but also Tirso de Molina, Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis de Góngora, Francisco de Quevedo, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca. He even took part in a literary contest in which Lope was awarded the first prize and Castro the second. The first plays he had published were *El amor constante* (*Constant Love*) and *El caballero bobo* (*The Foolish Young Gentleman*), included in an anthology of Valencian plays by various authors in 1608. The *Primera parte de las comedias de don Guillem de Castro* was published in Valencia by Felipe Mey in 1618,[28] and the *Segunda parte* in 1625, when the dramatist had briefly returned to Valencia. He remarried in 1626 and spent his final years in Madrid, where he died in 1631.[29]


DE LAS COMEDIAS
DE DON GVILLEM
DE CASTRO.
DIRIGIDAS A DONA ANA
Maria Figuerola y de Caſtro.
El titulo de las Comedias ſe vera en la ſegunda hoja.
Año 1625.
CON LICENCIA,
En Valencia, Por Miguel Sorolla, junto a la Vniuerſidad.
Vendenſe en la miſma Emprenta.

Fig. 2. Front page of *Segunda parte de las comedias de don Guillem de Castro* (Valencia, Miguel Sorolla, 1625)

[28] *Guillem* is the name in Valencian that his contemporaries would have used; *Guillén* is a later, and inaccurate, Castilian adaptation that scholarship has never corrected (the correct form would have been *Guillermo*). Ibid., p. IX. Note that the title *don* is not capitalised in Spanish, while the correct anglicisation is *Don*.

[29] As no full-scale biography of Castro has ever been written, this biographical sketch is largely based on Edward M. Wilson, *Guillén de Castro* (New York: Twayne, 1973), pp. 13-15, and Castro, *Obras completas*, vol. I, pp. IX-XVIII.

The date of composition of *La fuerza*, and of most of Castro's plays, is not known with precision. It was first printed as one of the twelve plays in the *Segunda parte de las comedias de don Guillem de Castro* (Valencia: Miguel Sorolla, 1625). The play is the ninth in the book, a large quarto of 562 pages (281 leaves), and occupies signatures $2C1^{r}$ to $2E6^{v}$. As the preliminaries state, it was ecclesiastically approved for publication by Fray Lamberto Novella on 20 December 1624, NS, and licensed to be printed by Martín de Funes, Vicar General of the diocese of Valencia, on 7 February 1625, NS. We do not know when the volume might have been publicly available, but it must have taken at least a month or two after the licence was issued.[30] It was prefaced by a note from the author, *Al Letor* ('To the Reader'), where he stated that the previous collection of twelve plays published in the *Primera parte* had been printed without his consent, and during his absence from the city.[31] He claimed that, given those circumstances, they were full of errors and, unlike the *Segunda parte*, they were also old pieces:

> la que menos años tiene, tendra de quinze arriba, que fue quando la poesia comica, aunque menos murmurada, no estava tan en su punto.
>
> 'the least old in years must be fifteen and upward, because it was then that the dramatic poetry, even if less mumbled, was not yet in its prime.'[32]

The twelve in the *Primera parte*, including the Cervantian adaptations *Don Quijote de la Mancha* and *El curioso impertinente* (*Dangerous Curiosity*),[33] would have been written, therefore, before 1610. But, as Eduardo Juliá Martínez established, the dramatist's

[30] For example, the First Part of *Don Quixote* was licensed for the Kingdom of Castile on 26 September 1604, and the printing was not completed until the last weeks of December, already bearing the date of 1605 on the front page; see *Don Quijote*, vol. I, p. 6, and Francisco Rico, *Tiempos del "Quijote"* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2012), p. 61.
[31] As stated above, 1618 was the approximate year when Castro and his family relocated to the court in Madrid; see Wilson, *Guillén de Castro*, pp. 14-15.
[32] The implication is that the revolution in the craft of composing plays initiated by Lope de Vega with his *Arte nuevo* in 1609 was not fully under way when the plays were originally written.
[33] Gemma Domingo Carvajal, 'Tipología de los personajes en la dramaturgia de Guillén de Castro y Bellvís (1569-1631)', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad de Barcelona, 2006), p. 853; all English titles are from Wilson, *Guillén de Castro*, pp. 17-19.

complaint that they were not properly authorised by him cannot be true, because 'he negotiated as much as he could' the manner in which the 1618 book was printed.[34] As he concludes, 'consequently, the other statements [in the prologue] must be considered with some reserve'.[35] This means that Castro's claims about the dating of the plays in the first collection may not be entirely accurate.

However, the only available study of the chronology of these plays, published in 1944 by the American Hispanist Courtney Bruerton and unchallenged since then, largely validates that information using an independent method based on a thorough study of the patterns of versification throughout Castro's works.[36] If we accept that the method is broadly valid for the plays in the *Primera parte*, as supported by their author's claim in his prologue, we can also assume that its results are also more or less reliable for those in the *Segunda parte*. Analysing the percentages of *redondillas*, *quintillas*, *décimas*, lines in *romance*, *octavas*, and *canciones*,[37] with respect to those employed in the other plays, Bruerton concluded that *La fuerza* is probably the earliest *comedia* of the *Segunda parte*, dating from '1610?-20 (probably 1610?-15?)'.[38] This means that the play was probably

[34] Guillén de Castro, *Obras de don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1925), I, p. XXXII; my translation. In brief, he imposed that each play would be paginated individually to allow them to be sold separately in case the whole book was not successful; he took with him a portion of the copies printed in Valencia to Madrid, and had a new front page, dedication, and prefatory material printed to sell it as a new edition in 1621, which is why some bibliographers recorded this as a (false) second printing.

[35] Ibid., p. XXXII; my translation.

[36] This method is akin, in some respects, to that applied by R. Boyle to the Fletcher canon, though, given the variety and richness of rhymed stanzas in Spanish *comedias*, in contrast with the relatively limited poetic modes of English Renaissance plays, it seems likely that Bruerton's procedures are statistically more accurate.

[37] All of them are kinds of Castilian stanzas appropriate for different dramatic situations; see Susana Cantero, *Dramaturgia y práctica escénica del verso clásico español* (Madrid: Fundamentos, 2006).

[38] Courtney Bruerton, 'The Chronology of the *comedias* of Guillén de Castro', *Hispanic Review*, 12 (1944), p. 123. Most of the other plays in the volume seem to have been written around 1615, while three of them—*El mejor esposo* (*The Greatest Spouse*; 1617-1624), *El pretender con pobreza* (*The Impoverished Seeker of Royal Favour*; 1620-24,

performed for the first time in the very early 1610s when its author still resided in his native city of Valencia. It would have premiered, therefore, at the first Casa de Comedias de la Olivera, built in 1584 and completely refurbished in 1618.[39]

It has only been printed twice after that date:[40] first in volume XLII of *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega*, edited by Ramón de Mesonero Romanos in 1857-58,[41] and then as part of the complete works edited for the Real Academia Española by the philologist Eduardo Juliá Martínez in 1925-27.[42]

However, these three printings are not the only available texts. An unusually high number of manuscript versions has survived from the seventeenth century, probably revealing that the play was quite popular with its original audiences.[43] But in spite of its first reception, there are no records of any production of the play given in Spain since 1625, and it has only been revived twice elsewhere, both times in the United States in 2013.[44]

The fact that this play has not received more revivals is not entirely unusual:

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probably 1623?-24) and *Cuánto se estima el honor* (*How Much One Esteem's One's Honour*; 1615-24, probably 1620-24)—may have been composed shortly before the publication of the book.

[39] Henri Mérimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia (1580-1630)* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1913), p. 27; Luis Lamarca y Morata, *El teatro de Valencia desde su origen hasta nuestros días* (Valencia: J. Ferrer de Orga, 1840), p. 19.

[40] See Bibliografía in Domingo Carvajal, 'Tipología de los personajes en la dramaturgia de Guillén de Castro y Bellvís (1569-1631)'.

[41] *Dramáticos contemporáneos a Lope de Vega: Colección escogida y ordenada, con un discurso, apuntes biográficos y críticos de los autores, noticias bibliográficas y catálogos I* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1857-58).

[42] Guillén de Castro, *Obras de don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1927), III.

[43] See section II.4.

[44] The first one was performed as *The Force of Habit* at the Magnuson Theatre of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, in an English-language version written and directed by Dr Kathleen Jeffs, in February-March 2013. The second was directed by Freddy Mancilla in its original language for Repertorio Español at their theatre in New York City in August-September 2013; the company made some rehearsal and performance videos available on YouTube:
<http://www.youtube.com/channel/UCM68brTpbnV4rHYUCcYNB0w>

Guillén de Castro's canonical status as a dramatic author is almost solely based on the critical reputation of the two parts of *Las mocedades del Cid*, which enjoyed widespread and almost immediate popularity across Europe. But even these pieces have not had a long performance history.[45] Apart from a staging in 1994 of *Los malcasados de Valencia* (*The Ill-Mated Couples of Valencia*) by the Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico and a 2007 student production of *El curioso impertinente*,[46] none of the other plays by Castro seem to have ever been revived.

The critical reception of Castro's works has been, again, mainly focused on his historical double bill about the *Cid*. *La fuerza* received virtually no scholarly attention until Juliá Martínez produced his edition and added a short section on its textual history in the introduction to the third volume of the series. Out of the only two full-length studies of Castro's dramatic corpus, William E. Wilson's only cites the name of the play, while Luciano García Lorenzo's does not even mention it.[47] In 1974, Melveena McKendrick started to investigate *La fuerza* due to its remarkable study of gender as a social construct, while Jonathan Thacker dedicated a large section of his D.Phil. thesis to an analysis of the play, later incorporated to his monograph *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia*.[48] The latest full-length study and critical edition of *La fuerza* is Melissa

[45] As Stefano Arata has written, 'Contrary to what could be expected, only very few times the play by Castro has actually excited the interest of theatrical directors'; Guillén de Castro, *Las mocedades del Cid* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1996), p. LXXV; my translation. Only five productions are known, four at the Teatro Español in Madrid (1922, 1941, 1968, 1990, revived in 1997) and one in the Teatro de Cámara in Barcelona in 1954.

[46] Produced at the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, in 2007. Association for Hispanic Classical Theater, <http://www.wordpress.comedias.org>

[47] See Wilson, *Guillén de Castro*, p. 13; and Luciano García Lorenzo, *El teatro de Guillén de Castro* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1976).

[48] See Melveena McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 98-102; Jonathan Thacker, *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), pp. 19-34.

Machit's 2013 doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, which remains unpublished.[49]

3. *Love's Cure* as adaptation: thematic and textual echoes from *La fuerza de la costumbre*.

The presence of the figure of the *mujer varonil* ('manly woman') in *La fuerza* is not a novelty. Even to give a brief account of the better-known *comedias* which dealt with that theme would take up a whole monograph. Breeches roles written for actresses in Spanish Golden Age drama are abundant and varied, as Melveena McKendrick and Carmen Bravo-Villasante have studied in depth.[50] Bravo-Villasante, in particular, traced the literary ancestry of the *mujer varonil* from such various sources as the Amazons of classical antiquity, Plautus' *Maenechmi*, the narrative traditions of the East, and the medieval chivalric romance. These would have exercised their influence on Spanish drama through Boccaccio, Boiardo (*Orlando innamorato*, 1487), Ariosto (*Orlando furioso*, 1516), Tasso (*Gerusalemme liberata*, 1575), Bibbiena (*Calandra*, 1513), and Bandello (*novella* XXXVI).[51] She defines no less than 13 types of female cross-dressers found in Spanish drama: (1) the enamoured, (2) the manly warriors, (3) the family avengers, (4) those who wish to reign, (5) those who seek God, (6) the students, (7) those fleeing from danger, (8) those who perform in plays, (9) those who defend their homeland, (10) the servants accompanying a lady, (11) those who were cross-dressed since childhood, (12) those who help family members, and (13) those who have economic

[49] Melissa Renee Machit, 'Bad Habits: Family, Identity, and Gender: Guillén de Castro's 1625 play, "La fuerza de la costumbre"' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2013). A revised version is currently under contract to be published as a bilingual text with Kathleen Jeff's translation on facing pages.
[50] McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age*; Carmen Bravo-Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español: siglos XVI-XVII* (Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería, 1976).
[51] Bravo-Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español: siglos XVI-XVII*, pp. 183-85.

difficulties.[52] Bravo-Villasante provided an extensive list of *mujeres varoniles* in her appendices, though she acknowledged its incompleteness, and it does not include Doña Hipólita, the female cross-dresser of *La fuerza*, who would be simultaneously in the 2nd and 11th categories, and who takes her name from the Queen of the Amazons herself.

By contrast, the figure of the *hombre femenil* ('feminine man') appeared infrequently, and has been less well studied. Ramón Martínez distinguishes three categories of characters who do not conform to traditional gender patterns and/or heterosexual orientation. In the language of the period, these were the hermaphrodites, the effeminates and transvestites, and the sodomites. The first category encompasses men (and women) whose gender was not properly defined by male-female distinctions, but lay somewhere in between. The second category would include the *lindos* (literally, 'the pretty ones'), young men who were transforming the traditional 'warlike virility into a new form of courtly masculinity',[53] characterised by softer manners and the use of fashionable clothing, as well as men who cross-dressed as women for various reasons. The third would include any men who would engage in active homosexual behaviour. Most stage characters from any of these categories featured particularly in the shorter dramatic genres such as the *entremés*, a kind of short farcical play performed in the intervals between the three acts of a *comedia*.[54] For example, the comedian Cosme Pérez wrote and performed a series of *entremeses* in which he performed the role of Juan Rana, who was frequently cross-dressed.[55] In full-length plays the theme was less frequent,

[52] Ibid., pp. 169-70.
[53] Ramón Martínez, 'Mari(c)ones, travestis y embrujados: La heterodoxia del varón como recurso cómico en el Teatro Breve del Barroco', *Anagnórisis: Revista de investigación teatral* (2011), p. 13; my translation.
[54] Ibid. For a full definition of *entremés* and other short dramatic forms, see Jonathan Thacker, *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007), p. 14.
[55] See Frédéric Serralta, 'Juan Rana homosexual', *Criticón*, 50 (1990), 82; and Peter E. Thompson, *The Triumphant Juan Rana: A Gay Actor of the Spanish Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

though there are *hombres femeniles*, for example, in *Los empeños de una casa* (*House of Desires*) by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz,[56] where the *gracioso* Castaño disguises himself as Leonor.[57] Also, and more importantly, *El Aquiles* (*Achilles*) by Tirso de Molina is 'undoubtedly the *comedia* in which the theme of the cross-dressed man was treated with greater depth',[58] presenting the heroic protagonist cross-dressed as a woman.[59]

Castro's innovation, however, is to chart 'the feminization of a *mujer varonil*, and the simultaneous masculinization of her effeminate brother, a less common *hombre femenil*'.[60] There are few Spanish plays of the period that featured cases of double cross-dressing: for example, Lope's *El acero de Madrid* (*The Steel of Madrid*) includes a scene towards the end in which the *gracioso*, Beltrán, wears a feminine *manto* ('shawl') while the lady Belisa appears wearing '*capa, espada, sombrero, y vaquero*' ('cloak, rapier, hat, and tunic').[61] But even that case is a mere device to aid in the resolution of the play, while in *La fuerza* it is the central theme that drives the whole plot.

As we will see, the theme of cross-dressing was eminently Fletcherian in English drama of the Jacobean period, and it is not strange, therefore, that Castro's play attracted

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[56] This was Catherine Boyle's translated title for the 2004 Royal Shakespeare Company production, directed by Nancy Meckler.

[57] The *gracioso* was the main comic role, normally a servant; it was one of the stereotypical and recurrent figures in *comedias* of the period, alongside the *galán* ('gallant', young male lead), the various ladies (numbered by order of importance), the *barba* (the 'beard', older male authority figure), and the *vejete* ('old man'). For the composition and functioning of Spanish companies, see José María Díez Borque, *Sociedad y teatro en la España de Lope de Vega* (Barcelona: Bosch, 1978), p. 32.

[58] Martínez, 'Mari(c)ones, travestis y embrujados: La heterodoxia del varón como recurso cómico en el Teatro Breve del Barroco', p. 15; my translation.

[59] There is a brief list of *comedias* with male cross-dressers in Bravo-Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español: siglos XVI-XVII*, p. 76.

[60] Thacker, *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia*, p. 23.

[61] The *sayo vaquero* was a kind of decorated woollen tunic worn by gentlemen of high social status; *El acero de Madrid* in Félix Lope de Vega, *Onzena parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Madrid: Alonso Martin de Balboa for Alonso Perez, 1618), sig. G1^{v}.

his attention.[62] In the rest of this section I will be tracing the particular thematic, structural, and verbal parallels in both plays. They demonstrate beyond doubt that Fletcher and Massinger did have a copy of Castro's play at hand when they composed their version. I shall be showing the unequivocal similarities between both plays by giving a detailed account of the action of the Spanish version, pointing out the parallel passages and the textual echoes that can be identified in *Love's Cure*. In this respect, I have followed the methodology employed by Stiefel and by Bond in their studies of the play, as both included a more or less detailed summary of the Spanish original.[63] All quotations are taken from the modern-spelling edition by Eduardo Juliá Martínez;[64] all English translations are mine, and are as literal as possible.

[62] For a comparison between the two theatrical traditions with respect to this theme, see Ursula K. Heise, 'Transvestism and the Stage Controversy in Spain and England, 1580-1680', *Theatre Journal*, 44 (1992),

[63] Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts' (1897); and Bond, 'On Six Plays'.

[64] As there are no line numbers, I will indicate the page number and the column (a or b) in which the passage appears.

Preliminary considerations about the characters.

Stiefel already issued a table of correspondences between the characters in the two plays, though one identification is incomplete: he stated that Sayavedra was adapted from the character of Marcelo, who seeks Hipólita's love in *La fuerza*. But Marcelo is also Don Luis's friend and Otavio's associate, which coincides with the description of Anastro in *Love's Cure*. Otherwise, his observations are still valid.[65] The table of correspondences, once corrected, is as follows:

La fuerza de la costumbre	***Love's Cure***
Don Luis	Don Pedro de Vitelli
Doña Leonor	Genevora
Otavio	Lamoral
Marcelo	Anastro / Sayavedra
Don Pedro de Moncada	Don Fernando de Álvarez
Doña Costanza de Urrea y Bolea	Eugenia
Doña Hipólita	Clara
Don Félix	Lucio
Ayo de Don Félix (Don Félix's Tutor) / Galván	Bobadilla
Alguacil	Alguazir
Maestro de armas (Master at Arms)	Piorato

[65] Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts' (1897), p. 288.

The Asistente, Malroda, Lazarillo, and the four craftsmen/watchmen, as well as the Herald and Stephano (non-speaking servant in 1.2), do not derive from *La fuerza*. As I will show, Lazarillo, rather than a Beaumontian figure, is a faithful stage version of the protagonist of *Lazarillo de Tormes*.[66] Malroda is a characteristically Fletcherian creation: a strong-willed woman who refuses to remain silent in front of men who try to control her, and who will have her way by any means she can. Sayavedra substituted Marcelo as the martial maid's suitor, presumably a much older man whom her father would approve of. The Alguazir, a mere anecdotal presence in *La fuerza*, is recreated in *Love's Cure* in the tradition of the comic constable represented by Blurt and by Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and seems to have been largely based on the anti-hero of the picaresque novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*.[67] Two characters in *La fuerza* do not have a corresponding figure in the English version: Inés (Leonor's maid) and the Captain of the *tercio* who follows Félix on Don Pedro's command and reports his off-stage duel with Otavio in act III.

One of the things that may have led some commentators to disbelieve that *La fuerza* is the main narrative source of the play is the fact that, with the exception of the name 'Don Pedro' applied to two non-corresponding characters (Vitelli and his late uncle), no names from Castro were reused in the English version. However, a passage from act I of *La fuerza* could have provided a starting point to name the two siblings, Lucio and Clara:

De las esperadas horas,	From the long-awaited hours
desta voluntad pagada,	From my own satisfied will,
destos logrados deseos,	From those accomplished desires,
destas tinieblas amadas,	From that beloved darkness,

[66] See section III.2.
[67] See section III.2 as well.

una niña salió a luz,	A girl came out to light,
mas no para todos clara. (40b)	Though not for everyone clear.

The occurrence of *luz* and *clara* at the end of two consecutive lines so close to the beginning of the play may have given Fletcher and Massinger an idea for the new names of the transvestite siblings. Their names are semantically close, and can both be translated as 'luminous', perhaps hinting at the conflict they share with respect to their gender identities. Of course, the name of *Clara* must have been suggested as well by the name of the Infanta who is referred to in 1.1, and who also provided the name for her mother: Isabella Clara Eugenia.[68]

[68] See section IV.2.

Act I

Don Félix, a young man dressed in a long black academic gown, is surprised to see that his mother, Doña Costanza, has changed her usual dark clothes and her rosary for rich garments and jewellery. She has also commissioned their house to be embellished. Don Félix enquires:

Ayer desnudas paredes,	Yesterday bare walls,
de tristeza apenas blancas,	Scarcely white out of sadness,
y hoy de brocados y sedas	And today with brocades and silks
tan compuestas y entoldadas.	So decorated and canopied.
(39a)	

The passage corresponds to *Love's Cure*, 1.2.91-94, as Stiefel already identified,[69] in which Eugenia instructs her servants:

> Haste, and take down those blacks with which my chamber
> Hath like the widow, her sad mistress, mourned,
> And hang up for it the rich Persian arras
> Used on my wedding night.

Answering her son's questions, Doña Costanza explains the background story of the play at length (which corresponds to Lamoral's long exposition in 1.1, although the contents and motivations are different). Doña Costanza's parents, Don Juan de Urrea and Doña Inés de Bolea (39b), were descended from noble families of the city of Zaragoza, where the action of the play occurs. Doña Inés died three years after the marriage, and left her husband to bring up Costanza and her brother alone. She grew up to become a beautiful young woman, while he became a brave young gentleman (40a). It happened one day that

[69] Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts' (1897), p. 292.

a gentleman from the house of Moncada, Don Pedro, a soldier on his way by post horse from Valencia to Italy, was hearing mass at the cathedral, where he met Costanza and fell in love with her at first sight. Don Juan, who had discovered the young man's intentions, confined his daughter to her bedchamber. Costanza, however, prepared a rope ladder for Don Pedro to climb up through her window and spend many nights with her. The fruit of those nights of love was the birth of a girl, Hipólita. Six months later, Costanza's brother happened to walk by the house when Don Pedro was climbing up the ladder. He immediately attacked him and they fought in the street, until Don Pedro managed to run his opponent through with his sword. The alarm was sounded in the house and Don Pedro was forced to flee, leaving Costanza's brother dead. In the middle of the confusion, Costanza forgot to roll up the ladder, and so her father discovered the stratagem. Some servants managed to get Costanza out of the house and take her to a relative's. Don Pedro departed from Zaragoza towards Flanders, taking their daughter with him. However, he left behind another token of his love:

dijéronme que llevaba	They told me he carried with him
la casi recién nacida,	The almost newborn,
pedazo de mis entrañas.	A piece of my womb.
Otra prenda dejó en ellas,	Another token he left in it,
y eres tú, que de mis ansias	And it's you, who were for my [yearnings
fuiste consuelo en naciendo,	The comfort when you were born,
aunque te callé la causa.	Even if I concealed the cause from you.
(40a-b)	

This information coincides with the situation in *Love's Cure,* in which Álvarez took their daughter when he fled from Seville (1.3.57-58) and left his wife pregnant:

I have preserved

The jewel left locked up within my womb

When you, in being forced to leave your country

Suffered a civil death.

The references to the unborn Félix and Lucio as a token or pledge left behind by their fathers reappear in both plays later in the respective scenes (see below). But, while Eugenia thought that her husband had been killed, and has made Lucio believe he is a posthumous son (calling him 'Posthumia'), Costanza has merely concealed from hers the existence of a father (and has usually called him Feliciano, which she has now changed to Don Félix; 39b). In both cases, however, the events were exactly the same: the father committed a murder and had to leave the city for the wars in Flanders, he took the baby girl with him, and left his wife behind pregnant with a boy. In both cases the boy has been brought up at home protected by the mother, while the girl has grown up among soldiers. Don Pedro has commanded a *tercio* of infantry,[70] while Álvarez is also reported to have commanded troops in Flanders (2.2.113-15).

For twenty years, Don Pedro has served the King in the wars in the Netherlands, while Costanza's father, Don Juan,

con malicia dilatada,	With long-held malice,
ni bajó la querella	Neither reduced his hostility,
ni depuso la venganza;	Nor abandoned his revenge;
pero murió habrá seis meses.	But he died six months ago.

(41b)

The revenge plot, so prominent in *Love's Cure*, is here linked to a past that cannot interfere with the present any more. If Vitelli's uncle was the enemy killed by the father

[70] The *tercio* (literally, a 'third') was the typical Spanish military unit, composed of pikemen, swordsmen, and musketeers or harquebusiers.

figure, Álvarez, and the revenge is perpetuated in the next generation, the revenge plot in *La fuerza* dies with Don Juan. The comedy can now flow free from the long shadow of the past, as there is no one left to avenge the death of Costanza's brother. Don Pedro de Moncada is thus enabled to return to his homeland and his family by the death of a stubborn father-in-law. Unlike the more logical legal implications discussed in *Love's Cure*, there are no consequences to Don Pedro's return to Spain, and no royal pardon is needed. Costanza reports that she has advised her husband to return to Zaragoza to enjoy the estate that she has inherited from Don Juan, and she is awaiting his immediate arrival.

This initial scene (39a-41b) corresponds to 1.2.49-110, and it continues with the reunion of the four members of the family, which is allowed to occur without external interruptions. Don Pedro appears accompanied by his daughter, Hipólita, who is wearing manly apparel, and by Félix's old Tutor. The couple embrace, as in *Love's Cure* 1.3.45-47:

> O my Eugenia,
> Th' assurance that I do embrace thee makes
> My twenty years of sorrow but a dream.

The number of years elapsed also coincides in both plays. The span of twenty years is also mentioned by Clara in 1.3.133 and in 5.3.85, and is confirmed by Lucio's age according to Bobadilla (1.2.22). Lamoral, however, had reported in 1.1.34 that it had only been sixteen years.[71]

Don Pedro now turns to introduce his daughter to her mother, with these words:

pero bien será que agora	But now you will do well
miréis con serenos ojos	To look with serene eyes

[71] This might be due to an authorial error, it might be a trace of the hand of a different author, or it could be an actual mistake made by the character within the fiction of the play, perhaps prompting the audience to question the reliability of his tale.

este gallardo mancebo	At this gallant young man
y abrazalde como a mí.	And embrace him as you did with me.

(42a)

Costanza immediately deduces that it must be her lost daughter. In *Love's Cure* 1.3.156-59, Álvarez explains Clara's identity in similar terms:

> And to increase thy comfort, know this young man
> Whom with such fervent earnestness you eye
> Is not what he appears, but such a one
> As thou with joy wilt bless: thy daughter Clara.

Costanza asks her daughter why she is wearing masculine clothes, and Don Pedro quickly replies:

Desde que el pecho dejó,	Since she was weaned,
si no el ser, le mudé el nombre	If not her being, I changed her name,
y con pensamientos de hombre	And with manly thoughts
el hábito se vistió. […]	That habit she put on. […]
Crióse en la guerra y vió	She was raised in the war and saw
	[soldiers]
vencer, herir y matar,	Conquer, wound, and kill,
y agora puede enseñar	And now she can teach
lo que entonces aprendió.	What back then she learned.
Asiéntale un coselete	A cuirass sits on her so well
como si el Cid se le armara;	As if the *Cid* had fitted it for her;
juega una pica y dispara	She manages a pike and shoots
un arcabuz y un mosquete. […]	A harquebus and a musket. […]
y cáusale pesadumbre	And it only causes her grief
verse en efeto mujer.	To know that she is a woman.

Milagros que suele hacer	Miracles that are usually done
la fuerza de la costumbre.	By the force of custom.
COST. Mil años la guarde Dios.	COSTANZA A thousand years may [God keep her.

(42a-b)

Doña Costanza's blessing inspired Eugenia's in 1.3.160: 'A thousand blessings in that word.' Don Pedro has changed his daughter's name, presumably for a masculine one that he does not reveal; Álvarez did exactly the same, and chose the name of Lucio, which is obviously his own son's name back in Seville. The tale of the martial maid's deeds of arms is here a brief description of what skills she has acquired, but there are no specific military actions narrated. By contrast, Clara's deeds at the siege of Ostend, reported *in extenso* by Lamoral in 1.1, are the actual starting point of the English version, as they prompt Álvarez's pardon (and, literally, provide the first line of the play). Hipólita's dissatisfaction with her physiological sex is replicated in Clara, who will assume her new gender identity because her father wishes her to do so:

I must and will put on
What fashion you think best, though I could wish
I were what I appear.
(1.3.36-38)

In a similar way, Hipólita also protests to her father the change that she must accept:

[PEDRO] Quedaré con la esperanza	[PEDRO] I will remain in the hope
de trocar con el vestido	That by changing her apparel
las costumbres que ha tenido.	Her wonted customs will change.
HIPÓL. Reniego de tal mudanza.	HIPÓLITA I abhor such alteration.

(43b)

Clara expresses her discontent with feminine attire in equally strong terms in her rant

against feminine clothing in 2.2.60-63. The attention is now shifted towards Félix by his mother:

Esta prenda quedó en mí	This pledge was left inside me
cuando yo quedé sin vos.	When I was left without you.
(42b)	

This shift is replicated in *Love's Cure*, where Eugenia, immediately after blessing her recovered daughter, presents her son Lucio to his long-lost father, adding that:

This was the pledge
You left here with me, whom I have brought up
Different from what he was, as you did Clara.
(1.3.169-71)

Don Pedro now questions Félix about his clothes:

Hijo, sucesos extraños:	My son, what strange events:
Mas teniendo ya veinte años,	But, being already twenty,
¿hábito largo? Y ¿por qué?	A long habit? And why?
¿Es devoción bien fundada?	Is it well-grounded devotion?
¿Quieres ser de iglesia?	Do you want to be of the church?
(42b)	

If Lucio is wearing a feminine dress in his first appearance in 1.2, Félix wears the long habit of a student. Students at Spanish and Portuguese universities used to wear ecclesiastical robes: a long dark *sotana* or cassock, a *manteo* or dark cloak, and a *bonete* or academic bonnet.



Fig. 3. A student (right) in Coimbra, Portugal (*Civitates orbis terrarum*, by Frans Hogenberg and Georg Braun, 1598)

Don Pedro immediately perceives these robes as unmanly. *La fuerza* does not go as far as cross-dressing Félix, though Castro comes as close as he would on this occasion. As we have seen, presenting a transvestite man on stage was not really a taboo in Golden Age Spanish theatre, though it was rare. The cassock was enough to suggest that he is effeminate, as he will prove at numerous points in the *comedia*. His mother explains that her main reason for keeping him at home had been the comfort that his company afforded in Don Pedro's absence:

nunca su ánimo dispuse	I never suggested to him
a que mudara el vestido,	That he should change his attire,
y el hábito largo ha sido	And the long habit has been
grillos que a los pies le puse,	Shackles that on his heels I placed,
sin que le den pesadumbre	Without causing him grief
el no pasear ni ver;	Not to go out for a walk.
milagros que suele hacer	Miracles that are usually done
la fuerza de la costumbre.	By the force of custom.
(43a)	

Again the word *costumbre* makes its appearance, and not for the last time. As the recurrence of *custom* in *Love's Cure,* it is a constant reminder of the main theme of the play.[72] Don Pedro also issues instructions for the correction of their behaviour:

Y a Hipólita le poned	And make Hipólita wear
largo vestido y tocado,	Long gown and a headdress,
y en aposento y estrado	And in your bed- and sewing-room[73]
para consuelo tened.	Keep her for your comfort.
Yo a don Félix llevaré	I will have Don Félix
de ordinario al lado mío	By my side every day
porque aprenda a tener brío,	So that he may acquire some spirit;
y sí tendrá, yo lo sé,	And he will do it, well I know it,
pues mudará pareceres	Because he will change his attitudes
en ciñéndose la espada;	As soon as he wears a sword;
que la casa de Moncada	Because the House of Moncada
no consiente hombres mujeres.	Does not allow womanly men.
Y ansí podremos hacer,	And so we may then make,
para que el mundo se asombre	For the amazement of the world,
vos una mujer de un hombre,	You a woman out of a man,
yo un hombre de una mujer.	I a man out of a woman.
(43a)	

Beyond the recurrence of the words *costumbre* and *custom*, this is perhaps the clearest verbal echo from the Spanish text in the English play, in which scene 1.3 concludes with

[72] This fact alone would make it more likely that Fletcher and Massinger were working from a written document, rather than a verbal account.

[73] The *estrado*, literally 'raised platform', was a private room for the ladies of a Spanish household to retire and busy themselves in traditional feminine occupations, such as embroidering. It would have a small raised podium in the middle covered with a rug, and cushions. See Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores/Galaxia Gutenberg, 2004), vol. II, pp. 996-97, fig. 17.

Álvarez's declaration that:

> Now our mutual care must be
> Employed to help wronged Nature to recover
> Her right in either of them, lost by custom.
> To you I give my Clara, and receive
> My Lucio to my charge. And we'll contend
> With loving industry who soonest can
> Turn this man woman, or this woman man.
> (1.3.177-83)

This passage also echoes Don Pedro's claim that:

Menester será volvelle	It will be necessary to return to him [i.e. Félix]
su naturaleza misma.	His very nature.
(44b)	

Don Pedro now orders that his son be dressed in a *traje corto*, a close-fitting short doublet and breeches, while Hipólita must wear a long gown and a headdress:

En los hombres cosa es cruel	It is a cruel thing for men
faldas largas de doncella:	To wear the long skirt of a maid:
Id luego, y ponelde a ella	Go, then, and make her put on
las que le quitáis a él.	The one that you take off him.
(43b)	

However, as soon as the young siblings are despatched to get dressed with their mother, Don Pedro questions the old Tutor, who reveals that he was the servant who took Doña Costanza to her aunt's house after the death of her brother. He has witnessed how Félix's incipient masculine instincts were crushed by his mother. If she heard men quarrelling in the street or the noise of a harquebus, she would immediately disguise her son:

Con tocas, ropa y basquiña	With veil, overskirt, and basque
le guardaba todo el cuerpo,	She wrapped all of his body,
todo el rostro le cubría.	All of his face did she cover.
(44b)	

Félix is, thus, never seen on stage wearing feminine clothes, but he is reported to have worn them. Don Pedro is outraged, and expresses his violent determination to correct his son's tendencies:

Pondré fuego en sus acciones:	I will put fire into his actions:
hirviendo la sangre mía	Boiling my blood
en sus venas y en su pecho,	In his veins and in his breast,
será honrado, pues es limpia,	He will turn honest, because it's clean,
o sacarésela toda.	Or I will bleed it out of him.
(44b-45a)	

The brutality of this declaration, and of several others pronounced by Don Pedro throughout the play, is replicated in some of Álvarez's outraged utterances in 2.2.134-36 and 3.4.90-91.

The other members of the family return, first Galván (the *gracioso* and second Bobadilla figure) and immediately Félix dressed in male clothes. Don Pedro issues advice on how to walk and stand: the 1625 stage direction indicates that his way of walking is ridiculous, as Bobadilla comments of Lucio in 2.2.21-22. He also instructs him on how a gentleman should wear a hat; Lucio complains of the tightness of his hat in 2.2.16. Galván makes fun of his stilted appearance (as Bobadilla in 2.2, although the tone is different), causing Félix's annoyance. Hipólita returns with her mother, wearing a dress and walking on a pair of chopines, extremely high platform shoes with cork soles, which she proceeds to throw away:

¿Cómo puede una mujer,	How can a woman,
destos corchos sostenida,	Standing on these pieces of cork,
viéndose toda la vida	Fearing all her life
ir cayendo, no caer?	That she may fall, not fall?
Reniego de los chapines,	I abhor these chopines,
del vestido y del tocado. […]	This gown and this headdress. […]
Ahógame este vestido.	This gown is stifling me.

(45b)

This was refashioned in Clara's protestation against feminine attire in 2.2.61-63:

> A [pox] o' this filthy farthingale; this hip-hap! Brother, why are women's haunches only limited, confined, hooped in, as it were, with these same scurvy farthingales?

Hipólita then bids farewell to her sword in a long speech (40 lines); this sentimental attachment to her weapon is echoed in Clara's words when surrendering hers to Vitelli in 2.2.230-31:

> I have kept it long,
>
> And value it next my virginity.

Don Pedro then transfers the sword to Félix, issuing further advice on the virtues of valour and chivalric honour. The young man complains about his clothes, telling his sister that he is envious of her, since she will spend more time with their mother and

porque te veo andar	Because I see you walk
sin cuello y puños también.	Without a collar and cuffs.
PEDRO. Acostúmbrate a traellos.	PEDRO Get used to wearing them.
FÉLIX. Más gustara de rompellos.	FÉLIX I'd enjoy more tearing them.

(47b)

Costanza tries to teach her daughter how to put on her chopines and walk with them, but

she fails to do so. Félix is the one who finally manages to help her put them on, while their mother explains how she will start her re-education:

COST. Ven; que es bien que se disponga	COSTANZA Come; it's well to make [ready
para visitas mi estrado,	My sewing-room to host visitors,
y pondráste un verdugado.	And you will put on a farthingale.
HIPÓL. Un verdugo se le ponga,	HIPÓLITA Let the hangman wear it,[74]
voto a Cris…	By Chr…
COST. ¡Jesús!, no he visto	COSTANZA Sweet Jesus! I have never [seen
tal cosa; terrible estás.	Such a thing; you're fearful.
(48a)	

This passage also reveals, therefore, the origin of the farthingale that Clara complains of in 2.2,[75] which in F actually receives the relatively infrequent English spelling *vardingale*, reminiscent of the Spanish etymology of the word.

The scene is now disrupted by the clashing of swords off stage, and as the Tutor predicted, Costanza immediately runs to protect her son (in *Love's Cure* it is Lucio who runs to seek his mother's protection in 1.3.86-87), while Hipólita's first instinct is to follow her father outside. Before they exit, however, Galván runs in with the news of a brawl:

¡Aquí, aquí; señor, aquí!	Here, here; my lord, here!
que hasta en tu casa han entrado,	Even in your house have they entered,
y acuchillan, ¡ah, canalla!,	And they're thrusting, O swine,
tus criados; son perdidos:	At your servants; they are lost:

[74] The pun in Spanish—*verdugado* (the etymological origin of farthingale) and *verdugo* (hangman or executioner)—is untranslatable.
[75] See 2.2.61 n.

hay, entre muertos y heridos,	There are, between the dead and [wounded,
más de setecientos.	More than seven hundred.

(48b)

As in *Love's Cure,* it is the comedy servant who runs on stage to alert the lord of the house. Bobadilla's report in 1.3.79-81 is equally exaggerated and it begins with the triple repetition of a word:

> Murder, murder, murder! Your friend, my lord, Don Sayavedra, is set upon in the streets by your enemies, Vitelli and his faction. I am almost killed with looking on them.

Don Pedro, unlike Álvarez, rushes off stage immediately, having given his daughter the order to stay behind. Hipólita, like Clara, grabs a sword (in this case her own sword that Félix is wearing), and runs after her father. She has paused for a second to try to make her brother react and do what she would have done, but to no avail. The stage is momentarily cleared so that the action is supposed to transfer to the street. Don Pedro appears with Don Luis, the young gallant, both with sword in hand in the middle of a fight. Don Luis's sister, Leonor, is also following, and she tries to stop Don Pedro from killing her brother. Then Hipólita comes on, followed by her brother and mother, and she attacks Don Luis. Costanza stops her husband from continuing the fight, which carries on between Hipólita and Luis, while Leonor swoons in Félix's arms. Hipólita compliments Luis on his fighting skills:

Con lo bien que te defiendes,	Seeing how well you defend yourself,
sin ofender, has mostrado	Without attacking, you have shown
que eras animoso y fuerte,	That you were spirited and strong,
y por eso no he querido	And that is why I've not wanted
ni matarte ni ofenderme.	Either to kill you or to take offence.

(49a)

This corresponds to Clara's long aside admiring Vitelli's dexterity with the sword when confronting two opponents (1.3.95-106). Meanwhile, Don Pedro expresses to his wife his pride at Hipólita's courage:

PEDRO. ¿No riñe gallardamente	PEDRO Doesn't she fight gallantly,
Nuestra hija?	Our daughter?
COST. Dios la guarde.	COSTANZA May God keep her.
PEDRO. El mirarla me suspende.	PEDRO Looking at her I'm amazed.

(49a)

Álvarez expresses a similar sentiment at this point, only in an aside (1.3.139-40):

[*aside*] I am pleased

With what I dare not give allowance to.

Two other young men, Otavio and Marcelo, who are friends of Don Luis, appear on stage, and Marcelo stops the fight. Leonor has come round, and Félix and she exchange their first words of mutual admiration. Luis and Leonor are recognised by Costanza, who identifies them as well-known relatives. He is then allowed to explain what has actually happened: he was in a carriage with his sister when they were stopped because the road was blocked by a group of servants with their animals; the driver tried to make them step aside, he was unpleasant, and the servants took it ill; Don Luis tried to reason with them, but had no choice but to draw his sword, without knowing whose servants they were. He assures Doña Costanza and Don Pedro that he would have avoided the fight if he had known whose house they served. They all feel relieved at the happy conclusion of the fight. Don Luis, Marcelo, and Otavio shake hands with Don Pedro, whom they know by reputation as a brave warrior, and Don Pedro introduces them to his daughter. Leonor and Hipólita also shake hands, and Doña Costanza invites everyone in, if anything to allow Leonor to drink a glass of water after her fright. Luis immediately falls in love with

Hipólita:

LUIS. Ardiendo el alma, apetece (*Ap*.)	LUIS (*aside*) My soul is burning, and I [fancy
su honesta desenvoltura.	Her honest gracefulness.
HIPÓL. ¿Qué me buscan, qué me quieren (*Ap*.)	HIPÓLITA (*aside*) What do they seek, [what do they want
ojos que tanto me miran?	Those eyes that so intently look on me?
(50a)	

The reason for the brawl off stage is entirely different in 1.3 of *Love's Cure*, but the faction who rushes in has the same composition: the young gallant followed by two other gentlemen,[76] though adding the gallant's sister. Genevora does not appear until 4.1, and the process by which Lucio falls in love with her is entirely different, as it springs from Álvarez's command that he should take the first woman he sees, and 'use her like a man' (4.3.40). Also unlike *Love's Cure*, and even more meaningfully, the enmity by which the father figure and the young gallant find themselves fighting in the street is here entirely fortuitous, and has no bearing on the rest of the play. But the unresolved revenge of old Don Juan against his son-in-law, and the occurrence of a fight between Don Pedro and Don Luis, might have been a good starting point to incorporate a full-blown revenge plot into *Love's Cure*. All that was needed was to adjust the kinship of the deceased uncle from the transvestite siblings' (Hipólita and Félix's late uncle Don Juan) to the young gallant's (Vitelli's late uncle Don Pedro).

[76] The stage direction in F and all other editions only specify Lamoral's entrance, but Clara refers to two or more opponents ('Leave me to keep these off', line 90) and at the end of 1.1 Vitelli and his two associates leave the stage in pursuit of Álvarez. It seems reasonable to assume that Lamoral and Anastro are both present on stage. See 1.3.89 SD n.

Act II

Marcelo and Otavio are walking in the street, expecting their friend Don Luis to join them to hear mass. When he arrives they start taunting him about Hipólita. The meeting of the three friends vaguely resembles the opening scene of *Love's Cure,* but its contents and purpose are entirely different. Don Pedro, Doña Costanza, Félix, Hipólita, and the old Tutor are reported to be approaching in a carriage, and then they enter the stage. Félix still walks uneasily. Hipólita is still having trouble with her chopines, and her mother chides her for wearing her shawl as if it were a cloak, just covering one shoulder. When the group salutes the three young men, Hipólita makes the gesture of taking off her manly hat, which of course she is not wearing. The family departs, and Otavio and Marcelo comment on the strangeness of the case, to which Don Luis replies:

Todas esas fuerzas tiene	All that force it has
la costumbre dilatada.	That custom which is long-held.
(51b)	

Marcelo adds:

Es un hechizo, un encanto	Custom is a spell, a charm.
la costumbre.	
(51b)	

The insistence on the term is, again, characteristic, and coincides, as we have seen, with its use in *Love's Cure*. Luis leaves, and Otavio and Marcelo confess their love interests: Otavio is in love with Luis's sister, Leonor, while Marcelo is passionate about Hipólita. They both leave, and the scene shifts to Costanza and Hipólita in their private rooms at home, where the mother asks her daughter to sit down to embroider; the scene roughly corresponds to 3.4 in *Love's Cure*. Doña Costanza questions her daughter about her visible admiration for Don Luis, and Hipólita admits she had been impressed by his

bravery and swordsmanship, but not ‘with a woman’s care’ (‘con cuidados de mujer’; 53a). Félix appears with Galván, and tries to help his sister in her work, prompting Galván’s mockery, which resembles that of Bobadilla in 1.2.16-18:

Hazte sastre, por tu vida;	Be a tailor, on your life;
que vales todo dinero	Because you’d be worth much money
para sastre.	If you were a tailor.

(53b)

The Tutor announces the arrival of the Master at Arms, who has come to instruct Félix in fencing. He issues his first instructions:

Aprende con afición,	Learn now with determination,
pon la espada deste modo;	Hold the sword in this way;
sácala briosamente.	Draw it with spirit.
saca el pie…, no tanto…, tente.	Put your foot out… not so much… hold.
Tiende el brazo, no del todo.	Extend the arm, not in full.

(54a)

This passage was recreated as Piorato’s instructions to Lucio in 3.4.80-82:

> Fie, you are the most untoward scholar. Bear
> Your body gracefully. What a posture’s there?
> You lie too open-breasted.

Hipólita takes up the practice sword to show her brother how to fence, when the arrival of Don Pedro interrupts the scene. Galván tells the Master at Arms that he has been lucky, as had she attacked him, he would have been left ‘with no eyes or no nose’ (‘sin ojos o sin narices’; 54a). Don Pedro tells off Hipólita for having taken up the sword, and instructs his son on the principles of swordsmanship. He then commands the Master at Arms to continue the lesson:

Ea, maestro, comenzad;
mas antes saber conviene
qué naturaleza tiene.
Reñid con él, batallad.
Don Félix, dale al maestro
una herida muy bien dada.
[…] Dalde, veré si se enoja.

Well then, Master, commence;
Though before it seems right to know
What natural instincts he has.
Fight with him, engage him in battle.
Don Félix, give the Master
A wound very well aimed.
[*to the Master*] Hit him, we'll see if he
[gets angry.

(54b)

In 3.4 of *Love's Cure*, Álvarez issues similar instructions to Lucio and Piorato:

[*to Lucio*] On, sir; put home, or I shall goad you here
With this old fox of mine, that will bite better.
[…] Straight i'th' hams!
Or shall I give ye new garters?
(69-74)

[*to Piorato*] Take him a good knock; see how that will work. (92)

Hipólita intervenes, grasping her old sword from her brother, and attacking the Master at Arms:

HIPÓL. Vuelve a mi mano la espada, […]
veremos si el maestro
se excusará de estos palos.
MAEST. Detente, señora.

HIPÓLITA Return the sword to my
[hand, […]
We shall see if the Master
Will excuse this beating.
MASTER Hold, madam!

(55a)

The sequence was replicated in *Love's Cure* at the same point in the scene:

CLARA

’Sheart! Ne’er a rogue in Spain shall wrong my brother

Whilst I can hold a sword. [*Attacks Piorato.*]

PIORATO Hold, madam, madam!

(3.4.96-97)

Like Álvarez, Don Pedro is furious at his son, though his rage is expressed in a long speech on the disgrace to the family that Félix is inflicting, enumerating a long list of valorous deeds that the Houses of Moncada and Urrea accomplished in the annals of the Kingdom of Aragon. Doña Costanza tries to help her son, but Don Pedro reacts with anger and blames her for Félix’s lack of courage. He commands that she takes Hipólita away to teach her how to be a coward (55b). Don Pedro is despairing but he decides to try another course:

PEDRO. Con una cosa he pensado [*Ap*.]	PEDRO [*aside*] With a thing I have [devised
que le haré perder el miedo.—	I will make him lose his fear.—
Hijo, ¿siénteste con brío [*Alto*]	[*aloud*] Son, do you feel spirited enough
para sólo acompañarme?	to accompany me alone?

(56a)

Though Don Pedro bids farewell to his wife, the passage was clearly the basis for the mode of elocution—an aside devising the plan to correct the effeminate son’s defect, followed by instructions aloud—of Álvarez’s speech in 3.4.102-4:

[*aside*] Will no cure help? Well, I have one experiment,

And if that fail, I’ll hang him, then here’s an end on’t.

[*aloud to Eugenia*] Come you along with me, [*to Lucio*] and you, sir.

The scene now changes to Otavio and Marcelo listening to Leonor singing at her window.

The song contains several images that may have influenced Piorato's song in 3.2:

Ojos negros, ojos tristes,	Black eyes, sad eyes,
¿por qué lloráis?, ¿qué tenéis?	Why do you cry? What do you have?
Pues que la noche os agrada,	Since the night is pleasant to you,
por algo debe de ser.	Something must be the cause.
Si os alumbra el sol de día,	If during the day the sun shines on you,
y no competís con él,	And you do not compete with him,
¿por qué, adorando las nubes,	Why, when you adore the clouds,
a la noche apetecéis?	Do you become night's darling?
(56b)	

The remaining eight lines develop this imagery, commenting on the ability of those eyes to talk during the day. These metaphors are commonplace enough in Renaissance poetry (from Petrarch to Shakespeare or Lope de Vega), but the concurrence of day, night, the sun's beams, and a pair of beauteous eyes[77] in both Leonor's and Piorato's songs—which are, respectively, the only song in either play—may reveal that the first one was in some way the inspiration for the second.

Marcelo and Otavio are entranced by the voice. Leonor withdraws from the window, and Inés, her maid, dismisses the two gallants, who depart. Don Pedro appears with Galván and another servant, preparing a stratagem to awaken Félix's bravery. They have consorted with a neighbour, a certain Fabio, that Don Pedro is to hide in his house, and come out to confront his son in disguise. Félix appears holding sword and buckler, and complains of how dark it is:

¡Válgame Dios poderoso,	God Almighty assist me,
qué horror ponen las tinieblas! (57b)	What horror this darkness brings!

[77] Black eyes were, of course, proverbially beautiful: see 3.1.16 n.

This sentiment is similar to that expressed by Lucio in scene 4.3, in which his father has planned to make him fight in the street at night to recover his courage:

> 'Tis so dark
>
> I dare not see my way. For heaven's sake, father,
>
> Let us go home.
>
> (21-23)

The plan in *Love's Cure* is, of course, different, as Lucio has been instructed to fight against the first man they might come across for no reason, while Don Pedro has devised a plan to have Félix defend a certain corner of a street, leaving him alone, and then to disguise himself and come back as the attacker. Don Pedro then changes his cloak and puts on a scarf covering his mouth, and returns to draw his sword. Félix screams in fright, and Doña Leonor and Inés return to the window. Don Pedro, in an aside, judges he has done enough, and withdraws as if fleeing from Félix. Leonor and Félix exchange a few words before Don Pedro (as himself), Galván, and the servant return, according to the plan, to praise Félix's bravery. Félix is overjoyed that his lady has seen him fighting.

The stage is cleared, and Otavio and Marcelo enter. Otavio has found out that Félix is now Leonor's gallant, and he is jealous. Marcelo is equally annoyed that Luis is in love with Hipólita. Leonor and Hipólita appear at the window, and the two men try to woo them unsuccessfully. Félix and Luis appear together, as they are coming to woo each other's sister. Luis and Félix confront Marcelo and Otavio. In the middle of their conversation, Hipólita's laced cuff falls down when Leonor tries to loosen the bodice of her dress to make her feel more comfortable. Marcelo takes up the cuff and Luis demands to have it; Marcelo leaves and Luis follows him to start a fight. Hipólita asks her brother to approach the house, and Leonor throws down a glove. He picks it up, but Otavio snatches it from his hand. This was reproduced in scene 4.4 of *Love's Cure*, in which

Lamoral takes Genevora's glove from Lucio:

> How? Giving favour!
>
> I'll have it with his heart. [*Lamoral takes the glove.*]
>
> (38-39)

Félix expresses his inability to contest the theft of the glove: he says twice 'I can't' ('No puedo', 60b and 61a). Otavio makes fun of him. Don Pedro appears to witness the scene, while Hipólita leaves the window declaring her intention to recover the glove for her brother. Leonor is outraged that her lover cannot do that for himself, and she declares:

Ya os aborrezco, y no en vano	I now hate you, and not in vain
por vileza semejante,	For such a villainy you've done,
y advertid que fuera llano,	And take heed: it would be certain,
si defendierais el guante,	If you defended the glove,
quizá el merecer la mano.	Perhaps you'd merit the hand.

(61a)

Leonor's indignation at Félix's cowardice was retained in Genevora's reaction to Lucio's refusal to defend the same love token; see 4.4.44-62.

Leonor goes even further when she takes a feather from her headdress and throws it down to Félix: it is the feather of a bird 'less beautiful, / But better to eat' (i.e. a chicken; 'menos hermosa, / pero mejor de comer', 61b). She exits, and Don Pedro expresses his outrage at his son's inability to prove himself a man pursuing a woman's love:

¿Qué ha de esperar, maricón? […]	What should she wait for, you milksop? […][78]

[78] The term *maricón*, which nowadays usually carries great pejorative force (the equivalent would be *faggot*), means here simply 'Effeminate man and of little spirit' (*DRAE*, my translation). The word used in *Love's Cure* has exactly this meaning.

Por mi mano he de matarte. […]	I shall kill you by my own hand. […]
¡Vive Dios que he de sacarte	By God, I will let out from you
cuanta sangre tienes mía!	All the blood you have from me!

(61b)

This speech augments the cruelty of Don Pedro's threats in act I (see above, 44b-45a), and possibly influenced the following passage in *Love's Cure*, in which Álvarez abuses his son in terms of his ancestry:

Milksop, coward;
No house of mine receives thee. I disclaim thee:
Thy mother on her knees shall not entreat me
Hereafter to acknowledge thee.

(3.4.32-33)

Don Pedro starts chasing Félix, sword in hand, and they leave the stage. Doña Costanza and Hipólita appear with the Tutor and Galván. The martial maid is being restrained by the two servants. She hits Galván in the face (as Clara attacks Bobadilla for a different reason in 2.2.95) and takes a sword from a servant. Leonor enters and tries to stop her friend, but Hipólita is determined to avenge the theft of the glove. Félix re-enters followed by Don Pedro, who stops to ask his daughter where she is going with a sword:

A vengar mi hermano voy.	I am going to avenge my brother.

(62a)

A phrase in *Love's Cure* is reminiscent of this, though the situation is different. As we saw, during the fencing lesson, Clara tries to punish Piorato for hurting her brother:

'Sheart! Ne'er a rogue in Spain shall wrong my brother
Whilst I can hold a sword.

(3.4.96-97)

Don Pedro is declaring his inability to straighten his children's attitude, when Don Luis re-enters, bearing Hipólita's cuff dripping with Marcelo's blood. He returns it to its owner, and Hipólita expresses her admiration for his bravery. Don Pedro chides his son for not following Luis's example, and manages to move Félix to a resolution:

Ya el agravio recebido,	Now the injury received,
esta invidia, este dolor	This envy, this pain
de tantas afrentas juntas	Of so many affronts together
me ha convertido en león; […]	Have turned me into a lion; […]
Por el divino Hacedor,	By the divine Maker,
que he de ser rigor del cielo,	I must be heaven's severity,
y en su esfera a todo el sol	And in his sphere the sun
pondré nubes coloradas,	I will cover with red clouds,
siendo de sangre el vapor:	Being of blood the vapours:
mil víboras me han picado,	A thousand vipers have stung me,
todo de veneno soy.	I am all poison now.
(62b)	

Félix's resolution probably served as the inspiration for Lucio's, though he expresses it in less violent terms in 4.4.54-62. Félix bids the others farewell, while the Tutor and Doña Costanza try to stop him, but Leonor encourages him on. Don Pedro says he will give him some advice first. Hipólita hopes he may gain the manly spirit that, she admits, she is already starting to lose.

Act III

Don Pedro advises his son on how to plan his revenge for the theft of the glove. As the matter touches the family's honour, he feels it as his own concern. He has called Don Luis and a Captain from his *tercio* to assist them in the business. They both arrive, and Don Luis declares that, as the glove is his sister's, he is also affected by the affront. The Captain advises Félix that the best course of action is to try to recover the glove at the same place where it had been lost. Don Pedro objects: that happened in the street, and anyone could interfere and have Félix arrested. Don Luis suggests that he should then send a written challenge to Otavio. Don Pedro does not favour relying on pieces of paper, but the Captain offers to deliver the challenge himself, and to make sure that Otavio comes along with a second; he will serve as Félix's second. Don Pedro rejects that idea, and would rather do that service himself. Don Luis says he would do it too, if it did not touch Don Pedro so directly. Félix protests that he should not need anyone to avenge an affront that was given to himself alone. The Captain then advises him to challenge Otavio to a duel:

y en un lugar apartado,	And in a far-off place,
donde ninguno lo impida,	Where no one can interfere,
quítale el guante o la vida.	Take then the glove or his life.
(65a)	

Don Pedro approves of the scheme, though he issues secret instructions to the Captain to follow Félix. They leave, and only Luis remains on stage. Hipólita appears complaining to herself that she is feeling an unknown passion that she cannot control. She recognises that it is love for Luis, and is startled to find him now inside her own house. The scene is analogous to Vitelli's scene with Clara at her own house (2.2.147-250), though the circumstances and the content of the conversation are different. Hipólita is angry with

Luis for causing her to feel that way. She expresses her unknown feelings in these terms:

¿Qué cuidados, qué temores	What cares, what fears
en mis entrañas se ceban?	Do I harbour inside myself?
¿Dónde está el valor pasado?	Where is my past courage?
Corazón, ¿qué le habéis hecho?	My heart, what have you done with it?
¿Yo ternuras en mi pecho?	Me with tenderness in my breast?
¿Yo temores? ¿Yo cuidado?	Me with fears? Me with care?
¿Vióse mudanza mayor? […]	Was ever such a change seen? […]
Pues ha herido en lo más fuerte,	Since it has wounded me so deeply,
sin duda es rayo el amor;	No doubt love is like lightning;
¡Ay, cielo! El alma me abrasa…	Oh heaven! It is burning my soul.
(65b)	

Some of these ideas and images were crafted into Clara's soliloquy in 2.2.239-50. Meanwhile Inés and Galván appear suddenly, giving Hipólita a fright; she takes Luis apart, and complains that it is the first time she has been afraid (implying another symptom of the transformation that her gender identity is experiencing). Luis leaves, and Inés comes forward to deliver her master Don Luis's message to Hipólita, though she thinks it will not be relevant now that she has spoken to him directly. Hipólita asks about Leonor instead, and Inés tells her that she is feeling better now that she has found out that Marcelo and her brother Don Luis have been reconciled. She says that Marcelo's sister and mother will now be more at ease. Hipólita immediately asks her about that previously unknown sister; Inés replies that she is truly beautiful and that Luis used to be desperately in love with her, but that since he met Hipólita he has shifted his affections. Hipólita suffers a bout of jealousy, and dismisses the maid. Galván states in an aside that he has devised a revenge plot for having been beaten by Hipólita: he immediately tells her that Luis has married Marcelo's sister, for whom he invents the name of Doña Ana. Hipólita

is now violently jealous, and dismisses Galván, who departs happy of having avenged the affront against his nose. Hipólita reflects on the nature of jealousy and vows to kill the man who has wronged her so extremely:

Pues, ¿qué espero a matalle,	But what am I waiting for to kill him,
y sacar a mi honor de inconvenientes?	And save my honour from such [inconvenience?
El alma he de sacalle,	His soul I must pull out,
cuando no con las manos, con los dientes;	If not with my hands, then with my [teeth;
leona soy, que la cuartana tengo,	A lioness I am, as I am enfevered,
ya bramando prevengo	And now roaring I will forewarn
el cómo he de vengarme, que estos duelos	The way in which I'll revenge, 'cause [this pain
afrentas son, aunque parecen celos.	Is really an affront, although it seems [jealousy.

(68a)

Hipólita compares herself with a lioness, as does Clara in 2.2.223-24, although in nearly opposite terms, as a tamed beast rather than as a roaring revenger:

> His words are golden chains, and now I fear
> The lioness hath met a tamer here.

She exits. Otavio and Marcelo appear. Marcelo, who is wearing a bandage, is telling his friend how he lost his fight with Luis, which ended with his loss of the laced cuff and his arrest by the watch, of which Luis managed to escape. He admits that he has made amends with Luis since then, as if he had rejected his offer of peace the affair would have been made publicly known. Seeing that his rival is approaching with a servant, Marcelo leaves the stage. Otavio stands apart while Luis is reading a letter, signed by Marcelo, in which he challenges him to a duel behind the church of Santa Engracia. In payment for

delivering the letter, he gives the servant a chain.[79] Luis departs to take up the challenge, and Otavio is left wondering what the paper said. Doña Leonor appears at her window, and Otavio speaks to her, asking her permission to keep the stolen glove. Félix and the Captain appear at separate doors. Leonor sees Félix coming, and wonders in an aside if his valour may increase if she encourages his jealousy; she then says aloud to Otavio that he may retain the glove. The gallant places it in his hatband, wearing it in plain view as Lamoral does at the beginning of scene 5.1. Otavio will wear it in defiance of his rival:

Quien le quisiere de aquí,	Whomever wants it from here,
después de rendir mi espada,	After I surrender my sword,
con mi cabeza cortada,	With my severed head
le ha de llevar.	He will have to take it from me.
(69b)	

In these same terms, Lucio surrenders to Genevora the hat and glove, alongside Lamoral's sword:

here at your feet	[*He lays Lamoral's*
With these he could have laid the conquered head	*sword and hat*
Of Lamoral—'tis all I say of him—	*at her feet.*]
(5.2.39-41)	

Félix is enraged that Leonor is favouring Otavio, and he comes forward to challenge his rival:

Dejemos este lugar,	Let's leave this place,
que muy solo quiero hablarte.	I wish to speak alone to you.
(70a)	

This was adapted directly as Lucio's challenge in 5.1.17-18:

[79] In *Love's Cure* Eugenia recompenses Bobadilla's service with his appointment as steward, granting him the use of a golden chain (1.2.83-84).

lead a little further to some place

That's less frequented.

If Lamoral ignores Lucio's petition, and the duel is fought there and then, Félix and Otavio leave to seek a more remote place to fight. The stage is then cleared and Luis enters, followed by Hipólita in men's clothes with her face covered. Luis asks his opponent, whom he believes to be a man, if he is coming on behalf of Marcelo. Hipólita, who has actually issued the challenge in the false letter, reveals her identity and mounts a violent verbal attack against Luis, who cannot understand her attitude.[80] Hipólita accuses him of having married Doña Ana, which Luis denies, saying that someone must have deceived Hipólita: Marcelo's sister is called Doña Elvira. Hipólita is embarrassed, but in her anger she insists on carrying on with the duel. Luis claims that, as he is the challenged party, he will choose the ground where they are to fight, and directs her to a poplar grove nearby:

Y allí verás que soy hombre	And there you will see I'm a man
para más de una mujer.	For more than one woman.
Has de probar, vive Dios,	You shall try there, by God,
de mis fuerzas los extremos.	The extremity of my force.

(71b)

They leave the stage, and the Captain appears. He stands apart at the entrance of Otavio and Félix who are on their way to fight their duel. Their conversation before the fight was reworked into the beginning of 5.1 in *Love's Cure*. Félix insists on finding a more secluded place, fearing that people may approach if they hear the clashing of their swords. They leave the stage and fight inside the tiring house, while the Captain peeps

[80] The tone of the scene, with the accusation of marrying someone else, is somewhat similar to that of Malroda and Vitelli's confrontation in 3.3.29-123.

through the door, narrating the fight.[81] Otavio enters the stage wounded, followed by Félix. As Lucio, the young man pardons his rival's life. However, the scene is interrupted by the appearance of the Alguacil with his watch. Félix kills one of the watchmen, and the Captain comes forward to dispatch the rest. The stage is cleared.

Doña Costanza enters, complaining that she does not know where her children are. Hipólita appears, dressed as a woman, looking dejected and crying. She tells the story of the duel with Don Luis. They got to a pleasant field by the poplar grove, drew their swords and started to fight. At one point he embraced her and they started to wrestle until she slipped on the bedewed grass and they both fell to the ground:

pero después de caer,	But after we fell,
hizo, ¡ay, madre!, cierta cosa,	He did, O mother, one thing,
que nunca la imaginé.	That I never could have imagined.
Revolvióme toda el alma	He stirred up all my soul
y mudóme todo el ser. […]	And he changed all my being. […]
desde entonces soy mujer.	From then I am a woman.
(74a)	

It is not clear if this violent sexual experience has indeed been a rape or just an extremely passionate sexual encounter, but Hipólita states that now she loves Luis tenderly and cries in his absence. Leonor arrives, as she is expecting news from Félix. Don Pedro and Galván also enter; there is a horse ready to take the father to seek his son and revenge his death if he has fallen. Finally, the Captain appears to tell the story of the duel in a long speech, ending with Félix's escape. Luis and Félix appear, and the latter takes Otavio's sword and hat, with the recovered glove, to Leonor:

[81] The narration of the fight, commenting on each individual move, is similar in tone to Clara's aside in 1.3.95-106.

Recíbele de mi mano,	Receive it from my hand,
si tus desdenes lo sufren,	If your disdain can suffer it,
y perdona, si al perdelle,	And forgive me, if when I lost it,
tan turbado y corto anduve,	I was so bewildered and so timid,
pues atado me tenía	Because I was then tied up
la fuerza de la costumbre.	By the force of custom.
(75b)	

Leonor confesses her mischief in making Félix believe that she was surrendering her glove to Marcelo, and Galván accepts his guilt in lying to Hipólita about Luis's marriage. Don Pedro proclaims that Félix deserves Leonor's hand, and Doña Costanza that Hipolita's belongs to Luis. The play ends with Don Pedro's speech about nature and custom:

Su naturaleza misma	Their very own nature
volver a mis hijos pude,	Could I overturn in my children,
de la costumbre un milagro,	Who were a miracle of custom,
en quien más sus fuerzas lucen;	In which its force was more manifest;
que una costumbre, vencida	Because a custom, defeated
con otra, pone en las nubes,	With another, takes it to heaven,
con el fin de la comedia	With the end of this play
La fuerza de la costumbre.	*The Force of Custom*.
(76b)	

Conclusions

A large portion of the episodes and circumstances that were borrowed from *La fuerza* in *Love's Cure* occur in the early part of the *comedia*, as if it had prompted a series of situations that the English dramatists then developed in their own distinctive way. They added the revenge plot by reallocating the kinship of the murdered relative (Hipólita's dead uncle Don Juan for Vitelli's dead uncle Don Pedro). They eliminated the symmetry of Otavio and Marcelo's unwanted affection for the two ladies, Leonor and Hipólita, by retaining Lamoral's interest in Genevora, but transferring Marcelo's unsolicited and unsuccessful wooing of the martial maid to Sayavedra, a friend of Clara's own father. Anastro is left with almost nothing else to do in the English play, besides helping to arbitrate, with Sayavedra and the Asistente, the duel in the final scene. Leonor is also a richer character than Genevora, as she is introduced much earlier in the play—Genevora does not appear until 4.1—and has an agency in the unfolding of events: she causes Félix's jealousy by making him believe that she is favouring Otavio with her glove. With Bobadilla, though, the English dramatists improved on the comic figure of Galván by conflating it with Félix's old Tutor, and adding his cowardly impulses and his remarkably varied bawdy language. They also complicated the plot by giving the Alguazir full dramatic status as a character in the play, while the Alguacil that leads the watch in act III of *La fuerza* speaks a single word before him and his men are attacked by Félix and the Captain. The presence of the latter character, an officer in Don Pedro's *tercio*, is almost anecdotal and is little more than a plot device; Fletcher and Massinger perhaps recognised this, and eliminated him from the play.

Galván's scheme to spite Hipólita for beating him by inventing the fictitious marriage between Don Luis and 'doña Ana' only to cause her jealousy, has no correspondence in *Love's Cure*. But from Galván's lie—and taking into account that,

according to Inés, Elvira was formerly the object of Luis's affections—they may have invented Malroda's plot line in which Vitelli actually has a previous and ongoing relationship. However, the fundamental difference is that, while Clara's reaction to Vitelli's betrayal is to confront him, declaring her intention to break up the match (4.2.119-20), Hipólita vows in remarkably violent terms to kill Luis with her own hands. Hipólita's jealousy of Luis and the invented wedding with Ana/Elvira, as well as Félix's jealousy of Leonor and Otavio, are the actual triggers of the siblings' assumption of their socially expected gender roles. In a way, if the English version resolves the conflict through the power of love (as stated in Vitelli's final speech), the Spanish original makes the metamorphosis possible through the anger caused by seeing that a rival is soliciting the affection of the loved one. The title of the Spanish play alludes to the origin of the conflict—an anomaly in the siblings' expected gender identity caused by the influence of their prior education—and not its resolution, as does the title of the English play. In this sense, if the Spanish play had been named with the English rationale, then, rather than paying tribute to the potency of love, it might have been titled *La cura por los celos*: *Jealousy's Cure*.

Both plays share a traditional heteronormative agenda. Fletcher, who did include homoerotic elements in some of his plays, did not deviate from his source in this respect. Félix, as Lucio, is more comfortable in the domestic feminine environment in which he has grown up, and prefers feminine (or at least feminising) clothes, but his erotic impulses are eventually directed to a woman, and not another man. As far as we can tell, Hipólita, like Clara, has been totally oblivious of her sexual inclinations, and when her sexual desire is finally awakened, it is for a man, not a woman.[82] The great difference between Hipólita and her English cousin is in the actual fulfilment of their sexuality.

[82] See section IV.5 for further discussion of homoeroticism in the play.

While Clara remains chaste to the end of the play, as a young lady of a certain social status is not expected to have any sexual intercourse before marriage, Hipólita's transformation is only completed when she has her first sexual experience. Jonathan Thacker has stated that 'The seduction of Hipólita seems a belated attempt to find a way to feminize her', and that the process lacks verisimilitude.[83] But we can take the more romantic view that she has already felt attracted to Luis prior to their duel, and what started as a physical squabble derived into a mutually consensual—or even anticipated—sexual encounter, albeit a rather violent one. Alternatively, it may also be believable if we contemplate the possibility that Hipólita has been raped by Luis. It is unclear whether this has happened, though his lines before he takes her to the poplar grove are suggestive of that: 'And there you will see I'm a man / For more than one woman.' If she has experienced sexual assault, and that is why she re-enters dejected and crying to report the events to her mother, then we may be able to believe in her transformation: she would be suffering the trauma of having been raped, and she accepts marriage as the consequence of having been completely defeated in the last physical combat she has held: her masculinity is gone because she has been overwhelmed in combat by a stronger male.

In terms of the spatial and temporal setting of both plays, Fletcher and Massinger augmented the importance of the general references to Flanders in *La fuerza*, and the remote wars that Don Pedro and Hipólita have been involved with, by choosing to set their English version in a very specific historical context: the siege of Ostend. As we will see, this choice enabled them to use the names of various historical figures for the characters in the play, and to add depth and a sense of historical topicality entirely absent from the original *comedia*.[84] Two other locations referred to by name in *La fuerza*, the city of Zaragoza and its church of Santa Engracia, behind which the illegal duel between

[83] Thacker, *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia*, p. 33.
[84] See section IV.2.

Hipólita and Luis finally takes place, were substituted by the English dramatists for the more widely recognisable city of Seville and by the Castle of Santiago, actually in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, where the legal ('granted') duel between the Vitelli and the Álvarez factions is set to occur.

Finally and most importantly, the structural, narrative, and verbal similarities I have traced suggest that the English dramatists did not work from a verbal account: they must have had access to a written source, most probably a whole copy of the play rather than a report of its plot or an extract. In the next two sections I will present a theory of how the processes of transmission may have operated.

4. *La fuerza de la costumbre* in manuscript: extant copies and textual transmission

Trying to defend his post-1625 dating of *Love's Cure*, Williams stated in a footnote that 'it seems unnecessary to invent the thesis that a manuscript version had preceded the printed edition to England'.[85] As I have shown, the existence of such a manuscript is one of the few available explanations as to why *La fuerza* was known in London in or before the first half of 1615. In this section I will be tracing the textual history of this play in manuscript form to demonstrate that that theory is indeed possible, and it is the most likely explanation.

The fact that no less than four manuscript copies of Guillén de Castro's *comedia* are extant is unusual. There is no other play by Castro of which so many different manuscript versions have survived, not even of his most enduring and better known works. Generally speaking, there are very few other Spanish plays from the period that have survived in so many versions. The database *Manos teatrales*, that catalogues the whole corpus of Spanish Golden Age drama in manuscript form, contains very few examples from major Spanish playwrights of Castro's generation whose plays have survived in more than two manuscripts. For instance, among the extant *comedias* by Lope de Vega, out of more than 300 authenticated plays, only *La fortuna merecida* (*The Deserved Fortune*) and *El príncipe perfecto* (*The Perfect Prince*) survive in three manuscript copies.[86] Four manuscripts is, therefore, a remarkably high number that indicates that *La fuerza* was copied often for performance and private reading, probably due to an otherwise unrecorded popularity with its original audiences.

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[85] GWW, p. 5.

[86] Margaret Rich Greer and Alejandro García-Reidy, *Manos teatrales: Base de datos de manuscritos teatrales* (Durham, NC: Duke University and others, 2009—), <http://www.manosteatrales.org>. A greater number of manuscripts survive from the dramatists of the younger generation. For instance, *El gran príncipe de Fez, don Baltasar de Loyola* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) survives in no less than five manuscript copies.

Gemma Domingo Carvajal has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of every known edition of Castro's plays, including the two *Partes* of 1618 and 1625, the various *sueltas* (one-volume quartos), manuscripts, and all subsequent editions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[87] She lists two seventeenth-century manuscript copies of *El mejor Esposo, San José* (*The Best Spouse, Saint Joseph*), and one or none for the rest of the canon. *La fuerza* is the only one for which she lists three manuscripts, the ones held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. These three copies were also listed in Eduardo Juliá Martínez's edition of Castro's complete works.[88] The fourth manuscript was discovered by Margaret Rich Greer in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma.[89]

Two of the copies at the Biblioteca Nacional, under the signatures MS 15623 and MS 17064, were part of the library of the Dukes of Osuna, acquired in 1886 by the Spanish state after the death of the 12th Duke, Mariano Téllez-Girón y Beaufort (1814-1882), who had bankrupted the family.[90] It is unknown, though, whether these two copies were already part of the collection in the seventeenth century. However, this seems likely, as Guillén de Castro and his family had strong ties to the House of Girón, heirs to the Dukedom of Osuna. From the time the dramatist moved to Madrid around 1618,[91] he was under the patronage of Juan Téllez-Girón y Enríquez de Ribera (1598-1656), the son of Pedro Téllez-Girón y Fernández de Velasco (1574-1624), 3rd Duke of Osuna, who had

[87] Domingo Carvajal, 'Tipología de los personajes en la dramaturgia de Guillén de Castro y Bellvís (1569-1631)'.
[88] Castro, *Obras de don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís*, III, p. X.
[89] As of February 2015, she has not yet investigated its contents and origin (personal correspondence).
[90] Francisco Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquia Española: Casa Real y grandes de España* (Madrid: Teodoro Jaime Ratés, 1900), p. 612. The date of the purchase appears in the catalogues that were compiled when Osuna's library arrived at the Biblioteca Nacional; the signature for the catalogue of printed books is MS 18848, and for the manuscripts, MS 21272.
[91] Wilson, *Guillén de Castro*, pp. 14-15.

been the Spanish Viceroy of Sicily and Naples. The *Gran Duque de Osuna*, as he was known, 'deeded a small farm and its income to [Castro] in 1619', though he had to mortgage it in 1623 to satisfy his ever-pressing debts.[92] In 1626, when his patron had become the 4th Duke on his father's death, Castro married Ángela de Salgado, who was 'a member of the household of the Duchess of Osuna'.[93] According to Javier Ignacio Martínez del Barrio, the private library of the Duke of Osuna 'was formed thanks to the accumulation of books purchased following personal interests, as well as those dedicated to him'.[94] It is not unthinkable, then, that either of these manuscripts may have been presentation copies gifted by the dramatist to his wealthy patron.[95]

Both of these manuscripts are undated, though the hands are Spanish seventeenth-century italic. MS 17064 contains the same lines of dialogue as the printed text of 1625, and the stage directions are almost identically phrased.[96] As the manuscript is undated, we cannot know whether it predates the 1625 *Segunda parte*, and is therefore directly derived from an authorial manuscript, or whether it was a copy of the printed text. In either case, it is fuller and more descriptive than most extant Spanish theatrical manuscripts, which generally provide scant stage directions, mostly giving entrances and exits without adding very many details. The text, like the 1625 printed version, seems to be meant, therefore,

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[92] Ibid., p. 16.
[93] Ibid., p. 15.
[94] Javier Ignacio Martínez del Barrio, 'Educación y mentalidad de la alta nobleza española en los siglos XVI y XVII: la formación de la biblioteca de la Casa Ducal de Osuna', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 12 (1991), p. 74; my translation.
[95] All details of the genealogy of the Dukes of Osuna are from Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquia Española: Casa Real y grandes de España*,
[96] For example, the opening stage direction in the 1625 text is 'Salen doña Gostança, y don Felis en habito largo de estudiante' (sig. 2C1^{v}; 'Enter doña Costanza and Don Félix wearing the *long* habit of a student'), while in MS 17064 it is given as 'Sale doña constaça Y don felix / en auito de estudiantte' (f. 1; 'Enter Doña Costanza and Don Félix wearing the habit of a student'). In the process of being copied, the stage direction has lost the specification that the habit that Félix is wearing is long, which is an important fact, as the length of the costume is what makes it quasi-feminine.

primarily for private reading rather than performance. This copy, produced by a single hand, is remarkably clean, with no cancelled passages or emendations, and uses consistent spelling and the etymological forms of some names.[97] These features might indicate that the manuscript was a presentation copy commissioned by the dramatist to be given to the Duke of Osuna.[98]

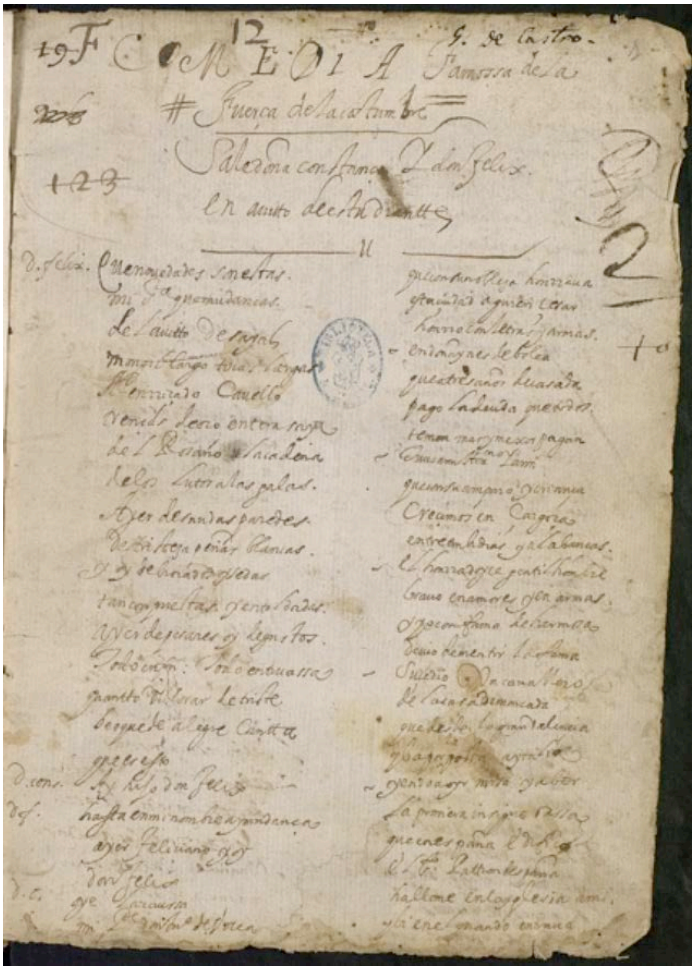


Fig. 4. ***La fuerza de la costumbre*** **MS 17064**

The other manuscript from the library of Osuna, MS 15623, is perhaps more interesting. It is also undated, but it differs from both the printed text and MS 17064 in that a number

[97] The Latinate *Felix* and *Constança* instead of the relaxed variants *Felis* and *Costança*; this may reveal that it was produced by an educated person, who might have been a professional scribe.

[98] Even if it may have derived from a pre-1625 authorial source, the manuscript is not an autograph copy, as a comparison with the extant manuscript of *Ingratitud por amor* reveals. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS Vitr. 7, No. 2.

of lines are missing. The stage directions are scanter and less detailed, and, if they derived from a fuller authorial manuscript, they may have eroded when the text was copied out.[99] It was produced mostly by a main scribe, with a second hand completing the last two leaves and adding three passages.[100] There is, therefore, some reason to think that the text was being prepared for performance: lines were cut, additional passages were introduced, and the stage directions give the minimum to clarify the basic traffic of actors on stage.

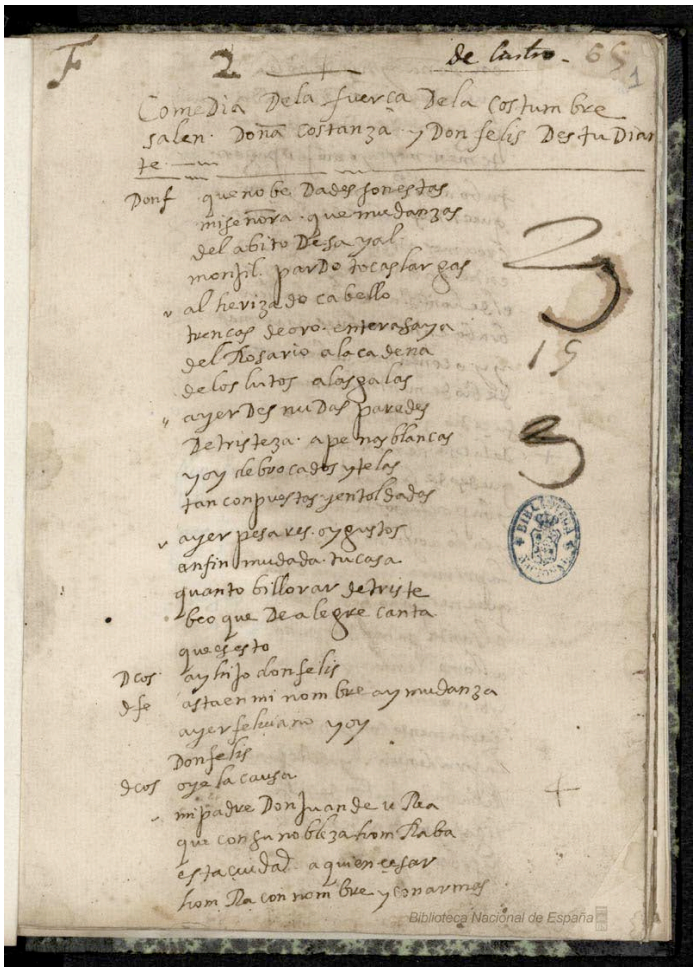


Fig. 5. ***La fuerza de la costumbre*** **MS 15623**

[99] For example, in the opening stage direction the 'long habit' has disappeared: 'salen doña costanza y don felis destudian / te.' ('Enter Doña Costanza and Don Félix as a student.')

[100] One that had been left out by the first scribe but that features in the 1625 text and MS 17064 (fo. 8[r]), and two completely new interpolations (fos. 10[r] and 12[v]). Melissa Machit, analysing the manuscript for *Manos teatrales*, concluded that when the scribe changed from fo. 49[v], the textual source may have changed as well: the last line of the previous page is given at the top of the next in a slightly altered form. See *La fuerza de la costumbre*, BNE 15623, Manuscript 3307, in *Manos teatrales*.

The third manuscript, MS 15370, belonged to the bibliophile Agustín Durán (1789-1862), member of the Real Academia Española and director of the Biblioteca Nacional, whose personal papers and rich literary collection was donated by his widow to that library in 1863. He noted the existence of the other two manuscripts of the play in his handwritten catalogue of the library of the Duke of Osuna.[101] However, in spite of his notable bibliographic care, he did not note the origin of MS 15370 in any of the catalogues of his own library. It is, by far, the most interesting of the three copies. It was produced by two scribes who took turns at irregular intervals, using different spelling conventions. The text is generally clean, though there are several cancelled passages and crossed-out individual lines, as well as emendations, indicated either *currente calamo* by the same scribe, or by a second hand at a later stage. The copy contains the same lines of dialogue as MS 15623, as Juliá Martínez already noted. He also suggested that this manuscript probably derives from the other, 'because it contains almost the same errors and the same lines are missing'.[102] In addition, the stage directions in this copy follow their position in MS 15623, but are even briefer and less descriptive.[103] However, the theory that one text represents an eroded version of the other is not immediately demonstrable: though MS 15370 and MS 15623 are directly related, they may derive from a common source, now lost.

The most interesting feature of MS 15370 is that it bears traces of having been prepared for a performance. Apart from the cancelled passages that may indicate theatrical cuts, there are a number of meaningful alterations, particularly on the first page,

[101] *Catálogo de las comedias que existen en la biblioteca de la testamentaría de Osuna*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 21423/8. It must have been when compiling this catalogue that he added a loose sheet before the Osuna manuscripts indicating the author of the play in his own hand.
[102] Castro, *Obras de don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís*, III, p. X; my translation.
[103] For instance, the opening stage direction is simply given as 'felis y costansa solos' ('Félix and Costanza, alone'), without mentioning the crucial detail of costume.

that modify some of the visual clues given in the text.[104]

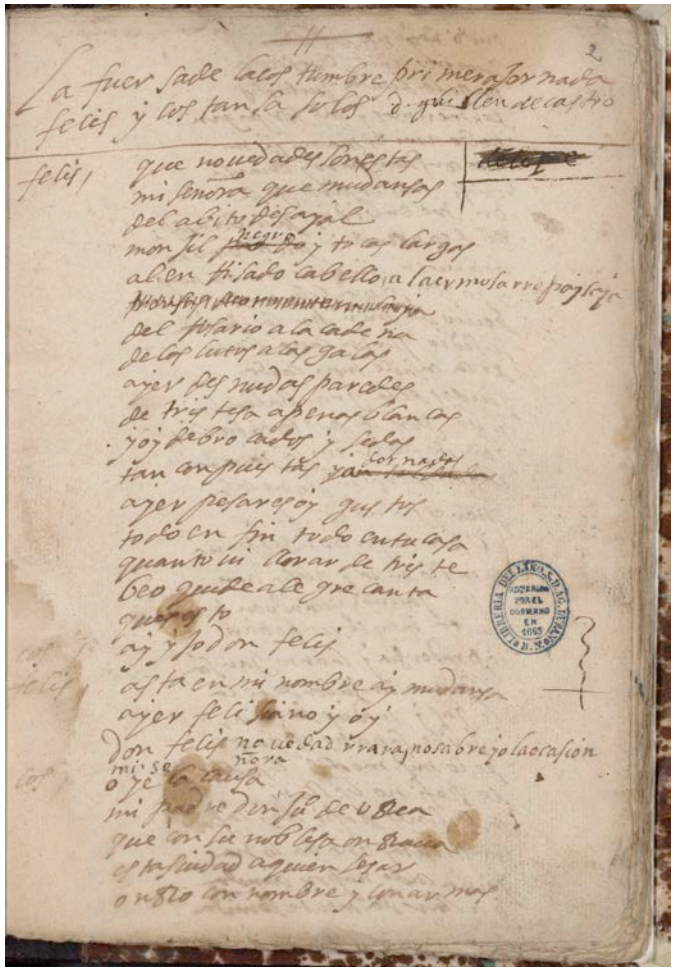


Fig. 6. ***La fuerza de la costumbre*** **MS 15370**

A further proof of the theatrical origin of the text is a statement found on the last page of the manuscript after the end of the play in the hand of the first scribe:

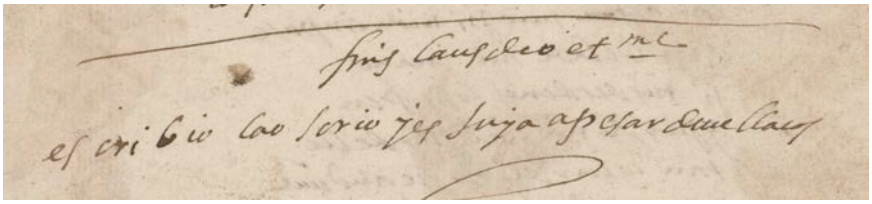


Fig. 7. MS 15370, final page, detail

[104] For example, the substitution of the line ‘trenzas de oro, entera saya’ (‘golden plaits, full smock’; line 6) with ‘a la ermosa rropa y saya’ (‘to the beauteous raiment and smock’), could indicate that the line had to be changed because the actress playing Doña Costanza had dark hair.

escribiola Osorio y es suya a pesar de uellacos

'It was written by Osorio and it is his/hers in spite of knaves.'

It is a strong statement of ownership, rather than authorship, and it is likely that this Osorio was one of the *autores* (company managers) of the period, rather than an actor or dramatist. If the identity of this Osorio could be ascertained, this detail could help to date the manuscript, and establish whether this version of the play predates the 1625 printed edition. However, a search in the *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español*, the standard reference, does not provide conclusive information: there were four *autores* with that surname who were active before 1625, and one, Diego Osorio de Velasco, who was active between 1623 and 1662.[105] It seems statistically more probable that it was one of the four, but we cannot know whether it might have been Osorio de Velasco before or after 1625, or indeed another *comediante* whose career has not been recorded. In case the manuscript was copied by a female member of a company, then the possibilities are mainly four actresses, two on either side of the 1625 watershed.[106] The data, however, remains inconclusive.

There is only one piece of evidence that would date the play to the early part of the century, and therefore before the publication of the *Segunda parte*. Agustín Durán provided an approximate date for this copy in one of his private catalogues: the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Fuerza (la) de la Costumbre = de D. Guillen de Castro / MS de la 1ª. 4ª pte del 17 =

[105] The four are Juan de Osorio, actor and *autor*, active in 1587-1606; Pedro de Osorio, actor and *autor*, active in 1609-25; Baltasar de Osorio, actor and *autor*, active in 1614-21; and Vicente Osorio, *autor*, active in 1614-20. Data from *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2008).

[106] Mariana Osorio and Magdalena Osorio, both active in 1588-1607; Catalina de Osorio, active in 1621-33; and Eugenia Osorio, active in 1613-46. A less likely candidate is the famous Elena Osorio y Velázquez, who was Lope de Vega's lover in the mid 1580s. See Alonso Zamora Vicente, *Lope de Vega: su vida y su obra* (Madrid: Gredos, 1961).

'Manuscript from the first quarter of the seventeenth [century]'.[107]

Based on his extensive knowledge of Spanish Golden Age drama in print and manuscript, his acquaintance with his enormous collection of playbooks, his unlimited access to the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional as its director, and his experience in cataloguing the other great collection of drama in Spain, the library of the Osuna family, Durán did not hesitate to assign a pre-1625 date to this manuscript. We cannot know, however, how he arrived at this conclusion, and we cannot take this estimation as an absolute dating of the book. But if Durán was right, this manuscript would have been copied between the composition of the play around 1610-15 and the publication of the *Segunda parte* in 1625. If MS 15623 is related to it, then there is the possibility that they may both predate the printed edition.

There are two factors, then, that are relevant to trace the textual transmission of *La fuerza*. The first is that the high number of extant manuscripts of this *comedia* allows for the assumption that there would have been many more in circulation in the early part of the seventeenth century. This would have enabled a possible transmission of its text to an interested English readership in pre-printed form. The second is that this relative abundance of textual evidence also supports the notion that the play was very popular in its own time. This would enable the possibility that someone may have produced a written or verbal account of a performance of the play in Spain that the English dramatists may have accessed, perhaps with some distortion in the order of the episodes that the original play narrates that may account for some of the structural differences. Jonathan Thacker is more inclined to think that the transmission was not realised via a copy of the full text in manuscript, but rather through this kind of partial account of the play, in

[107] *Colección de comedias manuscritas de varios autores, anteriores al año 1750*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, RES 122/10.

verbal or written form.[108] However, this theory would not explain the notable structural parallels between both plays, the important verbal echoes I have traced, and perhaps the recurrence of the word *custom* as a textual *Leitmotiv* throughout the play, replicating the title of the *comedia*. We cannot know, of course, if a copy of the play travelled to England, as there is no evidence to support such a statement. But the existence of these manuscripts makes that process a real possibility, particularly since one is to be found in Parma, outside the country where the play originated. If it travelled to Italy, it may have travelled elsewhere.

[108] Public discussion at the conference *The comedia: translation and performance*, Theatre Royal, Bath, November 2013.

5. Traces of a lost manuscript: a *comedia* in London

To try to ascertain who may have owned a recent Spanish play in manuscript in 1615 London is mostly an exercise in speculation, but there are a number of possible candidates that we can contemplate. Perhaps the most obvious ones would be the English intellectuals who had strong connections with Spain and its literature. The translators Leonard Digges and James Mabbe had lived in Spain between 1611 and 1614 in the household of the English ambassador in Madrid, Sir John Digby,[109] and must have brought back with them numerous books. Digges and Mabbe, who would publish translations of major Spanish prose works over the next decades, were dazzled by the rich literary culture they found in Spain, as their correspondence attests. As David Kathman records, around 1613 Mabbe sent a copy of Lope de Vega's *Rimas* 'to his Oxford friend Will Baker via fellow Hispanist Leonard Digges, who wrote an inscription on the flyleaf comparing Lope de Vega to Shakespeare'.[110] They may have attended performances in the public *corrales* as well, and may have even been invited to courtly entertainments as part of the English ambassadorial retinue. It is not implausible, then, that they admired Lope de Vega's popular *comedias* as much as his poetry. Perhaps they also acquired some plays in manuscript as part of the collection of books they may have chosen to bring back home, and either of them may have been in a position to furnish Fletcher and Massinger with this kind of material.

Another strong possibility is the presence in London of Spain's greatest bibliophile, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first Lord and, from 1617, Count of

[109] Darby and Samson, 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage', p. 208; see entries in the *DNB* by Sidney Lee and David Kathman, respectively.
[110] This copy, now at Balliol College, Oxford (700 a.14), is the edition published in Madrid by Alonso Martín in 1613, and contains as an appendix Lope's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (*New Art of Crafting Plays in these Times*), the foundational manifesto of the *comedia nueva*; see Félix Lope de Vega, *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (Barcelona: Castalia, 2011).

Gondomar, who had arrived in England as ambassador of Spain in July 1613,[111] and would stay during his first embassy until July 1618.[112] He possessed the largest private library in the kingdom, larger than King Philip's, and he was particularly fond of collecting plays. We cannot know which books from his enormous collection he brought from Spain, but we know from his correspondence that the deliveries between his London residence and his Spanish homes were constant.[113] In his Casa del Sol in Valladolid, Gondomar was creating a renowned library that soon started to be frequented by Spanish wits and scholars of the age, apparently including Francisco de Quevedo and Miguel de Cervantes.[114] Apart from many printed individual plays and anthologies in Spanish and Italian, the 1623 inventory of that library included a set of eight volumes of collected Spanish plays in manuscript.[115] All but one of these volumes, however, were disbound in the nineteenth century and their contents subsequently scattered. Stefano Arata investigated the collection as far as it seems possible: only one volume survives in one piece at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and he could deduce the contents of the second and third volumes; what was in the other five remains unknown.[116] We do not know whether *La fuerza* might have been among those lost plays, and we cannot know whether Gondomar took with him his collection of *comedias*. But it is an intriguing

[111] Juan Durán-Loriga, *El Embajador y el Rey: El conde de Gondomar y Jacobo I de Inglaterra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, 2006), p. 64.
[112] *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España: Correspondencia oficial de don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar* (Madrid: Viuda de Estanislao Maestre, 1943), p. 70.
[113] For example, his steward Diego de Sea Marino reported from his ancient seat in Gondomar the failed delivery of a number of trunks full of books shipped from London after his first embassy, which took much longer than planned to arrive to Spain. (Letter dated on 12 June 1619, NS, in Biblioteca Nacional, MS 13156, fo. 70.)
[114] Fernando Bartolomé Benito, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar: El Maquiavelo español* (Gijón: Trea, 2005), p. 65.
[115] *Índiçe y inventario de los libros que ay en la librería de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, en su casa de Valladolid, hecho a último de abril de 1623* (Valladolid, 1623), fo. 183^{v}.
[116] Stefano Arata, 'Teatro y coleccionismo teatral a finales del siglo XVI (el conde de Gondomar y Lope de Vega)', *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2 (1996).

possibility. If he did, then we could explain the presence of a copy of the play in London precisely at the time of the composition of *Love's Cure*. It is likely that, given the frequency with which Gondomar appeared at court, including all major Christmas revels and masques, he or someone in his household might have met John Fletcher, who at the time was, of course, working with the King's Men and may have been present at court when they performed. If Gondomar did not hesitate to open the doors of his Spanish library to scholars and poets, would he have denied access to his collection to the greatest English literary Hispanophile of the age?[117]

This theory is, of course, mere speculation. But there is an interesting fact that may support its claim. During Gondomar's absence from London in the period between his two embassies, his chaplain, Fray Diego de la Fuente, remained in London and regularly corresponded with his master.[118] On 10 March 1619, he writes about a book he was reading:

> Algo de esto he topado en Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola en su Conquista de las Malucas, en el libro primero y segundo, que por haber pocos días que vino a mis manos no he podido ver más.[119]
>
> 'Some of this I have encountered in Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *Conquest of the Moluku Islands*, in the first and second books, because since I have only had the book in my hands for a few days, I have not had the chance to see more.'

As Pablo Andrés Escapa has noted, the edition that Gondomar had sent to his London residence, and that Fray Diego was reading in March 1619, was the only edition

[117] The situation is not unprecedented: Jonson, for example, was allowed to borrow books from the private library of Robert Cotton during the composition of *Sejanus' Fall* in 1602-3. (See Wiggins 1412.)

[118] His letters are scattered between the Real Biblioteca and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

[119] Real Biblioteca, ii/551, fo. 102^{r}; quoted in Pablo Andrés Escapa, 'Fray Diego de la Fuente y don Diego Sarmiento, lectores del Quijote', *Avisos: Noticias de la Real Biblioteca,* Año 18 (2012).

available, published in Madrid in 1609.[120] Presumably the same copy is the one listed in the inventory of Gondomar's library in Valladolid fourteen years later.[121] This book provided the narrative source of *The Island Princess* that John Fletcher would write in 1621, and that was performed by the King's Men at court on 26 December 1621, perhaps even in Gondomar's presence. In her edition of the play, and based on previous scholarship,[122] Clare McManus has demonstrated beyond doubt that Fletcher must have accessed the Spanish original.[123] Of course, the presence of this copy at the time of the play's composition in London does not prove that it was the exact copy that Fletcher read, but it is a possibility. This may be particularly plausible if, as Trudi L. Darby and Alexander Samson have suggested, he had first read the extract from Argensola's book in the French adaptation appended to the 1615 French edition of Cervantes's *Exemplary Novels* and that 'had led him to obtain a copy of the original Spanish prose history'.[124] He would have actively sought to find a copy from his contacts in London, perhaps through Digges or Mabbe, or even directly at the Spanish embassy in the Barbican.[125] In addition, Gondomar also possessed copies of Jerónimo de Carranza's *De la filosofía de las armas* (Sanlúcar de Barrameda, 1582),[126] which appears in *Love's Pilgrimage* as a verbal source, and of Lope de Vega's *El peregrino en su patria* (Brussels, 1608),[127] which served as the main narrative source of *The Pilgrim* (1621).

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[120] Ibid.
[121] *Inventario*, fo. 7[r].
[122] Notably Stiefel, 'Über die Quelle von J. Fletchers *Island Princess*', and Darby and Samson, 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage'.
[123] Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, pp. 49-57.
[124] Darby and Samson, 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage', p. 210.
[125] See Roberta Anderson, '*Appendix*: Diplomatic Representatives from the Hapsburg Monarchy to the Court of James VI and I', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 209-25 (p. 217); and Henry Benjamin Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891, 2011), p. 104.
[126] *Inventario*, fo. 61[v].
[127] Ibid., fo. 86[v].

This theory is unprovable, but its mere possibility enables the kind of processes that *La fuerza* would have undergone, as the chronology and the available evidence necessarily establish some kind of manuscript, or a lost printed *suelta* (a single-volume quarto), as the material conveyor of this transference. As Darby and Samson conclude of the case of *Love's Cure*, 'An awareness of the literary scene in Spain, even before the Prince of Wales' visit in 1623 and his use of plays apparently unpublished even in Spanish underline the extent of [Fletcher's] connections with the international book trade, diplomats, politicians and spies'.[128] Some of these connections remain untraced, and might be untraceable in their specifics, but they constitute the only available explanation as to why a Spanish *comedia* was accessible in London in the early months of 1615.

[128] Darby and Samson, 'Cervantes on the Jacobean Stage', p. 211.

III. OTHER EUROPEAN INFLUENCES AND SOURCES

1. Clara in the siege of Ostend: historical sources

R. Warwick Bond pointed out that 'De Castro's martial heroine may derive from an incident at the siege of Ostend (July, 1601-September, 1604), where a young Spanish woman in male attire was found among the slain at the assault on the Sandhill, January 7, 1602.'[1] This is, however, debatable in the case of Castro's play, as the siege of Ostend is not even mentioned, and the Spanish campaigns in Flanders are a remote setting only referred to in a handful of lines towards the beginning of the play. However, it seems almost certain that the episode, as narrated in the contemporary accounts, influenced the genesis of *Love's Cure*.[2] Based on the chronology that we have established, we can correct Bond's assumptions as to the process of textual transmission between the original event and the text of the play. He claimed that 'A French translation of [the *History of the Netherlands* by Emmanuel] Meteren [undertaken] by I. D. L. Haije (La Haye, 1618, fol.) seems to have been used by our authors rather than Edward Grimeston's *A True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend* […] because the latter has no mention of Jeanne Balam, the fasting maid of Confolens in Poitou, to whom Fleay first referred Pachieco's "miraculous maid in Flanders."'[3] As we have also established, news of the existence of several female fasters in continental Europe had been available since 1611 in printed form, and perhaps earlier in oral accounts, so this extra piece of information was not needed; the 1618 date is, obviously, incompatible with the dating of the play. Meteren's book had been 'issued first in Latin (n.d.) and rewritten by him in Flemish (Delft, 1599,

[1] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 266. The Sand Hill was one of the defensive ravelins of the outer walls that encircled Ostend; see John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands* (London: John Murray, 1867), p. 63.
[2] See section IV.2 for a full account.
[3] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 266.

and later, carrying the history [of the martial maid] to 1612)',[4] so plausibly Massinger and Fletcher could have consulted a copy of the latter in 1615. However, it seems safer to trace the influence of the episode to the 1604 English version by Grimeston. It was surely more readily available in London, and would have been easier to read for an English dramatist than the Flemish edition, although we cannot completely dismiss this possibility. A passage from Grimeston is all that the dramatists would have needed to supply several important details of the narrative:

> The spoile was great in mony, apparell, and other things of price: Searching among the dead, they found a young Spanish woman neere vnto Sand-hill, in mans apparrel, the which (as they might gesse by her wounds) had beene slaine at the assault, she had vnder her apparrell a chaine of Golde set with precious stones, with other Iewelles and siluer.[5]

The chain found on the dead woman corresponds to the 'massy chain of gold' reportedly given to Clara (only known as Lucio) as a reward for having saved the general's son from a certain death (1.1.85-86). The chain was also mentioned in Meteren's account, as well as the case of 'another (Frisian) girl, who fought on the Dutch side for seven years, ordinarily wearing a white feather',[6] though this extra detail seems unnecessary to explain the narrative origins of the martial maid of Ostend.

Nothing else is known about the mysterious woman who died in the siege, as the historical and literary sources do not provide any further details. As Anna E. C. Simoni has systematically traced, most accounts of the siege published in Dutch, German, English, and French mention the sally of 1602 and the discovery of the slain cross-dressed Spanish woman carrying the chain of gold. A German account of the siege, *Belägerung der Statt Ostende* (n. p., 1604-5), based on Dutch accounts, included the story

[4] Ibid.
[5] Edward Grimeston, *A true historie of the memorable siege of Ostend* (London: Edward Blount, 1604), sig. O2^{v}.
[6] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 266.

and printed an engraving of the attack with a portrait of the martial maid in question.[7]

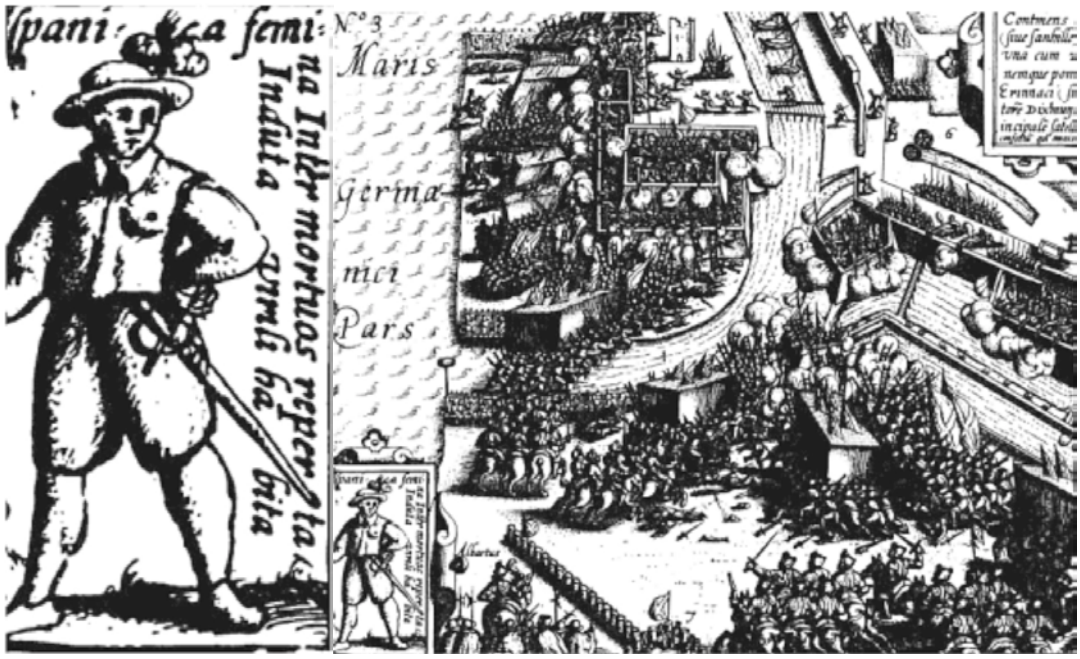


Fig. 8 . From *Belägerung der Statt Ostende*, appendix, fo. 4[r], detail

The description included all necessary details:

> During the plundering of the dead a young Spanish woman, dressed in men's clothes, was found, who had taken part in the assault as was obvious from certain of her wounds, lying close below Sandhill; under her clothes she wore a gold chain studded with gemstones and also some other valuables and money.[8]

The Calvinist printer and publisher Henrick van Haestens also published several accounts of the siege, the first being *De Bloedige ende strenge Belegeringhe Der Stadt Oostende, in Vlaenderen* (*The Bloody and Strict Siege of the City of Ostend, in Flanders*; Leiden, 1613).[9] In that version, the woman is not reported to have taken part in the fight, and her approximate age is uncertain, but it includes the crucial detail of the golden chain:

> During the stripping or plundering a young Spanish girl or woman was found, dressed in men's clothes, lying close under Sandhill: and on her was found a precious golden chain,

[7] See François Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 7.
[8] Quoted in Anna E. C. Simoni, *The Ostend Story: Early Tales of the Great Siege and the Mediating Role of Henrick van Haestens* ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2003), p. 98; her translation.
[9] Ibid., p. 15.

> garnished with gems and also other jewels, besides also having with her some money.[10]

A few years later, in his *Oostende* (The Hague, 1621), P. Fleming disbelieved this account:

> Some write that a young girl in men's clothes, having with her many jewels, was found there among these dead, this is quite preposterous, some nitwits having spread this rumour, General Vere set up a thorough enquiry and could never establish any shred of truth in it.[11]

In fact, as Simoni has commented, 'as far as this Spanish lady is concerned, we have only rumour, no proof', as Henry Hexham, who was present in the battle as Sir Francis Vere's page, does not mention her among the dead left in the field on that day.[12] Vere commanded the 1,500 English soldiers who came in aid of the besieged city, and was responsible for repelling that Spanish sally.[13]

However, given its inclusion as an anecdote in most historical sources we can assume that the tale of the cross-dressed Spanish woman who fought at Ostend must have been relatively well-known throughout Europe, and may have become *vox populi* in England, particularly if the English general had expressed an interest in establishing the truth of her existence. Independently of which particular source the dramatists used—Meteren in Flemish, Grimeston in English, the *Belägerung* in German, the *Bloedige Belegeringhe* in Dutch, or an oral notice—there is no doubt that the transvestite martial maid and her gold chain provided an intriguing starting point for the characterisation of the main role of *Love's Cure*. The dramatists' imaginations were clearly prompted to provide an explanation as to why a young Spanish woman came to fight, dressed as a man, in the famous siege, and therefore to construct the tale of Clara's heroic deeds in 1.1. They were, however, more benevolent with her ultimate fate.

[10] Quoted in ibid., p. 99; her translation.
[11] Ibid., p. 100; her translation.
[12] Ibid.
[13] See section IV.2 for further discussion of the siege and the involvement of English troops under Vere's command.

2. The *pícaros* in *Love's Cure*: *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*

The inclusion of Lazarillo in *Love's Cure* was a thoughtful device to weave a more or less comic subplot into the main action of the play dealing with the two cross-dressers and their families. The immediate problem to adapt a Golden Age *comedia* to the theatrical uses of Renaissance England was the absence of subplots in most Spanish plays of the period: Spanish plays generally were just too short. Particularly through the agency of Lope de Vega's manifesto *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (*New Art of Crafting Plays in these Times*, Madrid, 1609), the form evolved from the classical five-act structure to the more usual three acts, normally dealing with a single plot line. In the intervals between the acts the players would perform a short unrelated comic interlude called *entremés*[14] that would expand the playing time to the standard length of a theatrical performance (two to three hours). By contrast, English plays incorporated a subplot to create the same effect, but weaving its story into the narrative fabric of the main action in varying degrees of proximity.

As we have seen, the King's Men needed to keep the Gang of Four Plus One employed in 1615, hence the necessity of including five extra comic parts: the Alguazir, Pacheco, Lazarillo, Metaldi, and Mendoza. Pacheco was most likely inspired by the character of Simon Eyre in Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday* (1599). Metaldi and Mendoza were modelled after their fellow craftsman: Pacheco is a cobbler, not a skilled shoemaker, while Mendoza is a mere botcher, or mender of clothes, rather than a fully fledged tailor. But a more interesting case is that of Lazarillo. As we saw, some commentators have denied that the character may derive directly from the Spanish picaresque novella *Lazarillo de Tormes*.[15] Oliphant argued that 'there is in fact no

[14] Thacker, *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre*, p. 14.
[15] See section I.7.

resemblance between the hero of Tormes and the starving servant of *Love's Cure*',[16] which is a statement that does not hold up to critical examination. Lázaro de Tormes, a destitute pauper who starves for most of the book, and who finally overcomes his situation by engaging in criminal activity, is more of an anti-hero than anything else. But more importantly, the parallels between the characterisation and modes of elocution of Lázaro in the Spanish novella and Lazarillo in the English play are unequivocal.

Lazarillo de Tormes, the first picaresque novel, was first circulated in Spain in 1553.[17] It tells the episodic story of a poor boy who serves a series of miserly masters who keep him in a permanent state of starvation. It was translated into English by David Rowland of Anglesey and published in 1586. Even before *The Woman-Hater* and *Love's Cure*, the first version of Lazarillo to appear on the English stage was the Castilian soldier of *Blurt, Master Constable* (a play that is referred to in 3.1.3 of *Love's Cure*). The figure there was that of a typical Spanish braggart, though the play contains a remnant of the original Lazarillo in Blurt's hungry serving boy aptly named Pilcher (cf. *Love's Cure* 2.1.40). As with the gourmet courtier Lazarillo/ello in *The Woman-Hater*, the social status of the character, therefore, does not coincide with that of the original, though it still kept the obsession with food and eating, and the figure of the serving boy. The two post-1615 Lazarillos are also only loosely related to the anonymous novel. The Lazarillo (or Lazarello) in William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1619) is a scheming sycophantic minion to the adulterous Don Antonio, and is not in any way a recognisable version of the Spanish *pícaro*. In Dekker's *Match Me in London* (1621) Lazarillo is a mercer's apprentice who is about to sign his indentures, but there is no trace of the hunger theme or any of the other traits of the character.

[16] Oliphant, 'Three Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', p. 200.
[17] According to Francisco Rico, it might have been printed in late 1552, though it is known that there was an edition in 1553; the oldest extant printings, however, are from 1554. See *Lazarillo de Tormes* (Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011), p. X.

However, it is the Lazarillo of *Love's Cure* who is the closest to the Spanish model. His master Pacheco, despite his claims of being a member of the gentry, is just a humble cobbler. He is also a miser who refuses to feed his serving boy. The resemblance is not only situational: there are two recognisable passages in the play that are closely modelled on the original novel, both in content and in the mode of elocution. Pacheco advises that moderation is the key to longevity:

> PACHECO O, happy thou, Lazarillo, being the cause of other men's wits as in thine own. Live lean and witty still. Oppress not thy stomach too much. Gross feeders, great sleepers; great sleepers, fat bodies; fat bodies, lean brains. No, Lazarillo: I will make thee immortal, change thy humanity into deity, for I will teach thee to live upon nothing.
>
> LAZARILLO 'Faith, señor, I am immortal then already, or very near it, for I do live upon little or nothing.
>
> (2.1.8-14)

This passage is close to the following extract from *Lazarillo de Tormes*, in which the boy has just entered the service of a poor and miserly squire, who nevertheless wears his cloak and gentlemanly apparel in public to demonstrate a wealth he does not possess. As it happened with the blind beggar and with the priest, the squire neglects feeding his servant Lazarillo:

> bee then aunswered saying, it is a vertue to liue soberly, therefore I commend thee much: P[i]gs fill them selues, and wyse men eate discreetely what is onely sufficient for them. I nowe vnderstande you well sir, sayde I to my selfe, euill lucke light vppon suche vertue and goodnesse as these my maisters doe finde in hunger.[18]

Pacheco augments his reasoning with a ridiculous obversion:

> PACHECO Be abstinent; show not the corruption of thy generation. He that feeds shall die; therefore he that feeds not, shall live.
>
> LAZARILLO Ay, but how long shall he live? There's the question.
>
> (2.1.18-20)

[18] *The pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* (London: Abell Ieffes, 1586), sig. E2^{r}.

In *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the squire, although not taking it to the same extreme, also praises the virtue of not eating to prolong life:

> sir said I, take no care for me, I can passe ouer one night, & more if neede bee without meate, & that will bee cause that thou shalt liue longer said he, for as wise men affirme, there is nothing that can make a man liue longer than to eate a little. If that be true said I to my selfe. I shall neu[e]r di[e,] for I haue always bene constrained to keepe that rule, and I thinke I am fortuned to obserue it as long as I liue.[19]

Although the parallel ideas are clearly recognisable, there is another feature of the novel that was incorporated into *Love's Cure*. In the play, Lazarillo often speaks in asides, particularly in 2.1, issuing bitter comments on his master and the two other craftsmen.[20] This mode of expression is so frequent in *Lazarillo de Tormes*—the recurrent use of phrases such as the above 'sayde I to my selfe' in the English translation—as to constitute a characteristic trait of the first-person narrative technique. In *Love's Cure* this sense is conveyed by direct address to the audience, creating a sense of running commentary on the scenes that ranges from the introduction of humorous remarks (2.1.74) to a more general social satire (2.1.57-58). Of course, the sharp social critique of Spanish society is one of the more poignant characteristics of the novel, and it is here perfectly incorporated, even if in sketch form.[21]

[19] Ibid., sig. E3^{v}-E4^{r}.
[20] See 2.1.3, 23-24, 45-46, 53-55, 57-61, 69, 74, and 90.
[21] Lazarillo's asides were first marked by Williams, and have been reconsidered and augmented for the present edition. They were used independently in both the 2012 and 2013 productions, and on both occasions the device was well received by the audience. See section IV.6.

From *Guzmán de Alfarache* (*Primera parte*, Madrid, 1599; *Segunda parte*, Lisbon, 1604) by Mateo Alemán, the authors of *Love's Cure* may have borrowed the name of Sayavedra, who in that novel is a rogue whom Guzmán meets in Italy and who assists him in his misdeeds,[22] rather than the gentleman of Fletcher and Massinger's play. But details from the Alguazir's criminal record also seem to have been inspired by Alemán's picaresque narrative. Both characters have had a long and varied life, devoted to all kinds of criminal activities. In 2.1 the Alguazir is accused by the craftsmen of endless infamies and crimes: of being a bastard (138-39), of having been flogged for perjury and thrown out of Toledo (140), of serving a term in the galleys for theft (141), of being an apostate or heretic (142), of prostituting women and children to escape being sent off to the Spice Islands (143-46), of having Muslim Portuguese ancestry and coming to Seville serving a tailor, pretending to be Spanish (147-51), of practising dozens of trades and failing at all of them (152-55), of serving as a surgeon in a brothel (156-58), of trading prisoners for money (159-61), and of being a sodomite (162-63). Guzmán shares with the Alguazir the illegitimacy of his birth (as the child of an adulterous relationship)[23] and his dubious ancestry, particularly with respect to their foreign origin and their links with Islam and Judaism: Guzmán's father, a notorious swindler, was a Genoan whose ancestors his son describes in the narrative as *levantiscos*, i.e. from the Levant, which had the implication of being 'new Christians', or more specifically, of having Jewish ancestry.[24] At one point he was taken captive to Algiers where he became a renegade and embraced the Muslim faith.[25] Both circumstances—the racial Jewishness of Guzmán's family and his father's conversion to Islam—are hinted at in the tale of the Alguazir's past: by his prominently

[22] Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2012), II.ii.4; all subsequent references are to the part, book, and chapter where each episode is narrated.
[23] Ibid., p. 50, I.i.2.
[24] Ibid., p. 34, I.i.1.41 n., and pp.1172-73.
[25] Ibid., p. 36, I.i.1.

red hair and his association with Toledo and Portugal, he can be identified as Jewish, and he is simultaneously accused of being 'descended o' the Moors', as well as of apostasy and perjury (perhaps religious perjury, if he comes from a family of false converts). Genoans also had a reputation for effeminacy and homosexual tendencies, which may reflect on the last accusation of the Alguazir's list.[26] Both characters also share their long record of criminal misdeeds, perpetrated alone or in association with other malefactors, as well as of serving a series of masters. The Alguazir was pressed to sail to the Spice Islands, which in a way recalls Guzmán's extensive travels throughout the novel. Similarly to the Alguazir, Guzmán leaves Toledo fearing he would be whipped.[27] The Alguazir is reported to have served a term in the galleys for robbery, and at the end of the play he is threatened to be sentenced to them again; Guzmán is convicted and made to suffer the same penalty for theft towards the end of the *Segunda parte*.[28] Finally, as with the Alguazir, the city in which Guzmán is finally sentenced is Seville, from whose jail he is taken aboard a galley only to manage to be released from his fetters at the very end of the book.[29] Guzmán's involvement with prostitution, however, is not direct, and he is never in a position of power that he can abuse and make a profit from, as is the Alguazir's profession. But, nonetheless, the resemblance of all of the other episodes, circumstances, and locations is striking.

The fact that seven years later, Fletcher prefaced a poem to James Mabbe's translation of *Guzmán*, commenting on the previous French and Italian translations since the book first appeared, probably means that he knew the novel long before 1622. He wrote that since the book was 'allow'd in *Spaine*' it has travelled throughout Europe, 'To

[26] Ibid., p. 34, I.i.1.42 n.
[27] Guzmán gets suspicious when an *alguacil* visits the inn where he is lodging to question the patrons; ibid., pp. 233-34, I.ii.8.
[28] Ibid., pp. 727-29, II.iii.7.
[29] Ibid., II.iii.9.

tell his Tale in *Italy* and *France*' before it was finally available in England. He was aware of the popularity of a book that had been issued in many editions: 'Shall they (he said) / Want onely my thrice-seuen times printed story?'[30] It is, then, entirely possible that he had already read it by the time he created the Alguazir.

[30] I. F. [i.e. John Fletcher], 'To the exact Translator of the famous *History of infamous* GUZMAN' in Alemán, *The rogue, or, The life of Guzman de Alfarache*, sigs A3^{v}-A4^{r}.

IV. LIVES AND AFTERLIVES

1. 'I had rather walk / In folio again': the textual transmission of *Love's Cure*

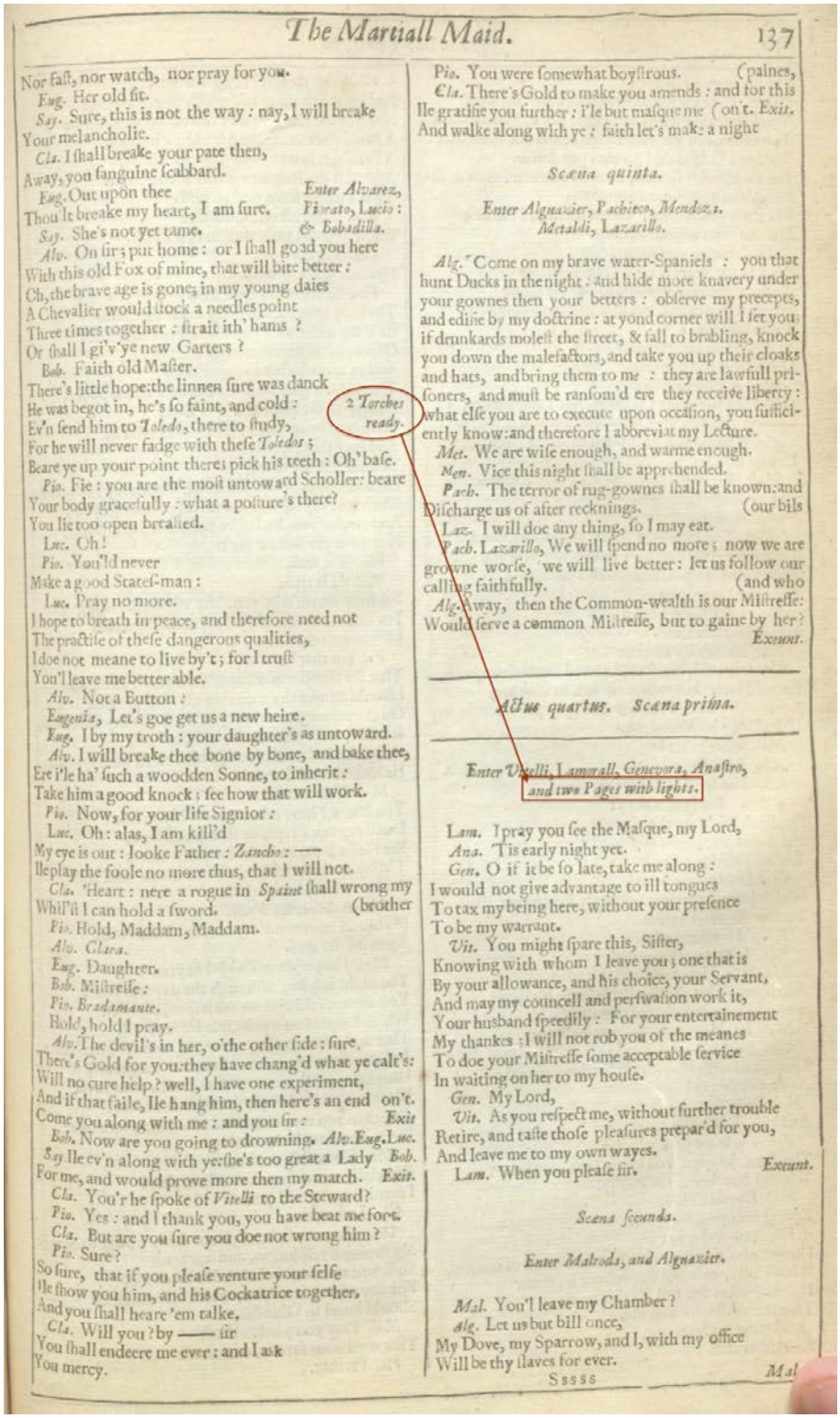
A. The promptbook origins of the 1647 folio text

The common scholarly consensus is that the text printed in F, the only authoritative source for this play, derives from a promptbook previously owned by the King's Men, rather than an authorial manuscript. There are numerous traces of this throughout the text. Generally, entrances are indicated a few lines earlier than would usually be expected. As Williams commented, 'This phenomenon is so frequent as to constitute almost a policy on the matter.'[1] However, the entrances may actually appear where the bookkeeper would have cued the actors to enter the stage. Mariko Ichikawa has calculated that an actor would have taken between two and four pentameter lines to move from the *frons scaenae* to the front of the stage,[2] and has observed that scripts from the period frequently have that delay written into them, with the length of that delay depending on the complexity of the move required.[3] This would explain the practice that Williams commented on and that editors strove to rectify. Writing about the same phenomenon in the F text of *The Island Princess*, Clare McManus has defined it as Fletcher's 'overlapping dramaturgy: events are presented simultaneously rather than sequentially, and each informs the other'.[4]

Other cues marked on the script, such as music and lighting effects, also appear at a slightly earlier point than they would be required. For example, the stage direction at 1.3.38, '*Music*', would presumably accompany the entrance of Eugenia, Lucio, and the

[1] GWW, p. 8.
[2] Mariko Ichikawa, *Shakespearean Entrances* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 43; see also Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 72-95, 114-17.
[3] Ichikawa, *Shakespearean Entrances*, p. 3.
[4] Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. 92.

servants two lines later. Most notably, the marginal indication '*2 Torches ready*' (sig. 5S1[r]), prompting their preparation at 3.4.76, anticipates their appearance on stage at the beginning of 4.1 by 59 lines, with an act break in between.



The Martiall Maid. 137

Nor faſt, nor watch, nor pray for you.
Eug. Her old fit.
Say. Sure, this is not the way: nay, I will breake
Your melancholie.
Cla. I ſhall breake your pate then,
Away, you ſanguine ſcabbard.
Eug. Out upon thee
Thou'lt breake my heart, I am ſure.
Say. She's not yet tame.
Alv. On ſir; put home: or I ſhall goad you here
With this old Fox of mine, that will bite better:
Oh, the brave age is gone; in my young daies
A Chevalier would ſtock a needles point
Three times together: ſtrait ith' hams?
Or ſhall I gi'v'ye new Garters?
Bob. Faith old Maſter.
There's little hope: the linnen ſure was danck
He was begot in, he's ſo faint, and cold:
Ev'n ſend him to *Toledo*, there to ſtudy,
For he will never fadge with theſe *Toledos*;
Beare ye up your point there; pick his teeth: Oh' baſe.
Pio. Fie: you are the moſt untoward Scholler: beare
Your body gracefully: what a poſture's there?
You lie too open breaſted.
Luc. Oh!
Pio. You'ld never
Make a good Stateſ-man:
Luc. Pray no more.
I hope to breath in peace, and therefore need not
The practiſe of theſe dangerous qualities,
I doe not meane to live by't; for I truſt
You'll leave me better able.
Alv. Not a Button:
Eugenia, Let's goe get us a new heire.
Eug. I by my troth: your daughter's as untoward.
Alv. I will breake thee bone by bone, and bake thee,
Ere i'le ha' ſuch a woodden Sonne, to inherit:
Take him a good knock; ſee how that will work.
Pio. Now, for your life Signior:
Luc. Oh: alas, I am kill'd
My eye is out: looke Father: *Zancho*: ——
Ile play the foole no more thus, that I will not.
Cla. 'Heart: nere a rogue in *Spaine* ſhall wrong my (brother
Whil'ſt I can hold a ſword.
Pio. Hold, Maddam, Maddam.
Alv. *Clara.*
Eug. Daughter.
Bob. Miſtreſſe:
Pio. *Bradamante.*
Hold, hold I pray.
Alv. The devil's in her, o'the other ſide: ſure.
There's Gold for you: they have chang'd what ye calt's:
Will no cure help? well, I have one experiment,
And if that faile, Ile hang him, then here's an end on't.
Come you along with me: and you ſir: *Exit*
Bob. Now are you going to drowning. *Alv. Eug. Luc.*
Say Ile ev'n along with ye: ſhe's too great a Lady *Bob.*
For me, and would prove more then my match. *Exit.*
Cla. You'r he ſpoke of *Vitelli* to the Steward?
Pio. Yes: and I thank you, you have beat me fort.
Cla. But are you ſure you doe not wrong him?
Pio. Sure?
So ſure, that if you pleaſe venture your ſelfe
Ile ſhow you him, and his Cockatrice together,
And you ſhall heare 'em talke.
Cla. Will you? by —— ſir
You ſhall endeere me ever: and I aſk
You mercy.

Pio. You were ſomewhat boyſtrous. (paines,
Cla. There's Gold to make you amends: and for this
Ile gratifie you further; i'le but maſque me (on't. *Exit.*
And walke along with ye: faith let's make a night

Scæna quinta.

Enter Alguazier, Pachieco, Mendoza. Metaldi, Lazarillo.

Alg. Come on my brave water-Spaniels: you that
hunt Ducks in the night: and hide more knavery under
your gownes then your betters: obſerve my precepts,
and edifie by my doctrine: at yond corner will I ſet you:
if drunkards moleſt the ſtreet, & fall to brabling, knock
you down the malefactors, and take you up their cloaks
and hats, and bring them to me: they are lawfull pri-
ſoners, and muſt be ranſom'd ere they receive liberty:
what elſe you are to execute upon occaſion, you ſuffici-
ently know: and therefore I abbreviat my Lecture.
Met. We are wiſe enough, and warme enough.
Men. Vice this night ſhall be apprehended.
Pach. The terror of rug-gownes ſhall be known: and
Diſcharge us of after recknings. (our bils
Laz. I will doe any thing, ſo I may eat.
Pach. *Lazarillo*, We will ſpend no more; now we are
growne worſe, we will live better: let us follow our
calling faithfully. (and who
Alg. Away, then the Common-wealth is our Miſtreſſe:
Would ſerve a common Miſtreſſe, but to gaine by her?
Exeunt.

Actus quartus. Scæna prima.

Enter Vitelli, Lamorall, Genevora, Anaſtro, and two Pages with lights.

Lam. I pray you ſee the Maſque, my Lord,
Ana. 'Tis early night yet.
Gen. O if it be ſo late, take me along:
I would not give advantage to ill tongues
To tax my being here, without your preſence
To be my warrant.
Vit. You might ſpare this, Siſter,
Knowing with whom I leave you; one that is
By your allowance, and his choice, your Servant,
And may my councell and perſwaſion work it,
Your husband ſpeedily: For your entertainement
My thankes: I will not rob you of the meanes
To doe your Miſtreſſe ſome acceptable ſervice
In waiting on her to my houſe.
Gen. My Lord,
Vit. As you reſpect me, without further trouble
Retire, and taſte thoſe pleaſures prepar'd for you,
And leave me to my own wayes.
Lam. When you pleaſe ſir. *Exeunt.*

Scæna ſecunda.

Enter Maltroda, and Alguazier.

Mal. You'l leave my Chamber?
Alg. Let us but bill once,
My Dove, my Sparrow, and I, with my office
Will be thy ſlaves for ever.

Ssss5 *Mal*

Fig. 9. F, sig. 5S1[r]

Williams took this to be an unequivocal sign of the theatrical origin of the printed text. He also observed that:

> The copy can hardly have served as a thoroughly acceptable prompt book, for it lacks many exit directions and a few entry directions; regularity in these matters one would have assumed a prerequisite for intelligent prompting.[5]

However, there is only one missing entrance (Vitelli's in 4.2.24), and the lack of six exits[6] can be explained by the fact that it would have been the actor's responsibility to exit the stage when his part script indicated, and they may not have been recorded in the bookkeeper's full copy. As Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern have determined, commenting on the frequent absence of exits in Renaissance playtexts, 'We simply have to acknowledge that surviving plays do not provide all the additional stage directions that parts *may* have done';[7] for example, the 'plot' that would be hanging in the tiring house would have recorded exits 'only erratically [as] the actor using the part needs to know when to exit'.[8] We can assume that the bookkeeper's script would have followed that practice.

Finally, as Hoy observed, there seem to be two passages in 5.3 indicated for a theatrical cut: 135-149 and perhaps 151-174, 'respectively, 19 and 27 lines, which were never actually made in the prompt book, but the cues for which survive in the folio text in the otherwise inexplicable repetition of two speeches'.[9]

This promptbook was most probably the one used by the King's Men in the decade leading up to the closing of the theatres, since the play was in their repertory by 7 August 1641, when it appears on a list of 60 plays in a letter addressed to the Company of

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[5] GWW, p. 8.
[6] 1.2.104, 1.3.83 and 84, 3.4.118, 5.3.184 and 244.
[7] Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 31.
[8] Ibid., p. 87.
[9] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', pp. 55-56; see also 5.3.135 n.

Printers and Stationers by the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Essex. The letter requests that the Stationers were not to allow the printing of these plays without the consent of the King's Men. *Love's Cure* appears listed as *The martiall maide*.[10] The 27 'Beaumont and Fletcher' plays on that list, except *The Wild-Goose Chase*, were included by Humphrey Moseley and Humphrey Robinson in their entry in the Stationers' Register (SR) dated on 4 September 1646. In that entry they registered for publication a total of 48 plays, including 29 that were marked as being 'by mr Beamont and mr fflesher [*sic*]'. *Love's Cure* is listed under the title *Martiall maid*.[11] Since the plays, except *The Mad Lover*, appear in the exact same order in both documents, it seems likely that both lists are directly related. R. C. Bald suggested that 'both the 1641 list and the entry were based on an inventory in the hands of the King's Men'.[12] In any case, it seems reasonable to theorise that the play may have been first performed as *The Martial Maid*, and that *Love's Cure* may be a later re-titling for revival or for publication in F.[13]

It seems almost certain, then, that the manuscripts of most of these plays were sourced from the actors themselves. In 1646, when the publishers must have been in the last stages of assembling their collection, the surviving members of the King's Men had been virtually unemployed for over three years, as the London theatres had been closed

[10] The document survives in the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books at the National Archives, and was transcribed in 'Plays of the King's Men in 1641', ed. by E. K. Chambers, in *Collections IV & V* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 364-69.
[11] R. C. Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1938), p. 5.
[12] Ibid., p. 9. The order of the plays in F, however, is entirely different. Bald also speculated that Moseley may have been planning the publication of F from much earlier than 1646, suggesting that the project could have been in the making at least since 1643; see ibid., p. 5.
[13] The reason is not immediately discernible: was it perhaps to associate it with other commercial plays of the period with *Love's* in their title, such as *Love's Metamorphosis* (Lyly, 1590), *Love's Pilgrimage* (1616), *Love's Cruelty* (Shirley, 1631), *Love's Sacrifice* (Ford, 1632), or *Love's Mistress* (Heywood, 1634)?

by the Parliamentarian authorities in early September 1642.[14] For a group of impoverished actors, the income from Moseley and Robinson would have been most welcome. Moseley's prefatory note 'The Stationer to the Readers' (sigs $A4^{r-v}$) relates some of the difficulties he encountered when he was trying to put the collection together during the ongoing Civil War:

> 'Twere vaine to mention the *Chargeablenesse* of this Work; for those who own'd the *Manuscripts*, too well knew their value to make a cheap estimate of any of these Pieces, and though another joyn'd with me in the *Purchase* and Printing, yet the *Care* & *Pains* was wholly mine, which I found to be more than you'l easily imagine, unlesse you knew into how many hands the Originalls were dispersed: they are now happily met in this Book, having escaped these *Publicke Troubles*, free and unmangled.[15]

Moseley, partnered with Robinson, paid for the edition, but took on him alone to chase up all the different manuscripts, which, as he says, were scattered. We know, for example, that the reason why *The Wild-Goose Chase* was not published in F—it appears in the 1641 list, but not in the SR entry—was that Moseley thought it had been irrecoverably lost: in his note he tells that 'a Person of Quality borrowed it from the *Actours* many yeares since, and (by the negligence of a Servant) it was never return'd' (sig. $A4^{v}$).[16] The copy, therefore, had passed on to private hands. This was also the case of *The Mad Lover*, which Sir Aston Cokayne reported to have had on loan from his friend Charles Cotton until its owner requested that it be delivered to the 'Printers' for publication in F.[17] As *The Mad Lover* is one of the four plays that were added later to the SR entry—the others being *The Laws of Candy*, *Women Pleased*, and *The Sea Voyage*—Bald suggested that these four were 'acquired separately by Moseley, even if we know […] all plays […] had

[14] Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 93. Many of the members of the King's Men had fled to join the royalist forces in Oxford in 1642-43; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 203.
[15] F, sig. $A4^{v}$.
[16] It was finally published by Moseley in 1652 in folio format so that it could be bound into copies of F at the discretion of their owners.
[17] Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647*, p. 7.

been performed by the King's Men'.[18]

Apart from the 29 plays in the 1646 entry, the six pieces that were also printed in F were not registered with the Stationers until the Restoration in an entry dated on 29 June 1660.[19] According to Bald, it is likely that these plays were 'not acquired until after the printing of the book had begun',[20] and that 'shortly before September 1646 Moseley had acquired the manuscripts of only twenty-four plays directly through the King's Men, and that the ten remaining pieces in the volume came to him from other sources'.[21]

In any case, we can assume that *Love's Cure* was among the plays that had been sourced from the surviving members of the King's Men, who signed the dedication to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.[22] Despite the dedication to an aristocrat who would side with the anti-Royalist regime,[23] and the fact that one of the signatories, Eliard Swanston, had Parliamentarian sympathies,[24] the publication of F has been described as an act of royalist propaganda by scholars such as P. W. Thomas.[25] As Philip J. Finkelpearl has summarised, the evidence to support this theory 'includes its production by the royalist publisher Humphrey Moseley, the apparent involvement of the cavalier propagandist Sir John Berkenhead, and the explicit sentiments of some of the prefatory poems, almost all of which were written by avowed loyalists'; these poets were

[18] Ibid., p. 9.
[19] These were *The False One, The Nice Valour, Wit at Several Weapons, The Fair Maid of the Inn,* Beaumont's *Masque of the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple,* and *Four Plays in One*.
[20] Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647*, p. 10.
[21] Ibid.
[22] They were: John Lowin, Richard Robinson, Eliard Swanston, Hugh Clark, Stephen Hammerton, Joseph Taylor, Robert Benfield, Thomas Pollard, William Allen, and Theophilus Bird; see F, sigs $A2^{r}$-$A2^{v}$.
[23] David L. Smith, 'Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650)', *DNB.*
[24] Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time,* p. 219.
[25] P. W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead, 1617-1679: A Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 134.

'largely cavalier literati who were disposed to see Beaumont and Fletcher from a partisan point of view'.[26] The majority of members of the King's Men—the royal company *par excellence*—evidently harboured royalist sympathies, and would have therefore collaborated with Moseley for political reasons, as well as understandable monetary difficulties. Premeditated or not, the book was certainly making a political statement. First, it was offering the London readership a substitute for actual playgoing by providing access to the texts of many popular pieces within recent memory, in defiance of the Parliamentary dislike of drama and the theatre. And second, it was vindicating the universal literary status of John Fletcher, a dramatist who had been associated with the King's Men for most of his career and who, despite his 'political resistance to absolutism', as Gordon McMullan has shown,[27] was clearly regarded as an eminently royalist writer.

B. The F text

The 1647 folio was printed in eight sections, each assigned to a different London printing house to speed the process of assembling the book. The preliminaries were also distributed between the different collaborating printers, five of which have been identified as Thomas Warren (section I), Robert White (section II), Susan Islip (section III, and possibly section VII), Ruth Raworth (section IV and part of VIII), and Edward Griffin (section V and part of VIII). Section VI and the first three signatures of section VIII remain unassigned.[28] Johan Gerritsen reckons that 'printing must have finished before 25

[26] Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 4.
[27] See Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).
[28] Based on Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647*, corrected by Johan Gerritsen, 'The Printing of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647',

March 1647', and he adds that, 'Assuming, as seems justified, that the title-page was the last part of the book to be printed, the occurrence of the 1646 date in some copies would argue that the publishers expected to sell a number of copies before the new year.'[29]

Love's Cure is the sixth play in Griffin's section V, and occupies signatures 5Q3^{r} to 5S6^{r}; sig. 5S6^{v} is a blank page.[30] The play was, therefore, printed in three quires, the first two leaves of the first quire containing the last pages of *The Woman's Prize* (sigs 5Q1^{r} to 5Q2^{r}, and 5Q2^{v} is a blank page). The first two quires (5Q and 5R) are in fours (two folded sheets, or eight pages per quire), which is the norm throughout the folio, while the final quire (5S) is in sixes (three sheets, or twelve pages). The play, like the rest of F, was printed in two columns, except for the Prologue (sig. 5S6^{r}), which was typeset in one column on a single page. Williams's analysis revealed that three compositors collaborated in typesetting the text, and that they did it seriatim, or continuously through following the manuscript, rather than by formes.[31]

Running titles are missing from the first page of the play (sig. 5Q3^{r}), which was the usual practice throughout F, and on signature 5S6. The recto of the leaf, 5S6^{r}—the unusual page containing the Prologue—was mis-paginated as 143, as the running title had been removed from the forme to typeset the new page, but the page number was not.[32] The verso, S6^{v}, was left blank. Otherwise, running titles follow a regular pattern.[33]

The Library, series 5, 3.4 (1949).

[29] Gerritsen, 'The Printing of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647', p. 248.

[30] See section I.1.

[31] See Appendix 3.

[32] Williams detected another pagination mistake in one of the copies at the University of Texas, an error of verso for recto on 5Q4^{r}, giving the page number 128 for 127; see Appendix 4.

[33] See Appendix 3.

C. Subsequent editions in print: F2 to the present

The Second Folio of 1679 incorporated the plays that had been issued in quarto prior to the publication of F. As stated in the prefatory note 'The Book-Sellers to the Reader' (sigs $A1^{r-v}$), the texts of the plays had been checked thoroughly by 'an ingenious and worthy Gentleman' who had 'taken the pains (or rather the pleasure) to read over' and annotate his own copy of F, 'wherein he had all along Corrected several faults (some very gross)' (sig. $A1^{r}$). This gentleman had sold his copy to the publishers—John Martin, Henry Herringman, and Richard Marriott—along with prologues and epilogues missing from F that he had preserved. The identity of this person is not revealed:

> His Corrections were the more to be valued, because he had an intimacy with both our Authors, and had been a Spectator of most of them when they were Acted in their life-time. (sig. $A1^{r}$)

The F2 text of *Love's Cure* incorporated numerous corrections and emendations, but added no extra passages. However, it also introduced some enduring misreadings.[34] Guy A. Battle counted 2,453 variations between the two texts, including those 'in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italicization'.[35] He also pointed out that 'It is obvious that F2 introduces no alterations that make it necessary for one to postulate an independent source on account for them'.[36]

The editions in the following century were mainly based on the F2 text, adding further corrections and beginning to regularise spelling and punctuation. Gerard Langbaine issued his edition of the play in 1711, the first new printing of the play in thirty-two years. However, even if he was using F2 as his copy text, the historical

[34] See the historical collation lines.
[35] Guy A. Battle, '*Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher: A Critical Text with Comment' (unpublished MA thesis, Duke University, 1947), p. 8.
[36] Ibid., p. 16.

collation reveals that he did insert a number of independent readings and emendations. Seven years later, the Quarto seems to have been printed from a copy of Langbaine's edition, rather than F or F2, as most individual readings suggest a near-complete coincidence.[37]

The first edition to reconsider both folios and to try to annotate the difficult passages and the various textual cruxes was Sympson and Seward's in 1750. Later in the century, George Colman's 1778 annotated text erroneously rendered all passages in prose as verse, the whole of scene 2.1 being the extreme case. Henry Weber's 1812 edition reprinted the annotations in Sympson and Seward, and added new ones, while George Darley's 1839 edition reprinted the Weber text with virtually no variations and omitting the annotation.[38]

Alexander Dyce (1845) was the first editor to undertake a complete collation of all previous texts. He imaginatively reconsidered the censored oaths, first investigated by Colman,[39] and undertook a careful modernisation and regularisation of the text. He followed Weber in modernising most Spanish names and phrases to their correct forms, even going as far as emending F's *Sayavedra* for *Saavedra*, probably thinking that the name was a misprint for Miguel de Cervantes's second surname.

Already in the twentieth century, Guy A. Battle completed a 'Critical Text with Comment' as a master's thesis at Duke University in 1947. He limited himself to a minute bibliographical study of F and F2, and a selection of some editions available to

[37] For example, in 2.1.134 F's *signiorie* was given as *Signior* in both texts; in 4.3.88 F's *to* was omitted in both. There are, however, minor exceptions, such as a spelling variation at 4.2.126: Langbaine printed *high-pris'd* while Q gave *high-priz'd*.
[38] I have detected only one change in Darley: in the royal proclamation read out by the Herald, Weber's 'St. Jago' (the form in F) was expanded to 'Saint Jago' in Darley (5.3.24).
[39] See Appendix 6.

him,[40] and provided a facsimile of one of three copies at the University of Texas,[41] with a list of suggested emendations.[42] The thesis includes four appendices of well argued, but largely obsolete commentary, particularly with respect to the date and authorship of the play, and to the study of the Spanish source, which Battle confessed he had consulted but could not read. However, many of his observations on the text, and certain cultural aspects, are still useful, as George Walton Williams acknowledged. Williams cited Battle's 'modern edition of the play' stating that he had not included it in his historical collation,[43] though he clearly took it as a main source for his own investigation of the variants between F and F2.

Williams's 1976 edition in Fredson Bowers's *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon* is the only full critical edition available prior to the present edition. He collated all previous texts except Darley's and the Glover reprint of F2.[44] He included an excellent textual and critical introduction, which, even if erroneous in some instances—most notably in its hypothesis as to the date of composition and the process of adaptation of the Spanish source—is the most solid scholarly approach to the play that was previously available.

Marea Mitchell published her modernised version in the Nottingham Drama Texts series in 1992. It was a worthy attempt at producing a modern-spelling text for a new

[40] Not including Langbaine and Q, which he had no access to and assumed, incorrectly, to be direct reprints of F2.
[41] He does not indicate the classmarks for any of the four copies he collated. The first one, at Duke University, was presumably the one collated by Williams (coded as NCD in Appendix 4), as was one of the three in Texas (TxU), a unique copy that contains the earliest uncorrected state of sig. 5Q4^{r}.
[42] His aim was 'to probe beneath these layers [of textual distortion, i.e. transmission from authorial manuscript to printed text] and get back to the original reading, wherever possible'; see Battle, '*Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher', p. 2.
[43] GWW, p. 11. Of course, there was no point in including it, as the text was a photocopied facsimile of F.
[44] Both with good cause; see 'Note on the text and the historical collation'.

generation of critics,[45] but it was defective in many ways. Some of her modernisations, especially as to the few Spanish phrases, were mistaken.[46] The annotation was sketchy and irregular, and was mainly restricted to issues of gender, while it failed to explain the least accessible cultural references. In addition, though some previous textual readings are sometimes commented on, she gave little attention to the history of the text, and mostly reproduced Williams's version in modern spelling.

[45] For instance, Jonathan Dollimore cites her upcoming (in 1986) edition as providing much-needed access to a play he held in high esteem; see Jonathan Dollimore, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection', *Renaissance Drama*, 17 (1986), p. 78.

[46] For example, in 3.2.82, she rendered the expression spelt *Bazilos manos* in F, corresponding to the Spanish *Beso las manos*, as *Baxilos manos*, and annotated as 'unknown', when previous editors had had no problem in identifying the origin and meaning of the phrase.

2. 'To Ostend's bloody siege': the historical setting of *Love's Cure* and the significance of names

While many plays in the Fletcher and Massinger canons reused character names from their narrative sources,[47] the names that appear in the extant text of *Love's Cure* are not those of the characters in its source, *La fuerza de la costumbre*. Even if most names in Castro are almost generic, and are to be found in many Spanish *comedias* (Otavio, Marcelo, Luis, Leonor, etc.), the martial maid in the Spanish play bears the distinctive name of Hipólita, memorialising the queen of the Amazons; Clara may perhaps seem a timid name by comparison. However, this and other name changes are meaningful in that they allude to the historical context in which *Love's Cure* is set. In brief, most characters in the play are named after historical figures who were involved in the military and political struggle between Spain and the United Provinces in Flanders and the Netherlands in the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth century. In this respect, their historical significance would have been particularly topical for an audience in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and we can probably assume that, if the play was ever revised, the names were those used in its original conception.

These military actions are the backdrop against which the action of the play is performed. The references in the opening scene to the siege of Ostend (1601-4) as a recent event, and to the campaigns of the Duke of Alba in which the older generation (Vitelli's uncle, Don Pedro) took part, firmly establishes the action of *Love's Cure* around 1605.

The siege of Ostend (5 July 1601 - 22 September 1604) was one of the most brutal

[47] For example, only one name is meaningfully changed in *Love's Pilgrimage* from Cervantes's *Las dos doncellas*.

episodes in the wars that devastated central Europe in the seventeenth century.[48] In three years and eighty days of Spanish military campaign against the city, up to 60,000 people were killed from both sides, being the bloodiest carnage in the Eighty Years' War. The city of Ostend was itself relatively small and unimportant, but it remained the only city in Flanders that was not yet under Spanish jurisdiction; its conquest therefore became a priority of the Catholic Monarchy. The city's location at the mouth of the river Iperleda provided easy access to the sea, which also served as a natural defence. The length of the siege was considerably extended as the Spanish forces did not succeed in isolating the city completely: its north-eastern harbour was continuously used to receive supplies and reinforcements from allies arriving by sea.

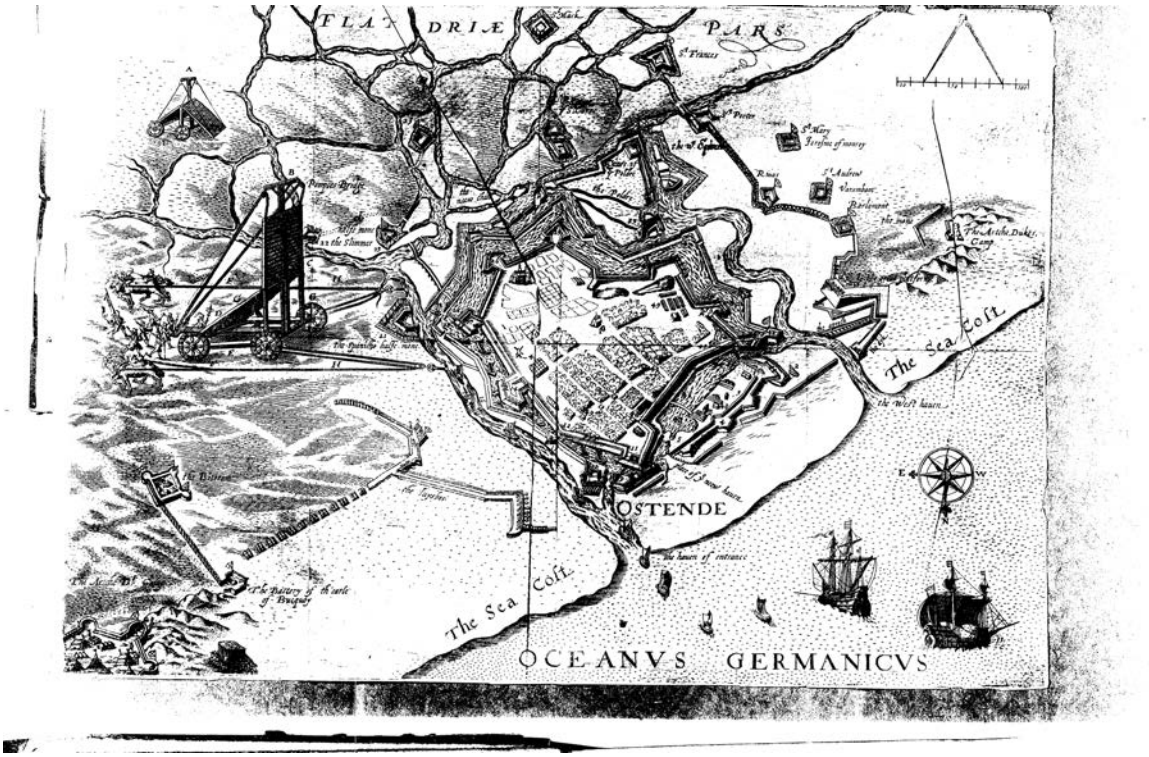


Fig. 10. From *A true historie of the memorable siege of Ostend* (London, 1604), n. sig.

[48] The description that follows has been based on contemporary accounts and on subsequent historical scholarship, particularly Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), and the much older, but still useful, Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*.

For the first two years of the siege, Archduke Albert VII (1559-1621) commanded around 20,000 Spanish, Walloon, and Italian soldiers from the veteran *tercios*. Defending the city, eighty-two companies of infantry, up to 8,000 men from six nations—English, Scottish, Dutch, Flemish, French, and German soldiers—were garrisoned within its walls. As *Love's Cure* terms it, the siege of Ostend truly was 'that stage of war / Wherein the flower of many nations acted, / And the whole Christian world spectators were'. (1.1.39-41)

For the first year of the campaign the besieged forces were commanded by Sir Francis Vere (1560/61–1609), who had brought with him as many as 2,000 English soldiers, most of them press-ganged or freshly taken out of prison.[49] Public interest in the outcome of the siege was strong back in England, as is attested by the publication of numerous contemporary pamphlets even before the end of the campaign.[50] *Love's Cure* uses this military framework to ground the action on a historical context that would have been topical to an English audience of the period. What in Castro was general and remote—the wars in Flanders—is here made specific and extraordinarily vivid, particularly in Lamoral's account in the opening scene.[51] Apart from references to Archduke Albert (in 1.1) and Maurice of Nassau (in 1.2.33), the historical context is explicitly brought forward by reusing recognisable names. The name of the *paterfamilias*, Don Fernando (or Ferdinando) de Álvarez, is quite obviously taken from the name of the 3rd Duke of Alba de Tormes, Don Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel (1507-1582),

[49] They were reported to have plundered the houses of the fallen citizens of Ostend; see Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, pp. 69-75.
[50] No less than three in 1601—*Further newes from Ostend* (STC 18894), *Newes from Ostend of, the oppugnation, and fierce siege made, by the Archeduke Albertus his forces* (STC 18893), two separate editions of *The Oppugnation and fierce siege of Ostend by the Arch-duke Albertus his forces* (STC 18892.3 and 18892.7)—and one in 1602, *Extremities vrging the Lord General Sir Fra. Veare to offer the late anti-parle with the Arch-duke Albertus* (STC 24651).
[51] One episode, the unsuccessful Spanish attack on the Sand Hill on 7 January 1602, is particularly relevant to the conception of *Love's Cure*, as was discussed in section III.1.

the much feared general who governed the Spanish Netherlands with legendary ruthlessness from 1567 to 1572. As Jonathan Israel has described, Alba's 'reputation was of a man of iron and he was certainly coldly austere and rigidly authoritarian with a streak of harsh irritability in his make-up';[52] in this respect, the description of his character matches some features of the stern patriarchal autocrat of *Love's Cure*.

Vitelli refers to the Duke of Alba in 1.1.114, where he states that his murdered uncle, Don Pedro, served under his command in Flanders. Vitelli's name is also linked to that older generation, as the most likely inspiration for it is Chiappino Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona (1520-1576), a Florentine nobleman who commanded the Spanish forces against the Moors in Africa in 1564, and who was sent to the Netherlands with the Duke of Alba, with whom he fought in the battle of Jemmingen in 1568. He travelled to England in October 1569 as ambassador from Tuscany.[53] He subsequently fought at the siege of Zierikzee in 1576, where he died from injuries sustained when he fell off the sedan chair in which he was transported, being at that time an 'excessively fat' man.[54] Massinger would reuse the name for another young male leading character in *The Renegado*.

The names of Vitelli's friends, Lamoral and Anastro, are also significant. Lamoral was the name of the 1st Prince of Ligne (1586-1624). He fought in several battles on the Spanish side in 1589, and was ambassador of Archduke Albert and the Infanta at the courts of Philip III of Spain, Emperor Rudolf III, and Henry IV and Louis XIII of France after 1602. He was made a grandee of Spain in 1621, and died in Brussels in January 1624.[55] Perhaps more poignantly, Lamoral was also the name of the Count of Egmont and

[52] Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, p. 155.
[53] Letter from Thomas Leighton to Robert Cecil about Vitelli's arrival to Dover, *SPF Elizabeth*, 70/9, 474.
[54] Roger Williams, *The Actions of the Low Countries* (Ithaca, NJ: Cornell University Press, 1964), p. 168.
[55] See Willem Schrickx, *Foreign Envoys and Travelling Players in the Age of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Wetteren: Universa, 1986), p. 315; *Supplement au dictionaire*

Prince of Gavere (1522-1568), general and statesman who, in defiance of Philip II, fought for the independence of Flanders from Spain, and whose execution for high treason ignited the long struggle that would eventually lead to the end of Habsburg rule in the Netherlands. His execution, alongside the Count of Horn, 'became a stock feature of subsequent anti-Spanish propaganda in both text and prints'.[56]

The name of Anastro is also associated with sedition and resistance to authority, as it was the name of a bankrupt Spanish merchant of Antwerp, Gaspar de Anastro, who, in 1582, was apparently commissioned to undertake the murder of William, Prince of Orange (1554-1618).[57] For this action he was to receive 30,000 ducats and a knighthood in the Order of Santiago, the most prestigious military order in Spain. Philip II was reported to have signed the commission with his own hand. However, Anastro was persuaded by his servant, Venero, to give up this commission, which was finally attempted by one Juan Jáuregui, while Anastro managed to escape. Jáuregui shot at the Prince at close range, injuring him severely, but he survived the assault; Venero and Jáuregui were duly executed.[58]

The names of mother and daughter, Clara and Eugenia, are also obviously linked to the historical context though the name of the Infanta referred to in the opening scene, Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), daughter of Philip II of Spain and sister of Philip III, who was Sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands at the time of the siege of Ostend. She was encamped with her husband, Archduke Albert, in front of the walls of the city, and

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historique, géographique, généalogique, etc. (Basel: Veuve de Jean Christ, 1745), p. 210; and Monsieur de Chenaye-Desbois, *Dictionaire de la noblesse* (Paris: Antoine Boudet, 1775), pp. 15-16.

[56] Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, p. 156.

[57] William of Orange was the brother of Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), referred to in 1.2.33; see n.

[58] See John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic: A History* (Leipzig: Alphons Dürr, 1858), pp. 407-09; Thomas Henry Dyer, *The History of Modern Europe* (London: John Murray, 1861), p. 313; and Thomas Colley Grattan, *Holland: The History of the Netherlands* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), pp. 166-67.

made frequent public appearances among the soldiers, as the play reports.[59]

After the first two years of campaign, Albert was substituted by the Spanish general of Genoese birth Ambrosio Spínola Doria (1569-1630), Grandee of Spain, who brought the campaign to a successful end, and who would culminate his long military career with the conquest of the Dutch city of Breda in 1625. Bobadilla's middle name in the play, Spindola, claims a humorously paradoxical connection with the famous general, as the steward repeatedly proves to be a coward.

With these historical referents, which in their topicality anticipate the composition of Massinger and Fletcher's *Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt* in 1619, the audience was invited to link the play to recent military events in which England had taken part as an ally of the United Provinces, and against her traditional enemy, Spain.

[59] Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, p. 72.

3. 'Barbarous […] Irreligious': genre and the Jacobean culture of duelling in *Love's Cure*

The play is described in F2 as 'A COMEDY'. Many situations are broadly humorous or even farcical,[60] and, following the conventions of the genre, the play ends with several marriages: the four young lovers—Vitelli and Clara, Lucio and Genevora—plan to celebrate their respective weddings, and Piorato, the fencing master, is revealed to have just married Malroda, the prostitute. But, above and beyond, Álvarez and Vitelli are reconciled, putting an end to the enmity of many years, a happy ending that provides the logical generic conclusion.

However, the tone of the initial scene does not, in any way, announce that the play is a comedy. Lamoral's report of the arrival of Álvarez to Seville, and of his son's (Clara's) deeds of arms at Ostend, prompts in Vitelli a firm resolution: 'useless are all words / Till you have writ performance with your swords.' (129-30) A spectator who did not know that the play is supposed to be a comedy would immediately take it for a revenge tragedy. Lucio's appearance wearing a dress and complaining about his ruff follows hard upon Vitelli's exit, and produces a remarkable contrast. This generic instability is a fundamental part of the fabric of a play that combines elements from different dramatic sub-genres: revenge tragedy, farce, historical play, and romantic comedy. This generic fusion may find its origin in the experiments that Fletcher and Beaumont initiated in their collaborative plays, particularly with respect to tragicomedies such as *Philaster* or *A King and No King*, which toy with the audience's expectations as to how the plot is going to be resolved. [61]

[60] Remarkably Lucio's first appearance (1.2), the early stages of Clara and Lucio's transformation (2.2), Sayavedra's wooing of Clara, and Lucio's fencing lesson (3.4), as well as, potentially, the duel between Lucio and Lamoral (5.1), or the extremely sudden resolution of the play in the final scene (5.3).

[61] And perhaps that is another reason why Hoy assumed that Beaumont must have had a

But a very prominent feature of this play is its fascination with swordfighting and duelling, inherited from its Spanish model, formally a typical *comedia de capa y espada* (a 'play of cloak and rapier'). As we saw in section I.4, the anti-duelling campaign that James I orchestrated by issuing two consecutive proclamations,[62] helps to establish the chronology of the composition of the play and to connect it with topical preoccupations. This campaign must have influenced the choice of theme and, possibly, the development of a full-blown revenge plot that is only sketched in the Spanish original, and that only finds its resolution in an oddly public duel, a scene that is reliant upon the audience's knowledge of seventeenth-century duelling practice.

Though only two of them are duels, scenes that show violence are numerous and varied. Vitelli is outnumbered against Sayavedra and Álvarez in 1.3, while he is committing a potentially capital offence by attempting to attack a man in his own house;[63] Clara singlehandedly puts Lamoral and Anastro to flight in the same scene; Lucio is accosted by Bobadilla role-playing as Vitelli, while Clara attacks the steward for teasing her and her brother, and tries to strangle him (2.2); Malroda attempts to shoot a pistol at Vitelli in 3.3; Lucio's fencing lesson in 3.4 culminates with Clara's attack on Piorato; Vitelli is ambushed by the false watchmen and saved by Clara in 4.2; Lamoral and Anastro fight against Álvarez's faction, and then all of them against the watchmen, in the nightly scene 4.3; Lucio challenges Lamoral to a duel in 5.1; and the play ends with the legal duel between Vitelli and Álvarez (5.3).

These last two scenes present two duels that, even acknowledging the formalities of the process, ultimately subvert some of the conventions. The reparation of an affront to

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hand in the composition of *Love's Cure*.

[62] On 15 October 1613 and 4 February 1614; see James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, eds., *Stuart Royal Proclamations, vol.1: Royal proclamations of King James 1, 1603-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)

[63] Perhaps hamesucken: see 1.3.90-91 n.

a gentleman's honour in a duel usually involved three stages: a written or verbal challenge was issued, a time and a discreet place were appointed, and the duel was fought.[64] In addition, the duel is normally fought with the assistance and supervision of two other gentlemen, the 'seconds', who would guarantee that all formalities were observed and who would provide immediate assistance if one of the combatants was subsequently injured or killed. The privacy with which a duel was normally conducted was due to the fact that it was an illegal activity across Europe.[65]

In this respect, Lucio and Lamoral's confrontation in 5.1 follows the rules, but only up to a certain point. Lucio has been deprived of Genevora's glove—an object whose exchange is usually associated with the issuing of a challenge—and seeks to appoint a secluded place to hold a private duel: 'Would you vouchsafe to show yourself a captain, / And lead a little further to some place / That's less frequented.' (5.1.16-18) However, the verbal exchange escalates, and the duel is never realised as the fight takes place there and then. There is no time to appoint two seconds or to find a more discreet place.

The duel in the final scene is conducted according to the usual formalities: a challenge is issued, two seconds are named, and a place and time are determined. However, the crucial deviation from the norm is the legality of the proceedings: the duel is to take place in public by command of the King of Spain, who has issued a proclamation to be read just before the event by the Herald. The document makes a specific reference to this being a 'granted duel', that is, that the duel is legal, as consenting to it is the King's last resort after having tried for years to pacify the enmity

[64] As Markku Peltonen has summarised, 'These three aspects—a private or secret fight, caused by an insult and organised by a challenge in order to prove one's sense of honour rather than overcome one's opponent—gave the duel of honour its quintessential characteristics.' See Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*, p. 2.
[65] In *La fuerza*, for example, the Alguacil and his watchmen appear to stop a duel and arrest the combatants.

between both families.[66] The duel provides a familiar framework for the potentially fatal resolution of the play. The dramatic tension starts to build up from the entrance of the two factions and their pre-fighting verbal exchange, and is increased with the appearance of the women pleading for the termination of the process.[67] Eugenia, Clara, and Genevora manage to halt the fight for the considerable space of 114 lines, around 7 minutes of stage time,[68] taking the scene to the fatal climax of their assisted suicides. Up to this point the outcome of the scene almost seems irreversible: Eugenia will die by Bobadilla's pistol, Clara and Genevora will stab each other to death, and then Vitelli and Álvarez, and perhaps their seconds, Lamoral and Lucio, will engage in the mortal fight that they have had to postpone: either Vitelli, the revenger, may manage to have final satisfaction for his uncle's death, or his life may be ended by Álvarez, the reoffending murderer. This fatal outcome would be the natural resolution of this heightened tension, and the play would have been a revenge tragedy, just as the opening scene promised. The comic U-turn is perhaps unexpected and unpredictable, and it does not fail to generate laughter in an audience.[69] But this does not mean that the play is generically faulty, or that the comic ending is forcibly imposed at the eleventh hour upon the structure of a play that would have otherwise ended in tragedy. In a way, the abrupt shift at the end further exposes the frail boundaries between dramatic genres, and it attests the boldness with which this play questions generic constraints and experiments with new ways of dealing with otherwise

[66] Note that it also seems appropriate and topical that, since King James's campaign against duelling was channelled through two proclamations, the duel in *Love's Cure* is brought about by royal proclamation. According to Maxwell, 'King James, before coming to England, had in 1600 established a law in Scotland making it murder to kill one in a duel *held without royal sanction*', Maxwell, *Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger*, p. 86; my italics. This legislation did not affect England, but it does reveal that King James had reserved the right to allow 'granted duels', at least in his other realm.

[67] As we saw in section I.4, the final scene in *Love's Pilgrimage* also features the interruption of a duel by the intervention of three women. Note that in the final scene of Webster's *The Devil's Law Case* (1618) the situation is analogous, but the fight is not a duel: the initial SD specifies that it is a public joust: '*The lists* [*are*] *set up.*' (5.6.0 SD)

[68] Calculated from the archive video of the 2012 production.

[69] It did in the 2012 and 2013 productions.

serious matters. It is not a nod to traditional generic definitions—it is a comedy, therefore the dramatists have to end it with reconciliation and marriage—but, rather, an exposition of the instability of such definitions.[70]

[70] See section IV.5 for further discussion of the ending. A useful examination of duelling culture in the Fletcher canon can be found in chapter VIII, 'The Attitude toward the Duello in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', of Maxwell, *Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger*, pp. 84-106.

4. 'Turn this man woman, or this woman man': Fletcher, *Love's Cure*, and the cross-dressers of the early Jacobean period

The trope of cross-dressing in Renaissance drama has attracted enormous critical attention, and it would be impossible to give here but the briefest of sketches of the scholarly work that has been undertaken, particularly over the last thirty years. Major scholars who have written critical work on transvestites and the performance of gender in the English dramatic literature of this period include Laura Levine, Phyllis Rackin, Jean Howard, Marjorie Garber, Michael Shapiro, Stephen Orgel, and David Cressy.[71] In addition, Sandra Clark, Jonathan Dollimore, Anne Duncan, and Peter Berek have written about these themes specifically in Fletcher.[72]

A total of 15 out of 51 extant plays in the Fletcher canon contain cross-dressers in their *dramatis personae*.[73] In other words, almost a third of the plays in this large group explore or exploit this theme in one way or another. In fact, a search in Wiggins's *Catalogue* for cross-dressers in plays written between 1603 and 1625 reveals that no other

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[71] Laura Levine, 'Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642', *Criticism*, 28 (1986); Phyllis Rackin, 'Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage', *PMLA*, 102 (1987); Jean E. Howard, 'Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 39 (1988); Marjorie B. Garber, 'Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety', (London: Routledge, 1992); Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994, 1996); Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[72] Sandra Clark, '*Hic Mulier*, *Haec Vir*, and the Controversy over Masculine Women', *Studies in Philology*, 82 (1985); Dollimore, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection'; Sandra Clark, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: Sexual Themes and Dramatic Representation* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994); Anne Duncan, 'It Takes a Woman to Play a Real Man: Clara as Hero(ine) of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 30 (2000); and Peter Berek, 'Cross-dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 44 (2004). See section IV.4.

[73] This count includes the partially extant *Cardenio*, and obviously excludes *The Jeweller of Amsterdam* and *The Devil of Dowgate*, of which we have little information.

dramatist included such a high number of transvestites in his plays the whole Jacobean period. Fletcher included one for the first time in *Cupid's Revenge* (1607), in which Urania assumes the persona of a page to escape from an undesired marriage. In *Philaster* (1609), the young Euphrasia is in disguise as Bellario throughout the play, only disclosing her identity in the final scene when she renounces Philaster's love. The first male cross-dresser in Fletcher's career was Welford in *The Scornful Lady* (1610), who appears in drag for comic effect. Aspatia in *The Maid's Tragedy* (1611) disguises herself as her brother to challenge Amintor to a duel. In the lost *Cardenio* (1612) we can assume that, as in its Cervantian source, the character of Dorotea adopted the disguise of a shepherd boy in her escape to the mountains after being raped by Fernando.[74] In *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613) Veramour disguises himself as a maid only to be accosted by La Verdine. Alathe is cross-dressed throughout *The Night-Walkers* (1615) as the witty boy Snap. Presumably a few months after the premiere of *Love's Cure*, he presented the title character of *Monsieur Thomas, or Father's Own Son* dressed up as a lady.[75] In *Love's Pilgrimage* (1616) Theodosia spends the night at an inn at the beginning of the play pretending to be a man and Leocadia is disguised as a boy. In *The Loyal Subject* (1618), Alinda is really Archas' son in disguise. Cleremont in *The Little French Lawyer* (1620) disguises himself in women's night-clothes. *The Pilgrim* (1621) contains another case of double cross-dressing, when Alinda and Juletta disguise themselves as boys. Two years later, *The Maid of the Mill* included a scene in which Aminta dresses up as a page. Finally, in the posthumous *The Noble Gentleman*, the servant Jacques disguises himself as a woman.

The other plays of the period that include this theme are also numerous, and it

[74] The characters are called Violante and Henriquez in Lewis Theobald's adaptation *Double Falsehood.*

[75] See Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension*, p. 107.

may be useful to give a few meaningful examples. The title character in Jonson's *Epicoene* (1610) is believed to be female throughout the play. In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, also composed in 1610, Innogen cross-dresses as a boy. Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* of the same year is perhaps the most salient example with no less than four cross-dressers,[76] including the first stage version of Mary Frith, or Moll Cutpurse, who would reappear in Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* the following year. Also in 1611, Middleton's *No Wit / No Help Like a Woman's* shows Mistress Low-water dressed up as a gentleman. In Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) Flamineo helps Vittoria to escape her seclusion in the 'house of convertites' by disguising her in masculine clothes, though this happens off stage. In *Wit at Several Weapons* (1613) Lady Ruinous cross-dresses as a highwayman. In Middleton's *The Widow* (1615) Philippa and Violetta disguise the young Ansaldo as a woman to protect him from his enemies with the pretence that 'His youth will endure it' (5.1.77).[77] Wittipol appears in disguise as a Spanish lady in Jonson's *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616). In *The Faithful Friends* (1620), Lelia is living in disguise as the page boy Janus. The pregnant Winifred assumes the disguise of a page to pursue her lover, Frank Thorney, in *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621), and in *The Nice Valour, or The Passionate Madman* (1622), firmly attributed to Middleton, a young gentlewoman disguises herself as Cupid in a masque.

Based on these lists, we can argue that, at least over those two decades, the theme of cross-dressing was eminently Fletcherian, while Jonson and Middleton seem to have used it occasionally. It was likely, therefore, that it was Fletcher's idea to incorporate the

[76] Bold dresses as an old waiting gentlewoman, Mistress Mary Princox, in pursuit of his love for Lady Bright, the widow (1.1); Moll Cutpurse appears wearing men's apparel in one scene (2.1); Lady Honour, the maid, disguises herself as an Irish foot-boy to put Ingen's love to the test (2.3); and Ingen's brother Frank appears dressed as a masked woman.

[77] i.e. that his youth 'will enable him to pass for a woman', as Gary Taylor and Michael Warren annotate.

main plot involving the transvestite siblings to *Love's Cure*, as Massinger only used the theme once in his *solus* output after his collaborator's death, in *The Bashful Lover*.[78]

As Michael Shapiro has systematically demonstrated, there were well-known real cases of cross-dressing in Renaissance London, particularly among women. Examples included aristocratic ladies, such as Arabella Stuart, a distant relative of James I who tried to escape house arrest by fleeing to France in male apparel in 1611.[79] But some women of humble birth were also accused of cross-dressing, with or without reason, and they were immediately branded for sexual promiscuity: 'Cross-dressing in and of itself was evidently considered a sexual misdemeanour, or evidence of such.'[80] This link between female cross-dressing and sexual depravity is expressed in some plays of the period. For instance, in *Amends for Ladies*, Grace abuses the cross-dressed Moll Cutpurse screaming: 'Hence, lewd impudent! / I know not what to term thee, man or woman, / For Nature shaming to acknowledge thee / For either, hath produce'd thee to the world / Without a sex.' (2.1, p. 23) In *The White Devil*, Cardinal Monticelso has included in his infamous 'black book', his personal registry of criminals in Rome, the 'impudent bawds / That go in men's apparel' (4.1.54-55).

As a reflection of this public controversy, two frequently-cited pamphlets, *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir*, published in 1620, condemned, respectively, the depravity of female and male transvestites. It was, as Shapiro summarises, 'An unorganised protest rather than a coherent movement, [in which] the issues involved the moral and spiritual equality of women and aspects of social freedom'.[81]

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[78] Note that *The Duke of Milan* presents a disguised woman who is not specifically cross-dressed; see below.
[79] Shapiro, *Gender in Play*, p. 15.
[80] Ibid., p. 16.
[81] Ibid., p. 21. The titles of the pamphlets were not original, but topical: a decade earlier, in *Amends for Ladies* Seldom calls Moll 'Mistress *hic* and *haec*' (2.1, p. 23).

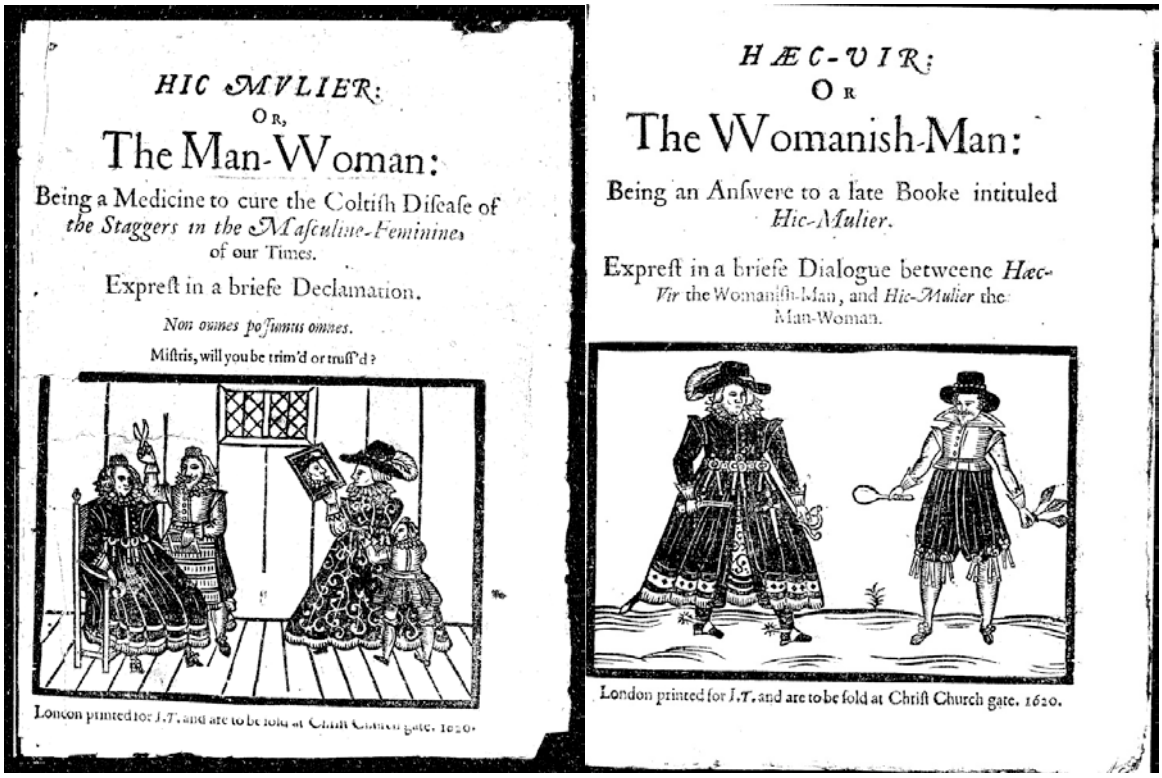


Fig. 11. Front pages of *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir* (London, 1620)

However, it is not strange that *Love's Cure* preceded that date, given that, as Susan Gushee O'Malley has stated, 'References to cross-dressing are even more frequent in early seventeenth-century literature' than in the years following 1620.[82] As a sign of the social anxieties around cross-dressers in the pre-1620 period, she mentions that in *The Curtaine-Drawer of the World* (1612) William Parks condemned female transvestites as degenerates and their male counterparts as effeminate lechers, while in *Mysticall Bedlam; or, The World of Mad-Men* (1615) Thomas Adams denounced cross-dressers as confusing entities 'not discernable out of a Coach'.[83]

Apart from the occasional presence of cross-dressed patrons in the audience,[84] the

[82] *'Custom Is an Idiot': Jacobean Pamphlet Literature on Women* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 252.
[83] Ibid.
[84] As Shapiro suggests, 'theatergoers probably saw cross-dressed *Hic Mulier* women at playhouses, especially at the more expensive and fashionable so-called private theatres'; Shapiro, *Gender in Play*, p. 23.

relationship between cross-dressing and the professional theatre was an obvious one: the most evident cross-dressers in the playhouses were the male actors playing the female roles. These were the frequent targets of anti-theatrical propaganda. In Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) Busy interrupts the puppet show protesting against cross-dressed actors: 'my main argument against you is that you are an abomination: for the male among you putteth on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male.' (5.3.77-79) John Creaser annotates as follows:

> Busy paraphrases the source of a standard puritanical argument against the theatre: 'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto the man, neither shall a man put on woman's raiment: for all that do so, are abomination unto the Lord thy God' (Deuteronomy, 22.5. Geneva marginal note: 'For that were to alter the order of nature, and to despite God'). His argument is too broad, since there were no female actors in England then.

The necessity to employ cross-dressed male actors to play the female roles was the result of an odd but persistent tradition that had gradually died out in other European countries, but that would remain current in England until the Restoration. The inclusion of the theme of cross-dressing in the drama of the period, and, in particular, the inclusion of the male performer who portrayed a woman who cross-dresses as a man, was a recurrent metatheatrical device generated by this received tradition, whose emergence was perhaps predictable: the confusion generated by young male actors who played women who cross-dress as men, or men who cross-dress as women, was a richly productive device that competent dramatists could not afford to miss.

From the point of view of the fiction created within plays, perhaps the most interesting effect of transvestism was the challenge to, and alteration of, the social order, even if only temporarily. Particularly in Fletcher, as Peter Berek has suggested, cross-dressing 'often enacts anxiety about political authority as well as gender roles, as though

gender served as a discussible surrogate for a less discussible topic, royal absolutism.'[85] Despite these wider political implications, the influence of the trope is felt perhaps more strongly in the domestic relationships between the characters. As Ursula K. Heise has stated, 'seductive and empowering to both men and women, the transvestite also leaves both genders at the same time deeply disconcerted, simultaneously confirmed and destabilized in their mutual power relationships'.[86] As she observes of female cross-dressers, for example, 'A woman in male attire appears even more attractive in her usual clothing—so much so, in fact, that she comes to epitomize the dangers of the theatre in general'.[87] The theatre was, then, an ideal forum to present these social anxieties that question received notions of authority and gender politics. But although the destabilising factor, in the domestic and the wider political spheres, is common to transvestites of both genders, the literary tropes and the characterisation associated with them are substantially different.

Writing about female cross-dressers in drama, Shapiro observes that 'most of the plays involving heroines in male disguise take a positively sympathetic view of cross-dressing. […] The link between cross-dressing and illicit sexuality is usually articulated by curmudgeonly parents or their surrogates, who fail to see the heroine's male disguise as a sign of devotion and fidelity.'[88] In fact, women who cross-dress in plays of this period do so for a serious purpose, even if appearing in a comedy. Discussing the trope in connection with the tragic genre, Lucy Munro traces the reasons that some of these heroines have for following 'the conventional comic path of cross-dressing': the transvestite heroine can do so 'in order to pursue the man to whom she is attached' as in

[85] Berek, 'Cross-dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', p. 360.
[86] Heise, 'Transvestism and the Stage Controversy in Spain and England, 1580-1680', p. 374.
[87] Ibid., p. 367.
[88] Shapiro, *Gender in Play*, p. 24.

Cupid's Revenge and *The Witch of Edmonton*, and in other cases, 'such as *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Duke of Milan* and *The Fatal Contract*, she pursues revenge, often highlighting the inadequacies of her male relatives'.[89]

By contrast, male cross-dressers in English Renaissance plays are almost invariably comic. But even if, as David Cressy states, in the male case 'the cross-dressing is played for laughs, without suggestion of a gender system in trouble', the actual effect is quite different:

> Rather than being effeminized, the cross-dressed man is more often rendered as proactive, virile, and effective. His dissimulation is a means to advancement, not downfall. In Jacobean comedy (though not in dramatic criticism) the transvestite male appears more energized than emasculated by his temporary change of clothes.[90]

However, Cressy's examples reveal a fundamental contrast between these theories and the dramatic reality depicted in *Love's Cure*. In the plays he exemplifies with, the cross-dressers are all in disguise, and their assumed persona is separated from their actual identity.[91] Independently of the tone with which female and male cross-dressing is treated—generally serious for the former and farcical for the latter—both share a common trait in the plays that have been mentioned: the cross-dressing stratagem is based on disguise, on the active assumption of the persona of a member of the opposite sex for a particular intention with the expectation of not being recognised. In this respect, the case of *Love's Cure* is entirely anomalous. We can argue that, at the beginning of the play, Clara and Lucio are not really in disguise, as they are not pretending to impersonate

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[89] Lucy Munro, 'Tragic forms', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, ed. by Emma Smith and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 86-101 (p. 98). Note, however, that *The Duke of Milan* should not be on this list: Eugenia appears in disguise in the last act of the play, but only Gifford's 1805 edition adds that her disguise is male attire: the original SD did not specify it, and it is not necessary from a dramatic point of view. See Philip Massinger, *The Plays of Philip Massinger* (London: Bulmer and Co., 1805, 1813).

[90] Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension*, p. 105.

[91] Ibid., pp. 105-6.

someone else. Up to her arrival in Seville, Clara has been, at all effects, a male soldier in Flanders, and she would have chosen to carry on being a man. The effect of Clara's masculine clothes is not humorous, and her outward appearance only becomes comic when she ineptly wears clothes that are socially appropriate to her sex.[92] In line with other male transvestites, Lucio's female appearance is the subject of mockery (Bobadilla's) and presumably was meant to generate the audience's laughter. But his gender identity at the beginning of the play is actually female, and he would have preferred to remain as such. Clara and Lucio were leading entirely fulfilling lives as Lucio and Posthumia, respectively, and their outward appearance matched their actual gender identity. The fact that their respective parents were trying to conceal their actual sex through the assumption of a different gender identity does not alter the perception that the two characters had of themselves and their wish to remain what they have learnt to be.

Even if it is a central theme of the play, the actual cross-dressing is restricted to two scenes in the first act. It is an *a priori* factor: the siblings have been cross-dressers all their lives, and, after catching a brief glimpse of their previous existence, the play deals primarily with their difficulties in accommodating their behaviour to heteronormative expectations and anxieties. A young woman fighting in a soldier's outfit in Flanders, and a feminised young man who has barely left the house, are acceptable as long as they have remained outside the Sevillian public sphere—in the anomalous reality of a distant war and in the privacy of an enclosed home. But their identity is not acceptable outside their remit, and needs to change in order for them to become full members of society. The fact that Lucio and Clara do not consider themselves to have lived in disguise is markedly different from the case of all other cross-dressers of the period, and is perhaps the most interesting contribution to the Jacobean transvestite controversy that the play has to offer.

[92] The comedy verges on the grotesque when she appears in 2.2 wearing a visual combination of her former and future identities: a dress and all her weapons.

5. ‘Long monstrous metamorphoses’: the modern critical reception of *Love’s Cure*

The play has received much-deserved critical scrutiny over the past three decades, particularly with respect to its remarkable questioning of the social construction of gender, and the processes of transformation that the two transvestite siblings undergo. The first modern commentator to write extensively about the play was Sandra Clark in an essay published in 1985. She analysed the play in relation to the 1620 controversy around the two famous pamphlets *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir*, erroneously accepting the premise that the *Annals* date, ‘1625(?)’, is correct, and therefore assuming that the play was influenced by their publication. Of Lucio and Clara she observed that ‘while the effeminate man is inevitably a comic character in drama, the romance conventions of the disguised heroine allow Clara to be treated sympathetically’.[93] Lucio is thus shown in his female clothes only in one scene in order to ‘exploit the comic possibilities of his effeminacy’, while Clara embodies a more serious theatrical trope, that of the ‘disguised heroine’. Clark is particularly perceptive in recognising that, in a patriarchal society where ‘masculinity consists in dominance and aggression’, the play’s resolution is not brought about by the constructive pleading of women, but only by their destructive threat to commit suicide: ‘Female strength is thus demonstrated not in positive action against the enemy, but in suffering, in violence against the self.’[94]

A year later, in 1986, Jonathan Dollimore investigated these issues in his influential essay ‘Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection’, which presented a critical reading of a number of literary and polemic works that deal with the social anxieties around cross-dressed characters and their transgression of received heteronormative assumptions. Of *Love’s Cure* he said that it is perhaps ‘the most interesting theatrical containment of the transvestite challenge’, as it ‘addresses the most

[93] Clark, ‘*Hic Mulier*, *Haec Vir*, and the Controversy over Masculine Women’, p. 181.
[94] Ibid., p. 182.

challenging claim or implication of the transvestite, namely, that gender division and inequality are a consequence not of divine or natural law but of social custom'.[95] Dollimore, however, vilifies the play for its conservative resolution, as, in his opinion, it 'produces transgression precisely in order to contain it, and in the most insidiously ideological way: […] desire itself is transformed, not coerced, back from the perverse to the natural'.[96] He states that the play's construction of masculinity is based on two characteristics, 'sexual prowess and violence', both exemplified by Álvarez's instructions to his son to prove that he is a man: to fight against another man and to rape a woman.[97] In this regard, he establishes a link between the physical violence exercised by the men in the play and their sexual desire, as they employ their swords as symbolic substitutes for their phalluses against each other. As in other Beaumont and Fletcher plays, 'valorous males […] oscillate between honorable antagonism and honorable alliance':[98] the rivals would be threatening each other following their sexual instincts in a complex game of hate and love, legitimised by the pursuit of sexual fulfilment with a woman for whom the fight is formally staged. In this respect, Dollimore perceives that a homoerotic subtext permeates the ideological makeup of a play that he ultimately finds to fail at what it set out to do, reverting to an unpardonably conservative resolution.

In line with Dollimore's interpretation, for R. Valerie Lucas *Love's Cure* is also ultimately a conservative manifesto that supports the Renaissance construction of masculinity from the principles of violence and sexual voracity. However, Lucas makes a groundbreaking claim:

> Ironically, the person who most conforms to the pattern for ideal manhood is Clara, the female transvestite. Her function in the play is to point out men's deviations from their

[95] Dollimore, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection', p. 72.
[96] Ibid., p. 73.
[97] Ibid., p. 74.
[98] Ibid., p. 76.

> own chivalric code of combat and to provide an heroic example for men to emulate.[99]

This thought-provoking declaration, developed by Anne Duncan some years later, challenges Dollimore's more male-centric reading by vindicating the centrality of Clara in the play as a critique of a male-dominated world.

Gordon McMullan, in his seminal 1994 monograph *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher*, also found Dollimore's interpretation to be inaccurate and insufficient, and presented a more nuanced reading by problematising Dollimore's careless assumption that Fletcher is the sole author of the play, and that therefore the perceived conservative agenda must be ascribed to him. McMullan introduced the issue of multiple authorship into the debate, finding that, if Hoy's approximate attribution of the beginning and ending of the play to Massinger is correct, then, independently of the particular processes of composition that *Love's Cure* may have undergone, 'it is clear that Fletcher was much more interested in the setting-up of the problem than in its resolution'.[100] Massinger would be the one to blame: 'it is Massinger, not Fletcher, who provides the words both for Clara's rejection of her erstwhile masculinity […] and for Lucio's discovery of his "natural" sexual preferences'.[101] And he adds that 'Fletcher's hand is present in […] the scenes in which the gender inversion is presented', including 1.2 and 2.2,[102] which demonstrates the following:

> Fletcher was fascinated by the setting-up of unlikely and transgressive political situations and effectively uninterested in the necessary process of resolving them, an obligation of writing for the Jacobean stage. *Love's Cure* may, as Dollimore suggests, ultimately offer a conservative resolution to the question of natural gender; John Fletcher, however, as coauthor cannot be held responsible for the resolution provided.[103]

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[99] R. Valerie Lucas, '*Hic Mulier*: The Female Transvestite in Early Modern England', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Reforme,* 12 (1988), p. 78.
[100] McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher*, p. 152.
[101] Ibid., pp. 152-53.
[102] Ibid., p. 152.
[103] Ibid., p. 153.

It is a persuasive argument that vindicates the politically transgressive ideology that Fletcher's plays otherwise endorse, as McMullan analyses in the rest of the monograph. As he points out, we can assume that a Jacobean play would not have been allowed to end differently. Even in a comedy, a radical endorsement of transexuality as an admissible possibility would not have been tolerated by the censoring authorities, or even perhaps the audiences. In fact, taking the argument a step further, we can question the ending from the point of view of its suddenness: does the abrupt resolution, at the very brink of tragedy, actually undermine the seemingly conservative values that it defends by its mere absurdity? If we read it in this way, the ending would be a mere formality that must be dealt with in a few lines, while the play as a whole, including Massinger's contribution, has been setting up an unresolvable problem. Thus *Love's Cure*, including the shares of the two authors, would be doing what McMullan ascribes only to Fletcher: questioning the conservative values that it must reinforce publicly by including an ending that draws attention to its implausibility.

Sandra Clark wrote again about the play in *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: Sexual Themes and Dramatic Representation*, published in the same year as McMullan's book. She acknowledges that Dollimore's 'position is complicated by difficulties over the dating of the play',[104] and analyses the conservative agenda of male heteronormative dominance that the play is supposed to be endorsing:

> The validity of the masculine code of honour which governs Alvarez and Vitelli's conduct of their blood-feud is questioned in several ways. The low-life characters throughout the play represent an alternative set of values, in particular preferring self-interest before honour; and their comic cowardliness in IV, iii, the scene where Lucio's dormant valour first begins to wake, helps undermine the notion of manhood taken seriously in the feud.[105]

[104] Clark, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: Sexual Themes and Dramatic Representation*, p. 68.
[105] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

Clark, presenting the lower-class characters as an alternative to the rigid moral codes of the gentry, claims recognition for the importance of Lucio's broken promise when he fails to rape Genevora as instructed by his father: 'Thus the equation Alvarez would make between manliness and violence is cancelled out', and Lucio subsequently develops 'his own notion of a masculine soul's instructions by defeating a rival […] and then sparing his life'.[106] Unlike Dollimore, and by a vindication of the importance of the female intervention in the final scene to prevent a predictable bloodbath, Clark finds that the play ultimately 'does provide a critique of an influential concept of masculinity and a validation of the contribution of womanliness to the social order'.[107]

In 2000, Anne Duncan provided an insightful reading of the play with respect to its sub-titular role in 'It Takes a Woman to Play a Real Man: Clara as Hero(ine) of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*'. Her analysis 'follows Jonathan Dollimore's distinction between two kinds of transgression to be found in literary artifacts: "humanist transgression" and "transgressive reinscription"'.[108] The objective of the former category is 'to escape or transcend the social/ideological construct it opposes', anticipating 'Romantic and idealistic notions of freedom and subjectivity'.[109] However, Duncan is not interested in this kind of reading, as it tends 'to focus on the image of the androgyne or hemaphrodite, while critics who look for transgressive reinscription tend to give more attention to the transvestite'.[110] She implicitly accuses Dollimore of reading the play from the former perspective: 'To critics looking exclusively for humanist transgression, *Love's*

[106] Ibid., p. 71.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Duncan, 'It Takes a Woman to Play a Real Man: Clara as Hero(ine) of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*', p. 397.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., p. 398; she follows Dollimore, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection', pp. 53-69.

Cure seems conservative, even "crude," in its exploration of gender roles.'[111] Her central argument is based on the investigation of the latter category:

> If we look for examples of transgressive reinscription, however, the play becomes much more complex and interesting. The cross-dressing and valorous masculine behaviour of Clara, the "martial maid," constitute a kind of transgressive reinscription of masculinity as (only) performance. She is presented as the only "real man" in the play. When she "becomes" a woman, she performs equally well in that role, revealing that gender (and not just masculinity) is only a performance, and furthermore, in a reversal of English Renaissance stage practice, that a woman can perform a man best.[112]

This notion, developed from Lucas, is a bold suggestion, but it has failed to convince later critics such as David M. Robinson, who thought that this was 'a *resistant* reading, smart and revealing, but proceeding against the grain of the text'.[113] However, as Duncan acknowledges, even if we accept that Clara is the most successful man in the play, finding 'some of the "feminine" behaviors required of her as a woman difficult to perform (passivity, most notably), she conforms to other aspects of the feminine ideal', particularly with respect to her fiercely guarded virginity.[114] Passivity, according to Duncan, is the main trait of the performance of femininity in the play, and must always fail against the action derived from the performance of masculinity: 'masculine action will always prove to be superior, so that it will *signify* as masculinity'.[115] The best example of this is the duel in the final scene, in which Clara and the other women fail to stop the men using their feminine weapons ('tears, sighs, prayers, her beauty')[116] and they have to resort to masculine action by threatening to have themselves killed. In this way,

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[111] Duncan, 'It Takes a Woman to Play a Real Man: Clara as Hero(ine) of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*', p. 398; she specifically cites Clark's work, which she still finds too deterministic.
[112] Ibid.
[113] David M. Robinson, *Closeted Writing and Lesbian and Gay Literature: Classical, Early Modern, Eighteenth-Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 218.
[114] Duncan, 'It Takes a Woman to Play a Real Man: Clara as Hero(ine) of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*', p. 403.
[115] Ibid., p. 404.
[116] Ibid.

'Clara abandons her role as heroine when she is ineffectual as a woman, and reverts to her role as hero in order to achieve her goal'.[117]

Peter Berek has read the play as an echo of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, based on the assumption that the relationship between Viola and her long-lost brother Sebastian is replicated by that of Lucio and his long-lost sister. However, there are several fundamental problems in drawing that identification, which I find to be ultimately unpersuasive. Firstly, only Viola is cross-dressed in *Twelfth Night* and is repeatedly mistaken with Sebastian, while in *Love's Cure*, as we have seen, the siblings are not really in disguise, they are only cross-dressed briefly, and, for the duration of the play, they are only mistaken once.[118] Secondly, the confusion between Viola/Cesario and Sebastian is based on the fact that the first is in male disguise, but she does not emulate her distinctly virile brother; unlike Clara, Viola impersonates a man rather poorly. Berek's argument, in any case, is that, in its supposed recreation of *Twelfth Night*, the play intensifies 'the degree to which cross-dressing interrogates issues of masculinity and authority', ultimately demonstrating 'a deepening anxiety about the intersection of gender and authority, and perhaps acknowledges by the vigor of its special pleading its own lack of full belief in the authority it affirms'.[119] In this respect, according to Berek, the accusations of conservatism would not be justified.

David M. Robinson's 2006 study provided an investigation of the play from a queer perspective, looking at issues of sexual orientation and gender identity in connection with the two siblings and their social environment. He draws an interesting connection with Lyly's *Galatea* (1584), as that play also doubles the number of cross-dressers, and with *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (1600), in which the heroine is physically

[117] Ibid., p. 405.
[118] Vitelli assumes that the young soldier who saves his life in 1.3 is a man.
[119] Berek, 'Cross-dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays', p. 366.

transformed into a man with the curse that she will fall in love with another man.[120] The difference is that 'unlike those earlier plays, *Love's Cure* magically transforms its characters' genders, not sexes'.[121] It also deviates from those plays, and from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 'in almost completely avoiding the subject of homosexuality whether female or male'. And he goes a step further:

> At no point does the play suggest any possibility of erotic desire between women. As for erotic desire between men, it makes at most a fleeting, shadowy appearance when Clara and Vitelli first admire one another, before the secret of her true sex has been revealed, and before her gender change has begun. […] Moreover, the play does *not* allow us […] to pursue such possibilities. No sooner has Cupid's arrow struck than it begins to work its unswervingly heterosexual magic.[122]

Robinson acknowledges the homoerotic element of the relationships between soldiers, as Dollimore suggested, but is otherwise unpersuaded that *Love's Cure* may address in any way the theme of same-sex desire. As he critiques, 'Deviant gender, not deviant sexuality, is the play's concern'.[123] The theme, which is nevertheless present in other plays by Fletcher,[124] seems to be obliterated in *Love's Cure*: the play exposes the origins and effects of the construction and performance of gender, but it implicitly assumes (correctly by modern notions) that sexual orientation is not linked to gender identity. A person whose physiological sex is male, but whose gender identity has been female so far, can still be sexually aroused by, and fall in love with, a woman. The play, of course, takes for granted the underpinning notion that heterosexuality is instinctive and 'natural', and can assist Lucio and Clara in overcoming their temporary transformation. However, we

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[120] Wiggins 1231.
[121] Robinson, *Closeted Writing and Lesbian and Gay Literature: Classical, Early Modern, Eighteenth-Century*, p. 212.
[122] Ibid., p. 213.
[123] Ibid., p. 215.
[124] There are many examples of homoeroticism in Fletcher, often related to transvestism: for instance, the Duke's attempted seduction of Alinda (really the cross-dressed son of Archas) in *The Loyal Subject*, or La Verdine accosting the disguised Veramour believing he is a woman in *The Honest Man's Fortune*.

should perhaps reconsider the implications of this transformation more closely. They are finally 'cured' by falling in love with a member of the (socially accepted) opposite sex. But this, in a way, is loaded with a covert and paradoxical homoeroticism: at the beginning of the play they themselves are—socially and acceptedly—members of the opposite sex. Clara is, to all effects, a man: a soldier in Flanders, well known for his deeds of arms, and whose name has been largely reported to be Lucio (1.1.67). Lucio, despite being chastised by Bobadilla, dresses and behaves as a young woman, Posthumia, who is yet oblivious of her own erotic passions. The play does not reveal how they feel about the reality of their physiological sex—Lucio has 'a better needle' under his petticoat, after all (1.2.17)—but they have always behaved as confident members of their respective opposite sexes, with all the social consequences that this entails. So, in a way, when the play comes full circle and reverts these 'so long monstrous metamorphoses' (5.3.259), it is only because they have fallen in love with two almost stereotypical examples of the kind of people they have tried to be all their lives.

Clara is first dazzled by Vitelli's dexterity with a sword and his courage in confronting his enemies even when outnumbered: to her eyes, 'valour and true resolution / Never appeared so lovely'. (1.3.104-105) After an initial disappointment, even witnessing his womanising habits in 4.2 ultimately does not put her off admiring him, as perhaps that is something she assumes to be habitual in young attractive men. She finally discovers an overwhelming affection for those masculine characteristics that she has been emulating all her life. Her simultaneous discovery of her own femininity is a necessary step to make that love as socially acceptable as her masculine behaviour was until she arrived in Seville. She has no choice but to yield to that 'natural' feeling. But, in a way, even if she gives up her sword and former life, Clara has fallen in love with a member of her own gender: a brave, boisterous young man.

Lucio, in his own turn, starts feeling an overwhelming affection for the feminine Genevora, a passive young woman who flees from danger in the middle of the street brawl in 4.3, and who is submissive to her brother and her suitor Lamoral (4.1 and 4.4). As a lady of quality, she would have been expected to master all the domestic skills that Lucio has been applying himself to all his life. They both share the same upbringing and the same social values. When he feels an unexpected sexual arousal (4.4.12-14), he is, in a way, responding to Genevora's external female attributes: her dress, her makeup, her smell, her voice—presumably the kind of features he has been trained to care about. In a way, just as his sister, he is falling in love narcissistically with an image of his former self, the person he would have preferred to remain being: a beautiful, demure young woman.

6. 'Wherein the flower of many nations acted': stagecraft and stage history

When Gregory Doran was preparing his re-imagined version of Fletcher and Shakespeare's lost *Cardenio* for the Royal Shakespeare Company (2011), he came across a contemporary stage version of the same story that had been written in Spain by Guillén de Castro, and unlike its English counterpart, it survived. Castro's *Don Quijote de la Mancha* may have been the earliest stage adaptation of the Cervantian original,[125] composed within a year of the publication of the First Part of the novel.[126] Doran became interested in the work of this obscure Valencian playwright, who 'had written the play that inspired Corneille's *Le Cid*', and found a further connection between his work and English Renaissance drama: 'Another of his works, *Fuerza de la Costumbre* [*sic*], tells the story of a young girl, who is brought up from birth as a boy, and of a boy who is brought up from birth as a girl. John Fletcher adapted it into an extraordinary play called *Love's Cure.*'[127] Reviewing the 2001 production, Lucy Munro found the play to 'reveal itself in performance as witty, immediate and eminently stageable'.[128] The actors in the 2012 project could not understand why this play has not been more popular in the theatre, as they thought it proved to be entertaining and superbly performable. But if the play seems so theatrically engaging, it is intriguing that it has not been produced professionally since 1642, and though rumours have circulated, there are no definite plans to produce it, for example, at the RSC. In this section I will be tracing the history of its performance, from the original staging in 1615 to the latest student production in 2013.

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[125] See Guillén de Castro, *Obras de don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1926), II, pp. 331-72.
[126] Courtney Bruerton dated it to '1605-08 (probably 1605-06)'; see Bruerton, 'The Chronology of the *comedias* of Guillén de Castro', p. 116.
[127] Gregory Doran, *Shakespeare's Lost Play: In Search of Cardenio* (London: Nick Hern, 2012), p. 19.
[128] Lucy Munro, 'Report of Francis Beaumont, John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *Love's Cure* with the King's Players', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama,* 41 (2002), p. 76.

Original stagecraft: the first performances by the King's Men

The F text was conceptualised for a playing space with two doors, probably a central opening or discovery space, and an above gallery. The two doors are used simultaneously, for example, at the beginning of scene 3.3, whose opening stage direction prescribes '*Enter* VITELLI *and* [*the*] ALGUAZIR *at several doors*'. The previous scene ends with Malroda and Piorato's exit into her private apartment, which, assuming continuous action between 3.2 and 3.3, seems to indicate that they were meant to do so through the central opening, as the doors need to be clear for Vitelli and the Alguazir to enter. Another example of a simultaneous entrance at the two doors is that of the two combatting factions in the final scene: '*Enter severally* ÁLVAREZ *and* LUCIO, VITELLI *and* LAMORAL.' In this case, the visual impact of the confrontation seems to be realised most effectively if they appear at opposing doors and stand at either side of the stage. The above gallery is used at two points in the play: Clara's overhearing of Vitelli's dealings with Malroda (4.2), and the appearance of the three women in the final scene.

The necessary blocking of three groups of characters in scene 4.3 might indicate that the theatre for which the play was first written may have possessed a pair of stage pillars. The group of false watchmen hide somewhere on stage while Álvarez, Lucio, and Bobadilla appear. These have to hide as well when Lamoral and Anastro make their entrance with Genevora, accompanied by two pages. The easiest way to do this is to have the watchmen and Álvarez's faction standing apart at opposite sides of the stage, while Vitelli's friends appear—probably through the central opening, as the two sides of the stage are already busy—and take the centre. In the fiction of the play the scene happens in total darkness—as signified by the torches the pages carry and as described in the dialogue—so the first two groups on stage could just be standing at some distance

concealed by the assumed darkness. However, if the playhouse had two pillars on stage, they may have been used as hiding places, making the scene easier to play.[129] As we saw in section I, the play most probably premiered in the Globe theatre in the summer of 1615, although it may have played in the indoor Blackfriars as well. It is unclear from the surviving evidence whether the Globe had stage pillars when it was reconstructed in 1613 after the fire that destroyed the first building,[130] but the Blackfriars is unlikely to have had them, given the size of its stage and the information we know about its architecture.[131] The necessary blocking that emerges from scene 4.3 does not immediately imply the existence of two pillars in the second Globe, but it could support that possibility. In any case, as with other pieces in the repertory of the King's Men, the company would have been able to re-block a play devised for one space to accommodate the physical constraints of the other.

Love's Cure would have had four intervals between the acts, as indicated by some of the transitions: for example, the characters who left the stage at the end of act IV reappear at the beginning of scene 5.1, presumably after a break in which the musicians would have played an interlude. As for the personnel required, the minimum number of actors needed to perform the play as it is written, without cutting, conflating, or adapting the script, is 23. This number is high, and is due to the fact that in the final scene every character who has appeared during the play is present from line 5.3.221. That is, apart

[129] This conclusion emerged in one of the workshops for the 2012 production, in which the actors tried to block the scene using a comparatively small stage of the size of the Blackfriars's (around 8 by 4.5 metres, or 25 by 15 feet). It occurred to them that the scene would work very easily on the stage of the reconstructed Globe in London using the two pillars.

[130] See Paul Nelsen, 'Positing Pillars at the Globe', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 48 (1997), p. 328.

[131] See Ralph Alan Cohen, 'The Most Convenient Place: The Second Blackfriars Theater and its Appeal', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 2011), (p. 213); and Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 32.

from the 19 speaking characters, the play requires at least four supernumeraries to perform various roles: the non-speaking Stephano and at least two other servants in 1.2, two pages with lights in 4.1 and 4.3, at least two watches in 4.3, and a minimum of two attendants and two guards in 5.3. There is no exit for the Herald after his last line in 5.3, but it is plausible that he may leave the stage and play one of the members of Pacheco's gang. Stephano may also be played plausibly by one of these.[132]

Restoration and beyond: visual representations

We do not know how often the play was revived after 1615, though the Prologue, as we have seen, supports that it was, as does the fact that in 1641 it was still the property of the King's Men. R. C. Bald suggested that the SR entry that Humphrey Moseley paid for the publication of F in 1647 is also sign of 'the successful conclusion a little earlier of an agreement with the King's Men, by which Moseley acquired rights in a large number of their plays'.[133] Moseley must have assumed that the agreement also included the rights to perform the plays. In a letter to Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, dated on 30 August 1660, and therefore after the Restoration, he claims ownership of the rights to stage the plays that he had published: 'neither did I ever consent directly or indirectly, that hee [the manager of the Cockpit playhouse, the Phoenix in Drury Lane] or any others should act any playes that doe belong to mee.'[134]

However, it is perhaps surprising that it was not one of the popular plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon to have been revived in the Restoration, given the favourable taste for cross-dressing in the theatre after 1660. Perhaps there was not enough

[132] See Appendix 1.
[133] Bald, *Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647,* p. 4.
[134] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673,* p. 90.

cross-dressing, or it was not particularly linked to disguise and confusion. Gerard Langbaine, who recorded the revival of these plays in his *Dramatic Poets,* does not report any productions that he knew of,[135] though his 1711 edition includes the first image of a scene from the play, printed as its frontispiece.

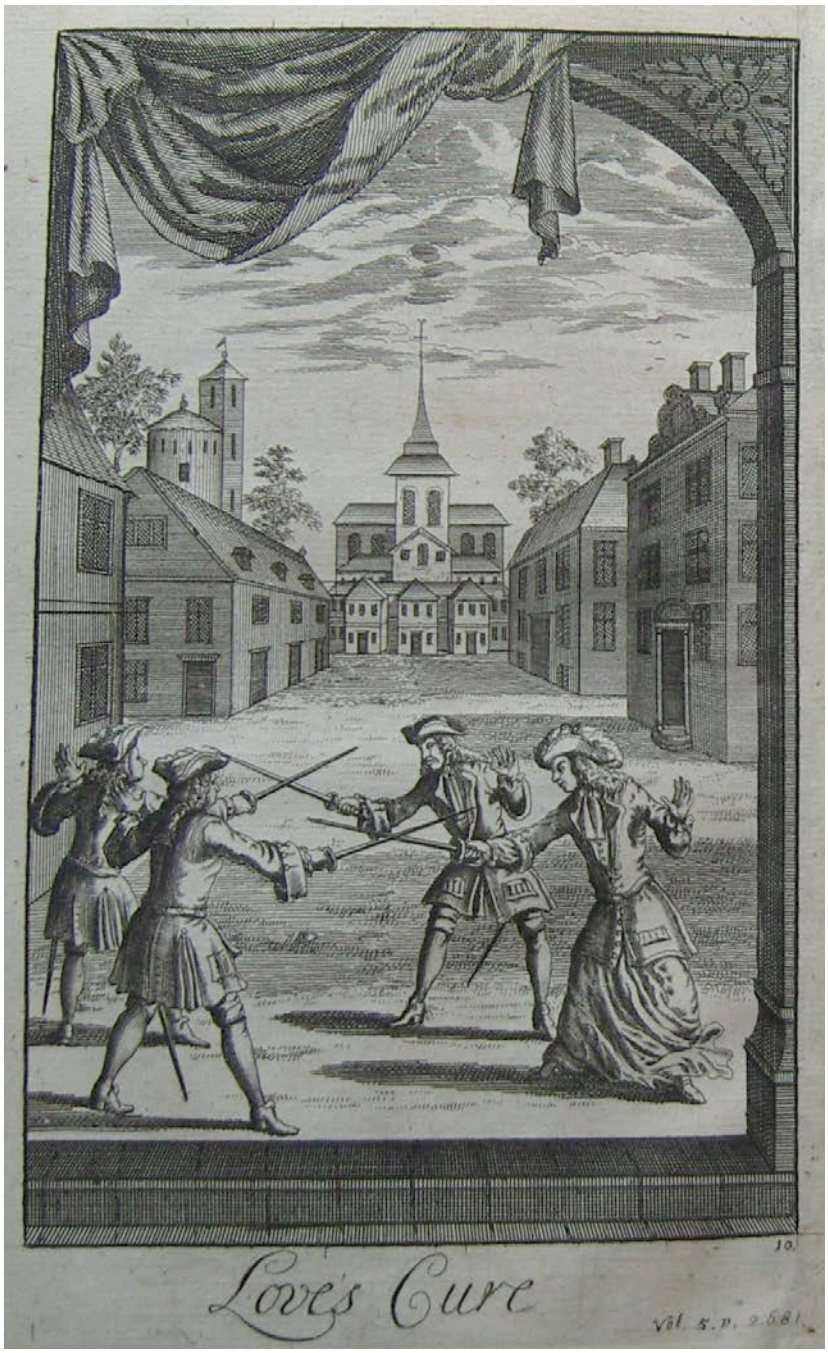


Fig. 12. Frontispiece from Gerard Langbaine's edition, 1711

[135] Gerard Langbaine, *An account of the English dramatick poets* (Oxford: Printed by L. L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), sig. O2[r].

The engraving probably depicts the brawl in 1.3 (Álvarez and Sayavedra against Vitelli and Clara). As the text indicates—though most editors have overlooked the fact—the scene takes place in the street.[136] The main street, receding into a vanishing point in the middle of the picture, is intersected by several perpendicular side streets that seem to replicate the wings of a proscenium-arch stage. This sense is strengthened by the framing of the image with an arch decorated with a classical acanthus leaf; a piece of cloth is draped over the upper left-hand corner, suggesting perhaps a theatrical curtain. The costumes the characters are wearing are early eighteenth century, which is consistent with the frontispieces of Nicholas Rowe's contemporary edition of Shakespeare (1709), which also presents scenes from the plays performed in realistic sets with eighteenth-century dress. The theatrical presentation of the scene, however, does not necessarily imply that it was taken from an actual performance.

Colman also included an image from the play as its frontispiece, in this case the moment in which Clara attempts to strangle Bobadilla with his own chain of office (2.2.108). The costumes are, again, contemporary with the edition (1778), and present a room in the house with Álvarez's portrait hanging over the mantelpiece, and weapons scattered on the walls, with two pistols on a side table and the steward's staff of office broken on the floor after he had been hit on the head with it. It is also unlikely that the image replicates any actual performance.

[136] See 1.3 Location n.



Fig. 13. Frontispiece of Colman's edition, 1778

An eighteenth-century adaptation: Suett's *The Female Duellist*

In 1793 the script of *The Female Duellist,* a short 'afterpiece' in two acts inspired by *Love's Cure,* was printed in London as a small octavo. The author was the comic actor and singer Richard Suett (baptised in 1755 - 1805), who acknowledged his source in the prefatory 'Advertisement': 'For the leading character, and various incidents in the *Female Duellist*, the author is much indebted to Beaumont and Fletcher's Comedy of *Love's Cure,* or the *Martial Maid*.'[137] According to the title page, the play had been acted by the King's Company at the King's Theatre on Haymarket, which stood on the site of the current Her Majesty's Theatre. It is the only vestige of *Love's Cure* to have been performed on the London professional stage in almost four centuries, although, as the 'Advertisement' states, it is only loosely based on it. It only retains some names (Don Alvarez, Zanchio, Lucio, and Clara) and some dramatic situations, but is otherwise a distinctly different work.

Claudio—a character based on Vitelli—wishes to avenge his father's death in a duel. The killer was Don Alvarez, who has just been pardoned and has returned to Seville, much to Claudio's outrage.[138] Alvarez also seeks reparation to his honour, as Claudio had tried to force his daughter Clara into having sex with him, while Don Zanchio, her guardian, had been bribed by Claudio and had stepped aside. Claudio's friend Pedrez suggests that he should seek reparation for his father's death challenging Don Alvarez's son, Antonio, rather than the actual killer. Pedrez reports as well that a young gentleman of extraordinary swordsmanship, Lucio, has travelled with Don Alvarez from abroad, accompanied by a servant, Bombardo (the Bobadilla figure). Lucio relates that he is Antonio's rival in the lady Aurelia's love, and that he advised Clara to elope

[137] Richard Suett, *The female duellist: an after piece* (London: J. Owen and R. Baldwin, 1793), sig. A4^{r}.
[138] The names have not been modernised from the 1793 text.

with him from Seville. He then taught her how to use a sword and they were so close that 'she lost the woman in the man', and, as Bombardo adds, 'she grew *masculine*' (sig. B4^{v}). After five years, Lucio has returned to Seville from England to challenge Antonio to a duel; after he delivers the challenge, Lucio reveals to the audience that he is actually Clara in disguise. Lucio/Clara reveals the true purpose behind her return to Bombardo: to take revenge on Don Zanchio for facilitating the rape, and to help Claudio and Alvarez overcome their enmity. She sings an 'air' at Aurelia's window pretending to be Antonio to no effect. Alvarez and the guardian Zanchio are quarrelling about Clara's disappearance when Bombardo storms in to report that Claudio and his faction are fighting against Lucio (a scene akin to 1.3 in *Love's Cure*). Claudio is engaged in combat with Zanchio and Alvarez, while Pedrez and Bombardo are also fighting. Lucio/Clara now warns against the inequality of the present fight, as Claudio is outnumbered. Alvarez is outraged for having been attacked in his own house; Claudio replies that there can be no sanctuary 'against insulted honour' (sig. D3^{r}), which resonates with 1.3.90-94 in *Love's Cure*. They all depart, except Zanchio, who is confronted by Lucio and Bombardo, who sing a series of 'airs' while they beat Zanchio up.

The second act begins with the delivery of a love letter from a certain Isabella to an astonished Claudio, summoning him to a tryst. Lucio is dressed in female attire pretending to be the fictitious Isabella, while Bombardo—who does not know that Lucio is actually Clara—has disguised himself as an '*old Dunna attending her*' (sig. E2^{v}). Claudio arrives and Isabella sends the duenna, Rosa, away to look out for the arrival of her grumpy old uncle. Bombardo re-enters disguised as the angry relative to defend Isabella's honour, and sends Claudio away. Aurelia and her uncle, Don Zanchio, receive the visit of Antonio, who reports that he has challenged Lucio to a duel in the promenade. Aurelia instructs her waiting woman, Jaquenet, to put on her veil and go to the promenade

to deliver a letter to Lucio, while she herself has received a letter admonishing her to stop the duel before it is too late. In the outskirts of the city Jaquenet delivers the letter to Bombardo, who tells Antonio that his master Lucio has been called to settle a duel with a lady, and that he could not turn up to fight against him. The jealous Antonio departs in search of Aurelia. Don Alvarez has received the same letter as Aurelia asking him to stop the duel between Antonio and Lucio, and he appears, only to find a confused Don Zanchio, who has come to quarrel with Bombardo. In the final scene, Aurelia has found out that Lucio is not a man. Alvarez re-enters, declaring his fear that his friend Lucio may be killed by his own son, Antonio. Aurelia informs him that Lucio is an impostor, and that he is, in fact, his own lost daughter Clara. Bombardo tells Antonio that Lucio has never tried to seduce Aurelia. They all discuss the various letters they have received, finding them to be part of Clara's scheme. Claudio then appears, proclaiming his love for the mysterious and beautiful lady Isabella and his intention of giving up his enmity against Don Alvarez for her sake. Clara enters wearing a veil, justifying Lucio's actions. She then reveals her identity, offering her hand in marriage to Claudio. Antonio and Aurelia make amends, and Bombardo expects a reward for his services to the female duellist.

The introduction of the disguise as a source of confusion and the homoerotic overtones of Clara's pretended courtship of Aurelia are totally alien to *Love's Cure*, as are the farcical tone of the dialogue and the excessively confusing plot. The plot and the aesthetic makeup of the piece are thus so distorted from the original to make the resemblance almost unrecognisable. But it has been the only remnant of the original play to have been performed professionally since 1642.

Three modern academic productions

The first production in recorded history since the closing of the theatres was staged in the Greenwood Theatre at King's College London on 22-24 March 2001. It was directed by Martha Crossley, who edited the text and played the role of Malroda, while Michael Caines, now English literature editor of the *Times Literary Supplement*, composed the music and played Vitelli. Lucy Munro reviewed 'this stylish production' as 'a powerful reminder of the dramatic flair of some of Shakespeare's more underrated contemporaries'.[139] She was particularly impressed with Thea Gardner and Rob Jessel's turn as Clara and Lucio, and described Crossley's performance as Malroda as 'memorable'. The text was cut 'for reasons of length and casting', doing away with the subplot involving Lazarillo and the three craftsmen, but retaining the Alguazir. In the absence of the hungry knave, James Healy's Bobadilla was the 'new comic centre' of the play, 'who was given a show-stopping and splendidly silly original song, "Beaumont and Fletcher," immediately before the interval'. The set was particularly impressive, 'with the stage being dominated by a huge needle, emblematic of both phallic power and the cultural constraints placed on women's behaviour by a patriarchal society'.[140] Unfortunately, no archival video survives.

In 2012, as part of the research undertaken for this thesis, a team of professional and amateur actors under the direction of Robert F. Ball and my coordination worked on the uncut text of the play, aiming to offer two script-in-hand performances in Stratford and Birmingham as the final result. The production was staged following as much as possible the principles of 'original practices' developed at the reconstructed Globe in London:[141] full Renaissance costume, period music played on period instruments, the use

[139] Munro, 'Report of *Love's Cure*', p. 75.
[140] Ibid., p. 76.
[141] See Christie Carson and Farah Karim-Cooper, eds., *Shakespeare's Globe: A*

of a Renaissance *frons scaenae* with a bare stage platform and no extra scenery, and an all-male cast. The *frons* of an indoor Jacobean playhouse was replicated with a set designed by Colin Judges and built on site at the Shakespeare Institute, comprising a wide discovery space with two curtained doorways at either side. Due to budgetary constraints, the above gallery was simulated by the use of stepladders behind the set.[142] The costumes were sourced from the Royal Shakespeare Company, following the design of Red Smucker, who set the play in the early Jacobean period; they were as historically accurate as the RSC wardrobe would allow. The music was chosen and arranged by Jen Waghorn and Cecilia Kendall White, who performed, respectively, on a reproduction of a Baroque violin and a modern clarinet. The cast included nineteen actors, the youngest of whom was nineteen and played Malroda. Only one supernumerary was available to play the watch and the guard in acts IV and V, while two doublings were necessary: the actor playing Metaldi doubled as the non-speaking Stephano, while Mendoza also played the Herald, who exited after his speech and re-entered with the other craftsmen. The process of rehearsing the production in a series of five day-long sessions dedicated to each of the acts was extremely useful. The final performances probably lacked the flow and depth of a fully memorised production after a longer rehearsal period, but managed to convey a sense of how the original staging might have worked in indoor performance. An archival DVD is included at the back of this thesis as Appendix 10.[143]

Finally, on 12 December 2013 the students of the British American Drama

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Theatrical Experiment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[142] However, the final scene was staged with the women being discovered in the central opening, rather than above, as one of the actors suffered from vertigo and was unable to use the ladder.

[143] I will be publishing a full account of the project and its results in a special issue of *Shakespeare Bulletin* co-edited by Emma Smith, C. K. Ash, and myself, due to appear in the spring of 2016; the title of the essay is 'Editing on stage: Theatrical research for a critical edition of John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid*'.

Academy presented a performance of the play at the Oval House theatre in London under the direction of Graham Watts with an all-female cast of thirteen. The set was minimal and remained unchanged throughout; it was dominated by a large central carpet painted with a geometric pattern, surrounded by four flanking trellised doorways and two benches upstage. The costumes were perhaps more Caroline than Jacobean, but aimed at being consistent with the period in which the play is set. The pace of the show was vigorous, and there were some outstanding individual performances among the very young actors involved. Megan Hrabak was a nuanced Vitelli who was troubled by his inability to impose his will on the women that surrounded him, particularly with regards to Madison Gordon's overwhelming Clara, who perfectly captured the inner conflict of the character when commanded to switch her gender identity. Rachel Eskenazi-Gold, who also composed the music, gave two superbly differentiated performances as Anastro with an American accent, and as a Cockney Lazarillo, who revealed himself to be the comic heart of the play, as Rosie Koocher's Bobadilla failed to take that place. The subplot was retained with some clever doubling—Anastro with Lazarillo, Eugenia with Mendoza, Sayavedra with Metaldi, and Piorato with Pacheco—and the Asistente's lines were reassigned to Sayavedra. The audience—mostly comprised of the actors' relatives, who apparently knew nothing of the play beforehand and had little theatrical experience—were overwhelmingly positive and appreciative.[144]

[144] Individual moments have been used to comment on the text throughout in the annotation.



Fig. 14. BADA production, December 2013, scene 5.3; standing, left to right, Don Álvarez (Madeleine Saidenberg), Lucio (Mari Crawford), Sayavedra (Kyla Sylvers), Anastro (Rachel Eskenazi-Gold), Lamoral (Emma O'Connor), and Vitelli (Megan Hrabak); kneeling, left to right, Eugenia (Olivia Kaplan), Genevora (Melanie Rose Thomas), and Clara (Madison Gordon).

However, the first professional revival of the play since the closing of the theatres, unfortunately, remains to be programmed. This is perhaps a symptom of the indifference that modern theatre makers seem to hold for the plays in the Fletcher canon. The RSC and Shakespeare's Globe have been recently mounting major productions of English Renaissance plays beyond the Shakespearian repertoire at the Swan Theatre and the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, respectively; but since Gregory Doran's accession to the Artistic Directorship of the RSC in 2012, and the opening of the indoor Jacobean playhouse at the Globe in 2014, no production of a Fletcher play has been performed or announced in either venue.[145] Let us hope that either of these companies, or other theatre groups, may take up the challenge in the future.

[145] Only Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* has been given two hugely successful runs at the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse in 2014 and 2015.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

This critical edition generally follows the principles laid out by the General Editors of the Arden Early Modern Drama (AEMD) series—Suzanne Gossett, John Jowett, and Gordon McMullan—in the presentation of the edited text and the configuration of all supporting materials. However, I have deviated from them in a number of ways.

Presentation of the text.

Rather than overcrowding the page with three levels—dramatic text, commentary, and collation lines—I have chosen to present a clean text with line numbers printed on the rectos, moving all other information to the preceding verso, facing the text. This system was developed by the Folger Shakespeare Library series, edited by Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. Longer notes are appended after the text of the play, and are indicated in the annotation with two crossed swords: ⚔

Spelling.

The text is given in modernised spelling, using, where possible, the form that appears as headword in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.[1] In general, I have followed the principles proposed by Stanley Wells in *Modernizing Shakespeare's Spelling*.[2]

A particular case is the modernisation of non-English names to the present-day forms in their respective languages, including all diacritics. In this play most names are in Spanish, and for these modern orthographic conventions have been adopted. For example,

[1] A particular exception is my personal preference for the endings *-ise* and *-isation* over *-ize* and *-ization*.
[2] Oxford Shakespeare Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

the name of the character called *Alvarez* in F is spelled in modern Spanish as *Álvarez*, with its normative acute accent marking the stress on the first syllable; the name *Pachieco* in F is the anglicised spelling of the Spanish surname *Pacheco*, where the trigraph *-chi-* is meant to represent the sound /tʃ/. These are the modern forms that have been adopted in this edition.[3] Toponyms have also been modernised to their correct present-day form when there is no anglicised spelling available: for example, *St. Lucars* in F refers to the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda in southern Spain, and so it has been modernised as *Sanlúcar's* (1.1.2); but the form *Civill* in F has been modernised to *Seville* (1.2.10), and not to *Sevilla*.

Punctuation.

The punctuation has been re-thought thoroughly taking into account current English usage. A few rules have emerged from the process of re-punctuating the copy text: most colons in F, and occasionally some semicolons, have been substituted for full stops when they mark the end of a sentence; commas before defining relative clauses have been suppressed according to modern usage; and some question marks with an exclamatory value have been substituted for exclamation marks, while selective exclamation marks have been editorially introduced when a phrase is clearly exclamatory. In addition, most extended parenthetical clauses have been marked with long dashes, rather than brackets.

Oaths and expurgations.

Censored phrases, substituted in F for long dashes, have been reconstructed to a plausible form, in many cases following the tentative reconstruction in the edition by Colman, who

[3] See notes to the List of Roles for further information.

was followed in this by Weber, Darley, and, in most instances, by Dyce. The latter suggested as well a number of independent reconstructions that have also been taken into consideration. My aim was to make the text useful for performance under the principle that an actor or reader cannot verbalise a dash. For a further discussion of the rationale of these reconstructions, see Appendix 6.

Speech prefixes and lineation.

Speech prefixes have been expanded, regularised, and capitalised, giving the 'verbal form that prevails in the text'.[4] The dialogue is indented from the margin to highlight the speech prefixes. Lines of verse start on a new line after the speech prefix, while speeches in prose follow immediately after it, separated by three spaces, and have been set as blocks of text justified to both margins.

The lineation in F has been revised thoroughly, identifying various instances of speeches incorrectly set by the compositor in the copy text as verse when the speech is clearly in prose. These changes in lineation have been recorded in the textual notes. The regularisation of the metre of the verse in these and other instances, as well as all other emendations, are indicated in the textual notes, and are sometimes commented upon in the annotation. Another notable deviation from the AEMD series is my decision to indicate syllabic *-ed* endings with a grave accent (*-èd*) on the actual text, rather than in the commentary, for ease of use.[5]

[4] Fletcher, *The Island Princess,* p. xiii.

[5] Users of different backgrounds—actors, academics, and interested readers, particularly those familiar with edited Renaissance plays—often expect to find an indication of the metrical value of these endings explicitly printed on the text, and they get confused if they do not find it immediately.This was obvious from the initial reading of the play with the actors of the 2012 production, and from two play readings in 2010 and 2013 at the Shakespeare Institute.

Stage directions.

Stage directions are conventionally printed in italics, with all editorial additions enclosed in square brackets. Many stage directions have been moved to the right-hand margin to indicate that the moment in the dialogue where the action encoded in the stage direction happens is approximate. In-line stage directions have been used to mark where an action has to occur necessarily at a precise point. As Martin Wiggins has suggested, 'The problem with integrating any stage direction with the dialogue is the resultant implication of sequentiality rather than simultaneity: it suggests that the action described takes place at a particular juncture in the spoken text rather than concurrently with it.'[6] Following this principle, I have consistently differentiated marginal and sequential stage directions for clarity, annotating when necessary.[7]

Following the normal practice in AEMD, most entrances have been centred on the page. However, entrances that occur without disruption of the dialogue or the action on stage, or in cases in which new characters are not noticed immediately, have been indicated marginally. This practice was inspired by the marginal placing of some entrances in the copy text, mostly due to fortuitous compositorial constraints. For example, the entrance of Eugenia and Sayavedra in 3.4 occurs while Bobadilla is speaking, and is marked marginally in F (sig. 5R4^{v}) at the equivalent of line 9, but it could plausibly happen at any point within the speech, as Bobadilla does not notice them until the middle of line 10 ('Here's your mother'). The regularisation of this practice makes sense of the delay with which an entrance may be perceived by other characters already on stage, and has been applied throughout the text. For instance, Eugenia's earlier entrance in 1.2 is marked in F (sig. 5Q3^{v}) on the centre of the page after Bobadilla's speech ('O custom, what hast thou made of him?', line 47-48); but she has clearly come

[6] Martin Wiggins, 'Notes on Editing Webster', *Notes and Queries,* 42 (1995), p. 371.
[7] See, for example, 1.2.43 n.

on stage before Bobadilla had said ‘But, O me, my lady!’ (45), which marks the point at which he notices her entrance. I have therefore placed that SD in the margin two lines before (43) to account for this imprecision.

As Williams noted, the stage directions in F often appear a few lines earlier than we would normally expect them to be in a theatrical script.[8] Editors of *Love’s Cure* have emended the position of many of these anticipated stage directions, which probably responded to practical staging reasons; in this edition I have left the vast majority of them where they appear in F, under the principle that they make theatrical sense.[9]

Editorial stage directions have only been included when a certain action is indispensable to make sense of the text, and where this is unequivocally determined. When several performance choices seem to be available, the stage direction normally avoids being too specific, and the commentary may illustrate some of the staging possibilities. Some of these cases have been illustrated with respect to two modern productions.[10] The overall objective was to avoid directing the play from the text by limiting the performance options, while bearing in mind the basic principle in AEMD for editorial inclusion of stage directions: ‘to assist the reader in imagining the play in performance’.[11] As the origin of this text is in a promptbook in the possession of the King’s Men at the closing of the theatres, and therefore a historical document of theatrical significance, I have tried to conceptualise the text according to the theatrical environment in which it generated. This is particularly so with respect to the representational fluidity of the bare platform that stood for, and morphed into, a vast range of imaginary locations where scenes are supposed to be happening within the fiction of the play. These have not been indicated in the text, though the first note in each scene incorporates indications of

[8] GWW, p. 8.
[9] For further discussion, see section IV.1 of the Introduction.
[10] See section IV.6 of the Introduction.
[11] Fletcher, *The Island Princess*, p. xii.

locale from a number of editions. The editorial stage directions have been expressed in a primarily modern idiom that attempts, nevertheless, to be compatible with the linguistic makeup of the original stage directions.

Following Williams, in the stage directions I have made a distinction between two theatrical terms that are closely related and are sometimes used interchangeably in other editions: *aside* and *apart*. I have marked as *aside* those instances in which a speech is delivered directly to the audience in a scene in which the character is not alone on stage, or in cases in which a private conversation is unheard by others, even if their presence is known to them. By contrast, characters who stand or talk *apart* are inaudible and invisible to other characters on stage under certain circumstances: either they are unaware of the appearance of other characters (e.g. Lucio and Clara in 2.2.130; Malroda and Vitelli in 4.2.118), or the other characters are unaware of their appearance (e.g. the Alguazir in 3.3.1). The term is consistent with Renaissance theatrical terminology: for example, Iago requests Othello to 'Stand […] a while apart' (*Othello*, 4.1.73) so that he can overlook the conversation with Cassio about the handkerchief. Characters standing apart are also usually hiding (e.g. the group of false watchmen in 4.3).

A third term, *above*, indicates that the speech is delivered while the character is in an upper playing space, sometimes unheeded or unnoticed by those on the main stage (Piorato and Clara in 4.2, unnoticed by Vitelli and Malroda) and sometimes in plain view (the women and Bobadilla in the concluding duelling scene, 5.3). The dramatic context should clarify the distinction sufficiently.

NOTE ON THE TEXT AND THE HISTORICAL COLLATION

The copy text of the present edition is F, the earliest and only authoritative edition of the play. The modernised text has been prepared with two copies of F at hand: the facsimile reproduced on *EEBO*, which is a microfilmed copy of the Bridgewater exemplar,[12] and the copy held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto, which I was allowed to scan. A number of other copies of F have also been collated.[13]

In addition, the fresh historical collation has taken into account all editions of the text since its first publication. I have often consulted the historical collation and the 'Emendations of accidentals' in Williams's edition; though I detected a number of significant errors, it has been a useful point of reference. I have included Darley's edition, which Williams, following Fredson Bowers's editorial principles, did not collate, perhaps with good judgement: except for one reading (see 5.3.24 t.n.) it is a reprint of Weber's text.[14] I have not included the text in *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, ed. by Arnold Glover and A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905-12), vol. VII, as it is a transcript of F2 with minor typographical corrections.

In preparing his old-spelling edition, Williams recorded the changes in punctuation across F and F2, as well as other typographical variants, in his 'Emendation of accidentals' (99-105); following the practice of the AEMD series, these have not been recorded in the present edition, as punctuation has been thoroughly re-considered and modernised. Only selected notes present information on punctuation where it is relevant to the meaning of a line.

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[12] The copy belonged to John Egerton, 2nd Earl of Bridgewater.
[13] See Appendix 4.
[14] This is not, however, the rule in Darley's edition: for example, for her AEMD edition of *The Island Princess*, Clare McManus found numerous independent readings in Darley's text.

In the textual notes, the first text to choose the particular reading that this edition incorporates appears after the square bracket, adding the particular alternatives that other editors have preferred. In the absence of a specified edition, it is to be understood that the reading is from the copy text. For example, in the following case from 1.1:

44 make] made ***Weber***

I only indicate the provenance of all previous readings when an emendation is particularly contested and has divided editorial choice. For instance, also in 1.1:

124 sight] ***F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Mitchell;*** **flight** ***TSS, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW***

Emendations that are original to this edition are expressed as follows (example from 1.1):

55 plied] ***this edn;*** **plaid** ***F and all other eds***

Finally, when the modernisation deviates significantly from the copy text, or the F spelling is particularly relevant, it is indicated as follows (example from 2.1):

38 ***¡Ah de Dios!*****]** ***(O' de dios)***

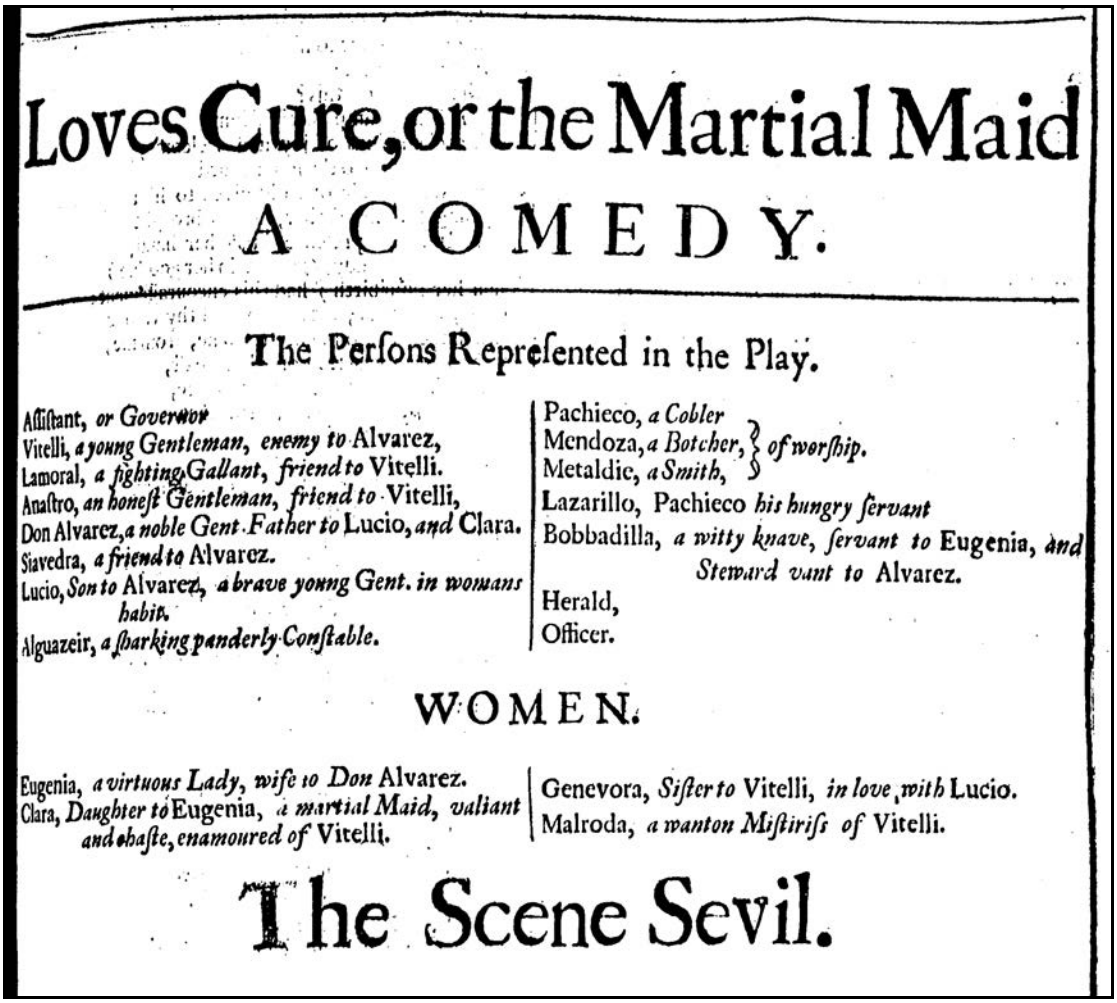
I have also indicated the provenance of editorial stage directions adopted in this edition, indicating the first edition to formulate the stage direction with that particular wording.

Dyce based some of his annotations and emendations on the marginalia contained in a copy of TSS that had belonged to George Craufurd Heath (1784-1860), barrister and Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.[15] Some of Heath's suggestions have been incorporated to the present edition and have been quoted in the commentary.

[15] Tracy Wilkinson, 'George Crawfurd Heath (1784-1860), Mill Road Cemetery Cambridge'.

SECOND FOLIO PARATEXT (1679)

Second Folio paratext (1679)



Loves Cure, or the Martial Maid

A COMEDY.

The Perſons Repreſented in the Play.

Aſſiſtant, *or Governor*
Vitelli, *a young Gentleman, enemy to* Alvarez,
Lamoral, *a fighting Gallant, friend to* Vitelli.
Anaſtro, *an honeſt Gentleman, friend to* Vitelli,
Don Alvarez, *a noble Gent. Father to* Lucio, *and* Clara.
Siavedra, *a friend to* Alvarez.
Lucio, *Son to* Alvarez, *a brave young Gent. in womans habit.*
Alguazeir, *a ſharking panderly Conſtable.*

Pachieco, *a Cobler*
Mendoza, *a Botcher,* } *of worſhip.*
Metaldie, *a Smith,* }
Lazarillo, Pachieco *his hungry ſervant*
Bobbadilla, *a witty knave, ſervant to* Eugenia, *and Steward vant to* Alvarez.
Herald,
Officer.

WOMEN.

Eugenia, *a virtuous Lady, wife to Don* Alvarez.
Clara, *Daughter to* Eugenia, *a martial Maid, valiant and chaſte, enamoured of* Vitelli.

Genevora, *Siſter to* Vitelli, *in love with* Lucio.
Malroda, *a wanton Miſtiriſs of* Vitelli.

The Scene Sevil.

Fig. 15. F2 paratext

4 **Asistente** see ‘List of roles’, 1 n.

11 ***sharking*** practising extortion, cheater

13 ***of worship*** holding some social prominence; probably in an ironic sense

8 gentleman] *(*Gent.*)* 16 steward] *(Steward vant)* 24 mistress] *(Mistiriss)*

Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid

A COMEDY

The persons represented in the play

Asistente, *or Governor*

Vitelli, *a young gentleman, enemy to* Álvarez

Lamoral, *a fighting gallant, friend to* Vitelli

Anastro, *an honest gentleman, friend to* Vitelli

Don Álvarez, *a noble gentleman, father to* Lucio *and* Clara

Sayavedra, *a friend to* Álvarez

Lucio, *son to* Álvarez, *a brave young gentleman in woman's habit*

Alguazir, *a sharking pandarly constable*

Pacheco, *a cobbler*
Mendoza, *a botcher* } *of worship*
Metaldi, *a smith*

Lazarillo, Pacheco*'s hungry servant*

Bobadilla, *a witty knave, servant to* Eugenia, *and steward to* Álvarez

Herald

Officer

WOMEN

Eugenia, *a virtuous lady, wife to Don* Álvarez

Clara, *daughter to* Eugenia, *a martial maid, valiant and chaste, enamoured of* Vitelli

Genevora, *sister to* Vitelli, *in love with* Lucio

Malroda, *a wanton mistress of* Vitelli

The scene Seville

LOVE’S CURE

or

THE MARTIAL MAID

LIST OF ROLES

The ASISTENTE	*Governor of Seville*
Don Pedro de VITELLI	*A young gentleman of Seville*
GENEVORA	*His sister*
LAMORAL	*A duellist, friend to Vitelli*
ANASTRO	*A gentleman, friend to Vitelli*
Don Fernando de ÁLVAREZ	*A gentleman of Seville*
Doña EUGENIA	*His wife*
CLARA	*Their daughter, brought up as 'Lucio'*
LUCIO	*Their son, brought up as 'Posthumia'*
Don SAYAVEDRA	*A gentleman, friend to Álvarez*
BOBADILLA	*Servant and steward to the house of Álvarez*
Stephano	*A servant of the same household*
PACHECO	*A cobbler*
MENDOZA	*A botcher*
METALDI	*A smith*
LAZARILLO	*Pacheco's hungry servant*
The ALGUAZIR	*A corrupt constable*
MALRODA	*A courtesan from Madrid, maintained by Vitelli*
PIORATO	*A fencing master, in love with Malroda*
A HERALD	

Servants, pages, watchmen, and guards

LIST OF ROLES not in F.

1 **The ASISTENTE** The Asistente of Seville was the *Corregidor* of that city. The *DRAE* defines the term as the 'public servant who, in certain Spanish towns and cities such as Marchena, Santiago, and Seville, had the same offices as the *corregidor* in other places' (*DRAE* 3), defining the latter as the 'magistrate who, in his territory, exercised royal jurisdiction' (*DRAE* 2). The office is mentioned by Cervantes in one of his *Novelas ejemplares*, *La española inglesa* (*The English Spanish lady*), first published in Madrid in 1613, and therefore plausibly accessed by John Fletcher in Spanish before 1615 (and in French translation from that year). The *Novelas ejemplares* provided the narrative plot for several pre- and post-1615 plays by Fletcher, which perhaps makes it likely that he got the name from that book. Moreover, the spelling in the folio text of *Love's Cure*, *Assistente*, coincides with the spelling that appears in the 1613 edition.[1] From the collection of twelve novels, the one with a most obvious Anglo-Spanish connection is this tale about a Spanish girl brought up in London in an English family; it includes a scene with a sympathetic Spanish version of Queen Elizabeth, and it might have caught Fletcher's imagination. James Mabbe published his partial English translation in 1640, including only six of the pieces in a collection that featured *The Spanish Lady*; he chose the spelling *Assistante* for the office. Fletcher would use the title again in *The Spanish Curate*, in which the *Assistant*, according to the list of roles, is that '*which we call a Judge*'. The correct modernisation of the name is *Asistente*.

2 **Don Pedro de VITELLI** One of the few Italian names in the play. The name is the plural of *vitello*, 'lamb', which contrasts with the supposed valour of the character. *Pedro* recalls the name of the father figure in *La fuerza*, Don Pedro de Moncada, and derives from the Latin *petra*, 'stone'. It may thus indicate a firmness of character. Vitelli is also a character in Massinger's *The Renegado*. Don Pedro is also the name of Vitelli's uncle in *Love's Cure*. The inspiration for the name is probably Chiappino Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona (1520-1576).[2]

3 **GENEVORA** In Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Canto V, Princess Ginevra is the daughter of the King of Scotland. Sections of that Canto were translated into English by Peter Beverley as *The historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura* (London, *c*. 1570; STC 745.5), and a lost English play, *Ariodant and Jenevora*, based on the same story, played in the Merchant Taylors' School in 1582-3.[3] The name in *Love's Cure* is stressed on the second syllable, *Genévora*.

4 **LAMORAL** Literally, 'the moral'. It was the name of the 1st Prince of Ligne and of Count Egmont, both relevant figures in the Dutch-Spanish wars of the period.[4]

5 **ANASTRO** Literally from the Greek, 'starless', carrying undertones of ill fate. Gaspar de Anastro was the name of a Spanish merchant of Antwerp who was involved in the attempted murder of William, Prince of Orange, in 1582.[5]

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[1] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas exemplares* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1613), sig. O3r.
[2] See section IV.2 of the Introduction.
[3] Wiggins 737.
[4] See section IV.2 of the Introduction.
[5] Idem.

6 **Don Fernando de ÁLVAREZ** According to the metre of the verse, the surname scans as in Spanish, with the primary stress on the first syllable. The name has been modernised in the speech prefixes and the dialogue adding the normative modern acute accent on the stressed vowel: Álvarez. The first name was emended by Dyce to adopt the Spanish more usual form of Fernando, as it also appears in the dialogue (Pacheco in 2.1.111), rather than the Italian form of the name given by the Herald in 5.3.11. The name is that of the 3rd Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, who is mentioned in 1.1.114 (see n.).[6] The modern spelling is that of the present-day town of Alba de Tormes in the Spanish province of Salamanca.

7 **Doña EUGENIA** From the Greek *ευγενία*, 'well-born'. A recurrent Spanish name in the English drama of the period including Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage* and Massinger's *The Duke of Milan*.

8 **CLARA** Spanish name meaning 'clear' or 'luminous'. Sayavedra gets carried away with the darkness of her features in 3.4.41-44, presumably because her complexion has been darkened by military service; her hair is described as well as being dark. This darkness contrasts with her name. Her name and that of her mother's is suggested by that of the Infanta referred to in 1.1, Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II of Spain and sister of Philip III, who was Sovereign and Governor of the Low Countries at the time of the siege of Ostend.[7]

9 **LUCIO** Spanish derivation of the Latin *lux, -cis*, 'light'. It could be translated as 'luminous', establishing a semantic twinship with his sister Clara. In modern English, the pronunciation of *-c-* with a voiceless sibilant (/'lu.sɪ.əʊ/) seems preferable to the interdental voiceless fricative of modern Spanish (/'lu.θio/); the Italian pronunciation of the name (/'lu.ʧo/) seems less advisable.

10 **Don SAYAVEDRA** Friend to Álvarez, and perhaps a fellow soldier in the wars in Flanders, though this is not clear. Sayavedra was the name of Guzmán's criminal associate in the *Segunda parte de la vida de Guzmán de Alfarache*, published in Lisbon in 1604, and widely circulated in Europe, though it was not translated into English until James Mabbe published his version in 1622. The name means, literally, 'old tunic', and is a compound: *saya* ('a sort of tunic used by men', *DRAE*), from the vulgar Latin *sagia*, derived from *sagum* ('military cloak; woollen mantle', *Collins*); *vedra* is a Galician word derived from the Latin *vetera*, 'old'.[8] However, Dyce emended for *Saavedra*, probably thinking that it was an error for Miguel de Cervantes's second surname.

11 Sancho Spindola **BOBADILLA** Sancho was a common name in seventeenth-century Spain, well attested in medieval and Renaissance literature, and obviously popular as Don Quixote's squire. In F it is spelt 'Zancho', perhaps reflecting a contemporary pronunciation of the name in English with a voiced consonant. Spindola is probably derived from the name of general Ambrosio Spínola Doria (1569-1630), Grandee of Spain, who commanded the Spanish troops in the final year of the siege of Ostend referred to in 1.1.[9] Bobadilla is a common Spanish surname, though the English version may derive from the name of the last Moorish king of Granada, Boabdil, deposed and exiled in 1492 when the Catholic Monarchs conquered the

[6] Idem.
[7] See sections III.1 and IV.2 of the Introduction.
[8] See *Sayavedra* in Martín Sarmiento, *Onomástico etimológico de la lengua gallega* (La Coruña: Fundación Barrié, 1999).
[9] See section IV.2.

city. It is the name of a character in Ben Jonson's *Every Man In his Humour* (Lord Chamberlain's Men, 1598), in its first Italinate version, recreated as Bobadil in the Anglicised reworking of the play (1616). He is described as thin and ill-favoured.

12 **Stephano** A servant in Eugenia's house, with an Italian name (the equivalent Spanish would be *Esteban*). Silent role in 1.2.

13 **PACHECO** Alasto In all editions, *Pachieco*. Edward M. Wilson observed that the *-i-* in the anglicised forms *Pachieco* in *Love's Cure* and *Zanchio* in *Love's Pilgrimage* is 'presumably only meant to indicate a soft *ch*'.[10] The correct form of the name in Spanish is *Pacheco*. The verbose, grandiloquent language of the cobbler Pacheco is reminiscent of Simon Eyre in Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday, or The Gentle Craft* (1599). They both share a tendency to draw from classical allusions, often to comic effect, and to elaborate on the nobility of their trade and its ancient origins. However, Pacheco is just a cobbler, or shoe-mender, while Eyre is a shoemaker, a more skilled and better regarded craft.

14 **MENDOZA** A botcher, or mender of hose. His surname, according to Pacheco, is the ridiculous 'Pediculo de Vermini' (approximately 'Louse of the Vermin'; see 2.1.51 n.). The name was recurrent in Spanish literary sources and it appears in many English plays of the period.

15 **METALDI** A smith bearing the appropriate surname 'de Forgia' ('of the Forge'; see 2.1.49 n.).

16 **LAZARILLO** Perhaps the most faithful stage version of the the anti-hero of the first picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, in English drama.[11] The name is a diminutive of *Lázaro* ('Lazarus'), perhaps recalling the man whom Jesus raises from the dead in John 11:1-44.

17 **The ALGUAZIR** An officer of the justice, notorious for his corruption and his criminal activities including stealing and whore-mongering. In Spanish an *alguacil* is the 'inferior officer of the Justice who executes the orders of the court of justice whom he serves' (*DRAE*; my translation). The *OED*, in its entry for *alguazil*, explains: 'Originally the same word as *vizier*, the meaning of which descended in Spain through that of *justiciary* or *justice*, to *warrant-officer* or *serjeant*.' The English spelling chosen is an adaptation of the etymological form of the Spanish *alguacil*, namely the Hispanic Arabic *alwazír*. In F and all previous editions the form is given as 'Alguazier', following F, which recalls the etymological ending in English, *-zier*. However, I have chose to eliminate the *-e-*, since, following the editorial principles for this edition, that will approximate the form to the Spanish equivalent and to its Arabic etymology, without distorting too much its English form. I follow Warwick Bond in this choice.[12] The spelling of the word with a final *-l* is also attested in English Renaissance use, as given by Robert Barret in *The Theorick and Practic of Modern Wars* (London, 1598), *alguazil*, which is the form given in the *OED*. A more radical modernisation would be to assume the modern Spanish form with *-c-*, but that would distort the English pronunciation, from a voiced /z/ to a unvoiced /s/; the modern Castilian Spanish realisation of *-c-* as the interdental fricative /θ/ does not seem advisable, but it is a possibility. In the list of roles of the F2 text of *The Spanish Curate* (1620), there is a group of 'Algazeirs, *whom we call Serjeants*',

[10] Wilson, 'Did John Fletcher Read Spanish?', p. 187 n.
[11] *Lazarillo de Tormes*; see section III.2 in the Introduction.
[12] Bond, 'On Six Plays'.

which the Cambridge editor, Robert Kean Turner, usefully explains as '(*i.e.* Alguazils)'. According to *Characters*, it seems to be the only other commercial play to use either title for a character.[13] The Alguazir is consistently referred to by other characters as being old; he also has red hair, and the part was most probably played originally by William Ecclestone.[14]

18 **MALRODA** A courtesan who has given birth to Vitelli's illegitimate child. In Spanish, the name *Malrodá*—vulgar apocope of *Malrodada*—could be translated approximately as 'ill worn out' and would suggest a pun on her reputation as a prostitute. She is a characteristically Fletcherian creation, in line with many other strong and outspoken female characters, particularly with the domineering Bacha in *Cupid's Revenge* (who also has a relationship with a young man, Leucippus, and is the mother to an illegitimate child, Urania).

19 **PIORATO** A swordsman who is hired as fencing master to teach Lucio and is in love with Malroda. The name only appears in another play of the period, Dekker and Middleton's *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore* (1604), where Pioratto is a gentleman. The name is vaguely reminiscent of 'pious' but seems to have no clear etymology.

[13] *Characters*, p. 17.
[14] See section I.6 of the Introduction.

1.1 Location: Seville. Weber and Dyce indicate *A street*, but it could also be an indoor location. In Watts's 2013 production the scene was set in a tavern (signified by a small table, stools, and tankards), with Malroda smoking a pipe and serving drinks to Vitelli and his associates.

2 **Sanlúcar's** the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda in the present-day province of Cádiz in southern Spain, 60 miles (*c.* 100 km) away from Seville. Its location at the mouth of the navigable river Guadalquivir permitted an easy communication with Seville, and its port was frequently used by Spanish military and commercial vessels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite its modern Spanish pronunciation, metrically it is stressed here on the first and third syllables (*Sánlucár's*).

4 **easy people** (a) the gullible populace; (b) specifically the women, perhaps easier to excite to acclamation than men

5 **fortune** arbitrary destiny operating in conjunction with his command

6 **Archduke** Albert VII (1559-1621), Archduke of Austria and, jointly with the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands from 1598 until his death. He led the Spanish forces for most of the siege of Ostend (1601-04).

10 **I have** pronounced as monosyllabic, *I've* **Seville** stressed on the first syllable, as suggested by the F spelling, *Civill*; plausibly punning on *civil*

14 **sat down […] before** deployed in front of; this is the F reading, and the *difficilior lectio*. An alternative reading would be *set down* (*OED* 1b), to be encamped, as in *Coriolanus*: 'We will before the walls of Rome tomorrow / Set down our host.' (5.3.1-2) **Ostend** City in the Netherlands besieged by Spanish forces for over three years in one of the bloodiest episodes of the Dutch-Spanish wars of the early modern period.

15-17 Cf. Flamineo in *The White Devil*: 'How dares this banished count return to Rome, / His pardon not yet purchased?' (3.3.54-55) Count Ludovico was banished for crimes including murder, and returns to the city before a pardon has been granted. This is what Vitelli presumes that Álvarez has done; Lamoral corrects him in lines 23-24.

TITLE (Loves Cure,or the Martial Maid / A COMEDY.)] *F2;* LOVE'S CURE / OR, / The Martial Maid.] *F* **1.1**] *(Actus Primus———Scæna Prima.)* 10 Seville] *(*Civill*)* 11 forfeited] *F2;* forfei ed *F* 14 In th'] *F, Weber, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* I' th' *F2 and all other eds* 14 Ostend] *F2;* Ostena *F*

LOVE'S CURE

or

THE MARTIAL MAID

1.1

Enter VITELLI, LAMORAL, [*and*] ANASTRO.

VITELLI

Álvarez pardoned?

ANASTRO And returned.

LAMORAL I saw him land
At Sanlúcar's, and such a general welcome
Fame, as harbinger to his brave actions,
Had with the easy people prepared for him,
As if by his command alone and fortune
Holland, with those Low Provinces that hold out
Against the Archduke, were again compelled
With their obedience to give up their lives
To be at his devotion.

VITELLI You amaze me,
For though I have heard that when he fled from Seville
To save his life—then forfeited to law
For murdering Don Pedro, my dear uncle—
His extreme wants enforced him to take pay
In th' army sat down then before Ostend,
'Twas never yet reported by whose favour
He durst presume to entertain a thought

17-19 **'Tis … enemies** 'It is in our nature not to want to hear or believe what we do not wish to be recognised in our enemies.' Anastro expresses that it is natural for Vitelli to be reluctant to listen to Lamoral's praise of Álvarez's deeds of arms.

18 **or … or** either … or

20 **Infanta's** The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), daughter of King Philip II of Spain, was, jointly with her husband the Archduke, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands until his death in 1621, and then on her own until her own demise. After this scene she is mentioned again by Clara (2.2.122) as the giver of a Barbary horse.

21 **King Philip** In the historical period in which the play is set—the aftermath of the siege of Ostend—and during its first performances, the King of Spain was Philip III (1578-1621), who was King of Spain from 1598 until his death. He is not to be confused with his father, Philip II (1527-1598), who, as Mary I's husband, had been King consort of England, and who had launched the unsuccessful Armada against Elizabeth I in 1588.

22 **alone** only

23 **Castilian justice** Until the nineteenth century Spain continued to be an amalgamation of administratively separate kingdoms under one monarch, with Castile as the central dominant power.

29 **him I hate** him that I hate

31 **And truly** 'I will tell you the truth'

33 **Briefly to pass** 'Briefly to re-tell' **tedious** long

38 This is the first reference to the cross-dressing theme: Álvarez was thought to have taken his daughter with him into exile, though the news arriving from Flanders reported that it was his son Lucio (see line 67) who accompanied him to the wars.

38 **here** to Seville

30 I] *F2;* l *F*

Of coming home with pardon.

ANASTRO 'Tis our nature
Or not to hear or not to give belief
To what we wish far from our enemies.

LAMORAL
Sir, 'tis most certain the Infanta's letters,
Assisted by the Archduke's, to King Philip
Have not alone secured him from the rigour
Of our Castilian justice, but returned him
A free man, and in grace.

VITELLI By what cursed means
Could such a fugitive arise unto
The knowledge of their highnesses? Much more,
Though known, to stand but in the least degree
Of favour with them?

LAMORAL To give satisfaction
To your demand—though to praise him I hate
Can yield me small contentment—I will tell you,
And truly, since should I detract his worth,
'Twould argue want of merit in myself.
Briefly to pass his tedious pilgrimage
For sixteen years, a banished guilty man,
And to forget the storms, th' affrights, the horrors
His constancy, not Fortune, overcame,
I bring him, with his little son, grown man—
Though 'twas said here he took a daughter with him—
To Ostend's bloody siege, that stage of war
Wherein the flower of many nations acted,
And the whole Christian world spectators were;

42-43 **were … his** Since it was thought that Álvarez had taken a daughter with him, Lamoral speculates that the son may have been adopted later or may have been a natural child, perhaps engendered already in exile.
46 **So I** so much do I
49 **to truth, and it** to truth, and to the 'glorious deed'
51 **sally** sudden rush out from a besieged place upon the enemy; Peralta wished to break the stalemate of the siege by daring the enemy to come forth.
52 **weary of ease** tired of the idleness of waiting **Íñigo Peralta** A Spanish military officer, seemingly with no correspondence to an actual person.
53 **Castile forces** The Castilian army; see line 23 n.
55 **musketeers** a battalion carrying muskets **plied thick** The musketeers employed themselves assiduously, shooting repeatedly on Peralta (*OED*, *v.*[2], I.1.a).
59 **spirited** animated with active properties; pronounced as two syllables, *sprited*
59-60 **trial … valour** Sometimes a military dispute could be resolved by holding a single combat between two champions chosen to represent either side of the conflict, avoiding larger loss of life.
63 **postern** concealed side exit
67 **Lucio** Clara's assumed masculine name is that of her actual brother. See earlier in the scene, lines 38 and 42-43.

44 make] made *Weber* 48 you'd] *Weber, Darley, Dyce;* you'ld *F and all other eds* 52 Íñigo] *(Inigo)* 55 plied] *this edn;* plaid *F and all eds*

There, by his son—or were he by adoption
Or nature his—a brave scene was presented,
Which I make choice to speak of, since from that
The good success of Álvarez had beginning.

VITELLI

So I love virtue in an enemy
That I desire in the relation of
This young man's glorious deed you'd keep yourself
A friend to truth and it.

LAMORAL Such was my purpose.
The town being oft assaulted but in vain,
To dare the proud defendants to a sally,
Weary of ease, Don Íñigo Peralta,
Son to the general of our Castile forces,
All armed, advanced within shot of their walls,
From whence the musketeers plied thick upon him;
Yet he—brave youth—as careless of the danger
As careful of his honour, drew his sword,
And waving it about his head as if
He dared one spirited like himself to trial
Of single valour, he made his retreat
With such a slow and yet majestic pace,
As if he still called loud 'Dare none come on?'.
When suddenly from a postern of the town
Two gallant horsemen issued, and o'ertook him,
The army looking on, yet not a man
That durst relieve the rash adventurer;
Which Lucio, son to Álvarez, then seeing
As in the vanguard he sat bravely mounted,
Or were in pity of the youth's misfortune,
Care to preserve the honour of his country,

74 **petronel** A large carbine particularly used by cavalry to shoot while riding on horseback. ⚔
76 **wheeling round** turning around
77 **falchion** A broad single-edged sword with a curved blade, normally carrying strong connotations of barbarism in the dramatic literature of the period. Cf. Hieronimo to Balthazar in *The Spanish Tragedy*: 'You must provide a Turkish cap, / A black mustachio and a falchion.' (4.1.138-39)
79 **town and camp** In plain view of both warring contingents, the defenders of Ostend and the attacking Spanish army.
82 **success** outcome
85 **massy** made of pure solid gold (as opposed to hollow, alloyed, or plated)
93-94 **Ask … it** A typical offer from a powerful figure as a gift. Cf. In *Cupid's Revenge* Dorialus retells that Duke Leontius has sworn 'to graunt his Daughter any thing she shall ask on her byrth day.' (1.1.8-9) Note, however, the Infanta's reservation in conceding to grant only that which is proper.

74 Discharged] *F2;* Dischar'd *F* 80 struck] *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley;* strake *F, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell*

Or bold desire to get himself a name,
He made his brave horse like a whirlwind bear him
Among the combatants and in a moment
Discharged his petronel with such sure aim
That of the adverse party from his horse
One tumbled dead; then, wheeling round, and drawing
A falchion swift as lightning, he came on
Upon the other, and with one strong blow
In view of the amazèd town and camp
He struck him dead, and brought Peralta off
With double honour to himself.

VITELLI ’Twas brave.
But the success of this?

LAMORAL The camp received him
With acclamations of joy and welcome,
And for addition to the fair reward—
Being a massy chain of gold given to him
By young Peralta’s father—he was brought
To the Infanta’s presence, kissed her hand,
And from that lady—greater in her goodness
Than her high birth—had this encouragement:
‘Go on, young man. Yet, not to feed thy valour
With hope of recompense to come from me
For present satisfaction of what’s past,
Ask anything that’s fit for me to give
And thee to take, and be assured of it.’

ANASTRO
Excellent princess.

VITELLI And styled worthily

96 **heart … soldiers** epithets applied to the Infanta by the troops; the historical sources record that the Infanta, who was encamped with the besiegers, was highly regarded by the Spanish troops at Ostend.

98-99 **he … pardon** In *La fuerza* Hipólita, the martial maid, has no such direct intervention in her father's pardon to return to Spain, as no pardon is needed.

105 **freely** (a) unreservedly; (b) generously

105-6 **'Tis … good** As Vitelli subsequently explains, the King has no power to erase the injuries perpetrated against a gentleman's honour, even if, as the embodiment of the law, he can grant pardon to a murderer.

111-12 The reparation of affronted honour was a general concern of Renaissance gentlemen and a rich literary trope in European literature. In this case, the murder of one of the members of Vitelli's family is inextricably linked to his sense of personal honour.

114 **Duke d'Alba** Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel (1507-1582), 3rd Duke of Alba de Tormes, who belongs chronologically to the generation of Vitelli's uncle.

115 **He … fall** As the King has permitted the downfall of Don Pedro's honour by pardoning his murderer, even forgetting the military services to his country, Vitelli thinks that the dishonour affects the whole family and must be avenged. **wresting from** wrenching away from **Justice** Rather than an actual judicial entity (as in 1.1.23), Justice is here personified as the Roman Iustitia, commonly represented as a blindfolded woman carrying a set of scales and a double-edged sword. The blindfold represents equanimity, the scales are used to measure opposing arguments, and the sword is to be used in punishing those found guilty. Since the King has deprived Justice of her sword, in Vitelli's opinion Don Pedro's murder remains illegitimately unpunished.

117 **this** Vitelli's own sword **Astraea's** Astraea, daughter of Zeus and Themis, was the Greek goddess of justice and virtue on which the Roman Iustitia was modelled; here the name is simply employed as a synonym of the personification of Justice in line 115.

118 **just wreak** rightful revenge **make … King's** Since the King's arm is the action of justice, Vitelli pledges to substitute it with his own and compensate the King's neglect.

119 **Álvar'z** Note that the contracted form found in F is metrically correct.

110 the] *F; om. F2, Langbaine, Q* 114 d'Alba] *(*D' Alva*)* 119 Álvar'z] *(*Alvarz*);* Alvarez *F2 and all other eds*

The heart blood, nay, the soul of soldiers.
But what was his request?

LAMORAL That the repeal
Of Álvarez makes plain: he humbly begged
His father's pardon, and so movingly
Told the sad story of your uncle's death
That the Infanta wept, and instantly
Granting his suit, working the Archduke to it,
Their letters were directed to the King,
With whom they so prevailed that Álvarez
Was freely pardoned.

VITELLI 'Tis not in the King
To make that good.

ANASTRO Not in the King? What subject
Dares contradict his power?

VITELLI In this I dare,
And will; and not call his prerogative
In question, nor presume to limit it.
I know he is the master of his laws,
And may forgive the forfeits made to them,
But not the injury done to my honour.
And since, forgetting my brave uncle's merits
And many services under Duke d'Alba,
He suffers him to fall, wresting from Justice
The powerful sword that would revenge his death,
I'll fill with this Astraea's empty hand,
And in my just wreak, make this arm the King's.
My deadly hate to Álvar'z and his house,
Which, as I grew in years, hath still increased,

122 **her** Vitelli's hate, identified with his just revenge and, therefore, with Astraea.
123 **weak woman** Eugenia **talked-of** (a) publicly discussed; (b) reportedly existent **daughter** Posthumia (Lucio in disguise); see 1.2.60 n.
124 **quarries** intended victims. In falconry, the quarry is the animal targeted by a bird of prey. (*OED* 3) **her** Astraea's; see 122 n. Here her action is identified with that of a bird of prey. **flight** Although the F reading, *sight*, makes some sense of the hawking imagery (Mitchell annotates that it 'is consistent with the idea of a hawk being unhooded prior to flight'), Sympson's conjectured emendation for *flight* makes this connection even clearer.
126 **cast … off** let her fly (a hawking term; *OED* 5) **gorge … full** let her feed greedily (again, a term used in falconry; *OED* 1)
128 **will** As a verb with full semantic value, (a) ordain, impose the duty of (*OED v.*[1] I, 3a); (b) lend will to, affirm (*OED v.*[1] 1b). ⚔

1.2 Location: Álvarez and Eugenia's house. Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A room in the house of Álvarez.*
1-5 Lucio's first speech deals exclusively with domestic affairs that were traditionally the concern of women of the household: embroidery, laundry, and tending domestic animals.
1 **work** needlework
2 **blue** powdered starch used by laundresses to whiten and stiffen the fabric of ruffs and other textiles; it whitened the cloth if diluted in water in the right amount, but dyed it blue if used in excess. ⚔
3 **partridge … pullen** domestic fowls; *pullen* was the collective noun for chicks (*OED* 2).
4 **meat** fodder
4-5 **my .. on't** 'I will denounce you to my mother'; see 11-12 n.
6 **Saint Jacques** Saint James, or Santiago, is the patron saint of Spain.
9-10 **pinned placket** an apron or underskirt pinned to the front of a woman's dress, with strong connotations of female genitalia (as a cod-piece is emblematic of the penis it covers). Cf. La-writ in *The Little French Lawyer*: 'Keep thy hand from thy sword, and from thy Laundresse placket, / And thou wilt live long.' (5.2.38-39)
11-12 **I … mother** Lucio threatens again to denounce Bobadilla.
11-13 This speech is metrically odd: the first line would only scan as a pentameter if *filthily* is pronounced as two syllables and *I have* is contracted to *I've*.

124 flight] *TSS, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW;* sight *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Mitchell* **1.2**] *(Scœna Secunda.)* 0 SD] *this edn* 2 't has] *F2;* 'thas *F* 6-10] *Colman lines* ever / any / do / lies / cod-piece / placket? / 6 Saint] *this edn;* St. *F2;* Sir *F* a] *Weber, Darley;* an *F and all other eds* hermaphrodite] Heramophrodite *TSS* 9-10 pinned placket] *(*pind-Placket*)*

As if it called on time to make me man,
Slept while it had no object for her fury
But a weak woman and her talked-of daughter.
But now, since there are quarries worth her flight
Both in the father and his hopeful son,
I'll boldly cast her off and gorge her full
With both their hearts. To further which, your friendship
And oaths will your assistance. Let your deeds
Make answer to me; useless are all words
Till you have writ performance with your swords.

Exeunt.

1.2

Enter BOBADILLA *and* LUCIO [*in women's clothes*].

LUCIO

Go fetch my work. This ruff was not well starched,
So tell the maid; 't has too much blue in it.
And look you that the partridge and the pullen
Have clean meat and fresh water, or my mother
Is like to hear on't.

BOBADILLA O good Saint Jacques, help me! Was there ever such an hermaphrodite heard of? Would any wench living, that should hear or see what I do, be wrought to believe that the best of a man lies under this petticoat, and that a cod-piece were far fitter here than a pinned placket?

LUCIO

You had best talk filthily. Do. I have a tongue
To tell my mother, as well as ears to hear
Your ribaldry.

14 **Nay … sure** Women were stereotypically said to be incapable of remaining silent; Bobadilla implies that if Lucio were to denounce him to Eugenia, he would be demonstrating the combined verbal excesses of ten women. Cf. Rosalind in *As You Like It*: 'Do you not know I am a woman? When I think, I must speak.' (3.2.244-45)

16-17 **pricking … clout** embroidering a piece of cloth, pejoratively

17 **better needle** punning on Lucio's penis

18 **grace** ironically, natural virtue (*OED* 4b)

22 **this twenty year** Lucio's age; it was not unusual to find this construction in the singular. Cf. Cornelia in *The White Devil*: 'This sheet / I have kept this twenty year' (5.4.66-67); also, Bilioso in *The Malcontent*: 'So have I [lived in the court] this twenty year.' (3.1.85) It is therefore unnecessary to emend following F2 and all other editions except Dyce and Mitchell.

25 **provided** sexually endowed **motions … flesh** sexual impulses, as in line 27 ('wanton motions'). Cf. Bobadilla's advice to Vitelli against 'foolish hot motions' (2.2.156-57).

28 **holp** helped; Lucio uses the archaic form of the verb, in an unusual form of the past participle, normally 'holpen'. ⚔

29 **doing something** getting her pregnant; see line 33. **I … it** Puzzlingly, Lucio seems to claim that he suggested this idea to Bobadilla. However, the speech is ironic: Bobadilla's love for the 'wanton motions' towards the Indian maid did only cause him to be whipped, presumably on Eugenia's command and not by the public authorities, on account of having had an illegitimate child with a servant of lower standing within the household.

30 **Indian** A native of the West Indies, in this case an Aztec. **Governor** Presumably not the Asistente of Seville, but a Spanish colonial governor.

31 **Mexico** A colony under Castilian rule since the Aztec Empire was overthrown by Hernán Cortés in 1521 after a long campaign that culminated with the fall of its capital city, Tenochtitlan. There were numerous accounts of the Spanish colonisation of Mexico available in England; for instance, the influential treatise by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*A Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*; Seville, 1552), had been translated into English as early as 1583.

33 **Graaf Maurice** Prince Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), who commanded the Dutch forces in several campaigns in the Dutch-Spanish wars in Flanders in the early seventeenth century, and was the head of the United Provinces during the siege of Ostend. The Dutch title *graaf* corresponds to that of a count or earl; the original spelling has misled some editors: Seward observed in TSS that F's *grave* is an 'Epithet only'.

37 **pinning … perfuming** sticking pins into clothes (as dresses had to be pinned together when being put on), applying makeup, embroidering with purl (a cord made of twisted loops), and putting on perfume; they are all activities associated with women. Note the alliterative effect produced by the *p* at the beginning of each word.

39 **danger … lash** risk of being punished by flogging

40 **Toledo** A sword made in that Spanish city, famous for the high quality of its steel and the craftsmanship of its swordsmiths; cf. Álvarez possesses an English 'old fox', rather than a sword from Toledo, 3.4.70.

14-18 Nay … it.] *Colman lines* tongues / master, / will, / partridge? / day? / might / it. / 14 Nay] *F2;* May *F* 20-26] *Colman lines* speak? / of / hath / you / since / doors; / well / methinks / flesh / unto. / 22 has] *F2;* h'as *F;* hath *Q* 22 this twenty year] *(*this 20 year*) F, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* these 20 years *F2 and all other eds* 28 holp] *Q, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW;* hope *F, F2, Langbaine;* helped *Mitchell* 32-40] *Colman lines* but / charity, / live / was / you / you, / it) / I / time / perfuming, / wars, / lash, / provok'd, / desperately, / As—— / 33 Graaf] *this edn;* grave *F, TSS, Colman; Grave | F2, Langbaine, Q, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell* 40 SD] *this edn*

BOBADILLA Nay, you have ten women's tongues that way, I am sure. Why, my young master, or mistress, madam, Don, or what you will, what the devil have you to do with pullen or partridge? Or to sit pricking on a clout all day? You have a better needle, I know, and might make better work if you had grace to use it.

LUCIO

Why, how dare you speak this before me, sirrah?

BOBADILLA Nay, rather, why dare you not do what I speak? Though my lady your mother, for fear of Vitelli and his faction, hath brought you up like her daughter, and has kept you this twenty year—which is ever since you were born—a close prisoner within doors, yet since you are a man, and are as well provided as other men are, methinks you should have the same motions of the flesh as other cavaliers of us are inclined unto.

LUCIO

Indeed you have cause to love those wanton motions,
They having holp you to an excellent whipping,
For doing something—I but put you in mind of it—
With the Indian maid the Governor sent my mother
From Mexico.

BOBADILLA Why, I but taught her a Spanish trick in charity, and holp the King to a subject that may live to take Graaf Maurice prisoner, and that was more good to the state than a thousand such as you are ever like to do. And I will tell you (in a fatherly care of the infant I speak it) if he live (as, bless the babe, in passion I remember him) to your years, shall he spend his time in pinning, painting, purling, and perfuming as you do? No, he shall to the wars, use his Spanish pike, though with the danger of the lash, as his father has done, and when he is provoked, as I am now, draw his Toledo desperately, as— [*He draws his sword.*]

42-48 This speech is set up as verse in F, but it is clearly in prose.

42 **silence him** If Lucio's 'O!' is loud enough, this is said ironically.

44 **O … lady** According to F, Eugenia has not yet entered; Bobadilla may be alerted by a sound off stage or by the opening of the door.

45 **O custom** The word *custom* functions as a verbal *Leitmotiv* in the play, recurring in 1.3.21, 173, and 179; in 2.2.85 and 131; in 4.4.80; in 5.1.80; and in 5.3.88 and 256. This insistence on the use of the term to emphasise the central theme of the play—the conflict between natural impulses and cultural constructions—was probably what prompted A. L. Stiefel in 1897 to identify *La fuerza* as the main narrative source of *Love's Cure*.[1]

46 SD Colman, TSS, Weber, Darley, and Dyce assume that there is only one servant, Stephano; Dyce adds that the plural form is 'a mistake for "Servants"'.

47 **this** The news of Álvarez's return to Seville, which may be materialised as a letter, or might have been a piece of verbal news imparted by Stephano before the entrance.

51-74 **I … Lucio** Eugenia may kneel at line 51, though the future tense implies that she may do it later. In any case, by line 59 both are kneeling. They may get up at any point during the subsequent speeches, down to line 89, when it seems logical to assume that Eugenia is standing up to deliver the orders to her servants.

58 **yet** so soon, already (*OED* 3b) ⚔

42-46] *prose in TSS, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell*; *F1, F2, Langbaine, Q, and Colman line* eyes? / advantage / this? / Master / him? / 42 hides] *F2;* hids *F* 44 SD] *this edn* 45 SD] *Dyce* 46 SD] *this edn; Enter Eugenia, and Servants* | *F, F2, Langbaine, Q; Enter Eugenia and Servant.* | *Colman, TSS*; *Enter* EUGENIA *and* STEPHANO | *Weber, Darley, Dyce; Enter* Eugenia, *[with* Stephano*] and [other] Servants* | *GWW, Mitchell* 47 SD] *this edn* 50 Álvarez'] *(*Alvarez'*) Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce; Alvarez F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, GWW;* Alvarez's *Mitchell* 58 SD] *Dyce*

[1] See Stiefel, 'Über die Quelle von J. Fletchers *Island Princess*'. For a full discussion, see section II.1 in the Introduction.

LUCIO You will not kill me? O!

BOBADILLA [*aside*]

I knew this would silence him. How he hides his eyes! If he were a wench now, as he seems, what an advantage had I drawing two Toledos, when one can do this? But, O me, my lady! I must put up. [*He sheathes his sword. To Lucio*] Young master, I did but jest. [*aside*] O custom, what hast thou made of him?

Enter EUGENIA *and servants* [*including Stephano*].

EUGENIA [*to Stephano*]

For bringing this, be still my friend. No more
A servant to me.

BOBADILLA What's the matter?

EUGENIA Here,
Even here, where I am happy to receive
Assurance of my Álvarez' return,
I will kneel down. And may those holy thoughts
That now possess me wholly, make this place
A temple to me, where I may give thanks
For this unhoped-for blessing heaven's kind hand
Hath poured upon me.

LUCIO Let my duty, madam,
Presume, if you have cause to joy, to entreat
I may share in it.

BOBADILLA [*aside*] 'Tis well. He has forgot how I frighted him yet.

EUGENIA

Thou shalt. But first kneel with me, Lucio,

60 **Posthumia** The only occurrence of the name given to Lucio when his father left for Flanders. Etymologically it implies that the child was born after the father's death, which is what Eugenia declares to have believed (lines 64-63) until the arrival of the good news of Álvarez's return (see line 47 n.). ⚔

71-73 Eugenia's sexuality is awakened by the proximity of an encounter with her lost husband after twenty years; cf. the 'second marriage' predicted in line 93, and Bobadilla's inappropriate suggestion that she should use an aphrodisiac (96-97).

83 **expect reward** Bobadilla assumes instantly that he is being appointed steward of the house.

85 Bobadilla addresses Stephano, a fellow servingman, probably not in an aside, but in plain hearing of the lady of the house.

86 **respectively** respectfully (*OED* 4) **steward's chair** office or dignity of a steward (*OED* 3b); alternatively, it might have been a misprint for *chain*.

87 **haunches** hips, buttocks

88 **nightcap** Bobadilla fantasises about wearing a gold chain, the emblem of the steward's office, and with putting on a nightcap after supper when preparing the domestic accounts before bedtime. The sense of taking a last drink after supper is modern and does not apply here. ⚔

60 Posthumia] *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley;* Posthumina *F, GWW, Mitchell*
87-88 gold chain and a nightcap] *Colman (conj. Sympson), Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* chaine, and a gold night-Cap *F, F2, Q, TSS, Weber, Darley* 88 accounts] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, Mitchell;* accompts *F, F2, GWW;* Accompts *Langbaine, Q, TSS*

No more Posthumia now. Thou hast a father,
A father living to take off that name
Which my too credulous fears that he was dead
Bestowed upon thee. Thou shalt see him, Lucio,
And make him young again by seeing thee,
Who only hadst a being in my womb
When he went from me, Lucio. O, my joys
So far transport me that I must forget
The ornaments of matrons' modesty
And grave behaviour. But let all forgive me
If in th' expression of my soul's best comfort,
Though old, I do a while forget mine age
And play the wanton in the entertainment
Of those delights I have so long despaired of.

LUCIO
Shall I then see my father?

EUGENIA This hour, Lucio,
Which reckon the beginning of thy life—
I mean that life in which thou shalt appear
To be such as I brought thee forth: a man.
This womanish disguise, in which I have
So long concealed thee, thou shalt now cast off,
And change those qualities thou didst learn from me
For masculine virtues. For which, seek no tutor,
But let thy father's actions be thy precepts.
And for thee, Sancho, now expect reward
For thy true service

BOBADILLA Shall I? You hear, fellow Stephano? Learn to know me more respectively. How dost thou think I shall become the steward's chair, ha? Will not these slender haunches show well with a gold chain and a nightcap after supper when I take the accounts?

89-93 Eugenia has been acting as Álvarez's widow, since she believed he had died. This is most likely based on the opening speech of *La fuerza*, in which Don Félix (the Lucio figure) asks his mother why she has suddenly decided to have the house decorated with brocades and silks, changing 'mourning for fineries'. In *Love's Cure* the symbolism of the textile fineries hanged in the house to celebrate the father's return is enriched with nuptial connotations absent from the original, both in terms of the particular location (Eugenia's private chamber) and in the choice of arras (the one used on her wedding night).

89-90 **my … mourned** The chamber is personified as mimicking the supposed widowhood of its mistress.

89 **blacks** black drapes, as in mourning

91 **for it** instead of it

91 **Persian** a particularly luxurious kind of silk, thin and soft (*OED* 4); Martin White annotates in his edition of Massinger's *The Roman Actor*: 'Persia was widely associated with luxury goods, especially carpets and silk.' (2.1.16-18 n.)

94 **will** command (see 1.1.128 n.)

96-97 **potato … Lent** Bobadilla puns on the supposed aphrodisiac properties of the potato, still an exotic vegetable, to reawaken Eugenia's sexual desire. Weber annotates that 'potatoes were considered as strong provocatives'. In Protestant England sexual abstention was recommended by ecclesiastical authorities during Lent.[2]

98 **Why … faster** Bobadilla practises the slow and ceremonious pace of a steward, causing Eugenia's impatient anger.

100-1 **gait … calling** The phrase rings proverbial, but is unrecorded in Tilley.

102 SD Stephano probably opens the door and steps aside to let Bobadilla go in first, acting as usher for the newly appointed steward, and then exits followed by the other servants, in order of preferment.

103 **wrought** embroidered

104 **made up** prepared, laid out

105 **boot-hose** an over-stocking which covers the upper part of the leg

108 **help—** Perhaps in view of his mother's indifference to his interest in clothes, Lucio interrupts her in mid phrase. Colman, Weber, Darley, and Dyce re-punctuated as 'To which, thy help!'

108 help] *F2;* helfe *F*

[2] Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds., *A History of Women in the West, vol. III: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 71.

EUGENIA [*to her servants*]

Haste, and take down those blacks with which my chamber
Hath like the widow, her sad mistress, mourned,
And hang up for it the rich Persian arras
Used on my wedding night. For this to me
Shall be a second marriage. Send for music,
And will the cooks to use their best of cunning
To please the palate.

BOBADILLA Will your ladyship have a potato pie? 'Tis a good stirring dish for an old lady after a long Lent.

EUGENIA

Be gone, I say! Why, sir, you can go faster!

BOBADILLA I could, madam, but I am now to practise the steward's pace; that's the reward I look for. For every man must fashion his gait according to his calling. You, fellow Stephano, may walk faster to overtake preferment. So, usher me. [*Exeunt Bobadilla and servants*.]

LUCIO

Pray, madam, let the waistcoat I last wrought
Be made up for my father. I will have
A cap and boot-hose suitable to it.

EUGENIA Of that

We'll think hereafter, Lucio. Our thoughts now
Must have no object but thy father's welcome,
To which thy help—

LUCIO With humble gladness, madam.

Exeunt.

1.3 Location: near Álvarez and Eugenia's house. Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A hall in the same*. However, lines 90-91 seem to imply that the scene takes place somewhere in the house's vicinity, but not inside it.

4 **complement** The F reading was emended in F2 as *compliment*; however, the joke here may be that Clara, being unfamiliar with urban niceties, mistakes the word (adding immediately the confused 'for so I think he termed it').

6 **to do** a man of action

9 **apish** silly, in bad imitation of a human being

14 **tissue** rich cloth embroidered with gold or silver; here applied as an adjective to gentlemen who enjoy ostentation.

16 **jewel** perhaps with a sexual connotation; cf. Vitelli about Malroda and her confederates: 'I am gulled; / First cheated of my jewels, and then laughed at.' (4.2.138-39)

17 **court lip** by metonymy, a courtesan **painted** wearing makeup

17-34 Álvarez's speech is syntactically convoluted and laborious, perhaps meaning to give the impression that the old commander has prepared it carefully. ⚔

17 **My love, Clara** Seward and Sympson suggested that this vocative is inappropriately applied to a daughter, and they emended for *loved*; Williams and Mitchell accepted the emendation. Dyce supported this view in his annotation, but refrained from emending the dialogue. Social propriety seems an insufficient reason to justify the alternative reading.

20 **something** apparently stressed on *thing*

21 **custom** see 1.2.45 n.

1.3] *(Scæna Tertia.)* 0 SD] *this edn* 4 complement] *F, GWW;* compliment *F2 and all other eds* 15 The] *F2;* Then *F* gallants] *F2;* Gallans *F* 17 love] *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* lov'd *TSS;* lovd *GWW;* loved *Mitchell* 25 hunger] *F2;* hunder *F*

1.3

Enter ÁLVAREZ [*and*] CLARA [*in men's clothes*].

ÁLVAREZ

Where lost we Sayavedra?

CLARA He was met
Entering the city by some gentlemen,
Kinsmen, as he said, of his own, with whom
For complement sake—for so I think he termed it—
He was compelled to stay. Though I much wonder
A man that knows to do, and has done well
In the head of his troop when the bold foe charged home,
Can learn so suddenly to abuse his time
In apish entertainment. For my part—
By all the glorious rewards of war—
I had rather meet ten enemies in the field,
All sworn to fetch my head, than be brought on
To change an hour's discourse with one of these
Smooth city fools or tissue cavaliers,
The only gallants, as they wisely think,
To get a jewel or a wanton kiss
From a court lip, though painted.

ÁLVAREZ My love, Clara—
For Lucio is a name thou must forget
With Lucio's bold behaviour—though thy breeding
I'th' camp may plead something in the excuse
Of thy rough manners, custom having changed,
Though not thy sex, the softness of thy nature,
And Fortune—then a cruel step-dame to thee—
Imposed upon thy tender sweetness burdens
Of hunger, cold, wounds, want, such as would crack

30 **Belgia** Flanders
31-33 Álvarez compares the power of Clara's beauty to fend off enemies (presumably the unwanted advances of men) with that of her sword.
33 **that** your sword
37-38 **though … appear** These lines could perhaps be played as an aside.
37 **fashion** garments, but also behaviour
38 SD The F placing of the music cue two lines before the entrance of Eugenia, Lucio, and the servants makes sense dramaturgically, as it announces the entrance of the maternal party in advance. ⚔
39 **entering** bisyllabic, *ent'ring*
43 **My soul** in vocative sense; the use of brackets is justified here for clarity.
46 **Th' assurance** the certainty (*OED* II.6)
47 **embrace thee** Álvarez and Eugenia have obviously embraced at this point, perhaps before he says 'O my Eugenia', as in the 2012 production. They also kiss, probably at line 49. The actors in the 2013 production did it as Álvarez said 'O my Eugenia', but kissed at the same point.
48 **nectar** as a restorative taken from Eugenia's lips ('these'), akin to Medea's potion; see line 49 n.

38 SD *placed here in F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman; delayed to line 40 in Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, and Mitchell* 41 SD *Enter* EUGENIA | *F2; Enter Eugnia* | *F* 44 joys] *F;* joy *Colman, Weber, Darley*

The sinews of a man not born a soldier,
Yet now she smiles, and like a natural mother
Looks gently on thee, Clara. Entertain
Her proffered bounties with a willing bosom.
Thou shalt no more have need to use thy sword;
Thy beauty—which even Belgia hath not altered—
Shall be a stronger guard to keep my Clara
Than that has been, though never used but nobly;
And know thus much—

CLARA Sir, I know only that
It stands not with my duty to gainsay you
In anything. I must and will put on
What fashion you think best, though I could wish
I were what I appear.

ÁLVAREZ Endeavour rather *Music.*
To be what you are, Clara, entering here
As you were born: a woman.

Enter EUGENIA, LUCIO, [*and*] *servants.*

EUGENIA Let choice music
In the best voice that e'er touched human ear—
For joy hath tied my tongue up—speak your welcome.

ÁLVAREZ
My soul (for thou giv'st new life to my spirit),
Myriads of joys, though short in number of
Thy virtues, fall on thee. O my Eugenia,
Th' assurance that I do embrace thee makes
My twenty years of sorrow but a dream,
And by the nectar which I take from these

49 **old Aeson** Medea drained all of Aeson's blood before giving him a rejuvenating potion, as recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book VII, 285-93).

50 **My … welcome** Alternative modernisation: 'My lord, long-wished-for, welcome.' (Dyce)

54 **period** full stop, ending

56 **parting kiss** Eugenia may kiss Álvarez again. In the 2012 production, the actor playing Eugenia chose to kiss Álvarez again after 'my sweet daughter', and then returned quickly to Clara.

58 **Lives she?** The question, a genuine one since Eugenia does not recognise her daughter until later in the scene (1.3.165), capitalises on the masculine clothes that Clara is wearing.

61-63 **you … world** The sense is that Álvarez is more than himself to Eugenia: he contains the whole family and her entire universe.

64 **Sit down** Eugenia may indicate to the servants to bring on one or more seats. When they are interrupted at line 73 by the fight off stage the servants may clear the space quickly, maybe after Bobadilla's entrance. It is not certain, however, that there is enough time before the interruption for the order to be carried out.

67 **cloy** satisfy my appetite (*OED v.*[1] 7)

71 **jewel** the embryo of the unborn babe; usually, as earlier in line 16, a term alluding to a woman's virginity or the access to her sexual favours. The line is imperfect (hence the emendation of *in* for *within* in TSS).

73 **civil death** the cessation of his status as a citizen, losing his freedom to reside in his hometown with his family

57 Seville] *(*Civill*)* 61 T'enquire] *F;* To enquire *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 71 within] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley;* in *F and all other eds* 74 hear] *F2;* he are *F* 73 SD] *F; placed here in F, F2, Langbaine, Q; placed after line 77 in TSS, Colman, Weber, and Darley; placed after line 74 in Dyce, GWW and Mitchell*

I feel my age restored, and, like old Aeson,
Grow young again.

EUGENIA My lord, long-wished-for welcome;
'Tis a sweet briefness, yet in that short word
All pleasures which I may call mine begin,
And may they long increase before they find
A second period. Let mine eyes now surfeit
On this so-wished-for object, and my lips
Yet modestly pay back the parting kiss
You trusted with them when you fled from Seville
With little Clara, my sweet daughter. Lives she?
Yet I could chide myself, having you here,
For being so covetous of all joys at once,
T'enquire for her, you being alone to me
My Clara, Lucio, my lord, myself—
Nay, more than all the world.

ÁLVAREZ As you to me are.

EUGENIA
Sit down, and let me feed upon the story
Of your past dangers. Now you are here in safety,
It will give relish and fresh appetite
To my delights, if such delights can cloy me.
Yet do not, Álvarez. Let me first yield you
Account of my life in your absence, and
Make you acquainted how I have preserved
The jewel left locked up within my womb
When you, in being forced to leave your country
Suffered a civil death. *Within clashing swords.*

ÁLVAREZ Do, my Eugenia,

73-78 The sequence as it appears in F is confusing; the present arrangement justifies the F reading *voice* while making sense of the action. ⚔

73 SD It is similar in wording to the SD at the equivalent point in MS 15370 of *La fuerza*: '*espadas dentro*' ('swords within'; fo. 13^{v}). In the 1625 printed edition it is rendered as '*Suena ruydo de espadas*' ('noise of swords is heard'; sig. 2C6^{v}).

76 **Oppress … fairly** Sayavedra protests against being ignobly and unfairly outnumbered.

78 **I … myself** Vitelli instructs his associates to leave him alone to fight against Sayavedra. Perhaps reminiscent of Mark 5:9, 'And he asked him, What *is* thy name? And he answered, saying, My name *is* Legion: for we are many.' In the Gospel, a man has been possessed by a multitude of devils, and Jesus cures him allowing them to leave the man and possess a herd of swine, who then run down a slope, fall into the sea, and drown. Vitelli is metaphorically possessed by devils in pursuing his revenge by forcing his entry into his enemy's house.

80 **set upon** attacked, assailed

83 Cf. with the 'cruel step-dame' of line 23.

87 **closet** private room, inner chamber

75 SP] *F2; om. F* SD SAYAVEDRA (*within*)] *placed here in F, F2, Langbaine, Q; moved to SP in TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce; Sayavedra* [*calls*] *within* | *GWW; Sayavedra* [*calls*] *Mitchell* 77 voice] *F, GWW, Mitchell;* noise *F2 and all other eds* 78 SP] *F2; om. F* SD VITELLI (*within*)] *placed next to line 75 in F, F2, Langbaine; om. Q; moved to SP in TSS and all other eds* 80 enemies] Enemy *TSS* 82 SD] *this edn* 83 SD] *Colman* 84 SD2] *this edn*

’Tis that I most desire to hear.

EUGENIA Then know—

SAYAVEDRA (*within*) If you are noble enemies,
Oppress me not with odds, but kill me fairly.

ÁLVAREZ What voice is that?

VITELLI (*within*)
Stand off, I am too many of myself.

Enter BOBADILLA.

BOBADILLA Murder, murder, murder! Your friend, my lord, Don Sayavedra, is set upon in the streets by your enemies, Vitelli and his faction. I am almost killed with looking on them.

ÁLVAREZ
I’ll free him, or fall with him. [*to Clara*] Draw thy sword,
And follow me. [*Exit.*]

CLARA Fortune, I give thanks
For this occasion once more to use it. *Exit.*
[*Eugenia restrains Bobadilla from following them.*]

BOBADILLA Nay, hold not me, madam; if I do any hurt, hang me.

LUCIO
O, I am dead with fear! Let’s fly into
Your closet, mother.

EUGENIA No hour of my life
Secure of danger? Heav’n be merciful,

89 SD As well as Anastro's, Lamoral's presence seems to be demanded by the text, as Clara uses the plural to refer to her opponents, 'Leave me to keep *these* off' (90). ⚔ ***beating off*** driving away, repelling **him** Vitelli **these** Anastro and Lamoral

90-91 **Assault … thee** Perhaps an instance of hamesucken, the assault on a man's house, which was a capital offence in ancient Anglo-Saxon law (*OED*); however, note that the scene seems to happen outdoors, near the house, rather than inside.

90 **my friend** Sayavedra

91 **will I spare** The emendation provides a subject for Vitelli's sentence, which is otherwise syntactically incomplete. It also regularises the slightly odd metre of the line, allowing a stress on the verb *spare*, semantic centre of the line, and rendering a feminine ending on 'thee'. ⚔

92 **temple** Implying that Álvarez would not avoid punishment even if he claimed right of sanctuary, as criminals could traditionally seek protection in a church or monastery if persecuted by justice. This ancient law was finally repealed in England by James I in 1623 (*Statutes* 21 Ja.I. c.28: 'VII. And be it also enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That no sanctuary or privilege of sanctuary shall be hereafter admitted or allowed in any case.').

92-94 **And … uncle** Vitelli shifts from the initial Christian legal imagery to that of a Pagan temple where he is to act as priest to offer a human sacrifice in memory of his uncle (or perhaps, literally, to his uncle as the god of his revenge).

95-96 **'Twas … that!** Clara comments on the various manoeuvres of the fight between her father, Sayavedra, and Vitelli, admiring the skill the latter demonstrates.

96 **yet comes on** still he advances again

102 **fortitude** One of the classical cardinal virtues, with temperance, prudence, and justice.

89 SD1 [*and* LAMORAL] *this edn* SD2] *this edn;* [*to Alvarez*] *GWW* 90 SD1, SD2] *this edn* 91 my] *F2;* by *F* will I spare] *this edn;* will spare *F and all other eds* 95 SD1] *GWW; They fight | Weber, Darley, Dyce* SD2] *this edn;* [*apart*] *GWW* 96 And yet] *F;* yet he *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley* 106 SD] *this edn;* [*to Clara*] *GWW*

Or now at once dispatch me.

Enter VITELLI *pursued by* ÁLVAREZ *and* SAYAVEDRA, [*and*] CLARA *beating off* ANASTRO [*and* LAMORAL].

CLARA [*to Álvarez and Sayavedra*] Follow him;
Leave me to keep these off. [*Clara attacks Anastro and Lamoral, and makes them flee.*]

ÁLVAREZ [*to Vitelli*] Assault my friend
So near my house?

VITELLI Nor in it will I spare thee,
Though 'twere a temple. And I'll make it one,
I being the priest, and thou the sacrifice
I'll offer to my uncle.

ÁLVAREZ Haste thou to him,
And say I sent thee. [*Álvarez and Sayavedra attack Vitelli.*]

CLARA [*aside*] 'Twas put bravely by.
And that! And yet comes on, and boldly rare!
In the wars, where emulation and example
Join to increase the courage and make less
The danger, valour and true resolution
Never appeared so lovely. Brave again!
Sure he is more than man, and if he fall
The best of virtue, fortitude, would die with him.
And can I suffer it? Forgive my duty.
So I love valour as I will protect it
Against my father and redeem it, though
'Tis forfeited by one I hate.

VITELLI [*to Álvarez and Sayavedra*] Come on,

108 SD Clara seems to take Vitelli's side at that point, rather than earlier, while Vitelli's lines seem to be directed at the foes he is fighting against. Williams interpreted the opposite: Vitelli speaks to Clara after she has taken his side at line 106.

113-17 **Shall … shames?** The metaphor implies that valour can generate a legitimate child (lawful honour) or a bastard (murder). A death caused in an act of bravery for a rightful cause is honourable, while committing a murder against an outnumbered fighter is shameful.

108 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *this edn; She joins* Vitelli. | *GWW, at line 106*

All is not lost yet. You shall buy me dearer
Before you have me. [*Clara advances towards Vitelli.*]
Keep off!

CLARA [*Takes Vitelli's side.*] Fear me not.
Thy worth has took me prisoner, and my sword
For this time knows thee only for a friend,
And to all else I turn the point of it.

SAYAVEDRA
Defend your father's enemy?

ÁLVAREZ Art thou mad?

CLARA
Are you men, rather? Shall that valour which
Begot you lawful honour in the wars
Prove now the parent of an infamous bastard,
So foul, yet so long lived, as murder will
Be to your shames? Have each of you, alone
With your own dangers only, purchased glory
From multitudes of enemies, not allowing
Those nearest to you to have part in it,
And do you now join and lend mutual help
Against a single opposite? Hath the mercy
Of the great King but newly washed away
The blood that with the forfeit of your life
Cleaved to your name and family like an ulcer,
In this again to set a deeper dye
Upon your infamy? You'll say he is your foe,
And by his rashness called on his own ruin.
Remember yet he was first wronged, and honour
Spurred him to what he did. And next the place

136 **genius** The genius of the house, akin to the Roman household deities (e.g. the *manes* or the *lares*).
142 **come not on** do not advance any further (with a hostile intent; *OED* 1)
153 **the Governor** the Asistente

139 SD] *Weber* 141 SD] *this edn* 142 SD] *this edn* by heaven *(*by Heaven*) Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* by —— *F and all other eds* 143 SD] *GWW* 147 SD] *Dyce* 149 SD] *this edn* 151 SD] *GWW*

Where now he is, your house, which by the laws
Of hospitable duty should protect him;
Have you been twenty years a stranger to it
To make your entrance now in blood? Or think you
Your countryman, a true-born Spaniard, will be
An off'ring fit to please the genius of it?
No, in this I'll presume to teach my father,
And this first act of disobedience shall
Confirm I am most dutiful.

ÁLVAREZ [*aside*] I am pleased
With what I dare not give allowance to.
[*to Clara*] Unnatural wretch, what wilt thou do?

CLARA Set free
A noble enemy. [*Álvarez advances toward her.*]
Come not on, by heaven!
You pass to him through me. [*to Vitelli*] The way is open;
Farewell. When next I meet you, do not look for
A friend, but a vowed foe. I see you worthy,
And therefore now preserve you for the honour
Of my sword only.

VITELLI [*aside*] Were this man a friend,
How would he win me that being a vowed foe
Deserves so well? [*to Clara*] I thank you for my life.
But how I shall deserve it, give me leave
Hereafter to consider. *Exit.*

ÁLVAREZ [*to Eugenia*] Quit thy fear,
All danger is blown over. I have letters
To the Governor in the King's name to secure us
From such attempts hereafter. Yet we need not,
That have such strong guards of our own, dread others;

155 **dread** fear

172-74 **as … man** This statement assumes a valuation of a person's worth based on their gender: a man is more than a woman. In this respect, a masculine woman is positively to women in general, while an effeminate man is less valuable than a truly masculine man.

173 **custom** see 1.2.45 n.

175 **satisfaction** compensation (*OED* 1b); Álvarez seems to express his joy at the family's reunion, rather than at the fact that his son is effeminate, for which he will express his subsequent outrage (by contrast, note that he regards his daughter's manliness positively; see lines 139-40).

And to increase thy comfort, know this young man
Whom with such fervent earnestness you eye
Is not what he appears, but such a one
As thou with joy wilt bless: thy daughter Clara.

EUGENIA

A thousand blessings in that word.

ÁLVAREZ The reason
Why I have bred her up thus, at more leisure
I will impart unto you. Wonder not
At what you have seen her do, it being the least
Of many great and valiant undertakings
She hath made good with honour.

EUGENIA I'll return
The joy I have in her with one as great
To you, my Álvarez. You in a man
Have given to me a daughter. In a woman,
I give to you a son. This was the pledge
You left here with me, whom I have brought up
Different from what he was, as you did Clara,
And with the like success: as she appears,
Altered by custom, more than woman, he,
Transformed by his soft life, is less than man.

ÁLVAREZ

Fortune in this gives ample satisfaction
For all our sorrows past.

LUCIO My dearest sister.

179 **custom** see 1.2.45 n.

181 **contend** endeavour; Álvarez implies that there will be a competition between the feminising and masculinising parties in seeing who will succeed in reverting Clara and Lucio to their expected gender behaviour.

CLARA

Kind brother.

ÁLVAREZ Now our mutual care must be
Employed to help wronged Nature to recover
Her right in either of them, lost by custom.
To you I give my Clara, and receive
My Lucio to my charge. And we'll contend
With loving industry who soonest can
Turn this man woman, or this woman man.

Exeunt.

2.1 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A street.*

1 ***cuerpo*** The Spanish expression *a cuerpo* (literally, 'in body') applies to someone who is not wearing 'any external item of warm clothing' (*DRAE*). Pacheco thinks it is improper for a gentleman not to wear his cloak and rapier, the symbols of his social status, in the street.

3 **rank** (a) impressive due to his social dignity (*OED* 3a); (b) arrogant, haughty (*OED* 1a); (c) festering, rotting (*OED* 12). Lazarillo often uses the aside to comment on the character of his associates, and especially to deride his master, the cobbler Pacheco. His asides in this scene have only been considered previously by Williams.

señor Spanish modernisation of the Italian form printed in F, *signior*. In the period words from both languages were frequently confused and interchanged; but, as the play is set in Spain with characters bearing mostly Spanish names, it seems advisable to use the modern Spanish form of the title.

5 **neighbour the smith** Metaldi

6 **angle-rod** fishing rod

7-8 **other … wits** Echoing Falstaff in *2 Henry IV*: 'I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men.' (1.2.9-10)

11-12 **No … nothing.** The purifying and spiritual qualities of a moderate life are here taken to the extreme. In *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the Squire recommends that fasting 'will bee cause that thou shalt liue longer […] for as wise men affirme, there is nothing that can make a man liue longer than to eate a little.'[1]

12 **deity** The F reading, *dietie*, perhaps reflective of the early pronunciation, may indicate a pun linking Lazarillo's diet with the godly status he would aspire to.

18-19 **He … die** Cf. John 6:58, 'not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.'

22 **miraculous … Flanders** According to Bond, this may refer to the case of 'Eva Fliegen of Meurs in the Rhenish duchy of Clèves, said to have supported life for sixteen years by smelling sweet flowers'.[2] A 1611 pamphlet, *The protestants and Jesuites vp in armes in Gulicke-land* (1611), also gives an account of her life; it reports that she had not consumed any food or drink since 1597. (See section I.4 of the Introduction.)

2.1] *(Actus secundus. Scœna prima.) Colman lineates the whole scene in verse.* 1-2 *Colman lines* not / streets / *querpo* / 1 my cloak] *F, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* and Cloak *F2, Langbaine, Q* 2 *cuerpo*] *(Querpo)* 3-7 *Colman lines* gentleman, / me / eel, / smith / day / angle-rod. / 3 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* gentleman] *(*Gent.*)* Señor] *(*Signior*)* 4 Seville] *(*Civill*)* 8-12 *Colman lines* cause / lean / stomach / fat bodies; / Lazarillo; / humanity / thee / nothing. / 10 great sleepers; great sleepers] *F;* great sleepers *F2, Langbaine, Q* 12 deity] *F2;* dietie *F* 13-17 *Colman lines* signor, / very / nothing. / said / live / good / me / supper. / 13 señor] *(Signior)* 18-19 *Colman lines* of / die, / live. / 20 *Colman lines* long / question. / 21-22 *Colman lines* he / the / Flanders—— / 23-24 *Colman lines* of / virginity / virgin / virginity? / 23 SD] *GWW*

[1] *The pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes*, sig. E3^{v}.

[2] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 266.

2.1

Enter PACHECO *and* LAZARILLO.

PACHECO Boy, my cloak and rapier. It fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in *cuerpo*.

LAZARILLO [*aside*] Nay, you are a very rank gentleman. [*aloud*] Señor, I am very hungry; they tell me in Seville here I look like an eel with a man's head. And your neighbour the smith, here hard by, would have borrowed me th' other day to have fished with me because he had lost his angle-rod.

PACHECO O, happy thou, Lazarillo, being the cause of other men's wits as in thine own. Live lean and witty still. Oppress not thy stomach too much. Gross feeders, great sleepers; great sleepers, fat bodies; fat bodies, lean brains. No, Lazarillo: I will make thee immortal, change thy humanity into deity, for I will teach thee to live upon nothing.

LAZARILLO 'Faith, señor, I am immortal then already, or very near it, for I do live upon little or nothing. Belike that's the reason poets are said to be immortal, for some of them live upon their wits, which is indeed as good as little or nothing. But, good master, let me be mortal still, and let's go to supper.

PACHECO Be abstinent; show not the corruption of thy generation. He that feeds shall die; therefore he that feeds not, shall live.

LAZARILLO Ay, but how long shall he live? There's the question.

PACHECO As long as he can without feeding. Didst thou read of the miraculous maid in Flanders?

LAZARILLO [*aside*] No, nor of any maid else, for the miracle of virginity nowadays ceases ere the maid can read 'virginity'!

27 **heard** Pacheco had asked Lazarillo if he has read about the maid, rather than having had a verbal account.

28 **her … tail** The 1611 pamphlet (see line 22 n.) mentions the 'nether parts' of one of the fasting maids of the period, Joan Ballam, as being dry and clean of any secretion: 'She voyded nothing forth, nothing at all she ate, / Her privy parts were cleane, thence nothing fel to ground.' (sig. B1^{r})

29-30 **though … monster** Echoes *The Tragedy of King Lear*, 'Down from the waist / They are centaurs, though women all above.' (4.5.121-22)

33 **fabulous** untrue

37 **red herring** a smoked herring, a kipper; a fish diet was acceptable during the period of abstinence at Lent.

38 ***¡Ah de Dios!*** Spanish expression that denotes a mild invocation to God

39-40 **ne'er … rasher** shall never go to hell; the image of the soul in hell roasting as a rasher of bacon presumably to be consumed by the Devil does not seem to be proverbial.

40 **pilchard** the European pilchard (*sardina pilchardus*) is a type of sardine; in *Blurt, Master Constable* Lazarillo de Tormes is a Castilian soldier whose hungry serving boy is named Pilcher. **sardine** the entire genus to which pilchards belong

41 **philosopher** Plato, for example, said that the philosopher should exercise moderation in the nourishment of the body.[3]

42 **pease** pea **provant** allowance of food **destruction … Jerusalem** During Nebuchadnezzar's siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 589 BC the besieged population were famously famished.

45-46 This aside is not marked in any previous edition, but it is consistent with Lazarillo's previous asides.

48 ***buenas noches*** Spanish for 'good night', literally, or, in this context, 'good evening' as a salutation.

45 **an it were** if it were

48 **signory** signorship; a more radical modernisation would be the Spanish *señoría*.

25-26 *Colman lines* years / than / rose? / 25 year] *F, Dyce, GWW;* years *F2 and all other eds* 27-30 *Colman lines* shrunk / parts / that / still / monster. / 27 señor] *(Signior)* 29 beneath yet] *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Weber, Dyce;* yet beneath *TSS;* beneath that *GWW, Mitchell* 32 *Colman lines* signor, / rose. / señor] *(Signior)* 34-37 *Colman lines* rather, / historical. / stomach / be / suffer. / me / a-day! / 38 *Colman lines Dios* / delicacies? *¡Ah de Dios!*] *(O' de dios)* 39-41 *Colman lines* a-day / rasher: / olive, / first, / after. / 40 señor] *(Signior)* sardine] *Mitchell;* surdiny *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Weber, Dyce, GWW;* sardina *TSS, Colman* 42-44 *Colman lines* Lazarillo! / awhile: / thee, / day / Jerusalem. / 45-46 *Colman lines* at / hang'd. / 45 SD1] *this edn* an] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* and *F and all other eds* 47 Señor] *(Signior)* Seville] *(*Civill*)* 47-48] *Colman lines* Alasto, / Sevil, / signory! / 48 *buenas noches*] *Dyce;* bonos noxios *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, GWW, Mitchell;* buenos noches *Weber, Darley*

[3] Hannah Hintze, 'Gluttony and Philosophical Moderation in Plato's *Republic*' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 2009), p. 3.

PACHECO She that lived three year without any other sustenance than the smell of a rose?

LAZARILLO I heard of her, señor, but they say her guts shrunk all into lute-strings, and her nether parts clinged together like a serpent's tail, so that, though she continued a woman still above the girdle, beneath yet she was a monster.

PACHECO So are most women, believe it.

LAZARILLO Nay, all women, señor, that can live upon the smell of a rose.

PACHECO No part of the history is fabulous.

LAZARILLO I think, rather, no part of the fable is historical. But for all this, sir, my rebellious stomach will not let me be immortal. I will be as immortal as mortal hunger will suffer. Put me to a certain stint, sir, allow me but a red herring a day.

PACHECO *¡Ah de Dios!* Wouldst thou be gluttonous in thy delicacies?

LAZARILLO He that eats nothing but a red herring a day shall ne'er be broiled for the devil's rasher. A pilchard, señor, a sardine, an olive, that I may be a philosopher first, and immortal after.

PACHECO Patience, Lazarillo; let contemplation be thy food awhile. I say unto thee one pease was a soldier's provant a whole day at the destruction of Jerusalem.

LAZARILLO [*aside*] Ay, an it were anywhere but at the destruction of a place, I'll be hanged. *Enter* METALDI *and* MENDOZA.

METALDI Señor Pacheco Alasto, my most ingenious cobbler of Seville, the *buenas noches* to your signory.

49 **Metaldi de Forgia** Spanish-Italian hybrid for 'Metal of the Forge'; the correct modernisation in Italian is *Forgia*, as a feminine noun, rather than the F reading, *Forgio*.
50 **mettle** pun on Metaldi's profession and on his name
51 **congee** ceremonious leave-taking
51 **Pediculo de Vermini** a comical form, approximately equivalent to 'Louse of the Vermin'; from the Spanish *pedículo* ('louse') and an Italianate form of the English *vermin*.
52 **hose-heeler** Mendoza is a botcher specialised in mending or re-heeling hose; this is the only instance of the term recorded in the *OED*.
53-55 Lazarillo comments on the social inappropriateness of the ceremonious salutations of the three craftsmen, who can hardly claim to be members of the gentry.
57-58 **Nay … Spain** Lazarillo comments on the oddity of Mendoza's address to him as an equal when he is Pacheco's servant; again, an aside seems to be preferable.
58 **jakes-farmer** the person in charge of cleaning the privy or jakes; i.e. someone employed in the lowliest of menial jobs **Grandee** The highest distinction among the Spanish aristocracy (*Grande de España*), only granted by the monarch to a selected elite. ***Adelantado*** In seventeenth-century Spain, the 'president or chief justice of a certain realm, province or district, and captain-general in times of war' (*DRAE*).
59 **dough-baked** insufficiently baked, raw, which yet Lazarillo finds appetising
60 **cheese and onions** foods proverbially associated with the Welsh
61 **scallion-faced** with a face like a chibol or Welsh onion
63 **quality** social status
65 **iron-pated** iron-headed, obstinate **woollen-witted** soft-headed, foolish
66 **indifferently** without bias **ancient writers** authorities to support my argument
71 **Hercules, Aeneas, Achilles** heroes of classical antiquity descended from the gods. Hercules accomplished the Twelve Labours, Aeneas was the legendary founder of Rome, and Achilles was the principal hero of the *Iliad*.
72 **Saturn** Roman version of the Greek Titan Cronus, sometimes said to be the father of Hephaestus. **Vulcan** Roman deity identified with the Greek fire god Hephaestus. He was lame due to having been thrown down from Olympus by his father in a rage. He was married to the goddess Aphrodite (the Roman Venus), who was unfaithful to him with Ares (the Roman Mars), thus making him a proverbial cuckold (line 75-76).

49-52] *Colman lines* Forgio! / I / do / shoe-sole / you, / Vermini, / hose-heeler! / 49 Señor] *(Signior)* Forgia] *this edn; forgio | F; Forgio | F2 and all other eds* 51 Señor] *(Signior)* 52 Vermini] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell; vermim | F; Vermim | F2, Langbaine, Q* 53-55] *Colman lines* greeting / botcher! / stand / gentry. / 53 SD] *GWW* Here's] *F2;* Her's *F* 56 Señor] *(*Signior*)* 57-61] *Colman lines* signors / grandee, / looks / now, / cake! / onions, / 'tis? / 57 SD1, SD2] *this edn* señor] *(*Signior*) sí*] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, Mitchell;* see *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, GWW* señors] *(Signiors)* 59 were] *F2;* w're *F* 62-63] *Colman lines* stand / antiquity / comparison / ours? / 62 Señor] *(Signior)* 65-68] *Colman lines* and thou / I / according / professions; / be / moderator! / 69] *Colman lines* I / be! / 69 SD] *this edn* 70-73] *Colman lines* pedigree, / Hercules, / from / great-grandfather, / god—— / 70 SD] *this edn* 71 Aeneas] *F2; Æeas | F*

PACHECO Señor Metaldi de Forgia, my most famous smith, and man of mettle, I return your courtesy tenfold and do humble my bonnet beneath the shoe-sole of your congee. The like to you, Señor Mendoza Pediculo de Vermini, my most exquisite hose-heeler.

LAZARILLO [*aside*] Here's a greeting betwixt a cobbler, a smith, and a botcher. They all belong to the foot, which makes them stand so much upon their gentry.

MENDOZA Señor Lazarillo.

LAZARILLO [*to Mendoza*] Ah, señor, *sí*. [*aside*] Nay, we are all señors here in Spain, from the jakes-farmer to the Grandee or *Adelantado*. This botcher looks as if he were dough-baked: a little butter now, and I could eat him like an oaten cake. His father's diet was new cheese and onions when he got him: what a scallion-faced rascal 'tis!

METALDI But why, Señor Pacheco, do you stand so much on the priority and antiquity of your quality, as you call it, in comparison to ours?

MENDOZA Ay, your reason for that.

PACHECO Why, thou iron-pated smith. And thou, woollen-witted hose-heeler. Hear what I will speak indifferently—and according to ancient writers—of our three professions. And let the upright Lazarillo be both judge and moderator.

LAZARILLO [*aside*] Still am I the most immortally hungry that may be.

PACHECO [*to Metaldi*] Suppose thou wilt derive thy pedigree like some of the old heroes—as Hercules, Aeneas, Achilles—lineally from the gods, making Saturn thy great-grandfather and Vulcan thy father. Vulcan was a god.

75 **crabbed blockhead** irritable dullard **limping horn-head** see 72 n.
76 **Venus … strumpet** see 72 n.; Aphrodite (Venus) was the goddess of love.
76-77 **Mars … children** see 72 n.; Ares (Mars) was the god of war.
77 **however** in any case
81 ***videlicet*** Latin for 'that is to say', often abbreviated as *viz.* **scabs** diseases of the skin, such as tinea or eczema, that produce itching scales or pustules **chilblain** inflammation of the skin produced by extreme cold **kibed heels** feet affected by chilblains
82 **sects and heresies** In Thomas Nashes's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) botchers and tailors are criticised as ignorant schismatics, as the tailor John of Leiden had been the leader of the Anabaptist uprising in Münster in 1534.
84 **commonwealth** body of people constituting a nation
85 **mechanic** tradesman, manual worker
86 Probably a reference to Robert Wilson's play *The Cobbler's Profecy* (*c*. 1592).
87 **waxed** (a) thrived; (b) waxed the thread to mend shoes
91 **soul** punning on the homophone *sole*; cf. the Cobbler in *Julius Caesar*: 'A trade, sir, that I hope I may use with a safe conscience, which is indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles.' (1.1.12-13)
91-92 **Do … us** The phrase rings proverbial, but is not recorded in Tilley.
93 **sewing … beef** 'By stitching the leather to make shoes, we earn our sustenance', punning on *sewing* and *sowing*; cf. Galatians 6:7 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'.
93 **gentle craft** A phrase commonly applied to shoemakers, as in the title of Thomas Dekker's play, *The Shoemakers' Holiday, or The Gentle Craft* (1599). In this passage Pacheco appropriates the phrase for a profession that is not strictly shoemaking.
96 **forgery** falsehood, counterfeit; punning on the forge where Metaldi works as a smith, as well as on his name, 'de Forgia' (see 49 n.)
96-98 **You … head** Mitchell suggests the paraphrase 'a man is still a man even if he wears his hose on his head i.e. the wrong place?'. If this is so, then a botcher can be distinguished from other men in that he would wear a patched-up hose.
99 **all in all** everything
100 **eye** the eye of his sewing needle?
101 **course** his path in life, and, by extension, the path trodden by every man whose shoes he has mended
102 **I give place** I concede that you are right
103 **six pots** six drinks, presumably in metal containers (as he is talking in terms of his trade as a smith) **clinch shoe** fix nails on a horse's hoof

74 SD] *GWW* 75-89] *Colman lines* block-head, / wife / children: / original / Further, / than / feet, / thee, / mend, / enormities, / heels; / heresies, / thou / commonwealth, / ankles? / mechanicks! / cobler! / prophesied; / have / better? / foot? / menders? / horse-menders—— / 75 Vulcan] *F2; Vulgan* | *F* 76 begat] *F;* begot *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 78 be] *F;* shew *Colman* 79-80 SD] *GWW* 81 *videlicet*] *(viz.)* 85 mechanic] *F, GWW, Mitchell;* Mechanicks *F2 and all other eds* 89 hose] *this edn;* horse *F and all eds* 90 SD] *GWW* 91-101] *Colman lines* soal-menders: / man, / us?) / beef? / you / fear / wrought / tho', / say / head: / botcher / conclude, / with / all / ends / shall / end. / 91 soul-menders] *F (corrected copies) and all eds;* soule-members *F (uncorrected copies)* 92 spin] *F, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* spin out *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 94 SD] *this edn* 96 is] *om. TSS* SD] *this edn* 102-4] *Colman lines* place: / Thou / thee / again. / 102 SP] *F2; Net.* | *F* 103 clinch] *F2;* clinth *F;* clench *Weber, Darley*

LAZARILLO [*aside*] He'll make Vulcan your godfather by and by.

PACHECO Yet, I say Saturn was a crabbed blockhead, and Vulcan a limping horn-head, for Venus, his wife, was a strumpet, and Mars begat all her children; therefore, however, thy original must of necessity spring from bastardy. Further, what can be a more deject spirit in man than to lay his hands under everyone's horse's feet to do him service, as thou dost? [*to Mendoza*] For thee, I will be brief. Thou dost botch, and not mend. Thou art a hider of enormities; *videlicet*, scabs, chilblains and kibed heels. Much prone thou art to sects and heresies, disturbing state and government; for how canst thou be a sound member in the commonwealth that art subject to stitches in the ankles? Blush and be silent, then, O ye mechanic. Compare no more with the politic cobbler. For cobblers—in old time—have prophesied. What may they do now, then, that have every day waxed better and better? Have we not the length of every man's foot? Are we not daily menders? Yea, and what menders? Not hose-menders—

LAZARILLO [*aside*] Nor manners-menders.

PACHECO But soul-menders. O divine cobblers. Do we not, like the wise man, spin our own threads, or our wives for us? Do we not, by our sewing the hide, reap the beef? Are not we of the gentle craft, whilst both you are but craftsmen? [*to Metaldi*] You will say you fear neither iron nor steel, and what you get is wrought out of the fire; I must answer you again, though: all this is but forgery. [*to Mendoza*] You may likewise say a man's a man that has but a hose on his head; I must likewise answer that man is a botcher that has a heeled hose on his head. To conclude, there can be no comparison with the cobbler, who is all in all in the commonwealth, has his politic eye and ends on every man's steps that walks, and whose course shall be lasting to the world's end.

METALDI I give place. The wit of man is wonderful. Thou hast hit the nail on the head, and I will give thee six pots for't, though I ne'er clinch shoe

105-13 The three craftsmen obviously discuss the Alguazir and Vitelli out of earshot, hence the SD *apart*.

106-8 **He … sure** The description is suggestive of an anamorphic portrait of the period in which an image was seen differently when looked from opposing points of views. Cf. Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606): 'Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon, / The other way's a Mars.' (2.5.117-18)

106 **two offices** wearing two hats, performing a double office

108 **carrion** corrupt, figuratively rotten like a decomposing corpse

109 **he** he who

111 **grand** the eminent, the renowned; an augmentative of the title **Fernando Álvarez** He is named by the Herald with the expanded form 'Don Ferdinando de Álvarez' in 5.3.10-11, probably perceived to be a more formal version of the same name.

112 **my Don** the Don I'm currently talking about

117 SD ***gift*** The SD cannot be more specific, as the prop is not named; it could be a jewel or money, or any other small portable item of some value.

114 **she … ask** that she can ask

117 **fellow's coming** Piorato's visits to Malroda.

118-19 **Bear … love** Vitelli gives the Alguazir an unspecified gift to Malroda.

120 **señors** The correct Spanish would be *señores*, but the metre dictates that it should be anglicised to a two-syllable word. Dyce emended for *signior*, interpreting that Vitelli bids farewell to the Alguazir before leaving. It seems unnecessary to emend the F reading, though, as it seems to imply that Vitelli notices the presence of the craftsmen and Lazarillo, and salutes them before directing his aside to the audience.

120-30 This is an important soliloquy to understand Vitelli's characterisation. From his point of view, Álvarez's son has contributed to advance Spain's military reputation, as well as to bring infamy to the country in securing that a murderer may remain unpunished. Vitelli, impressed by the honourable conduct of the youth, laments that his kinsmen's blood inevitably stains, by generational transference, the hands of him who should have been a model of conduct and not the target of revenge.

122 **Both** who at the same time

105-106] *Colman lines* knave / offices; / Alguazier. / 105 SD] *GWW* 106 one head] *F2;* ont head *F* 107 SD] *GWW* 108 SD] *GWW* 109-113] *Colman lines* he / 'em / him / and / is: / does / courtezan / Madrid. / 109 SD] *GWW* 113 Madrid] *F2*; *Madrill* | *F* 114 SD] *this edn* señor] *(Signior)* 118 SD] *this edn* 120 SD] *this edn* señors] *(*Signiors*);* signior *Dyce, GWW* 121 SD *aside*] *Dyce;* [*apart*] *GWW* 122 brightens] *F2;* brightnes *F*

again.

Enter VITELLI *and* [*the*] ALGUAZIR.

PACHECO [*apart*] Who's this? O, our Alguazir. As arrant a knave as e'er wore one head under two offices. He is one side Alguazir—

METALDI [*apart*] The other side sergeant.

MENDOZA [*apart*] That's both sides carrion, I am sure.

PACHECO [*apart*] This is he apprehends whores in the way of justice, and lodges 'em in his own house in the way of profit. He with him is the grand Don Vitelli, 'twixt whom and Fernando Álvarez the mortal hatred is. He is indeed my Don's bawd, and does at this present lodge a famous courtesan of his, lately come from Madrid.

VITELLI [*to the Alguazir*]

Let her want nothing, señor, she can ask.
What loss or injury you may sustain,
I will repair, and recompense your love.
Only that fellow's coming I mislike,
And did forewarn her of him. Bear her this [*Gives him a gift*
With my best love; at night I'll visit her. *for Malroda.*]

ALGUAZIR I rest your lordship's servant.

VITELLI [*to the others*] Good ev'n, señors.
[*aside*] O Álvarez, thou hast brought a son with thee
Both brightens and obscures our nation;
Whose pure strong beams on us shoot like the sun's
On baser fires. I would to heaven my blood
Had never stained thy bold unfortunate hand,
That with mine honour I might emulate,
Not persecute, such virtue. I will see him,

124 **my blood** my family's blood
130 **gratified** (a) expressed my gratitude; (b) offered some service in return; cf. 2.2.180.
131 **bisognos** raw soldiers, inexpert beginners
132 **Marry** a mild oath ('by Mary') ***cazzo*** Italian swearword, literally 'penis'
134 **your señory** your worship; *señoría* would be a more radical modernisation **in rug** wearing a coarse woollen garment or blanket **cheek … jowl** proverbial (Tilley, C263) **be not angry** calm down; a commonplace expression (see 2.2.1)
136 **cat … dark** The Alguazir, like a cat, is active during the night.
137 **hand … heart … head** an interesting succession of body parts, generating an alliteration in *h-* **to shoe** to nail a horseshoe to his head
138-39 **thou … wife** Pacheco implies that, by his supposed illegitimate and adulterous parentage, the Alguazir is prone to abuse his legal duties.
138 **mongrel** By identification with dogs, the offspring of parents of dissimilar circumstances.
139 **midnight** with the aggravation of night **beadle** a warrant officer of justice **catchpole's wife** the adulterous wife of an impopular catchpole, a petty officer of justice
139-64 This sequence is an augmentation of the exchange between Robin Goodfellow and the Fairy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'Are you not he / That frights the maidens of the villag'ry […] Are you not he?' (2.1.34-42)
140 **whipped … perjury** Perhaps the Alguazir was a converted Jew (as revealed by his red hair) who was banished for his false conversion.
141 **galleys** typically a Spanish punishment **pilfery** petty robbery **bull's pizzle** whip made of a stretched bull's penis, particularly associated with its use on Spanish galleys
142 **Inquisition … apostasy** If the Alguazir was a false convert, the Inquisition would have tried him for perjury and for abandoning the true Catholic faith, i.e. for apostasy.
143 **industrious** profitable
144 **pressed** conscripted to service on a ship **Islands** perhaps the Spice Islands (now the Maluku archipelago) **skulked** sneaked away, hid out of sight
145 **royal a day** A Spanish silver *real* was worth 5 English shillings; Pacheco implies that the Alguazir's business as a pander was very profitable. ⚔ **squiring** escorting, accompanying (*OED* 1) **punks … punklings** whores and prostituted children
147 **Portuguese-born … Moors** A double accusation of religious dissent. ⚔
148 **errant tailor** itinerant tailor; tailors were regarded as puny. ⚔
148-49 **red … jacket** In Jacobean England blue was worn by servants and prostitutes in houses of correction; a red bonnet carries connotations of Jewishness. ⚔
150 **Spanish block** a hat in the Spanish fashion; the block was the wooden piece used to mould hats (*OED* 4b). The Alguazir dresses in the Spanish fashion but is still a despised foreigner. **lashed shoulders** scars from being flogged in the galleys
151 **pee** coat of coarse fabric

131 you not] ye not *Colman, Weber, Darley* 132-34] *Colman lines* us? / neighbours, / often / signory, / midnight. / 132 Marry] *(*Mary*)* Señor] *(Signior)* do ye] *(*do'ye*) F, GWW, Mitchell;* d'ye *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS;* d'you *Colman;* do you *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 134 señory] *(*signiorie*);* Signior *Langbaine, Q* 135-36] *Colman lines* signor, / cat / dark. / 135 SD] *this edn* señor] *(*Signior*)* 137] *Colman lines* hand, / head! / 138-40] *Colman lines* mungril, / beadle, / was / perjury? / 138 SD] *this edn* we] *TSS; om. F, F2, Langbaine, Q* señor] *(Signior)* 141] *Colman lines* Next, / pilfery, / pizzle? / pilfery] pilfery, there *TSS* 142] *Colman lines* call'd / apostacy? / 143-46] *Colman lines* durst / press'd, / then / punks / city? 147-51] *Colman lines* you / Moors, / master, / bonnet, / now / block, / velvet-pee. / 148 Seville] *(*Civill*)*

Though with the hazard of my life. No rest
In my contentious spirits can I find
Till I have gratified him in like kind. *Exit.*

ALGUAZIR I know you not. What are ye? Hence, ye base bisognos.

PACHECO Marry, *cazzo*! Señor Alguazir, do ye not know us? Why, we are your honest neighbours, the cobbler, smith, and botcher, that have so often sat snoring cheek by jowl with your señory in rug at midnight.

LAZARILLO [*to Pacheco*] Nay, good señor, be not angry. You must understand a cat and such an officer see best in the dark.

METALDI By this hand, I could find in my heart to shoe his head.

PACHECO [*to the Alguazir*] Why then, we know you, señor, thou mongrel begot at midnight at the jail gate by a beadle on a catchpole's wife: are not you he that was whipped out of Toledo for perjury?

MENDOZA Next condemned to the galleys for pilfery, to the bull's pizzle?

METALDI And after called to the Inquisition for apostasy?

PACHECO Are not you he that, rather than you durst go an industrious voyage, being pressed to the Islands, skulked till the fleet was gone and then earned your royal a day by squiring punks and punklings up and down the city?

LAZARILLO Are not you a Portuguese-born descended o' the Moors, and came hither into Seville with your master, an errant tailor, in your red bonnet and your blue jacket, lousy; though now your blockhead be covered with the Spanish block, and your lashed shoulders with a velvet pee?

152 **callings** professions; the *pícaros* were often employed in a long series of professions.
153 **a chandler** a grocer
153-55 **would … lifetime** The Alguazir is accused of having pretended to be a Sabbatarian, a man who observed strict restraint on the Christian Sabbath (Sunday); on that day, adding mustard to a dish of beef would be a frivolous sophistication.
156 **since** specifically after being a chandler **surgeon … stews** a surgeon who assists syphilitic women in brothels
157 **church** the Roman Catholic church **ris … bawd** If the Don in question is Vitelli, then the implied story is that the young gallant procured him the office of Alguazir when he agreed to keep Malroda in his own house. **ris** archaic form of the past tense of *rise*, rose, sometimes spelled *risse*
159-61 **That … threepence** The Alguazir takes four pence (a groat), keeps one, and shares the remaining three with the beadle.
160 **to put up** to tolerate knowingly, to accept an illegal share (*OED* 9b)
162-63 **kisser … drunkenness** The long list of insulting charges against the Alguazir concludes with an accusation of homosexuality.
162 **berayer** beshitter, one who defecates in his own breeches; the simultaneous accusation of homosexuality and self-defecation may imply that the Alguazir has committed sodomy, presumably resulting in the loosening of the anal sphincter.
164 ***¡Diablo!*** Spanish for 'devil'. The F reading is in Italian, *Diabolo*; Weber emended for the Spanish form, as it recurs in 2.2.2. **They'll … again** 'If anyone overhears this, I will be charged and sent to the galleys again.'
166 **lay … heels** arrest us
168 **anatomy** corpse publicly dissected in an anatomy theatre, normally supplied by the gallows
169 **proper man** Pacheco uses the language of moral value in an inverted way, suggesting that a morally wicked person is the better for the criminal business, and thus 'proper'.
169-70 **if … redder** Judas Iscariot, the ultimate malefactor as the betrayer of Jesus Christ, was traditionally thought to have had a red beard; the Alguazir's red beard qualifies him as a proverbial criminal (as well as a Jew). See 3.1.4 and 58.
170 **worshipful** respectful on account of his civic rank (*OED* 2a)
171 **turnst … day** He is on patrol (and up to his criminal activities) at night, and rests in the day.
172 **Watch** He watches in two senses: at night he is a watchman and he stays awake.
172-73 **Gird … midnight** Missing passage in F2. ⚔
172-73 **rug gown** a coat made of rug (see line 134 n.)
173 **staff** staff of office
174 **mittens** gloves, figuratively as a hindrance to someone's sense of touch, but also punning on *mittanes*, birds of prey (*OED*); the *mittens* were also the handcuffs used to arrest people. **talons** the claws of a bird of prey, figuratively the Alguazir's grip

152-55] *Colman lines* callings, / first, / man / sold / life-time? / 156-58] *Colman lines* since / undertook / strumpets? / bawd? / 157 ris] *(*riss*) Dyce;* rise *F and all other eds* 159-61] *Colman lines* gain / seems / three-pence? / 162-63] *Colman lines* he / drunkenness, / sobriety? / 163 berayer] Betrayer *Langbaine* 164] *Colman lines* gallies / Again. / 164 SD] *Dyce Diablo*] *Weber, Darley, Dyce; Diabolo | F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, GWW, Mitchell* 165-76] *Colman lines* he / now, / heed; / head; / anatomy, / therefore, / hands. / redder: / function, / night, / less, / rug-gown) / go / abate / gripe / 'em; / safely / house. / 165 señor] *(*Signior*)* 168 O] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 172-73 Gird … midnight] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 172 bear's skin] *(*beares skin*); bear-skin Colman, Weber, Darley videlicet*] *(viz.)* 173 loins] *Colman;* loyes *F; om. F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 177] *Colman lines* thieves / house? /

PACHECO Are not you he that have been of thirty callings, yet ne'er a one lawful? That, being a chandler first, professed sincerity, and would sell no man mustard to his beef on the Sabbath, and yet sold hypocrisy all your lifetime?

METALDI Are not you he that were since a surgeon to the stews, and undertook to cure what the church itself could not, strumpets; that ris to your office by being a great Don's bawd?

LAZARILLO That commit men nightly, offenceless, for the gain of a groat a prisoner, which your beadle seems to put up when you share threepence?

MENDOZA Are not you he that is a kisser of men in drunkenness, and a berayer in sobriety?

ALGUAZIR [*aside*] *¡Diablo!* They'll rail me into the galleys again.

PACHECO Yes, señor, thou art even he we speak of all this while. Thou may'st by thy place now lay us by the heels. 'Tis true. But take heed, be wiser, pluck not ruin on thine own head. For never was there such an anatomy as we shall make thee then. Be wise therefore, O thou child of the night! Be friends and shake hands; thou art a proper man, if thy beard were redder. Remember thy worshipful function, a constable; though thou turnst day into night, and night into day, what of that? Watch less, and pray more. Gird thy bear's skin—*videlicet*, thy rug gown—to thy loins, take thy staff in thy hand, and go forth at midnight. Let not thy mittens abate the talons of thy authority, but grip theft and whoredom wheresoever thou meet'st 'em. Bear 'em away like a tempest, and lodge 'em safely in thine own house.

LAZARILLO Would you have whores and thieves lodged in such a house?

PACHECO They ever do so. I have found a thief or a whore there when the

178-79 This makes the Alguazir's house a good place in which to find potential accomplices for criminal deeds.
179 **suburbs** as typical haunt of criminals
180 Lazarillo responds naively to the situation
182 **prostrates herself** (a) kneels down before the Justice; (b) offers him sexual services
183 **Justice** Justice as an institution, or the specific local authority
186 **close** make a deal
187 **cry quittance** say we are even, terminate the arrangement
189 **sand-blind** dim-sighted; cf. Old Gobbo in *The Merchant of Venice*: 'Alack, sir, I am sand-blind. I know you not.' (2.2.70)
191-92 Lazarillo naïvely takes the Alguazir's invitation to be one to a lawful merry gathering, when they are really being invited to partake in the gains of crime; cf. the Asistente's invitation in 5.3.216.
194 **this month** for this entire month
197 **proud knave** overconfident knave; this is a subtle form of blackmail, as Pacheco is implying that they will use what they know of the Alguazir's activities if he behaves in a supercilious way.
198-99 **I … me** everything he shall do will seem legitimate because of his office, as symbolised by his staff

178-79] *Colman lines* so; / there, / me. / 181-83] *Colman lines* be / usually, / prostrates / justice. / 182 jail] *(*Goale*)* 186-90] *Colman lines* rogues: / quittance. / ye / is / been / amends / me. / 186 SD] *Weber* 187 SD] *Dyce* señors] *(*Signiors*)* 188 you] ye *Colman, Weber, Darley* 191-92] *Colman lines* Sir? / gentleman / Extremely. / 191 SD] *this edn* 193-95] *Colman lines* have / you / am / all / knaves? / 196-97] *Colman lines* all / live, / knave! / 198-99] *Colman lines* pass; / me. / 200 SD] *this edn*

whole suburbs could not furnish me.

LAZARILLO But why do they lodge there?

PACHECO That they may be safe and forthcoming. For in the morning usually the thief is sent to the jail, and the whore prostrates herself to the Justice.

MENDOZA Admirable Pacheco.

METALDI Thou cobbler of Christendom.

ALGUAZIR [*aside*] There is no railing with these rogues. I will close with 'em till I can cry quittance. [*aloud*] Why, señors, and my honest neighbours, will you impute that as a neglect of my friends which is an imperfection in me? I have been sand-blind from my infancy. To make you amends, you shall sup with me.

LAZARILLO Shall we sup with ye, sir? [*aside*] O' my conscience, they have wronged the gentleman extremely.

ALGUAZIR And after supper, I have a project to employ you in shall make you drink and eat merrily this month. I am a little knavish. Why, and do not I know all you to be knaves?

PACHECO I grant you, we are all knaves, and will be your knaves. But O, while you live take heed of being a proud knave.

ALGUAZIR On then, pass. I will bear out my staff, and my staff shall bear out me.

LAZARILLO [*aside*] O Lazarillo, thou art going to supper!

Exeunt.

2.2 Location: Álvarez and Eugenia's house. Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A room in Álvarez's house. Arms hanging on the wall.*

1 **be not angry** commonplace expression (see 2.1.134)

2 ***diablo*** Spanish for 'devil', used here as an expletive, not in vocative sense

4 **pottage** either a broth with vegetables or oatmeal porridge

5 **Cotquean** a man who busies himself with tasks normally allocated to women or who generally behaves like a woman **Spinster** in the sense of one who busies himself in spinning (as Lucio does with his needle work), but also, from around this time, 3

6 **put … Monday** Also spelled as 'Put on your / thy smock a Monday'; it is the title of an English dance tune of the period. ⚔

6-7 **I … girl** Bobadilla uses baby talk with Lucio, addressing him as 'it' as if he were a child.

6 **baby o' clouts** a rag doll in the shape of a baby

7 **starching of ruffs** see 1.2.2 n.

8 **black work** a type of embroidery that used black silk threads on white cloth, especially popular in the Elizabethan period; see 3.4.38 **of** from being

10 **on** of

9-10 **I … you** remaining a woman is not an alternative

12 **burnt** perhaps indicating that it is a wooden sword for practice (or a theatrical prop), and not one made of metal and obviously impossible to burn. However, Clara's comment later (''Tis a reasonable good one', line 112) may indicate that it is an actual metal sword, and thus Lucio's wish to see it burnt may mean to see it melted out of use.

13 **too hidebound** The leather (hide) is too tight (see Tilley, H454).

15 **Morris-dancer** Morris-dancers wore bells on their legs.

17 **This … uneasy** Cf. Phillida disguised as a boy in John Lyly's *Galatea* (1584): 'I neither like my gait nor my garments, the one untoward, the other unfit, both unseemly.' (2.1.14-15)

19 **in folio** Feminine clothes, including skirts with wide farthingales (as the one Clara is wearing from line 58) are here compared to books printed in large folio format; tighter masculine clothes are analogous to a smaller binding (see line 18).

20-26 This speech was typeset as eleven lines of verse in F (and every subsequent edition); the resulting sequence of irregular lines and pentameters was metrically anomalous and predominantly not iambic. It makes sense to print the speech in prose, as Bobadilla speaks in prose in the rest of this scene (except in his next speech, for a justified dramatic reason; see lines 27-30 n.). His speech pattern, however, varies from scene to scene: he speaks in prose in 1.2, 1.3, 2.2, and 5.3, but he uses only verse in 3.2, 3.4, 4.3, and 5.2. These patterns seem to have no correspondence with Hoy's authorship attributions.

22 **fleers** (a) he grimaces or distorts his face with grins (*OED* 1); (b) he laughs in an unbecoming manner (*OED* 2) **gait** manner of walking, bearing (*OED* 1)

23 **it** as in line 7, *it* is indicative of baby talk **corn** horny induration of the cuticle caused by excessive pressure on the feet from wearing tight footwear (*OED n.*^{2} 1a)

23-24 **on conscience** self-consciously

24 **gingerly** daintily, effeminately (*OED* A.a)

2.2] *(Scœna Secunda.)* 0 SD] *this edn* 2-10] *Colman lines* angry. / kitchen? / without / pottage / Lucio? / wear / a'Monday / like / starching / will / tyrant: / charge, / you. / 2 SP] *F2; om. F* 6 o'] *(*a'*)* baby] *F2;* badie *F* 21 SD] *this edn*

2.2

Enter LUCIO [*in men's clothes*], *and* BOBADILLA

LUCIO

Pray, be not angry.

BOBADILLA I am angry, and I will be angry, *diablo*. What should you do in the kitchen? Cannot the cooks lick their fingers without your overseeing? Nor the maids make pottage except your dog's head be in the pot? Don Lucio, Don Cotquean, Don Spinster, wear a petticoat still and put on your smock o' Monday. I will have a baby o' clouts made for it, like a great girl. Nay, if you will needs be starching of ruffs, and sewing of black work, I will of a mild and loving tutor become a tyrant. Your father has committed you to my charge, and I will make a man or a mouse on you.

LUCIO

What would you have me do? This scurvy sword
So galls my thigh, I would 'twere burnt. Pish, look:
This cloak will ne'er keep on. These boots, too hidebound,
Make me walk stiff as if my legs were frozen,
And my spurs jingle like a Morris-dancer.
Lord, how my head aches with this roguish hat.
This masculine attire is most uneasy.
I am bound up in it. I had rather walk
In folio again, loose, like a woman.

BOBADILLA

In 'foolio', had you not? Thou mock to heav'n, and nature, and thy parents; thou tender leg of lamb. [*Lucio walks.*] O, how he walks as if he had bepissed himself, and fleers! Is this a gait for the young cavalier Don Lucio, son and heir to Álvarez? Has it a corn? Or does it walk on conscience, it treads so gingerly? Come on your ways; suppose me now

26 **twist my beard** Weber annotates that 'to twist one's own beard was an insult intended to provoke the choler of the adversary, a mark of indignity similar to biting the thumb [as in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1.1]'. SD If Lucio is carrying a wooden practice sword, a staging possibility would be for Bobadilla to use his staff of office as a weapon.

27-30 Bobadilla shifts to blank verse to impersonate Vitelli.

27 **Traitorous** scans as bisyllabic, *trait'rous*; the speech is uncommonly bombastic, verging on the mock heroic.

33 **jostle me** push me

34 **quiet** calm

37 a single line of verse, again impersonating Vitelli

37-38 **wall … kennel** The area closest to the wall was the cleanest of a street, while the kennel—the gutter that runs in the middle of the street—is where waste used to be dumped. A gallant would defend his right to walk by the wall, ascertaining his masculinity over another. Lucio quickly surrenders his place, and prefers to walk in the gutter. In addition, in a street brawl a wall provides extra protection to a fighter who has his back against it, while the kennel is the most exposed position, open to opponents on all sides.

38 **coil** noisy disturbance

39 **Señor** Lucio, following Bobadilla's role play, addresses the steward as if he were Vitelli.

40 **long … world** A slightly misleading statement: according to Eugenia, she was pregnant of Lucio when Álvarez was forced to leave Seville after killing Vitelli's uncle (see 1.3.69-73).

42 **Forget … forgive** proverbial (Tilley, F597); cf. *The History of King Lear*, 4.7.83.

44 **satisfaction** scans as pentasyllabic

20-26] *prose in this edn; F and all eds line* not? / Parents, / walkes / fleares*!* / Cavalier, / *Alvarez?* / conscience, / wayes, / *Vitelli*, / advance, / sword. / 26 SD] *this edn* 31 leave] leaving *Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley* 32 ye] you *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 35-37] *Colman lines* me, / be / sword / Vitelli, / wall. / 35 Do ye] *(Do'ye) F, Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell;* D'ye *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman;* Do you *Dyce* 37] *verse in TSS, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW; prose in F and all other eds* 39 Señor] *(*Signior*)* 48 La] *Dyce;* law *F and all other eds*

your father's foe, Vitelli, and spying you i'th' street, thus I advance, I twist my beard, and then I draw my sword. [*He draws.*]

LUCIO

Alas.

BOBADILLA And thus accost thee: 'Traitorous brat,
How durst thou thus confront me? Impious twig
Of that old stock dewed with my kinsman's gore,
Draw, for I'll quarter thee in pieces four.'

LUCIO

Nay, prithee, Bobadilla, leave thy fooling,
Put up thy sword. I will not meddle with ye.
Ay, jostle me, I care not. I'll not draw.
Pray be a quiet man.

BOBADILLA Do ye hear? Answer me as you would do Don Vitelli, or I'll be so bold as to lay the pommel of my sword over the hilts of your head.
'My name's Vitelli, and I'll have the wall.'

LUCIO

Why then, I'll have the kennel. What a coil you keep!
'Señor, what happened 'twixt my sire and your
Kinsman was long before I saw the world,
No fault of mine; nor will I justify
My father's crimes. Forget, sir, and forgive.
'Tis Christianity. I pray, put up your sword,
I'll give you any satisfaction
That may become a gentleman. However,
I hope you are bred to more humanity
Than to revenge my father's wrong on me
That crave your love and peace.' La you now, Sancho,

50 **craven chicken** beaten coward **cock o' th' game** cock o' th' walk (Vitelli)
52 **gender** genitalia; however, this use is not recorded in the *OED*
55 **lop off** cut off
56-57 **whey-blooded milksop** thin-blooded effeminate boy (*OED milksop* 1a); a *milksop* is also an infant who is still not weaned (*OED* 1b)
58 SD ***weapons*** The effect of the staging is the grotesque appearance of a woman wearing feminine clothes (including a bulky farthingale), while she carries a number of weapons. Clara must come on stage with three items, since she discusses or uses them in the course of the scene: her sword, her petronel, and her father's truncheon or staff of command.
59-60 **Ran … tan** Clara imitates the sound of a drum in battle. Cf. Juletta pretending to be a page boy in *The Pilgrim*: 'I am a Drum Sir, / A Drum at mid-night, ran tan tan tan tan Sir, / Do you take me for *Juletta*? I am a Page Sir.' (5.6.103-5)
61 **fadge with me** suit me **farthingale** a hooped petticoat or underskirt to increase the bulk of a skirt; the F spelling, *vardingale*, may point at the Spanish etymology of the word, *verdugado*, through a corruption of the French *verdugal*. In *La fuerza*, Doña Costanza prescribes that her daughter Hipólita must wear a *verdugado*. **hip-hap** a covering for the hips; the *OED* cites this as the only instance of the use of this term.
64 **haunches** hams
64-65 **display … out** In Bobadilla's opinion, if unconfined by a farthingale and hip-hap, women's legs would have a natural tendency to be perpetually apart inviting to sexual intercourse.
65 SD This moment is the most interesting staging crux in the play. As Williams explained, 'This is a difficult passage to visualize. In both of her speeches [59-63 and 66], Clara addresses one man and the other answers.' (94) Bobadilla may be hiding behind Lucio when he hears Clara coming on replicating the sound of the drum (2012 production), or Clara may have her vision temporarily impaired by a veil (2013 production).
66 **ten … cod-piece** 'I bet you ten ducats I can shoot at and hit the end of your cod-piece' **prepuce** the penis' foreskin; here, figuratively, the cod-piece's point (the lace fastening the cod-piece) or simply its end. **cod-piece** the protruding appendage to the front of a pair of breeches, often conspicuous and ornamented (*OED* a)

50-58] *Colman lines* game! / this, / masculine / eyes, / scare-crow! / satisfied; / Zancho, / servant, / off / to / thou / longer; / Sir; / else. / 53 of] off *Q, Weber, Darley* 57 ev'n] even *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 58 ye] you *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* SD] *this edn* 59-63] *Colman lines* Ran, tan tan ta / tan! / days! / pox / Brother, / confin'd / vardingales? / 59 tan, ta] tan ta, ta *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman* 61 a pox] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* a —— *F and all other eds* farthingale] *(*vardingale*)* hip-hap] *(*hip hape*)* 63 farthingales] *(*vardingales*)* 64-65] *Colman lines* subject / out. / 65 SD] *this edn* 66] *Colman lines* ducats, / cod-piece! / 66 cod-piece] *(*Cod-peicu*)* 67-68] *Colman lines* Hold, / not / Lucio. 70-72] *Colman lines* Zancho, / me, / shall / him. / 70 Señor] *(Signior)*

Would not this quiet him were he ten Vitellis?

BOBADILLA O craven chicken of a cock o' th' game! Well, what remedy? Did thy father see this, o' my conscience, he would cut off thy masculine gender, crop thine ears, beat out thine eyes, and set thee in one of the pear-trees for a scarecrow. As I am Vitelli, I am satisfied; but as I am Bobadilla Spindola Sancho, steward of the house, and thy father's servant, I could find in my heart to lop off the hinder part of thy face, or to beat all thy teeth into thy mouth. O thou whey-blooded milksop, I'll wait upon thee no longer, thou shalt ev'n wait upon me. Come your ways, sir, I shall take a little pains with ye else.

Enter CLARA [*in women's clothes, carrying her weapons.* LUCIO *and* BOBADILLA *stand apart.*]

CLARA Where art thou, brother Lucio? Ran tan tan ta ran tan ran tan tan, ta ran tan tan tan. O, I shall no more see those golden days! These clothes will never fadge with me. A pox o' this filthy farthingale; this hip-hap! Brother, why are women's haunches only limited, confined, hooped in, as it were, with these same scurvy farthingales?

BOBADILLA Because women's haunches only are most subject to display and fly out.

CLARA [*Aims her petronel at Lucio.*]
Bobadilla, rogue, ten ducats I hit the prepuce of thy cod-piece.

LUCIO Hold if you love my life, sister! I am not Sancho Bobadilla, I am your brother Lucio. What a fright you put me in!

CLARA Brother? And wherefore thus?

LUCIO Why, Master Steward here, Señor Sancho, made me change. He does

71 **misuse** mistreat
75 **if … it** Bobadilla self-deprecatingly admits he is ill-favoured.
76 **mollify you** soften you, tame you
77 **qualify him** to bring him into a normal (i.e. masculine) condition (*OED* 13)
78-80 **nature . . . them** Bobadilla implies, quite explicitly, that women have been given a vagina ('a sheath only', following the Latin etymology of *vagina*) to be penetrated ('to put up') by men's penises ('men's weapons').
80 **a fit trot** an appropriate way of walking
82 **whiting-mops** a type of young fish; Weber annotates that it is equivalent to 'young whitings, commonly used as a term of endearment'.
84 **great asses** They would sooner have sex ('ride') with stupid courtiers.
85 **Custom** see 1.2.45 n.
88 **You … slowly** Lucio moves as an ambling horse, in a smooth way, which contrasts with Clara's brisk trot.
89 **Señor Spindle** punning on Bobadilla's middle name, Spindola (see line 54), and alluding to his lean figure (see 1.2.87)
90-1 **He … dragon** Bobadilla compares the man who may want to take Clara's virginity with a warrior fighting a dragon. Unusually, this metaphoric knight will not fight the dragon on horseback, but actually mounting it (i.e. trying to penetrate Clara sexually). Later in the scene he will advise Vitelli that she is like 'Bel the Dragon' (see lines 154-55 n.). Cf. Petronius in *The Woman's Prize*, advising his son-in-law, Petruccio, before entering the bedchamber on his wedding night: 'Wil you to bed son, and leave talking; / To morrow morning we shall have you looke, / For all your great words, like Saint *George* at *Kingston*, / Running a foot-back from the furious Dragon, / That with her angry tayle belabours him / For being lazie.' (1.3.17-22)
94 It is implicit that the objects that Clara offers Lucio are her weapons; the request is met by Lucio's cowardly objection to hold them.

73-86] *Colman lines* more / tho'! / he / her; / it.— / I / to / with / swords, / Nature / signify / not / see / if / measures / finns, / they / no; / Faith, / hath / you. / 73 SD] *Weber* 76 SD] *this edn* of you] of *F2, Langbaine, Q* 80 SD] *this edn* 85 say to ye] *(*say to'ye*) F, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* say t'ye *F2, Langbaine, TSS, Colman;* say't ye *Q* 87] *Colman lines* Nay, / steward! / 88] *Colman lines* fast, / slowly. / 89] *Colman lines* Spindle! / me? / Señor] *(Signior)* 90-91] *Colman lines* to / be / dragon. / 92 SD] *this edn* 93] *Colman lines* ever / so? / 94 SD1, SD2, SD3] *this edn*

nothing but misuse me, and call me coward, and swears I shall wait upon him.

BOBADILLA Well, I do no more than I have authority for. [*aside*] Would I were away, though. For she's as much too mannish, as he too womanish. I dare not meddle with her, yet I must set a good face on't—if I had it. [*to Clara*] I have like charge of you, madam: I am as well to mollify you as to qualify him. What have you to do with armours, and pistols, and javelins, and swords, and such tools? Remember, mistress: nature hath given you a sheath only, to signify women are to put up men's weapons, not to draw them. [*Clara moves.*] Look you now: is this a fit trot for a gentlewoman? You shall see the court's ladies move like goddesses, as if they trod air; they will swim you their measures like whiting-mops as if their feet were fins, and the hinges of their knees oiled. Do they love to ride great horses as you do? No, they love to ride great asses sooner. 'Faith, I know not what to say to ye both. Custom hath turned nature topsy-turvy in you.

CLARA Nay, but master steward—

BOBADILLA You cannot trot so fast but he ambles as slowly.

CLARA Señor Spindle, will you hear me?

BOBADILLA He that shall come to bestride your virginity, had better be afoot o'er the dragon.

CLARA Very well. [*She walks towards Lucio.*]

BOBADILLA Did ever Spanish lady pace so?

CLARA [*to Lucio*]
Hold these a little. [*Offers Lucio her weapons.*]

95 **office** Bobadilla's staff of office as steward of the house

96 **dogskin-faced** a further comment on Bobadilla's ill-favoured complexion (see line 75 n.) **pilchard** see 2.1.40 n. **poor-John** another type of fish

97 **stockfish** a type of fish that is beaten before consumption

98 **cittern-head** the cittern, a musical instrument of the lute family, had a grotesque head carved at the end of its pegbox; it was a usual term of abuse (the *OED* records this instance).

103 **Spite … nose** Free-floating intensifier. See, as illustration, Bergetto's defiance to his uncle in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1631): ''Sfoot, I will have the wench, if he were ten uncles, in despite of his nose.' (3.1.4-5)

106 **ominous-visaged** with an awful or unsettling face; another reference to Bobadilla's ill-favoured features (see lines 75 and 96).

108 SD This moment is depicted in the frontispiece of Colman's edition (see Introduction, section IV.6).

95 SD1, SD2] *this edn* 100-1] *Colman lines* when / alone. / 103 the] thy *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 104 cut] kick *Weber, Darley* 105 you'd] *Dyce;* y' had *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS;* you had *Colman, Weber, Darley* SD] *this edn* 108 SD] *this edn* 109 SD] *this edn*

LUCIO I'll not touch them, I. [*Clara leaves them aside.*]

CLARA [*to Bobadilla*]

First do I break your office o'er your pate— [*She takes Bobadilla's*
You dogskin-faced rogue, pilchard, you poor John— *staff of office, and*
Which I will beat to stockfish! *hits him with it.*]

LUCIO Sister!

BOBADILLA Madam!

CLARA

You cittern-head, who have you talked to, ha?
You nasty, stinking, and ill-countenanced cur?

BOBADILLA By this hand, I'll bang your brother for this when I get him alone.

CLARA

How? Kick him, Lucio. He shall kick you, Bob,
Spite o' the nose, that's flat. Kick him, I say,
Or I will cut thy head off!

BOBADILLA Softly, you'd best. [*Lucio kicks Bobadilla.*]

CLARA

Now, thou lean, dried, and ominous-visaged knave,
Thou false and peremptory steward, pray,
For I will hang thee up in thine own chain. [*She tries to strangle*
Bobadilla with his
LUCIO *chain of office.*]
Good sister, do not choke him! [*She releases him.*]

111-19 In this speech Clara retells some of the military deeds that she and her father have experienced by showing Lucio a collection of weapons: her sword, her father's truncheon, and her petronel. For reasons of economy of staging, she is probably carrying all of them; see 58 SD n.

111 **this** Lucio's sword

112 **there hangs one** Clara's sword, which may be hanging from her belt.

113 **this staff** Álvarez's truncheon, which she is probably carrying.

116 **that and this** her sword and her petronel **skirred** repelled, made to flee

118 **seen** have seen

119 **shads** allices or river herrings, a type of fish

120 **desperately** hopelessly (*OED* 3)

121 **dag** a kind of heavy but small hand-gun (*OED n.*^{2}; see section I.4 of the Introduction)

122 **petronel** see 1.1.74 n.; a petronel would be unmistakably much larger than a dag.

123 **Barbary** a Barbary horse; the horses from the north coast of Africa were much appreciated across Europe.

126 **jades** horses of inferior breed

127 **spoiled** injured, crippled

128 **before** in the presence of

111 with ye] *(*with 'ye*) F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell;* w' ye *TSS, Colman;* with you *Dyce* 116 skirred] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Mitchell;* scurr'd *F, Dyce, GWW;* scour'd *F2, Langbaine, Q* 120 do ye] *(do'ye) F, Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell;* d' ye *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman;* do you *Dyce*

BOBADILLA Murder, murder! *Exit.*

CLARA

Well, I shall meet with ye. Lucio, who bought this?
'Tis a reasonable good one; but there hangs one
Spain's champion ne'er used truer. With this staff
Old Álvarez has led up men so close
They could almost spit in the cannon's mouth,
Whilst I with that and this, well mounted, skirred
A horse troop through and through, like swift desire,
And seen poor rogues retire, all gore and gashed
Like bleeding shads.

LUCIO Bless us, sister Clara.
How desperately you talk. What do ye call
This gun? A dag?

CLARA

I'll give't thee. A French petronel.
You never saw my Barbary the Infanta
Bestowed upon me as yet, Lucio?
Walk down and see it.

LUCIO What, into the stable?
Not I, the jades will kick. The poor groom there
Was almost spoiled the other day.

CLARA Fie on thee!
Thou wilt scarce be a man before thy mother.

LUCIO

When will you be a woman? *Enter* ÁLVAREZ *and* BOBADILLA.

130 **nature's … one** 'nature's decree unavoidably makes me a woman'; Clara is aware that her biological sex predetermines her socially expected gender behaviour. The 'privy seal' was the sign that authenticated the royal provenance of government documents; its metaphorical use here refers to a legal document issued by nature as the highest authority.

131 **strong habitual custom** see 1.2.45 n.; in this case, custom is presented as an intense driving force that is generated through the repetition of received behavioural patterns. The polysemic term *habitual* refers to these patterns, as well as, or particularly, to clothing as a powerful signifier of gender. The phrase, by semantic proximity between *strength* and *force*, is reminiscent of the title of Guillén de Castro's play, which is sometimes translated as *The Force of Habit* (as in Kathleen Jeff's translation).

135 **proper** appropriate

136 **bray … mortar** beat them to a pulp

137 **wash … Ethiop** proverbially, we attempt a futile task (Tilley, E186); cf. Zanche in *The White Devil*: 'It is a dowry, / Methinks, should make that sunburnt proverb false, / And wash the Ethiop white.' (5.3.260-61)

138 **I … ducats** Perhaps Clara is referring again to the money she would bet to shoot at Bobadilla's cod-piece, threatening him upon return (cf. 2.2.66).

138-40 There seem to be two possible interpretations of this speech. On the one hand, given the briefness of his appearance, Álvarez may not actually notice that the man in front of him is Lucio and the woman, Clara, if they have simply exchanged clothes (2012 production). On the other hand, Álvarez may be speaking of breeches and petticoat in a metaphorical sense (2013 production).

140 **gelt** castrated

141-42 **Muscovite … frost** In Renaissance humoral theory, coldness and wetness in the body was associated with an excess of phlegm that could generate effeminacy: a man with an excess of cold and wet humours would only produce female children or, alternatively, effeminate boys (for example, Falstaff in *2 Henry IV* accuses young men who do not consume strong drinks of being only able to 'get wenches' due an overcooling of their blood; 4.2.91). Álvarez jokes here with the possibility that his son might have been conceived in a cold climate by a foreigner from a cold country. This is a topical reference to Aleksei Ziuzin, ambassador from Tsar Michael I, who resided in London from June 1613 to May 1614. The 'last great frost' is the winter of 1614 to 1615. (See section I.2 in the Introduction.)

142 **lieger** an ordinary or resident ambassador, as opposed to extra-ordinary or temporary

145 **I'll … searched** Perhaps reminiscent of the episode in the 1613 process for the annulment of Frances Howard's marriage to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, in which a panel of matrons verified that she was a virgin, allowing her to re-marry. (See section I.3 of the Introduction.)

146 **things** punning on his children's genitalia **Come, go in** Álvarez may not notice that his children do not follow him.

147 **With … you?** 'You want to speak with Lucio?'

130 SD] *GWW* 138 SD] *this edn* 141 did] did not *TSS* 142 lieger] leger *Colman* 147 SD] *this edn*

CLARA Would I were none.
But nature's privy seal assures me one. [*They talk apart.*]

ÁLVAREZ
Thou anger'st me. Can strong habitual custom
Work with such magic on the mind and manners
In spite of sex and nature? Find out, sirrah,
Some skilful fighter.

BOBADILLA Yes, sir.

ÁLVAREZ I will rectify
And redeem either's proper inclination,
Or bray 'em in a mortar, and new mould 'em.

BOBADILLA Believe your eyes, sir. I tell you, we wash an Ethiop. *Exit.*

CLARA [*to Lucio*]
I strike it for ten ducats.

ÁLVAREZ How now, Clara,
Your breeches on still? And your petticoat
Not yet off, Lucio? Art thou not gelt?
Or did the cold Muscovite beget thee,
That lay here lieger in the last great frost?
Art thou not, Clara, turned a man indeed
Beneath the girdle? And a woman thou?
I'll have you searched, I swear! I strongly doubt.
We must have things mended. Come, go in. *Exit.*

Enter VITELLI *and* BOBADILLA.

BOBADILLA With Lucio, say you? There is for you. [*Points at Lucio.*]

149-55 This speech is laid out erroneously as verse in F.

151-54 **If … constitution** Bobadilla's warning to Vitelli against attempting a sexual advance on Clara is phrased in planetary and astrological terms. The 'hot motions' of Vitelli's sexual arousal are personified in the sun rising above the horizon at dawn, occurring figuratively under his 'equinoctial', or below his waistline (i.e. in his genitalia). Bobadilla advices Vitelli to control his erection (the elevation of his celestial pole) as it will not be willingly received (it will not be agreeable to Clara's horoscopic disposition).

151 **nails** fingernails to scratch Vitelli's eyes **foolish** unadvised

152 **hot motions** lusty movements, sexual arousal; cf. Lucio's 'wanton motions' (1.2.26). **equinoctial** region adjacent to the terrestrial equator; figuratively, the area near a man's waist (his equator), i.e. his genitalia

153 **qualify it** mitigate it, control it **elevation … pole** Vitelli's erection **pole** celestial pole, but punning on a material stake or rod, i.e. Vitelli's penis

154 **horoscope** configuration of the planets at a certain moment that governs with its influence the personality and fate of human beings; the phrase implies that Clara has an intrinsic predisposition against the sexual advances of men caused by her artificial manliness, rather than considering this a temporary characteristic that may revert to its natural state, as her father interprets. **constitution** disposition

154-55 **Bel the Dragon** Bobadilla confuses the name of the Babylonian idol Bel and the dragon that the Babylonians also worshipped. Both stories are recounted in the extended book of Daniel, chapter 14, which was not included in the Geneva Bible or the King James Version, but was available in the Bishop's Bible of 1568. Daniel destroyed the dragon when he stuffed its mouth with a mixture of pitch, fat, and wool. Langbaine silently emended for 'Bel and the Dragon', but this misses the joke at Bobadilla's expense, ridiculing his lack of biblical knowledge.

157 **brabble** quarrel, brawl about trifles

158 **metamorphosèd** transformed; this is, of course, a central theme in the play. (See section IV.5 of the Introduction.)

163 **expositor** expounder of the riddles that Vitelli wishes his life would have retained

148 SD] *this edn* 145 I swear *this edn;* by—— *F;* by Heaven *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 147 is] he's *TSS, Colman;* he is *Weber, Darley* 149-55 *prose in TSS, Weber, Darley, GWW, and Mitchell; F, F2, Langbaine, and Q line* advice / that / has / foolish / horizon / as / will / constitution: / you. /*; Colman lines* bought / chance / there, / head! / eyes: / chance / there, / fear / not / constitution: / you/ 154-55 Bel the] *(*Bell the*);* Bell and the *Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley* 159 SD] *GWW*

VITELLI

And there is for thee. [*Gives Bobadilla some money.*]

BOBADILLA I thank you. You have now bought a little advice of me: if you chance to have conference with that lady there, be very civil, or look to your head. She has ten nails and you have but two eyes. If any foolish hot motions should chance to rise in the horizon under your equinoctial there, qualify it as well as you can, for I fear the elevation of your pole will not agree with the horoscope of her constitution. She is Bel the Dragon, I assure you. *Exit.*

VITELLI

Are you not the Lucio, sir, that saved Vitelli?

LUCIO

Not I indeed, sir, I did never brabble.
There walks that Lucio, metamorphosèd.

VITELLI

Do ye mock me? *Exit* [*Lucio*].

CLARA No, he does not. I am that
Supposèd Lucio that was, but Clara
That is, and daughter unto Álvarez.

VITELLI

Amazement daunts me. Would my life were riddles,
So you were still my fair expositor.
Protected by a lady from my death!
O, I shall wear an everlasting blush
Upon my cheek from this discovery.
O you, the fairest soldier I e'er saw,
Each of whose eyes, like a bright beamy shield,

172 **prove** test in combat
173 **side** join forces with
174 **difference … blood** enmity between our families
175 **shift** small change
177-78 **having … you** 'having been injured (in my honour) by your family, I might hope to engender children with you'
178 **black-winged fate** Perhaps one of the classical fates that governed the destiny of men, the Greek Moirai (Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos). However, these were not depicted as having wings; perhaps Vitelli is transferring the appearance and ability to fly from unfriendly harpies. Alternatively, *fate* here is not a mythological reference but an unspecific personification of destiny as a bird of prey with ominous black wings.
179 **hovers** circles like a bird of prey **aversely** A possible emendation would be *adversely*, expressing a more active enmity towards Vitelli in the black-winged personification of fate, rather than the blander aversion or distaste that the *difficilior lectio* implies. **fond** pretentious
180 **gratifies** expresses gratitude, gives thanks. Sympson suggests that the authors might have meant *glorifies*, as it is not clear as to what gratification 'does *Vitelli* make *Clara* here'; but Vitelli has come to thank Clara for saving his life (see 2.1.128-30).
189 **fair** as a vocative

Conquers, without blows, the contentious.

CLARA

Sir, guard yourself: you are in your enemy's house,
And may be injured.

VITELLI 'Tis impossible:
Foe, nor oppressing odds, dares prove Vitelli
If Clara side him, and will call him friend.
I would the difference of our blood were such
As might with any shift be wiped away;
Or would to heaven yourself were all your name,
That having lost blood by you, I might hope
To raise blood from you; but my black-winged fate
Hovers aversely over that fond hope;
And he, whose tongue thus gratifies the daughter
And sister of his enemy, wears a sword
To rip the father and the brother up;
Thus you, that saved this wretched life of mine,
Have saved it to the ruin of your friends.
That my affections should promiscuously
Dart love and hate at once, both worthily!
Pray, let me kiss your hand.

CLARA You are treacherous
And come to do me mischief.

VITELLI Speak on still:
Your words are falser, fair, than my intents,
And each sweet accent far more treacherous; for
Though you speak ill of me, you speak so well
I do desire to hear you.

193 **neither can** ‘I can do neither’; the intransitive use of *can* is not cited in the *OED*.
196-97 **I … apace** This may be an aside.
203 **favour** a lady’s personal property that a gentleman may wear publicly as a token of her esteem or affection
207 **trim** decorate

193 can] *F, GWW, Mitchell;* can I *F2 and all other eds* 197 apace] a pace *F* 198 honour] *(*honor*) F2;* hononr *F* 208 their] the *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley*

CLARA Pray be gone;
Or kill me, if you please.

VITELLI O, neither can:
For to be gone were to destroy my life,
And to kill you were to destroy my soul.
I am in love, yet must not be in love.
I'll get away apace. Yet, valiant lady,
Such gratitude to honour I do owe,
And such obedience to your memory,
That if you will bestow something that I
May wear about me, it shall bind all wrath,
My most inveterate wrath, from all attempts
Till you and I meet next.

CLARA A favour, sir?
Why, I will give ye good counsel.

VITELLI That already
You have bestowed. A ribbon or a glove.

CLARA
Nay, those are tokens for a waiting maid
To trim the butler with.

VITELLI Your feather.

CLARA Fie;
The wenches give them to their servingmen.

VITELLI
That little ring.

209-10 **'Twill … faster** Clara's first expression of a romantic interest in Vitelli?
212 **myself** also in the sense of 'my being'
215 **poise** ballast, add moral weight against ill opinions
217 **My … heart '**my eye draws your image on my heart' **till … break** Vitelli will metaphorically wear Clara's image drawn on his own heart until his death. **table** table-book
223-24 **His … here** Clara pictures herself as a fierce lioness that has been tamed with gilded fetters. The line echoes the subtitle and the main theme of Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*.
225 **this tongue** my tongue; Dyce emended the F reading as suggested by Heath: 'i.e. her own tongue, which had just uttered two *chiming* or rhyming verses.' (Quoted in Dyce)
227 **love-knot** an intricate ornament in the shape of a knot given as a love token; figuratively, a bond of affection and an implicit promise of fidelity. In this case, the sword is exchanged with the promise that it will never be used to hurt Clara's relatives (see 5.3.154-57).

210 have] have have *F2* 219 SD] *this edn* 222 SD] *Weber* 225 this] *Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* his *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Weber, Darley* SD] *this edn* saying] a saying *TSS*

CLARA 'Twill hold you but by th' finger
And I would have you faster.

VITELLI Anything
That I may wear and but remember you.

CLARA
This smile, my good opinion, or myself.
But that it seems you like not.

VITELLI Yes, so well.
When any smiles I will remember yours.
Your good opinion shall in weight poise me
Against a thousand ill. Lastly, yourself
My curious eye now figures in my heart,
Where I will wear you till the table break.
So, whitest angels guard you. [*He starts to go.*]

CLARA Stay, sir. I
Have fitly thought to give what you as fitly
May not disdain to wear.

VITELLI What's that?

CLARA This sword.
[*aside*] I never heard a man speak till this hour.
His words are golden chains, and now I fear
The lioness hath met a tamer here.
Fie, how this tongue chimes. [*aloud*] What was I saying?
O, this favour I bequeath you, which I tie
In a love-knot, fast, ne'er to hurt my friends;
Yet be it fortunate 'gainst all your foes—
For I have neither friend, nor foe, but yours—

231 **And … virginity** Clara is naturally determined to remain chaste until her marriage. This contrasts with Hipólita's sexual transformation in the field in *La fuerza*.
232 **good** as a vocative
232-33 **I … too** This is a martial variant to the tradition that a gentleman who secured a lady's ring would be able to marry her. It is interesting that Clara has changed the token in this tradition from a ring—a symbol of femininity as well as a frequent bawdy term for the vagina—for a sword, a phallic object associated with men. In handing over her sword to her chosen sexual partner, she is obviously giving up her virginity as well, having drawn a psychological bond between the two in line 231.
232 **purchased** acquired
236 **article … breath** verbal oaths that will be as binding as clauses in a legal written agreement
237 **from this** from this sword
239 **leave … living** Uncertain meaning, perhaps implying that she would prefer to die rather than live in the anguish of the love that she is discovering. It plays with the conventional effects of love as a source of pain; cf. lines 244-45.
239 **exercise** (a) habitual behaviour (*OED* 3); (b) distress, state of anxiety (*OED* 6c); (c) military drilling (*OED* 5a)
240 **blancheth clean** whitewashes, erases
241 **my former nature** my masculine personality; note, however, that she regards her former masculine gender as a primary natural identity, not as an artificial product of custom: she is discovering a second nature, not assuming that her former one was not real.
244 **I am** pronounced as monosyllabic, *I'm*
245 **Pleaseth and punisheth** This paradoxical juxtaposition of the effects of love as painful and pleasurable was commonplace in the European literature of the period.
247 **skill** understand, comprehend (*OED* 4a)

230 I have] I've *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman* kept it] *F2;* kepit it *F* 231 SD] *this edn*
236 an article] a particle *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS*

As e’er it was to me. I have kept it long,
And value it next my virginity. [*She gives him her sword.*]
But, good, return it, for I now remember
I vowed who purchased it should have me too.

VITELLI

Would that were possible. But, alas, it is not.
Yet this assure yourself, most honoured Clara:
I’ll not infringe an article of breath
My vow hath offered to ye, nor from this part
Whilst it hath edge or point, or I a heart. *Exit.*

CLARA

O, leave me living! What new exercise
Is crept into my breast that blancheth clean
My former nature? I begin to find
I am a woman, and must learn to fight
A softer, sweeter battle than with swords.
I am sick methinks, but the disease I feel
Pleaseth and punisheth. I warrant, love
Is very like this that folks talk of so;
I skill not what it is, yet sure, even here,
Even in my heart, I sensibly perceive
It glows and riseth like a glimmering flame,
But know not yet the essence on’t nor name. *Exit.*

3.1 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A room in the Alguazir's house.*

1 **He** Piorato **let** hinder, stop

2 **diego** common name for a Spaniard

3 **Don Blurt** Reference to the title role of *Blurt, Master Constable* (1601), attributed to Thomas Dekker; that play also contains a character based on *Lazarillo de Tormes*. (See section III.2 of the Introduction.)

3-4 **the … ale-physiognomy** 'a curse upon your sentences, [and] your stern and wise drunken face' ⚔ **the pox upon** See Appendix 6.

6 **parish scavengers** officers of a parish employed to clean the streets, including ridding them of the piles of rubbish and waste left by town dwellers in front of their houses; metaphorically, the Alguazir's dunghill is presumably enormous due to his excessive corruption as an officer of the law.

7 **rid** get rid of, clear away

8-10 **for … angry** This is precisely what happened in the long exchange with the craftsmen in 2.1.139-64.

8 **butt** target

12 **check** interfere with

13 **Any's** anyone's

16 **will** implying human intention **shall** implying definitive action

17-18 **You … lately** Malroda states that she is not a naïve girl, who has been made pregnant recently out of inexperience.

18 **cast her belly** vomit with morning sickness in the early stages of pregnancy **waistcoat** used by low-class women of ill-repute (*OED* 4a); the waistcoat was also a child's first garment (*OED* 1d), with the implication that a young woman who has recently cast her waistcoat is still inexperienced (metaphorically in her first infancy).

20 **I … thee** 'I earn ten times more than you do'

20-21 **Ay … me** 'I pay for the upkeep of your house and your office'

22 **house of office** outside privy, located in the garden

23 **connived** overlooked, tolerated ⚔

3.1] *(Actus tertius, Scæna prima.)* 3 Don Blurt *(Don-blirt)* the pox *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* the —— *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, GWW, Mitchell* upon *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* on *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, GWW, Mitchell* 4 sage ale-physiognomy *Weber, Darley, Dyce;* sage Ale physiognomy *F, GWW, Mitchell;* Sage-Ale Physiognomy *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman* 5 Alguazir] *(Alguazier) F2; Alquazier F* 8 butt] *F2;* but *F* 13 Any's accesses] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, Mitchell*; *Anys accesses F, GWW;* Any accesses *F2, Langbaine, Q;* Any's access *Mitchell* 14 friend] Frinnd *TSS* 16 interviews] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* enter-viewes *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, GWW, Mitchell* 23, 24 connived] *Dyce, GWW;* contriv'd *F and all other eds*

3.1

Enter MALRODA *and* [*the*] ALGUAZIR.

MALRODA

He must not, nor he shall not? Who shall let him?
You, politic diego, with your face of wisdom?
Don Blurt, the pox upon your aphorisms,
Your grave and sage ale-physiognomy!
Do not I know thee for the Alguazir
Whose dunghill all the parish scavengers
Could never rid? Thou comedy to men,
Whose serious folly is a butt for all
To shoot their wits at, whilst thou hast not wit
Nor heart to answer or be angry.

ALGUAZIR Lady.

MALRODA

Peace, peace, you rotten rogue supported by
A staff of rottener office. Dare you check
Any's accesses that I will allow?
Piorato is my friend and visits me
In lawful sort to espouse me as his wife;
And who will cross, or shall, our interviews?
You know me, sirrah, for no chambermaid
That cast her belly and her waistcoat lately.
Thou thinkst thy constableship is much. Not so:
I am ten offices to thee. Ay, thy house,
Thy house, and office is maintained by me.

ALGUAZIR

My house of office is maintained i'th' garden.
Go to, I know you, and I have connived.

25 **A … degree** ‘you are a poison, but not a lethal one’. The ‘third degree’ was regarded as the more intense stage in any succession: cf. Olivia in *Twelfth Night* (1601): ‘he’s in the third degree of drink, he’s drowned.’ (1.5.130-31)

26 **black’s … grey** ‘I can accuse you of wrongdoing, I can find fault in you’; it was a common catchphrase. Black eyes were generally regarded as proverbially attractive in women. The Alguazir is implying that Malroda’s eyes are not so attractive (grey, not black), and yet he can lie about their colour and appeal, and accuse her of being morally faulty.

27 **this** your relationship

29 **his feather** figuratively, his plumage, his attire, his outward appearance (*OED* 2a); Sympson’s emendation makes good sense of the speech, but seems unnecessary.

32 **sweet-breasted … thrush** sweet-voiced, like the nightingale and the thrush, two birds renowned for their beautiful singing; Piorato is the only character who sings in the play (see 3.2.118-25).

35 **Jack-i’-th’-box** mechanical toy consisting of a puppet actioned by a spring that leaps out of a box when opened. The *OED* first record is from 1702, but this seems to be the sense: a gull kept in the box (Malroda’s establishment at the Alguazir’s house). As Weber notes, it may also be ‘another name for Jack of the clock’, the automaton that comes out of a clock’s case to strike the hours on the bell with a hammer; in this sense, Malroda’s visitors come in and out of the house with great frequency (figuratively once every hour).

36 **gathered … fruit** had first access to her sexual favours, took away her virginity

37 **blew … blister** impregnated you; in this case, the coat or petticoat, a garment suspended from the waist, could have been made from a pig’s hide; figuratively it could be the skin on Malroda’s belly, swollen by pregnancy, said to belong to a pig as an insult to her. An alternative modernisation is the homophonous phrase *pigs’ cote*, in general use in the period to refer to a small shed used to house swine, figuratively Malroda’s womb. **blister** a swollen vesicle on the skin containing serum produced by a burn or an injury; in this sense, the expanded skin of Malroda’s belly (or her skirt) when pregnant, containing amniotic fluid and the baby

39 **bairn** child of either sex; Vitelli has fathered a child with Malroda, which he maintains by giving her an allowance (see 4.2.44).

40 **the other** Piorato

45 **prospered … villainy** if goodness were as prosperous as villainy

46 **the King’s vicegerent** the King’s deputy, his officer **place** office in the crown’s service (*OED* 14a)

47 **right lieutenant** legitimate representative **precinct** administrative district (*OED* 2a)

48 **precincts** by extension, particular areas of concern (*OED* 2b), opinions

49 **Yet … knave** Perhaps referring to the two-faced Alguazir (as commented on by the craftsmen in 2.1.106-8). It does not seem to refer to Vitelli and Piorato: if the first may be the fool who they both want to gull, the second is the target of Malroda’s affections.

51 **keep it** conceal it **my Don** Vitelli

52 The F2 reading suggests that, to fit the pentameter, ‘thou art’ is pronounced as one syllable, *thou’rt*; alternatively, ‘I will’ could scan as a monosyllable, *I’ll*.

53 **my officer** In a way, Malroda declares that she is taking the place of the King, paying for the Alguazir’s services.

26 black’s] *(*blacks*)* 29 feather] feature *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 37 pig’s coat] *this edn;* pigges-coat *F, GWW, Mitchell;* pigs-coat *F2 and all other eds* 40 by] be *Langbaine* 47 own] *F2;* owe *F* 50 SD] *this edn* 52 thou art] thou’rt *F2, Langbaine, Q*

You're a delinquent, but I have connived;
A poison, though not in the third degree.
I can say black's your eye, though it be grey.
I have connived at this, your friend and you.
But what is got by this connivancy?
I like his feather well: a proper man,
Of good discourse, fine conversation,
Valiant, and a great carrier of the business,
Sweet-breasted as the nightingale or thrush.
Yet I must tell you, you forget yourself:
My lord Vitelli's love and maintenance
Deserves no other Jack-i'-th'-box but he.
What, though he gathered first the golden fruit,
And blew your pig's coat up into a blister
When you did wait at court upon his mother?
Has he not well provided for the bairn?
Beside, what profit reap I by the other?
If you will have me serve your pleasure, lady,
Your pleasure must accommodate my service,
As good be virtuous and poor, as not
Thrive by my knavery. All the world would be
Good, prospered goodness like to villainy.
I am the King's vicegerent by my place,
His right lieutenant in mine own precinct.

MALRODA

Thou art a right rascal in all men's precincts.
Yet now, my pair of twins, of fool and knave:
Look, we are friends. There's gold for thee. Admit [*Gives him gold.*]
Whom I will have and keep it from my Don,
And I will make thee richer than thou art wise.
Thou shalt be my bawd, and my officer.
Thy children shall eat still, my good night owl,

55 **andirons** fire-dogs, pairs of horizontal iron bars supported by decorated vertical columns that were placed in the hearth to support and oxygenate a fire **to the court** to courtiers, presumably in Madrid

56 **countenanced** looked upon, admired **hood** a hood was worn by civic officials and members of other professions as a mark of their dignity (for example, it survives in English academic dress)

57 **garden-house** perhaps a quip on the Alguazir's earlier statement that his house of office was in the garden, i.e. the outside privy (line 22); quoting this passage, the *OED* defines it as 'a house kept for immoral purposes' (2b).

58 **poisonous** pronounced as two syllables, *pois'nous* **red-haired** see 2.1.169-70 n.
de'il contraction of *devil* ⚔

59-61 **gold … queen** A startling colonial image: Malroda presents herself as a native queen in the Indies who will offer gold to the evil spirit of the island as a sacrifice. The possession of gold in abundance was commonly associated with the inhabitants of the Indies. Fletcher would develop the theme later in his career in *The Sea Voyage* (1622), and particularly in *The Island Princess* (1621), in which he fully exploited the figure of the Indian queen in its female protagonist, Princess Quisara.

60 **fertile … own** presumably the assets of her trade as a courtesan, i.e. her charm and sexual appeal. Piorato will refer to her in similarly economic terms as 'the most wealthy mine of Spain / For beauty and perfection' (3.2.60-61); see also 4.2.88 n.

61 **Indian queen** possibly (and unwittingly) punning on *quean*, 'whore'

62-63 The world, the flesh, and the devil were the enemies of the soul, according to Christian theology, as in Ephesians 2:1-3.

63 **fill** fill a pipe

65 **admit … conduct** Piorato needs no ushering as he belongs to a lower class than Vitelli, who would need to be shown in.

67 **First … served** proverbial (Tilley, C530)

68 The line is metrically anomalous, and could only be a pentameter if *heaven* is pronounced as one syllable (*heav'n*) and *dispossessed* is emended to *disposed*, which may make better sense. **dispossessed** disbursed, bestowed; the verb is employed in an unusual sense (unrecorded in the *OED*).

69-73 **One's … descends** A rich man, such as Vitelli, is rich and foolish by birth, while one born lowly is often congenitally wiser.

71 **Another's poor** another who is poor

74 **traduction** inheritance; pronounced as four syllables

75 **succeeds** passes down from generation to generation; virtue, unlike poverty and wit, is not inherited.

76 **free will** The defence of free will was associated with Roman Catholicism, while Lutheran and Calvinist theologians generally advocated spiritual determinism: human beings are predestined to attain salvation or damnation; Catholicism preaches that salvation depends on a person's choice to do good or bad actions. (See also 5.3.227.)

77 **Left me** granted to me **or … or** either … or

79 **my stars' confluence** my horoscope; astrological determinism is in direct opposition to the free will that the Alguazir had just invoked.

81 **let who will** let who is so inclined

58 de'il] *this edn;* Dill *F, F2, Langbaine,Q, Dyce, GWW;* Deel *TSS, Colman;* devil *Weber, Mitchell* 67 SD] *this edn* 68 dispossessed] *(*disposest*)*

And thy old wife sell andirons to the court,
Be countenanced by the Dons, and wear a hood,
Nay, keep my garden-house; I'll call her mother,
Thee father, my good poisonous red-haired de'il,
And gold shall daily be thy sacrifice,
Wrought from a fertile island of mine own
Which I will offer like an Indian queen.

ALGUAZIR

And I will be thy devil, thou my flesh,
With which I'll catch the world.

MALRODA Fill some tobacco
And bring it in. If Piorato come
Before my Don, admit him. If my Don
Before my love, conduct him, my dear devil.

ALGUAZIR

I will, my dear flesh. First come, first served. Well said. *Exit* [*Malroda*].
O equal heaven, how wisely thou dispossessed
Thy several gifts! One's born a great rich fool
For the subordinate knave to work upon;
Another's poor with wit's addition,
Which, well- or ill-used, builds a living up,
And that too from the sire oft descends.
Only fair virtue by traduction
Never succeeds and seldom meets success.
What have I then to do with 't? My free will,
Left me by heaven, makes me or good or ill.
Now, since vice gets more in this vicious world
Than piety, and my stars' confluence
Enforce my disposition to affect
Gain, and the name of rich, let who will practise

84 **nurse** fosterer s**ensuality** the pleasures of the senses, particularly lasciviousness (hence lines 85-86)

86 **scabs** see 2.1.81 n. **claw … itch** scratch, and figuratively satisfy her sexual need; cf. Alphonso's reaction to his daughter Alinda's escape in *The Pilgrim*: 'Some pelting rogue has watch'd her houre of itching, / And clawd her; clawd her.' (2.1.4-5) **itch** (a) irritation of the skin produced by venereal disease; (b) sexual urges (*OED* 2)

3.2 Location: Weber and Darley indicate *A street before the same*; Dyce completes the SD as *A street before the house of the Alguazir.* SD ***letters*** from Clara to Vitelli

7 **divers** 'I have cured people with similar maladies on other occasions'; Bobadilla mistakes it for (or puns upon) having 'done' several women, in a sexual sense.

10 **blow it to a flame** the cure will rekindle Lucio's dormant manliness, perhaps also sexually. This sense will be developed in 4.4.12-14 and 24-25.

3.2] *(Scæna secunda.)* 7 ye] you *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce*

War, and grow that way great; religious,
And that way good. My chief felicity
Is wealth, the nurse of sensuality;
And he that mainly labours to be rich
Must scratch great scabs, and claw a strumpet's itch. *Exit.*

3.2

Enter PIORATO *and* BOBADILLA *with letters.*

PIORATO

To say, sir, I will wait upon your lord
Were not to understand myself.

BOBADILLA To say, sir,
You will do anything but wait upon him
Were not to understand my lord.

PIORATO I'll meet him
Some half-hour hence, and doubt not but to render
His son a man again. The cure is easy;
I have done divers.

BOBADILLA Women do ye mean, sir?

PIORATO

Cures I do mean, sir. Be there but one spark
Of fire remaining in him unextinct,
With my discourse I'll blow it to a flame,
And with my practice into action.
I have had one so full of childish fear
And womanish-hearted sent to my advice,
He durst not draw a knife to cut his meat.

15-21 In *The Devil's Law Case*, 5.4.17-26, Julio reports the similar case of a fencer (like Piorato) who was hired to make a cowardly Welshman fight.

19-20 'He was under constant surveillance and would be stopped from eating unless he cut the meat with a knife.'

20 **modicum** morsel

23 **gammons of bacon** smoked ham, which consumed in conjunction with the burnt pork would contribute to provide heat and dryness to the body and excite the choler or yellow bile, the hot and dry humour that caused irritability, causing the pusillanimous to fight. As with Lucio, an effeminate man would lack yellow bile, as he would naturally have an excess of phlegm, the cold and wet humour that Álvarez lamented earlier (see 2.2.141-42 n.). A diet based on certain foods would regulate the imbalance of humours in the body. **pill of caviary** a mouthful of caviar, perhaps moulded into a globular form. The choice of word, *pill*, suggests that the food is being used as humoral medicine; *caviary* scans as four syllables.

25 **choler adust** The adjective *adust* was used to describe any of the four humours when an abnormal concentration of any of them occurred in the body, producing a darkening of its colour. This excess was associated with a state of hotness and dryness in the body, and was therefore particularly applied to choler. In conjunction with the hot foods mentioned, Piorato tried to cause a darkening of the choler with the caviar, hoping in that way to provoke the desired anger in his patient. **phlegmatic humour** phlegm, the cold and wet humour (see line 23 n.) **crudities** imperfect concoctions of the bodily humours producing an imbalance (*OED* 2a), cold in this case

27 **aquafortis** nitric acid, a powerful corrosive that would certainly supply the desired heat to the patient. A solution for a similar malady is proposed by Leontius in *The Humorous Lieutenant*: 'Then will I have thee blowne with a paire of Smiths bellowes, / […] Fil'd full of oyle o' devill, and *Aqua fortis*, / And let these worke, these may provoke.' (3.3.41-44) This passage may be based on Field's *Amends for Ladies*, in which Master Welltried has promised Lord Feesimple to overcome his fear and teach him 'to endure to look upon a naked sword' (2.1, p. 26); he takes him to a tavern in Turnbull Street to visit a band of ruffians, so that drinking finally excites him to fight against them.

28 **Aqua-vitae** any strong distilled spirit

30-31 **What's … drink** cf. *The Changeling* 1.1.111 and 127-28.

31 **meat** food, sustenance

16 by] by a *F2, Langbaine, Q* 28 señor] *(*Signior*)* 30 señor] *(*Signior*)*

BOBADILLA

And how, sir, did you help him?

PIORATO Sir, I kept him
Seven days in a dark room by candlelight,
A plenteous table spread with all good meats
Before his eyes, a case of keen broad knives
Upon the board, and he so watched, he might not
Touch the least modicum, unless he cut it;
And thus I brought him first to draw a knife.

BOBADILLA

Good.

PIORATO Then for ten days did I diet him
Only with burnt pork, sir, and gammons of bacon;
A pill of caviary now and then,
Which breeds choler adust, you know?

BOBADILLA ’Tis true.

PIORATO

And to purge phlegmatic humour and cold crudities,
In all that time he drank me aquafortis,
And nothing else but—

BOBADILLA Aqua-vitae, señor,
For aquafortis poisons.

PIORATO Aquafortis
I say again. What’s one man’s poison, señor,
Is another’s meat or drink.

32 **he'd** he must have had
33 **fired it** put fire in his stomach
37 **receipt … coward** medical prescription to cure cowardice
39 **'probatum'** a demonstrated fact, a remedy found to be effective (*OED* 1)
40 **Is … right?** 'Is your chain made of pure gold?' (Sympson; *OED* 13c); Piorato changes the subject after his medical advice.
45 **foolhardy** Bobadilla declares he is rashly daring, while he regularly behaves like a coward (see 1.3.85, 2.2.110, and 5.3.181-82).
46 **easily** pronounced as two syllables to fit the metre, *eas'ly*

32 he'd] *this edn;* h'ad *F, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* h'had *F2, Colman;* he'ad *Langbaine, Q, TSS;* he had *Weber, Darley* 40 'Tis] It is *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 42 You are] You're very *TSS*

BOBADILLA Your patience, sir;
By your good patience, he'd a huge cold stomach.

PIORATO
I fired it, and gave him then three sweats
In the artillery yard, three drilling days.
And now he'll shoot a gun, and draw a sword,
And fight with any man in Christendom.

BOBADILLA
A receipt for a coward. I'll be bold, sir,
To write your good prescription.

PIORATO Sir, hereafter
You shall, and underneath it put 'probatum'.
Is your chain right?

BOBADILLA 'Tis both right and just, sir,
For, though I am a steward, I did get it
With no man's wrong.

PIORATO You are witty.

BOBADILLA So, so.
Could you not cure one, sir, of being too rash
And over-daring? There now's my disease:
Foolhardy as they say, for that in sooth
I am.

PIORATO Most easily.

BOBADILLA How?

47 **small beer** weak beer or beer of poor quality

51 **I … malady** Bacon expressed the same idea in 'Of Seditions and Troubles' in the 1625 augmented edition of his *Essays*: 'the remedy is worse than the disease'.[1] The phrase does not seem to have been proverbial in English (not in Tilley). **medicine** The F spelling seems to indicate that it is to be pronounced as two syllables, *med'cine*; the line is metrically anomalous, as, even with this elision, it has an extra syllable.

54 **man … word** A general commonplace, rather than a particular recorded proverb.

55 **I'll overtake you** I'll catch up with you later (*OED* 2a); also, in fighting terms, reach you with a blow (*OED* 1a).

56 **visitation** pronounced as five syllables

60 **mine** ore of precious metal, treasure (*OED* 2a); figuratively, a rich source of beauty and perfection (see 3.1.60)

49 señor] *(*Signior*)* 51 medicine] *F2;* medcine *F* 57 hereby] *Langbaine;* here by *F, F2* 60 Seville] *(*Civill*)*

[1] Francis Bacon, *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 2002), p. 371.

PIORATO To make you drunk, sir,
With small beer once a day, and beat you twice
Till you be bruised all over: if that help not,
Knock out your brains.

BOBADILLA This is strong physic, señor,
And never will agree with my weak body.
I find the medicine worse than the malady,
And therefore will remain foolhardy still.
You'll come, sir?

PIORATO As I am a gentleman.

BOBADILLA
A man o'th' sword should never break his word.

PIORATO
I'll overtake you. I have only, sir,
A complimental visitation
To offer to a mistress lodged hereby.

BOBADILLA
A gentlewoman?

PIORATO Yes, sir.

BOBADILLA Fair and comely?

PIORATO
O, sir, the paragon, the nonpareil
Of Seville, the most wealthy mine of Spain
For beauty and perfection.

64 **not … in't** in a sexual sense, 'not to penetrate her'
65 **Ha!** extrametrical interjection **blow your nose** perhaps in a sexual sense, 'lose your erection'; noses and penises, and their relative sizes, seem to have been linked in the period (see 5.3.198 n.).
68 **kept** maintained
73 **Under the rose** in secret, in strict confidence; it occurs several times in scene 2.3 of *Beggars' Bush.*
73-74 **because … friend** a comical paradox
75 **foolish** unadvised (see 2.2.151)
76 **my lord** my master, Álvarez
79 **home** go home **ope this** reveal this (i.e. that Vitelli maintains a courtesan; see 3.4.3-4)
80 **Madonna Clara** Mock-respectful Italian title for 'my lady'; cf. Feste addresses Countess Olivia with this title in *Twelfth Night*; see 5.2.1.

63 señor] *(*Signior*)* 64 señor] *(*Sgnior*)* 65 Ha!] *(*Hauh—*)* 66 I am steward] I am a Steward *F2, Langbaine, Q;* I'm a *TSS, Colman* 74 special] especial *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 76 SD] *Weber* 77 SD] *this edn*

BOBADILLA Say you so?
Might not a man entreat a courtesy
To walk along with you, señor, to peruse
This dainty mine, though not to dig in't, señor?
Ha! I hope you'll not deny me being a stranger;
Though I am steward, I am flesh and blood,
And frail as other men.

PIORATO Sir, blow your nose.
I dare not for the world. No, she is kept
By a great Don, Vitelli.

BOBADILLA How?

PIORATO 'Tis true.

BOBADILLA
See, things will veer about: this Don Vitelli
Am I to seek now to deliver letters
From my young mistress Clara. And I tell you
Under the rose—because you are a stranger,
And my special friend—I doubt there is
A little foolish love betwixt the parties,
Unknown unto my lord.

PIORATO [*aside*] Happy discovery.
My fruit begins to ripen. [*to Bobadilla*] Hark you, sir.
I would not wish you now to give those letters.
But home and ope this to Madonna Clara,
Which, when I come, I'll justify and relate
More amply and particularly.

82 ***Beso las manos*** Spanish for 'I kiss your hands'; the F spelling, *Bazilos manos*, is a thin disguise. The grammatical gender of the word *manos* (feminine) was confused due to its seemingly masculine ending, and was rendered as *los manos*; *bazi* probably resulted from a confusion with the Italian *baccio*. Mitchell printed *Baxilos manos* and footnoted as 'unknown'. The phrase is still in the *DRAE* as a 'written or spoken formula of courtesy'. It was particularly associated with the proverbially ceremonious affectation of Spanish gentlemen.

83-84 **Here's … thus** This may be an aside.

83 **two chores chored** two tasks accomplished; the original reading, *chewres chewrd*, is listed in the *OED* as example of the archaic use of the verb *chare* (def. 4). The noun *chare* is now usually employed in its Americanised phonetic variant, *chore*, applied to small domestic tasks (*OED*, *chare*, n.1, def. II. 5; *chore*, n.2). The correct modernisation is strictly *two chares chared*, but it is less recognisable in present-day English than this coinage, even if *chore* as a verb is not recorded in the *OED*.

86-87 Bobadilla exits almost as the Alguazir appears, probably using opposite doors in the original staging.

87 ***Dieu … monsieur*** French for 'God save you, sir.'

89 **coz** cousin, as a term of endearment

90 **akin** related by blood, but with an obvious sexual connotation: all the gallants of the town call their whores 'cousin'.

95-96 **greatly … kindred** cf. Lucio in *Measure for Measure*: 'the vice [i.e. lust] is of a great kindred; it is well allied.' (3.1.366-67)

97 cf. 3.1.23 n.

100 **one foot i'th' grave** at an advanced age, almost ready to die; proverbial (Tilley, F569; a variant of 'To have one's foot in Charon's boat')

102 **Cerberus** The mythological three-headed hound that guarded the gates of the Underworld. Piorato offers the Alguazir a morsel (a coin) for each of the three heads; he implies that the Alguazir's house, where he keeps the courtesan Malroda, is like hell, and that the pander acts as its canine gatekeeper. In a similar role, Cerberinus is the procurer and brothel's gatekeeper in the academic play *Zelotypus* (St John's College, Cambridge, 1605); see 3.3.23 n.

82 *Beso las manos*] *Weber, Darley, Dyce; bazilos manos | F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS*; *bazi los manos | Colman, GWW;* Baxilos manos *Mitchell* 83 chores chored] *(*chewres chewrd*) F, GWW, Mitchell; chewres chewr'd F2 and all other eds* 84 señor] *(*Signior*)* 86 SD] *Dyce* 88 SD] *this edn Dieu vous garde*] *(dieu vous gard)* 90 akin] a kin *F2* 91 señor] *(*Signior*)*

BOBADILLA I approve
Your counsel and will practise it. *Beso las manos*.
Here's two chores chored. When wisdom is employed
'Tis ever thus. Your more acquaintance, señor.
I say not better, lest you think I thought not
Yours good enough.

PIORATO Your servant, excellent steward. *Exit* [*Bobadilla*].
Would all the Dons in Spain had no more brains.
Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR.
Here comes the Alguazir. [*to him*] *Dieu vous garde, monsieur*.
Is my coz stirring yet?

ALGUAZIR Your coz, good cousin?
A whore is like a fool, akin to all
The gallants of the town. Your coz, good señor,
Is gone abroad, sir, with her other cousin,
My lord Vitelli. Since when there hath been
Some dozen cousins here to enquire for her.

PIORATO
She's greatly allied, sir.

ALGUAZIR Marry, is she, sir,
Come of a lusty kindred. The truth is
I must connive no more. No more admittance
Must I consent to. My good lord has threatened me,
And you must pardon.

PIORATO Out upon thee, man,
Turn honest in thine age, one foot i'th' grave?
Thou shalt not wrong thyself so for a million.
Look, thou three-headed Cerberus—for wit

103 **sop** a morsel; literally, a piece of bread dipped in water or wine
104 **for … bit** 'for every mouth a bite'
106 **on** of
107 **Where … to** 'Never mind where and what I said.'
109 **What mean you?** This may indicate that Piorato tries to go in and the Alguazir physically stops him. TSS added the SD 'Piorato *changes sides*'.
110-11 see 2.1.106-8 n. and 3.1.49; the sergeant can be an arresting officer at any time, while the constable is only active during the night.
115-16 The re-lineation of 115-16 renders both lines as perfect pentameters; it seems the logical division, since lines 116 and 117 must form a rhyming couplet.
118-25 The original musical setting for this song by John Wilson survives in several sources (see Appendix 7). The song was probably original to the play, rather than a later insertion, as some of its ideas (the union of lovers in one body, the blending of night into day) are immediately taken up by the Alguazir in lines 128-29.

103 SD] *this edn* 104 chop] chap *Colman* 105 too] too too *TSS* 110 sergeant's savage] *this edn;* Sergeant salvage *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, GWW;* Sergeant, salvage *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* sergeant savage *Mitchell* 115 I'll] I will *Colman* I will] I'll *Colman, Weber, Darley* 115-16 I will / Charm her] *Colman's lineation;* I wil charme her *F and all other eds* 118 SD] *Dyce* *Turn, turn*] Turne, turne, turne *CA, MSB, MSE, MSR* *away,*] *away,* Song. *F*

I mean—here is one sop, and two, and three, [*Gives him money.*]
For every chop a bit.

ALGUAZIR Ay, marry, sir.
Well, the poor heart loves you but too well.
We have been talking on you, 'faith, this hour.
Where, what I said, go to. She loves your valour,
O, and your music most abominably.
She is within, sir, and alone. What mean you?

PIORATO
That is your sergeant's side, I take it, sir;
Now, I endure your constable's much better:
There is less danger in't. For one, you know,
Is a tame harmless monster in the light;
The sergeant's savage both by day and night.

ALGUAZIR
I'll call her to you for that.

PIORATO No, I will
Charm her. *Enter* MALRODA.

ALGUAZIR She's come.

PIORATO My spirit!

MALRODA O my sweet!
Leap hearts to lips, and in our kisses meet.

PIORATO [*sings*]
Turn, turn thy beauteous face away,
How pale and sickly looks the day

126 **I … fortitude** Perhaps directed at Piorato, on account of his physical strength (probably in a sexual sense); see 1.3.102 n.
127 **And … temperance** Perhaps directed at Malroda, ironically: temperance was the cardinal virtue associated with self-control and the moderation of the physical appetites.
131 **place** duty, i.e. arising from his official position
134 **I am** pronounced as one syllable, *I'm*
136 **it … speak** you are rebuking me, but I am not the one you should be rebuking

121 *fly, fly*] fly hence *MSR* 122 *piece … as*] joyne … in *CA, MSB, MSE, MSR* 123 *When*] And *MSR* *does*] dooth *MSR* 124 *Yet*] keepe *MSR* *thy*] *thine* | *Weber, CA, MSE, MSR* 125 *their*] thy *MSR* 129 night] might *F2*

In emulation of thy brighter beams!
O envious light, fly, fly, be gone;
Come night, and piece two breasts as one;
When what love does, we will repeat in dreams.
Yet—thy eyes open—who can day hence fright,
Let but their lids fall, and it will be night.

ALGUAZIR

Well, I will leave you to your fortitude;
And you to temperance. Ah, ye pretty pair,
'Twere sin to sunder you. Lovers being alone
Make one of two, and day and night all one.
But fall not out, I charge you, keep the peace;
You know my place else. *Exit.*

MALRODA No, you will not marry.
You are a courtier, and can sing, my love,
And want no mistresses. But yet I care not,
I'll love you still, and when I am dead for you,
Then you'll believe my truth.

PIORATO You kill me, fair.
It is my lesson that you speak. Have I
In any circumstance deserved this doubt?
I am not like your false and perjured Don
That here maintains you, and has vowed his faith,
And yet attempts in way of marriage
A lady not far off.

MALRODA How's that?

PIORATO 'Tis so.
And therefore, mistress, now the time is come

143 **his promise** We never find out more about the particulars of Vitelli's promise for liquidating his relationship with Malroda; we must infer that it is an economic settlement by which he will maintain her for his own sexual entertainment at the Alguazir's house, until he discharges her from that obligation with a sum of money; she will then be free to marry Piorato (see 5.3.251).

150-52 **Or … impossible** Juno was the Roman equivalent of Hera, Zeus' wife, who was permanently angry at her husband's infidelities. Zeus impregnated a mortal woman, Alcmene, who would give birth to Heracles, and towards whom Hera would bear a mortal hatred (cf. 2.1.71). However, she was only indirectly responsible for setting him upon the Twelve Labours, but did not design them. Piorato fashions himself after the Greek hero who had metaphorically tamed Cerberus (lines 102-4): Heracles' twelfth labour was to capture Cerberus alive.

152 **labours most impossible** Sympson in TSS suggested that this paradoxical phrase should be modernised as *labours 'most* [i.e. *almost*] *impossible.*

155 **outsides** outer garments (*OED* 3b; this instance is listed as one of the examples)

157 **want** lack

159 **mettle** sexual vigour (*OED* 2b), punning on the metal of his sword as a phallic symbol

You may demand his promise, and I swear
To marry you with speed.

MALRODA And with that gold
Which Don Vitelli gives, you'll walk some voyage,
And leave me to my trade, and laugh, and brag,
How you o'erreached a whore, and gulled a lord.

PIORATO
You anger me extremely. Fare you well.
What should I say to be believed? Expose me
To any hazard, or like jealous Juno—
Th' incensèd stepmother of Hercules—
Design me labours most impossible;
I'll do 'em, or die in 'em, so at last
You will believe me.

MALRODA Come, we are friends; I do.
I am thine, walk in. My lord has sent me outsides,
But thou shalt have 'em, the colours are too sad.

PIORATO
'Faith, mistress, I want clothes indeed.

MALRODA I have
Some gold too for my servant.

PIORATO And I have
A better mettle for my mistress.

Exeunt.

3.3 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A room in the same.*

4 **The party** the other party, Piorato

5 **rattled him** beat him

8 **venture** expose himself to, put himself at risk of

9-10 **cropping … gelt** The Alguazir's imaginary threats to Piorato, though phrased as street-fight talk, are reminiscent of some punishments in the English legal system. Mutilation of the ears and the nose at the pillory, plus the branding with a red-hot iron, were punishments imposed for forgery (*Statutes* 5 Eliz. c.14, 1562). However, emasculation was not the penalty for any crime, except in cases of high treason as part of being hanged, drawn, and quartered.

11 **stews** brothels; cf. 2.1.126

12 **she was removed** she changed her accommodation, moved to another room; *she* might be a misprint for *he*, as it seems more logical to think that Pirato was the one to be removed from the premises.

13 **might** might do

15 **flea … ear** proverbial (Tilley, F354; Tilley records this particular quotation)

16 **trindle tail** the distinctly curly tail of this breed of dog; trindle-tails (or trundle-tails) were low-bred dogs of inferior value (*OED* 2 cites this passage); cf. Sir Francis Acton in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*: 'Ay, and your dogs are trundle-tails and curs.' (3.28)

17 **a chi ha** Perhaps the sound of a dog retreating, or, as Weber suggests, 'the imitation of sneezing, the signal to Malroda and Piorato that Vitelli is in the house'.

3.3] *(Scena tertia.)* 1 SD] *this edn* 4 SD] *this edn* 7 debauched] debauch'd *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman;* deboshd *F, Weber, Darley, Dyce,GWW, Mitchell* 17 SD] *Dyce* 17 Now, luck] now look *Mitchell*

3.3

Enter VITELLI *and* [*the*] ALGUAZIR *at several doors.*

ALGUAZIR [*apart, seeing Vitelli*]

Undone—wit, now or never help me: my master!
He will cut my throat; I am a dead constable;
And he'll not be hanged either, there's the grief.
[*aloud*] The party, sir, is here.

VITELLI What?

ALGUAZIR He was here,
I cry your lordship mercy. But I rattled him;
I told him here was no companions
For such debauched and poor-conditioned fellows;
I bid him venture not so desperately
The cropping of his ears, slitting his nose,
Or being gelt.

VITELLI 'Twas well done.

ALGUAZIR Please your honour,
I told him there were stews; and then at last
Swore three or four great oaths, she was removed;
Which I did think I might in conscience,
Being for your lordship.

VITELLI What became of him?

ALGUAZIR

'Faith, sir, he went away with a flea in's ear,
Like a poor cur, clapping his trindle tail
Betwixt his legs—a chi ha, a chi ha, a chi ha—[*aside*] Now, luck.

18-26 The staging of this passage is insufficiently indicated in F. ⚔

18 **'Bless thee** euphemistic abbreviation of 'God bless thee'

23 SD Malroda shows Vitelli her portrait as a subterfuge to get him out of the way and enable Piorato's exit, perhaps using one of the doors if he had been hiding behind the curtain in the central space (see section IV.6 of the Introduction). A miniature portrait would have been more convenient and cheaper to procure than a full-scale wall painting discovered behind the curtain. Weber added the slightly confusing SD '*Shows a picture, behind which* PIORATO *steals out*', while Dyce phrased it more clearly as '*While she shews* VITELLI *the picture,* PIORATO *steals to the door*'. Portraits seem to have been used to advertise the physical attributes of prostitutes: cf. in *Zelotypus* (St John's College, Cambridge, 1605), Cerberinus, the brothel gatekeeper shows his gallery of portraits: 'Come here, my guest, and inspect my wares. Here there is a fair display of the fairest girls.' (3.7)

24 **not like** not a good likeness

26 SD2 *aside* As the Alguazir is presumably not hidden from the other characters, he speaks aside, rather than apart (see Editorial principles).

27 **that art** painting

18 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *GWW* SD3] *this edn* señor] *(*Signior*)* 19 SD] *GWW* 23 SD] *this edn* 25 SD *apart*] *this edn;* [*aside*] *GWW* 26 SD *aside*] *GWW* 28 SD] *GWW* 29 SD] *this edn*

Enter MALRODA *and* PIORATO.

MALRODA [*apart to Piorato*]
'Tis he. Do as I told thee. [*Piorato stands apart.*]
[*to the Alguazir*] 'Bless thee, señor.
[*to Vitelli*] O my dear lord.

VITELLI Malroda, what, alone?

MALRODA
She never is alone that is accompanied
With noble thoughts, my lord; and mine are such,
Being only of your lordship.

VITELLI Pretty lass.

MALRODA
O my good lord, my picture's done, but 'faith [*She shows him a*
It is not like. Nay, this way, sir, the light *portrait, and takes*
Strikes best upon it here. *him apart.*]

PIORATO [*apart*] Excellent wench. *Exit.*

ALGUAZIR [*aside*]
I am glad the danger's over. *Exit.*

VITELLI 'Tis wondrous like,
But that art cannot counterfeit what nature
Could make but once.

MALRODA [*aside*] All's clear. Another tune
You must hear from me now. [*aloud*] Vitelli, thou'rt
A most perfidious and a perjured man,

32 **Mal** an affective form of the name, normally of 'Mary'. Mary Frith, the real-life model for the protagonist of *The Roaring Girl*, was known as Moll or Mal Cutpurse; perhaps the outspoken Malroda is thus linked to the iconic cross-dressed character who had first appeared on stage just four years before *Love's Cure* premiered (see line 93 n.). Maria in *The Night-Walkers* is also addressed as *Mal* (1.5.21).

34-37 **I … thee** Malroda's choice of imagery compares her anger with the process that she underwent when she was pregnant with Vitelli's child (see 3.1.39 n.).

38-39 **let … be** 'let me be the last unfortunate woman you defile'; presumably Vitelli has had more mistresses.

41-43 **A … all** An obscure phrase, approximately equivalent to 'a woman is doomed ('well helped up'; perhaps alternatively 'made pregnant'?) if she is fooled ('is confident', *OED* I.1) by the outward appearance of a gentleman'; *helped up* is not recorded in the *OED*.

42 **glittering** pronounced as two syllables, *glitt'ring*

43-45 **Would … court** Cf. Vittoria's dying speech in *The White Devil*: 'Oh, happy they that never saw the court, / Nor ever knew great men but by report!' (5.6.60-61).

45 **portion** dowry (*OED* 1d); pronounced as three syllables

46 **an hour's pomp** an hour of sexual intercourse with a courtier (Vitelli)

47 SD1 Vitelli's vitriolic misogynistic speech responds to Malroda's outburst of weeping.

48 **uncomfortable** (a) disquieting (*OED* 1); inconsolable (*OED* 2)

51-52 **weeping … Troy** As told by Virgil in Book II of the *Aeneid*, Sinon tricked Priam and the Trojans into bringing the wooden horse into Troy, precipitating the fall of the city. Vitelli interprets Malroda's tears, and therefore all women's, as being as false as Sinon's. The epic subtext introduced contrasts with the triviality of the situation: a wealthy young man quarrelling with a whore.

52 **their Adam** their father, their first origin

53 **Liars** Punning on two senses, 'those who are deceitful' and 'those who lie down in bed'.

56 **this sex** Vitelli generalises his ideas about loose women ('such women', line 48) to all women.

57 **true … creation** The ultimate purpose of man's creation is to beget children with women (Genesis 9:7). **end** purpose

32 Mal] *(Mal.); Malroda* | *GWW, Mitchell* 33 tongue] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* tongues *F, F2, Langbaine, Q* 42 on] of *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley* 47 SD] *this edn* 48 SD] *Dyce*

As ever did usurp nobility.

VITELLI

What mean'st thou, Mal?

MALRODA Leave your betraying smiles,
And change the tunes of your enticing tongue
To penitential prayers; for I am great
In labour even with anger, big with child
Of woman's rage, bigger than when my womb
Was pregnant by thee. Go, seducer, fly
Out of the world, let me the last wretch be
Dishonoured by thee. Touch me not, I loathe
My very heart, because thou lay'st there long;
A woman's well helped up that's confident
In e'er a glittering outside on you all.
Would I had honestly been matched to some
Poor country-swain ere known the vanity
Of court. Peace, then, had been my portion,
Nor had been cozened by an hour's pomp
To be a whore unto my dying day. [*She weeps.*]

VITELLI [*aside*]

O, the uncomfortable ways such women have,
Their different speech and meaning, no assurance
In what they say or do. Dissemblers
Even in their prayers, as if the weeping Greek
That flattered Troy afire had been their Adam;
Liars, as if their mother had been made
Only of all the falsehood of the man,
Disposed into that rib. Do I know this,
And more, nay, all that can concern this sex
With the true end of my creation?

60 **shook hands** said farewell; cf. Ferdinand in *The Duchess of Malfi*: 'You have shook hands with Reputation, / And made him invisible.' (3.2.135-36)

65 **actual sin** carnal realisation, rather than unfulfilled desire

66-68 **Yet … met** The radiance of Malroda's eyes is here compared to the summer sun that melts Vitelli's icy resolutions. Piorato used a similar image in his song (see 3.2.118-25).

72-73 **those .. true** Tilley records the proverb 'The courtesan weeps with one eye, the wife with two, and the nun with four' (C729).

78-79 **Having … all** 'Having ruined my prospects of marrying respectfully, you have turned me into a prostitute.'

80 **Porters … live** She will have to bear (sexually) any low-class porter. Her porter is now the Alguazir, who had been compared to a particular connotation of the word (*OED* 1c): Cerberus, the porter of hell (3.2.102).

81 As a common penalty for practising or facilitating prostitution, whores and bawds would be whipped at the cart's tail by the beadle (see also 4.3.99-100).

83 **virago** manly or heroic woman, a female warrior (*OED* 2a); Malroda implicitly suggests that Clara is now well-known in Seville.

84 **But on** But carry on **I … rush** 'I care not a bit' (a ready-made phrase; *OED* P2)

85 **Ha, ha!** The laughter is extra-metrical.

86 **I cannot choose** 'I cannot choose but laugh at the idea of seeing you paired up with a manly woman'

86-87 **some … side** Even if the existence of Álvarez's manly daughter Clara seems to be known in Seville, this claim cannot be true: she has heard that Vitelli feels something for Clara through Piorato, who found out via Bobadilla (3.2), and it can hardly be *vox populi*.

72 SD] *this edn* 73 rightly] *F2;* righly *F* 77 Do ye] *(*Do'ye*) F, (*Do ye*) F2, Langbaine, Q, GWW, Mitchell;* D'ye *TSS;* D'you *Colman;* Do you *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 84 poor] *F2;* poorc *F*

Can I with rational discourse sometimes
Advance my spirit into heaven before
’T has shook hands with my body, and yet blindly
Suffer my filthy flesh to master it,
With sight of such fair frail beguiling objects?
When I am absent, easily I resolve
Ne’er more to entertain those strong desires
That triumph o’er me, even to actual sin.
Yet, when I meet again those sorcerer’s eyes,
Their beams my hardest resolutions thaw,
As if that cakes of ice and July met,
And her sighs, powerful as the violent North,
Like a light feather, twirl me round about,
And leave me in mine own low state again.
[*aloud*] What ail’st thou? Prithee, weep not. O, those tears
If they were true, and rightly spent, would raise
A flow’ry spring i’th’ midst of January.
Celestial ministers with crystal cups
Would stoop to save ’em for immortal drink.
But from this passion, why all this?

MALRODA Do ye ask?
You are marrying. Having made me unfit
For any man, you leave me fit for all.
Porters must be my burdens now to live,
And, fitting me yourself for carts and beadles,
You leave me to ’em. And who of all the world
But the virago, your great arch-foe’s daughter?
But on. I care not this poor rush. ’Twill breed
An excellent comedy. Ha, ha! ’T makes me laugh;
I cannot choose. The best is, some report
It is a match for fear, not love o’ your side.

89 **pieced with** consorted with (*OED* 3)
90 **I will be merry** 'I will jest with her'
92 **pistol thee** 'shoot at thee with my pistol'; whether she produces a pistol or the attack is solely verbal is unclear. **roaring whore** perhaps echoing the title of *The Roaring Girl* (see line 32 n.)
93 **correction house** a house for the social re-education of prostitutes, as the one that existed in London at the former Bridewell Palace
94-95 The syntax is confusing, and line 94 has three extra syllables.
94 **learned … swordman** learned of Vitelli's amorous intentions towards Clara from Piorato
96 **upbraid me** censure me
97-100 **I … know** see 3.2.143 n.; Vitelli has not promised to marry Malroda, as she is far below his social status; but he has settled that she will remain at the Alguazir's house at his sexual disposal until he chooses to discharge her paying her a sum of money. She has failed to fulfil the agreement, as she has been receiving other gentlemen, including Piorato (cf. 3.2.90-94).
99 **long as** so long as
100 **you have** pronounced as one syllable, *you've* **of** on
101-2 Vitelli delivers a couplet, perhaps with the intention of bringing the conversation to a close.
102 **I'll … infidel** 'I will not share my religion with an unbeliever', figuratively alluding to their relationship. Though sometimes applied to Jews and pagans, the term *infidel* was particularly used to denote Muslims, as Malroda's retort makes clear.
103 **Nor … Turk** 'Nor will I preserve my love for another infidel'; the Ottoman Turks were the constant enemies of Christendom in the Mediterranean and a rich source of literary material, particularly with respect to Western renegades who gave up their Christian faith and embraced Islam while in captivity. Massinger, based on Cervantes, would exploit the theme in *The Renegado* (1623). Robert Daborne dramatised the story of a real-life English pirate and renegade, John Ward, in his 1612 play *A Christian Turned Turk*.
107 **You are** pronounced as one syllable, *you're*

88 SD] *Dyce* 90 SD] *this edn* 92 I swear] *this edn;* by —— *F;* by Heav'n *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* SD] *this edn* 98 I loved] I'd love *TSS, Colman;* I love *Weber, Darley* 103 do ye] *(*do'ye*) F, Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell;* d'ye *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman;* Do you *Dyce*

VITELLI [*aside*]

Why, how the devil knows she that I saw
This lady? Are all whores pieced with some witch?
I will be merry. [*aloud*] 'Faith, 'tis true, sweetheart,
I am to marry!

MALRODA Are you? You base lord!
I swear I'll pistol thee! [*She attacks him.*]

VITELLI A roaring whore?
Take heed, there's a correction house hard by.
You ha' learned this o' your swordman; that I warned you of:
Your fencers and your drunkards. But, whereas
You upbraid me with oaths, why, I must tell you
I ne'er promised you marriage, nor have vowed,
But said I loved you, long as you remained
The woman I expected, or you swore;
And how you have failed of that—sweetheart—you know.
You fain would show your power, but fare you well:
I'll keep no more faith with an infidel.

MALRODA
Nor I my bosom for a Turk. Do ye hear?
Go, and the devil take me if ever
I see you more. I was too true.

VITELLI Come, pish.
That devil take the falsest of us two.

MALRODA
Amen.

VITELLI You are an ill clerk, and curse yourself.

108-9 **I … will** ‘I persuaded you to comply with my wishes’, but also with a sexual connotation (punning on *will*, genitalia).
112 Again alluding to his promise to Malroda (see 3.2.143 n.)
118 **here’s … thee** He may give her the jewel at that point or just show it to her.
122 **Sober … nonce** abstinent for the particular purpose
123 **I have** pronounced as one syllable, *I’ve*

3.4 Location: Álvarez and Eugenia’s house. Weber and Darley indicate *A room in Álvarez’s house*; Dyce chose *A room in the house of Álvarez*. This scene echoes *Romeo and Juliet*: Clara questions Bobadilla about her lover, an enemy to her family (as Juliet does with the Nurse in 2.4), while Sayavedra’s courtship, consented by Clara’s mother, echoes that of Count Paris with the Capulets’ encouragement (3.4 and 3.5).
0 SD ***letters*** As at the beginning of 3.2, the letters from Clara that Bobadilla never delivered to Vitelli (see line 6).

118 here’s] *(*her’s*)* 120 ’Faith] I’faith *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley;* Faith *Dyce* 123 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *Dyce* **3.4**] *(Scœna quarta.)*

Madness transports you. I confess I drew you
Unto my will. But, you must know, that must not
Make me dote on the habit of my sin.
I will, to settle you to your content,
Be master of my word. And yet he lied
That told you I was marrying, but in thought.
But will you slave me to your tyranny
So cruelly, I shall not dare to look
Or speak to other women? Make me not
Your smock's monopoly. Come, let's be friends.
Look, here's a jewel for thee. I will come
At night, and—

MALRODA What, i' faith? You shall not, sir.

VITELLI
'Faith, and troth, and verily, but I will.

MALRODA
Half drunk, to make a noise, and rail?

VITELLI No, no,
Sober and dieted for the nonce. I am thine,
I have won the day.

MALRODA [*aside*] The night, though, shall be mine.

Exeunt [*severally*].

3.4

Enter CLARA *and* BOBADILLA *with letters.*

CLARA
What said he, sirrah?

3 **Nor will not** i.e. Nor will I see him
2-12 This speech is lined as verse in all editions, but the metre is irregular and could arguably be rendered as prose.
5 **the gentleman** Piorato
8 **cast yourself away** (a) waste yourself; (b) give up on becoming a woman **right worshipful place** office as steward; the title is comically exaggerated.
9 SD The entrance is already indicated marginally in F.
10 **Down** i.e. 'sit down to your work'; Sayavedra questions her about her work in line 25.
11-12 The lineation of F was emended by Weber to regularise the metre.
11 **a nother-gates fellow** a fellow of another fashion, of a different kind (*OED*); Bobadilla compares Sayavedra favourably to Vitelli, who may be younger and more handsome, but keeps a whore as his mistress, as Bobadilla has reported to Clara.
12 **Iwis** certainly; first emended by Dyce, based on Heath.
12 **grace** charm, refinement (*OED* 1)
13 **manage** handle his sword (*OED* 5a)
14 **a … flesh** a proper man, in a sexual sense; cf. Samson in *Romeo and Juliet*: 'Me they shall feel while I am able to stand, and 'tis known I am a pretty piece of flesh.' (1.1.27-28)
15 **handle … finely** with a sexual connotation, probably ironic (*weapon* for 'penis')
20 **'forsooth' … 'heigh-ho'** Both expressions were perceived as signs of feminine affectation; cf. in *Amends for Ladies*, Bold disguises himself as a waiting woman, and tries to impersonate feminine speech by using both (1.1). **forsooth** in truth **heigh-ho** an audible sigh
20-23 According to Eugenia, Clara is trying to behave as a modest lady, using feminine interjections and dealing with ill-mannered servants, including Bobadilla, with graceful responses (by contrast with her behaviour in 2.2).
24 SD Eugenia remains on stage to chaperone the meeting between her daughter and her suitor, standing apart within earshot.
25 **working** embroidering

7 SD] *this edn* 11-12] *lineation in Weber, Darley, GWW, Mitchell; F and all other eds line* wish / rogue. 11 he] ye *Langbaine* 11 SD] *this edn* 12 Iwis] *Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* I wish *F and all other eds* 12-13 rogue / I'll in *F;* rogue. *Bob.* I'll in / To *TSS, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 13 He'll] *F;* He will *TSS, Dyce* 24 to ye] *(*to'ye*); t'ye F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS;* t'you *Colman;* to you *Weber, Darley, Dyce* SD] *GWW* 25 SD] *this edn*

BOBADILLA

Little or nothing. ’Faith, I saw him not,
Nor will not. He doth love a strumpet, mistress;
Nay, keeps her spitefully, under the constable’s nose.
It shall be justified by the gentleman,
Your brother’s master that is now within
A-practising. There are your letters. [*Gives her back the letters.*] Come,
You shall not cast yourself away while I live,
Nor will I venture my right worshipful place *Enter* EUGENIA
In such a business—Here’s your mother. Down. *and* SAYAVEDRA
And he that loves you: a nother-gates fellow, [*Clara sits down*
Iwis. If you had any grace— *to embroider.*]

CLARA Well, rogue.

BOBADILLA

I’ll in to see Don Lucio manage. He’ll make
A pretty piece of flesh, I promise you;
He does already handle his weapon finely. *Exit.*

EUGENIA

She knows your love, sir, and the full allowance
Her father and myself approve it with;
And, I must tell you, I much hope it hath
Wrought some impression by her alteration.
She sighs, and says ‘forsooth’, and cries ‘heigh-ho’;
She’ll take ill words o’th’ steward and the servants,
Yet answer affably and modestly;
Things, sir, not usual with her. There she is;
Change some few words.

SAYAVEDRA Madam, I am bound to ye. [*Eugenia stands*
[*to Clara*] How now, fair mistress, working? *apart.*]

26 **That needs not** perhaps, ‘you don’t need to work to make a living’

27 **By my truly** An expression associated with feminine speech, infrequent in English drama (*LiOn* cites only seven instances in texts published before 1650, including this one).

29 **play** probably with a sexual connotation, as *well-busied* in line 31

31 **She had** pronounced as monosyllabic, *She’d*

32-36 **Turtle … bill** The conceit around birds (*turtle*, *mate*, *tread*, and *bill*) is initiated by Sayavedra in response, perhaps, to a groan of contempt from Clara, interpreted by the gentleman (literally or ironically) as the ‘mourn’ of a turtledove. This birding conceit is also used by the Alguazir in 4.2.1-2, speaking to Malroda.

32 **turtle** turtledove, as a term of endearment between lovers

34 **mate** (a) companion (*OED* I.1a; Clara’s meaning); (b) either of a mating pair of birds (*OED* III.6b; Sayavedra’s interpretation); Clara declares that she has no room to work now that Sayavedra is sitting by her.

35 **If … so** If I am your sexual partner **side you** be at your side, sit by you

36 **but tread me** except to copulate with me (as the male bird with the female; *OED* 8a)
bill caress, make show of affection (*OED v.*^{2} 3)

28 know] knew *F2* SD] *GWW* 32 SD] *this edn*

CLARA Yes, forsooth,
Learning to live another day.

SAYAVEDRA That needs not.

CLARA
No, forsooth? By my truly, but it does:
We know not what we may come to.

EUGENIA [*apart*] ’Tis strange.

SAYAVEDRA
Come, I ha’ begged leave for you to play.

CLARA Forsooth,
’Tis ill for a fair lady to be idle.

SAYAVEDRA
She had better be well-busied, I know that.
Turtle, methinks you mourn. Shall I sit by you? [*He sits down by her*.]

CLARA
If you be weary, sir, you had best be gone;
I work not a true stitch, now you’re my mate.

SAYAVEDRA
If I be so, I must do more than side you.

CLARA
Ev’n what you will, but tread me.

SAYAVEDRA Shall we bill?

38 **black work** see 2.2.8 n.

39 **fairest … blackest men** For example, cf. Desdemona and Othello in *Othello*, Bellamira and Ithamore in *The Jew of Malta*, and Tamora and Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*.

42 **black thing** probably with a sexual connotation, referring to female genitalia

44 **Jet archèd** of a glossy deep black colour (*OED* B, 2) and formed into an arch

48 **prettier task** in a sexual sense

53-54 **I … one** probably with a military connotation, 'I had rather feel two wounds in battle (or, more literally, the surgical stitches to close a wound), than sew one more'

54-55 **This … heart** 'With his behaviour, this rogue [i.e. Sayavedra] has managed to annoy me exceedingly'; alternatively, if she has Vitelli in mind, she could be referring to the proverbial wound inflicted by Cupid's arrow on a lover's breast.

55 **'cross** across, through **prick you** i.e. with the needle, which is the only weapon that Clara has at her disposal to stop Sayavedra's advances.

38 do ye] *(*do'ye*) F, GWW, Mitchell;* d'ye *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS;* d'you *Colman;* do you *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 45 me my work] *F2*; me work my *F* 53 SD] *Dyce* Pox o'] *Dyce;* Plague o' *Colman, Weber, Darley; —* o' *F and all other eds* 55 SD] *this edn* 55-56 Good … again] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q*

CLARA

O, no, forsooth.

SAYAVEDRA Being so fair, my Clara,
Why do ye delight in black work?

CLARA O, white, sir,
The fairest ladies like the blackest men.
I ever loved the colour: all black things
Are least subject to change.

SAYAVEDRA Why, I do love
A black thing too. And the most beauteous faces
Have oft'nest of them: as the blackest eyes,
Jet archèd brows, such hair. I'll kiss your hand.

CLARA

'Twill hinder me my work, sir; and my mother
Will chide me if I do not do my task.

SAYAVEDRA

Your mother, nor your father shall chide. You
Might have a prettier task, would you be ruled,
And look with open eyes.

CLARA I stare upon you,
And broadly see you: a wondrous proper man;
Yet 'twere a greater task for me to love you
Than I shall ever work, sir, in seven year.
[*aside*] Pox o' this stitching, I had rather feel
Two than sew one. This rogue has giv'n me a stitch
Clean 'cross my heart. [*aloud*] Good faith, sir, I shall prick you.

56 **prick you again** (a) ‘I would try to make my advance again’; (b) ‘I would prick you in return’, with an obvious sexual connotation in either case.

57 **troublesome** annoying, distressing (*OED* 3)

58 **trifles** knick-knacks, trinkets (*OED* 3); Sayavedra may give Clara some small item of clothing or jewellery to wear in token of his love for her; the SD cannot be more specific as to what prop is being offered.

59 **you … trifle** you are a worthless person (*OED* 2c, citing this passage)

60 **And … away** ‘And cease to waste your time here in a trifling business.’ (*trifle* is used as a verb; *OED* 4)

61-62 **Come … for you** ‘Do not mistake my purposes: I will not behave like a young, infatuated lover.’

62 **Goose** Clara resorts again to the birding imagery, but changes the tender *turtle* used by Sayavedra for the deprecative *goose*, implying foolishness (cf. line 57).

67 **sanguine scabbard** A sanguine complexion produced by a predominance of the blood over the other humours would cause a person to have an excessive amorous disposition (*OED* 3a); the term *scabbard* may refer to someone who has scabs (associated with sexual desire in 3.1.86; see also 2.1.81 n.) or, figuratively, to someone who is thin, long, and hollow as a sword’s sheath.

67 SD As indicated by the marginal placing of this SD in F (after ‘Out upon thee’), the brief comical squabble between Clara and Sayavedra, in which Eugenia intervenes, and the entrance of Piorato fencing with Lucio may overlap. The fight would put both siblings in immediate visual contrast with one another: Clara with her needle is naturally more effective against Sayavedra than Lucio with his sword against the professional swordsman Piorato. In F2 it was delayed until before ‘She’s not yet tame’; this reading was followed in subsequent editions until Weber (and all later editors) delayed it by another line.

57 SD] *this edn* 58 SD] *this edn* 64 SD] *GWW* 65 SD1] *Weber* SD2] *this edn* 67 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *this edn* SD3] *GWW; placed here in F; delayed to before* ‘She’s not yet tame’ *in F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, and Colman; delayed to after* ‘She’s not yet tame’ in *Weber and all other eds*

SAYAVEDRA

In gooder faith, I would prick you again.

CLARA

Now you grow troublesome. [*aside*] Pish, the man is foolish.

SAYAVEDRA

Pray wear these trifles. [*He offers her something.*]

CLARA Neither you, nor trifles;
You are a trifle: wear yourself, sir, out,
And here no more trifle the time away.

SAYAVEDRA

Come, you're deceived in me. I will not wake,
Nor fast, nor die for you.

CLARA Goose, be not you deceived,
I cannot like, nor love, nor live with you,
Nor fast, nor watch, nor pray for you.

EUGENIA [*apart*] Her old fit.

SAYAVEDRA [*aside*]

Sure this is not the way. [*aloud*] Nay, I will break
Your melancholy.

CLARA I shall break your pate, then.
Away, you sanguine scabbard. [*Attacks Sayavedra.*]

Enter ÁLVAREZ, PIORATO [*fencing with*] LUCIO, *and* BOBADILLA

EUGENIA [*to Clara*] Out upon thee,
Thou'lt break my heart, I am sure.

69-74 Álvarez instructs Lucio to respond to Piorato's fencing lesson.

69-70 **On … better** i.e. 'Fight back, or I will attack you myself.'

69 **put home** deliver a thrust at your opponent **goad you** prick you (*OED* 1); cf. First Soldier in *The False One*: 'Goad him on with thy sword.' (5.3.69)

70 **old fox** Álvarez's old sword; a *fox* was an English sword whose blade had been engraved with a mark in the shape of a wolf, regularly mistaken for a fox. (See *OED,* II.6; also, *The White Devil* 5.6.234 n.)

71-73 **in … together** 'When I was young, gallants would be trained to hit the tip of a needle with a thrust of their swords three consecutive times'; the precision required to do this would be enormous, qualifying those gentlemen as consummate fencers.

72 **stock** strike with a thrust of a sword (*OED* 1, citing only this passage)

73 **Straight i'th' hams! '**Straighten your legs!'; Piorato also comments on the unsuitability of Lucio's posture (lines 80-81).

74 **Or … garters** Knowing his son's keenness on fashion (see 1.2.1-2 and 103-5), Álvarez mockingly offers Lucio to buy him a pair of new garters so that he will be more disposed to straighten his legs to show them off.

75 **dank** wet; see 2.2.141-42 n.

76 At this point F adds the marginal SD '*2 Torches ready*', preparing the entrance of the two pages with light at the beginning of 4.1. (See section IV.1 of the Introduction.)

77 **Toledo** see 1.2.40 n.

78 **fadge** fit in with; cf. 2.2.61.

79 **point** sword's tip **pick his teeth** aim at his face

82 **You … open-breasted** 'You are exposing your breast too much', which facilitates receiving a wound from the opponent.

83 **statesman** A statesman should be more secretive, and therefore, figuratively, not 'open-breasted'.

86-87 **I … able** 'I do not intend to fence professionally, as I hope my inheritance will provide enough funds to live.' Cf. Sayavedra seems to have suggested to Clara earlier in this scene (line 26) that she will not need to work to earn a living.

69 SD] *this edn* 72 needle's] *(*needles*);* needless *F2, Langbaine, Q* 74 ye] you *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 76 cold] *F2;* cold: *2 Torches / ready. F* 79 SD] *this edn* ye] y' *TSS, Colman;* you *Dyce*

SAYAVEDRA She's not yet tame.

ÁLVAREZ [*to Lucio*]

On, sir; put home, or I shall goad you here
With this old fox of mine, that will bite better.
O, the brave age is gone; in my young days
A chevalier would stock a needle's point
Three times together. Straight i'th' hams!
Or shall I give ye new garters?

BOBADILLA 'Faith, old master,
There's little hope. The linen sure was dank
He was begot in: he's so faint, and cold.
Ev'n send him to Toledo, there to study,
For he will never fadge with these Toledos.
[*to Lucio*] Bear ye up your point there, pick his teeth. O, base.

PIORATO

Fie, you are the most untoward scholar. Bear
Your body gracefully. What a posture's there?
You lie too open-breasted.

LUCIO O!

PIORATO You'd never
Make a good statesman.

LUCIO Pray, no more.
I hope to breathe in peace, and therefore need not
The practice of these dangerous qualities;
I do not mean to live by't, for I trust
You'll leave me better able.

87 **Not … button** ‘We will not leave you anything’; perhaps there is a hint at the button, or protective metal ball to cover a sword’s tip for fencing practice.
89 **untoward** ill-disposed
90 **I’ll … thee** cf. Álvarez’s threat in 4.3.25-26
91 **wooden** (a) stiff; (b) block-headed
96 **’Heart** Euphemistic form of *God’s heart*, a strong oath.
98 **Bradamante** a legendary female warrior; she is Rinaldo’s sister in Boiardo’s *Orlando innamorato* and Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*.

88 Eugenia] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 90 SD] *this edn* 92 SD] *GWW* 93 señor] *(*Signior*)* SD] *this edn* 94 Sancho—] *F, TSS, GWW, Mitchell;* Zancho! [Pox] *Dyce; dash om. in all other eds* 97 SD] *this edn*

ÁLVAREZ Not a button.
Eugenia, let's go get us a new heir.

EUGENIA
Ay, by my troth. Your daughter's as untoward.

ÁLVAREZ
[*to Lucio*] I will break thee bone by bone, and bake thee,
Ere I'll ha' such a wooden son to inherit.
[*to Piorato*] Take him a good knock; see how that will work.

PIORATO
Now for your life, señor. [*Attacks Lucio.*]

LUCIO O, alas, I am killed,
My eye is out. Look, father. Sancho—
I'll play the fool no more thus; that I will not.

CLARA
'Heart! Ne'er a rogue in Spain shall wrong my brother
Whilst I can hold a sword. [*Attacks Piorato.*]

PIORATO Hold, madam, madam!

ÁLVAREZ
Clara!

EUGENIA Daughter!

BOBADILLA Mistress!

PIORATO Bradamante,
Hold, hold, I pray!

100 **The … side** ‘The devil is backing her.’

101 **they … what-ye-call-’ts** Euphemistically, ‘they have exchanged their genitalia’. Álvarez starts to despair that the transformation operated by custom on his children’s behaviour may have changed their physiological sex as well.

105 Either Bobadilla has overheard Álvarez’s aside, or he supposes that Lucio is in trouble.

108 **he** he who

112 **cockatrice** i.e. Malroda. The cockatrice was a lethal mythical serpent said to be hatched from a cock’s egg who could kill by its mere glance; it was depicted in heraldry as a hybrid monster with head and wings, but with the legs of a cock and a serpent’s barbed tail (*OED* 1a, 1c); cf. 2.1.29-30.

101 SD1] *GWW* SD2] *this edn* 104 SD1, SD2] *this edn* 105 SD *to Lucio*] *this edn* SD *Exeunt*] *F2; Exit* | *F* 113 By heav’n] *(*By Heaven*) Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* by —— *F and all other eds* 115 You mercy] Your mercy *Langbaine, Q, TSS*

ÁLVAREZ

The devil's in her o'th' other side, sure.
[*to Piorato*] There's gold for you.
[*aside*] They have changed what-ye-call-'ts:
Will no cure help? Well, I have one experiment,
And if that fail, I'll hang him, then here's an end on't.
[*aloud to Eugenia*] Come you along with me, [*to Lucio*] and you, sir.

BOBADILLA [*to Lucio*]
Now are you going to drowning.

Exeunt Álvarez, Eugenia, Lucio, and Bobadilla.

SAYAVEDRA

I'll ev'n along with ye. She's too great a lady
For me, and would prove more than my match. *Exit.*

CLARA

You're he spoke of Vitelli to the steward?

PIORATO

Yes, and I thank you; you have beat me for't.

CLARA

But are you sure you do not wrong him?

PIORATO
Sure?
So sure, that if you please venture yourself
I'll show you him and his cockatrice together,
And you shall hear 'em talk.

CLARA
Will you? By heav'n, sir,
You shall endear me ever, and I ask
You mercy.

115 **boisterous** rough, violent

117 **mask** It is uncertain whether Clara plans to adopt a disguise to walk about the streets at night. If taken literally, she would be wearing a mask when she reappears in 4.2. As she is instantly recognised by Vitelli, however, it is perhaps more likely that she is referring to the cover of night alluded to in the following scene. In the 2013 production, Watts made Clara reappear in 4.2 in masculine clothes.

3.5 Location: Weber and Darley indicate *Night. A street*; Dyce merely *A street*. The four rogues turned false watchmen and led by the Alguazir, a corrupt constable, are reminiscent of the watch led by Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing* (3.3). The situation is also analogous to some of the other plays in the repertory of the King's Men featuring the Gang of Four Plus One (see section I.6 of the Introduction); for example, their unlawful intentions coincide with those of the four thieves commanded by Latrocinio in Middleton's *The Widow* (1615).

1 **water-spaniels** dogs used for retrieving game in hunting **ducks** figuratively, the fowl to be hunted, i.e. gulls, victims for robbery

4 **brabbling** quarrelling noisily, brawling

5 **take … hats** cf. 4.3.1

11 **rug gowns** see 2.1.172-73 n.

11-12 **our … after-reckonings** 'may our bills (as symbols of our office) save us from paying the reckoning'; the four rogues have been appointed by the constable as unofficial watchmen to patrol the streets, though they intend to use their office unlawfully. Pacheco may also imply that, as they are officials of the state, and their actions respond to commands and are not therefore their own choices, they may get off lightly at the ultimate reckoning, i.e. the Last Judgment. **bills** (a) a type of weapon, usually carried in the period by constables of the watch, consisting of a curved blade supported by a long wooden staff; (b) the reckoning **after-reckonings** later or subsequent reckonings

15 **calling** vocation

16 **commonwealth** see 2.1.84 n.

17 **common mistress** a prostitute; the state is corrupt when unscrupulous constables and watchmen can take advantage of their offices.

116 you] y' *TSS, Colman;* ye *Weber, Darley* 117 further] farther *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 118 with ye] w'ye *TSS, Colman;* with you *Dyce* SD] *Langbaine; Exit* | *F* **3.5**] *(Scæna quinta.)* 1-8] *Colman lines* you / knavery / precepts, / corner / street, / male-factors, / them / must / else / occasion, / I / lecture. / 9] *Colman lines* We / enough. / 10] *Colman lines* night / apprehended! / 11-12] *F, F2, Langbaine, and Q line* bils / recknings. / | *Colman lines* rug-gowns / us / after-reckonings. / 11 bills] Bliss *Langbaine, Q* 12 after-reckonings] *(*after recknings*)* 13] *Colman lines* thing, / eat! / 14-15] *Colman lines* more; / us / faithfully. / 16-17 *F, F2, Langbaine, and Q line* who / her? / | *Colman lines* then! / serve / her? /

PIORATO You were somewhat boisterous.

CLARA

There's gold to make you amends. And for this pains,
I'll gratify you further. I'll but mask me,
And walk along with ye. 'Faith, let's make a night on't.

[*Exeunt.*]

3.5

Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR, PACHECO, MENDOZA, METALDI, [*and*] LAZARILLO.

ALGUAZIR Come on, my brave water-spaniels; you that hunt ducks in the night, and hide more knavery under your gowns than your betters. Observe my precepts and edify by my doctrine. At yond corner will I set you; if drunkards molest the street and fall to brabbling, knock you down the malefactors, and take you up their cloaks and hats, and bring them to me. They are lawful prisoners, and must be ransomed ere they receive liberty. What else you are to execute upon occasion, you sufficiently know, and therefore I abbreviate my lecture.

METALDI We are wise enough, and warm enough.

MENDOZA Vice this night shall be apprehended.

PACHECO The terror of rug gowns shall be known, and our bills discharge us of after-reckonings.

LAZARILLO I will do anything so I may eat.

PACHECO Lazarillo, we will spend no more; now we are grown worse, we will live better. Let us follow our calling faithfully.

ALGUAZIR Away, then; the commonwealth is our mistress. And who would serve a common mistress, but to gain by her?

Exeunt.

4.1 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A street.*

0 SD The two pages with torches, who reappear in 4.3.44 accompanying Lamoral, Anastro, and Genevora, indicate that act IV takes place in the streets of Seville at night.

1 **masque** the Jacobean and Caroline courtly dramatic entertainment. In the 2013 production, Watts opened the second half with Vitelli, Genevora, and Lamoral sitting with their backs to the audience, as if watching the masque, listening to a song performed by the rest of the cast from offstage. The dramatic situation implied in the text is slightly different: the four characters and the pages are on their way to a masque and a banquet at Lamoral's house (see 4.3.47), but Vitelli plans to visit Malroda instead.

6 **warrant** chaperone

8 **servant** devoted admirer

9-10 **And … speedily** Perhaps an aside; we never discover whether Vitelli's intention to marry his sister to his friend Lamoral is known to her.

14 **trouble** protestation

15 **those pleasures** (a) the performance of the masque; (b) the pleasures derived from Lamoral's company

4.1] *(Actus quartus. Scæna prima.)* 14 further] farther *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 16 SD] *GWW*

4.1

Enter VITELLI, LAMORAL, GENEVORA, ANASTRO,
and two pages with lights.

LAMORAL I pray you see the masque, my lord.

ANASTRO 'Tis early night yet.

GENEVORA [*to Vitelli*]
O, if it be so late take me along.
I would not give advantage to ill tongues
To tax my being here, without your presence
To be my warrant.

VITELLI You might spare this, sister,
Knowing with whom I leave you; one that is,
By your allowance, and his choice, your servant,
And, may my counsel and persuasion work it,
Your husband speedily. [*to Lamoral*] For your entertainment,
My thanks; I will not rob you of the means
To do your mistress some acceptable service
In waiting on her to my house.

GENEVORA My lord—

VITELLI
As you respect me, without further trouble
Retire, and taste those pleasures prepared for you,
And leave me to my own ways.

LAMORAL When you please, sir.

Exeunt [*severally*].

4.2 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A room in the Alguazir's house with a gallery*. The gallery overlooking the stage is used by Clara to overhear Vitelli's dealings with Malroda.

1 **bill** cf. the birding imagery associated with amorous intercourse in Sayavedra's courtship of Clara in 3.4.32-36 **dove** usual turtledove, romantic term of endearment; see 3.4.32.

2 **sparrow** Also used as a term of endearment, but with a sexual connotation: sparrows were notorious for their promiscuity; cf. Lucio in *Measure for Measure*: 'Sparrows must not build in his house-eaves, because they are lecherous.' (3.1.434-35)

3 **slaves** the office and him **hot** sexually aroused

4 **man in place** man in office

5-8 **when … right** (a) when he is officially commanded to assist a lady, no one can better him; (b) when sexual arousal provokes him, no one will satisfy a lady better

6 **Don … diego** presumably Vitelli and Piorato, though it could be a general statement

7-10 **No … after** No one pays better for a prostitute's services than officers: in exchange for three minutes of sexual intercourse, they offer her three years of protection.

8 **stol'n sweets** unpaid sexual favours

9 **sinner** in this instance, specifically a prostitute

10 **burn** with sexual desire; cf. line 3

11 **But … bounty!** 'Just grant me a minimal part of your sexual favours (taking only three minutes)'

13 **a bolt** used as a bolt

14 **bar the door** (a) physically bolting it with the staff; (b) figuratively, guarding it while the Don is with her

15 **taster** domestic officer who tasted food and drink before being served to his master to verify their quality or to detect poison (*OED* 2); in this instance, figuratively, the Alguazir has been Vitelli's taster in enjoying Malroda's sexual favours before the master arrives.

16 **rod … justice** the Alguazir's bill or staff of office, with a pun on the Alguazir's penis

4.2] *(Scæna secunda.)* 6 nor yet] *F;* not yet *Langbaine;* nor *TSS* 8 stol'n] *(*stolne*);* stolen *Weber, Darley, Mitchell* 9 sinner] finner *F2* 16 this] his *F2, Langbaine, Q*

4.2

Enter MALRODA *and* [*the*] ALGUAZIR.

MALRODA

You'll leave my chamber?

ALGUAZIR Let us but bill once,
My dove, my sparrow, and I, with my office,
Will be thy slaves forever.

MALRODA Are you so hot?

ALGUAZIR

But taste the difference of a man in place;
You'll find that, when authority pricks him forward,
Your Don, nor yet your diego, comes not near him
To do a lady right. No men pay dearer
For their stol'n sweets than we: three minutes trading
Affords to any sinner a protection
For three years after; think on that. I burn.
But one drop of your bounty!

MALRODA Hence, you rogue,
Am I fit for you? Is't not grace sufficient
To have your staff a bolt to bar the door
Where a Don enters, but that you'll presume
To be his taster?

ALGUAZIR Is no more respect
Due to this rod of justice?

MALRODA Do you dispute?
Good doctor of the dungeon, not a word more;

19 **big** (a) physically large, strong (perhaps with an allusion to his penis); (b) important, officially powerful
22 **worrying** bothering
23 **bawd rampant** lustful pander **submission** admission, confession (*OED* III, 5)
24 **I … revenged** Perhaps an aside.
26 **Proud … host?** 'Arrogant unbeliever, does she mock her keeper?'
27 SD Another instance of an anticipated entrance in F; later editions delay it one line.
28 **I am** pronounced as one syllable, *I'm*

18 Pox! If] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* — if *F and all other eds* 18-19 well . / VITELLI *within* Malroda] well. *Vitelli within.* / *Vit. Malroda.* | *F* 23 rampant] *F2;* rampani *F* 24 SD] *F2; om. F* 25 SD] *this edn* 26 SD] *Weber* 27 I would I] Would I *TSS* 28 I'd] *TSS, Colman, Dyce, Mitchell;* I'ld *F, GWW;* I'll *F2, Langbaine, Q;* I would *Weber, Darley* SD1] *this edn* SD3] *GWW*

Pox! If you do, my lord Vitelli knows it.

ALGUAZIR

Why, I am big enough to answer him,
Or any man.

MALRODA 'Tis well.

VITELLI *within* Malroda.

ALGUAZIR How?

MALRODA

You know the voice, and now crouch like a cur
Ta'en worrying sheep. I now could have you gelded
For a bawd rampant. But on this submission
For once I spare you.

ALGUAZIR I will be revenged— [*Enter* VITELLI.]
My honourable lord.

VITELLI There's for thy care. [*Gives him money.*]

ALGUAZIR [*aside*]

I am mad, stark mad. Proud pagan; scorn her host?
I would I were but valiant enough to kick her; *Enter* PIORATO *and*
I'd wish no manhood else. CLARA, *above.*

MALRODA What's that?

ALGUAZIR [*aloud*] I am gone. *Exit.*

[*Malroda and Vitelli talk apart.*]

29 **object** the vision of Malroda and Vitelli together

37 **this good light** euphemistic expression for ‘God’s light’; it was objected to by the theatrical censors of the age, and was suppressed in F. (See Appendix 6.)

29 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* 30 SD*] this edn* 31 SD] *this edn* 33 SD1, SD2, *and* SD3] *this edn* 34 SD] *this edn* 35 SD] *this edn* 37 good light] *Dyce;* good kiss *Colman, Weber, Darley;* good —— *F and all other eds* this light] *Dyce;* this kiss *Colman, Weber, Darley;* this — *F and all other eds*

PIORATO [*above*]
You see I have kept my word.

CLARA [*above*] But in this object
Hardly deserved my thanks.

PIORATO [*above*] Is there aught else
You will command me?

CLARA [*above*] Only your sword,
Which I must have. Nay, willingly; I yet know
To force it, and to use it.

PIORATO [*above*] 'Tis yours, lady. [*Gives her his sword.*]

CLARA [*above*]
I ask no other guard.

PIORATO [*above*] If so, I leave you.
[*aside*] And now, if that the Constable keep his word,
A poorer man may chance to gull a lord. *Exit.*

MALRODA
By this good light, you shall not.

VITELLI By this light,
I must, and will, Malroda. What, do you make
A stranger of me?

MALRODA I'll be so to you,
And you shall find it.

VITELLI These are your old arts

41 **T'endear … for** to make your sexual favours more appealing by delaying physical intercourse
42 **coldly** indifferently
43 **heat** excite you sexually
44 **who'll starve** Vitelli threatens Malroda and her offspring with starvation by stopping her allowance if she denies him immediate access to her sexual favours. As the father of Malroda's child (see 3.1.39 n.), this threat seems particularly nasty.
47 **made me one** cf. 3.3.32-47
49 **tie … up** give up enjoying your sexual favours (*OED* 6 lists the first recorded instance of this sense in 1760); see line 11 n.
50 **way** access
49-50 **nor … Nor** neither … Nor
53-54 **from … post** from the boundary of one parish to the next
54 **college** (a) presumably jocular, the professional fellowship of prostitutes; (b) women whom Vitelli has seduced. Cf. Vittoria in *The White Devil* protests for being condemned for harlotry: 'A house of penitent whores? Who sent me to it? / Who hath the honour to advance Vittoria / To this incontinent college?' (4.2.112-14) See also 3.3.93 n.
55 **For me** Sympson and Seward emended for *'Fore* [i.e. *Before*] *me*, which is also a plausible reading; note that Clara's response to Vitelli's abusive language against Malroda is to say that he speaks 'well' (perhaps ironically?).

47 whore.] *F, F2, GWW, Mitchell;* whore? *Langbaine and all other eds* 55 SD] *this edn* For] 'Fore *TSS, Colman*

T’endear the game you know I come to hunt for,
Which I have borne too coldly.

MALRODA Do so still,
For if I heat you, hang me.

VITELLI If you do not,
I know who’ll starve for’t. Why, thou shame of women,
Whose folly or whose impudence is greater
Is doubtful to determine; this to me
That know thee for a whore.

MALRODA And made me one,
Remember that.

VITELLI Why, should I but grow wise
And tie that bounty up, which nor discretion
Nor honour can give way to, thou wouldst be
A bawd ere twenty, and within a month
A barefoot, lousy, and diseasèd whore,
And shift thy lodgings oft’ner than a rogue
That’s whipped from post to post.

MALRODA Pish! All our college
Know you can rail well in this kind.

CLARA [*above*] For me
He never spake so well.

VITELLI I have maintained thee
The envy of great fortunes; made thee shine
As if thy name were glorious; stuck thee full
Of jewels, as the firmament of stars;

60 **remarkable** noteworthy
62 **set forth** exposed, notorious (see *OED v.*[1], *to set forth* 10)
66 **private** offering you my sexual favours exclusively (which, according to the Alguazir, is not true; see 3.2.93-94)
75 **presently** straightaway
76 **the inflamèd** scans as three syllables, *th'inflamèd*
78 **Pox** The censored expression in F could be another one-syllable oath (*'Sdeath, 'Slight, 'Swounds,* etc.); cf. *'Sheart* in 3.4.96. (See Appendix 6.)
80 **julep water** a sweetened drink administered to assuage passionate feelings (*OED* 1 and 2)
81-82 **heat … raised** As already stated by Piorato (see 3.2.23 n.), a diet based on certain meats (and wine, in this case) can produce an imbalance in the bodily humours, generating an excess of choler, the hot and dry humour. Malroda states that Vitelli's diet is the cause of his voracious sexual appetite, and not his amorous attraction for her (*desire* in its emotional sense, *OED* 1a). Alternatively, *not desire* could be a misprint for *hot desire*, in which case she would imply that lust would add to the heat caused by meat and drink.

64 SP] *F2; om. F* 78 Pox] *Dyce;* by Heaven *Colman, Weber, Darley; — F and all other eds*
79 SD] *this edn*

And in it made thee so remarkable
That it grew questionable whether virtue poor
Or vice so set forth as it is in thee
Were even by modesty's self to be preferred;
And am I thus repaid?

MALRODA You are still my debtor;
Can this—though true—be weighed with my lost honour,
Much less my faith? I have lived private to you,
And, but for you, had ne'er known what lust was,
Nor what the sorrow for't.

VITELLI 'Tis false.

MALRODA 'Tis true,
But how returned by you, thy whole life being
But one continued act of lust, and shipwreck
Of women's chastities.

VITELLI But that I know
That she that dares be damned dares any thing,
I should admire thy tempting me. But presume not
On the power you think you hold o'er my affections;
It will deceive you. Yield, and presently,
Or by the inflamèd blood which thou must quench,
I'll make a forcible entry.

MALRODA Touch me not,
You know I have a throat. Pox, if you do
I will cry out a rape, or sheathe this here, [*She threatens to stab herself.*]
Ere I'll be kept and used for julep water
T'allay the heat which luscious meats and wine,
And not desire, hath raised.

83 **My … reason** cf. *Othello*: ‘My blood begins my safer guides to rule, / And passion, having my best judgment collied, / Essays to lead the way.’ (2.3.198-200)

84 **fit you** give you your just punishment (*OED v.*[1] 12)

85 **night … yours** as she had predicted at the end of 3.3 **fasting** perhaps referring to Vitelli’s intention of returning to her ‘dieted for the nonce’ (3.3.122)

88 **own Indies** Malroda is the source of her own wealth through prostitution; cf. Malroda comparing herself to ‘a fertile island’ of her own (3.1.60-61) and Piorato comparing her to a ‘wealthy mine’ (3.2.60). All these images—the island, the mine, and the Indies—refer to her genitalia.

92 **sure one** a reliable maxim

93 **coming** In *The Maiden’s Tragedy*, Leonella stops the sexual advances of Votarius with: ‘Back! You’re too forward, sir. There’s no coming for you.’ (5.1.83), which Wiggins annotates as ‘possibly with secondary meaning “orgasm” (the usage is first recorded in 1650)’.

82 SD] *Weber* 84 SD] *Weber* 95 SD] *this edn* 96 sigh] *Colman (conj. Sympson);* sight *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS*

VITELLI [*aside*] A desperate devil;
My blood commands my reason. I must take
Some milder way.

MALRODA [*aside*] I hope, dear Don, I fit you.
The night is mine, although the day was yours.
You are not fasting now. This speeding trick—
Which I would as a principle leave to all
That make their maintenance out of their own Indies,
As I do now—my good old mother taught me:
'Daughter', quoth she, 'contest not with your lover,
His stomach being empty; let wine heat him,
And then you may command him.' 'Tis a sure one.
His looks show he is coming.

VITELLI Come, this needs not,
Especially to me. You know how dear
I ever have esteemed you—

CLARA [*above*] Lost again.

VITELLI
That any sigh of yours hath power to change
My strongest resolution, and one tear
Sufficient to command a pardon from me,
For any wrong from you, which all mankind
Should kneel in vain for!

MALRODA Pray you pardon those
That need your favour, or desire it.

VITELLI Prithee,
Be better tempered. I'll pay as a forfeit

108 **trifle** cf. Sayavedra's *trifles* in 4.1.58-60
110 **diamond … pearl** Malroda presumably asks to keep two jewels that Vitelli is wearing on his person, or extracts them from the purse. **They are** pronounced as one syllable, *They're*
113 **your … late** a generalisation; cf. the title of Middleton's *Your Five Gallants*.

103 SD] *this edn* 105 SD] *Weber* 109 SD1, SD2] *this edn* 114 SD] *this edn*

For my rash anger this purse filled with gold. [*Offers her a purse.*]
Thou shalt have servants, gowns, attires, what not?
Only continue mine.

MALRODA [*aside*] ’Twas this I fished for.

VITELLI
Look on me, and receive it.

MALRODA Well, you know
My gentle nature, and take pride t’abuse it.
You see a trifle pleases me; we are friends.
This kiss, and this, confirms it. [*She kisses him.*]

CLARA [*above*] With my ruin.

MALRODA
I’ll have this diamond and this pearl.

VITELLI They are yours.

MALRODA
But will you not, when you have what you came for,
Take them from me tomorrow? ’Tis a fashion
Your lords of late have used.

VITELLI But I’ll not follow.

CLARA [*above*]
That any man at such a rate as this
Should pay for his repentance.
VITELLI Shall we to bed now?

120 SD1 ***Descends*** Clara exits from the gallery above into the 'tiring house before re-entering at line 144. SD2 F adds '*&c.*'; Williams emended for '*and others*'. However, as Dyce noticed, there is no justification for other characters to appear at this point. The fact that this is exactly the group of characters that re-enters at the beginning of the following scene (4.3) seems to indicate that adding supernumeraries here is unnecessary. **I am** pronounced as one syllable, *I'm*

122 **Win … her** proverbial (Tilley, W408)

126 **high-priced wench** expensive prostitute; this is a better modernisation than *high-prized*, since the two verbs were not formally differentiated in the period, and in this instance it seems to refer to the monetary value of the courtesan's services (which the Alguazir profits from), rather than her general worth.[1]

127 **harpies** In classical mythology, rapacious and filthy monsters with women's bodies and bird's wings and claws (*OED* 1); in transferred sense, thieves, plundering people (*OED* 2).

118 SD1] *GWW* SD2] *this edn* 120 SD2] *and* LAZARILLO, *and they stand apart*] *this edn; and Lazarillo, and stand apart* | *Dyce;* Lazarillo, *and others* | *GWW; Lazarillo, &c.* | *F and all other eds* SD3] *this edn* 122 SD] *GWW* 126 high-priced] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* high-priz'd *F, Q, TSS, GWW, Mitchell;* high-pris'd *F2, Langbaine, TSS* 127 SD *Dyce*

[1] See Wiggins, 'Notes on Editing Webster', p. 372.

MALRODA

Instantly, sweet. Yet, now I think on't better,
There's something first that in a word or two
I must acquaint you with. [*They talk apart.*]

CLARA [*above*] Can I cry 'Ay me'
To this against myself? I'll break this match,
Or make it stronger with my blood. *Descends.*

Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR, PIORATO, PACHECO, METALDI,
MENDOZA, [*and*] LAZARILLO, [*and they stand apart.*]

ALGUAZIR [*to Piorato*] I am yours;
A Don's not privileged here more than yourself;
Win her, and wear her.

PIORATO Have you a priest ready?

ALGUAZIR

I have him for thee, lad. [*aside*] And when I have
Married this scornful whore to this poor gallant,
She will make suit to me; there is a trick
To bring a high-priced wench upon her knees.
[*aloud*] For you, my fine, neat harpies, stretch your talons
And prove yourselves true night-birds.

PACHECO Take my word
For me and all the rest.

LAZARILLO If there be meat,
Or any banquet stirring, you shall see
How I'll bestow myself.

138 **I am** pronounced as one syllable, *I'm*
139 **jewels** punning on *testicles*
142-43 'I am he who will keep her, a prostitute whom I intend to marry.'
142 **continue** keep, retain by him (*OED* 3a)
144 SD Another anticipated entrance in F, which other editors postpone until just before her first line.

135 SD] *GWW* 136 SD] *this edn* 136 SD] *this edn* 138 SD] *GWW* 139 SD] *this edn* 140 make] makes *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman* 142 her] *F2*; his *F* 143 upon] on *TSS* 144 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn*

ALGUAZIR When they are drawn,
Rush in upon 'em. All's fair prize you light on.
I must away. Your officer may give way
To the knavery of his watch, but must not see it.
You all know where to find me.

METALDI There look for us. *Exit* [*the Alguazir*].

VITELLI [*to Malroda, noticing Piorato*]
Who's that?

MALRODA [*Moves away from Vitelli.*] My Piorato, welcome, welcome.
'Faith, had you not come when you did, my lord
Had done I know not what to me.

VITELLI [*aside*] I am gulled;
First cheated of my jewels, and then laughed at.
[*to Piorato*] Sirrah, what make you here?

PIORATO A business brings me,
More lawful than your own.

VITELLI How's that, you slave?

MALRODA
He's such that would continue her a whore
Whom he would make a wife of.

VITELLI I'll tread upon
The face you dote on, strumpet. [*He attacks Piorato.*]

Enter CLARA [*with Piorato's sword*].

147 **eagle** the noblest of birds, as opposed to the daws
148 **daws** small black birds of the crow kind (*OED* 1); in figurative sense the term was often applied contemptuously to people (*OED* 2).
159 **second gift** (a) his life, that she has saved for a second time (the first being in 1.3); (b) her gift after the sword she gave him in 2.2.231.
156 **pressing** trespassing, interfering
157 **privacies** (a) private affairs; (b) private parts, genitalia

144 SD3 *and* SD4] *this edn* 146 SD] *this edn* 148 SD1, SD2] *this edn* 150 SD] *Dyce* 152 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *Dyce* 154 SD] *Dyce* 155 SD] *this edn*

PACHECO [*Comes forward.*] Keep the peace there.

[*The watchmen attack Vitelli.*]

VITELLI

A plot upon my life too?

METALDI Down with him.

CLARA [*to Vitelli*]

Show your old valour and learn from a woman.
One eagle has a world of odds against
A flight of daws, as these are. [*Clara attacks Piorato and the watchmen.*]

PIORATO [*to the watchmen*] Get you off,
I'll follow instantly.

PACHECO Run for more help there.

Exeunt all but Vitelli and Clara.

VITELLI [*aside*]

Loss of my gold and jewels, and the wench too,
Afflicts me not so much as th' having Clara
The witness of my weakness. [*He moves away.*]

CLARA [*aside*] He turns from me,
And yet I may urge merit, since his life
Is made my second gift.

VITELLI [*aside*] May I ne'er prosper
If I know how to thank her.

CLARA [*aloud*] Sir, your pardon
For pressing thus beyond a virgin's bounds
Upon your privacies. And let my being
Like to a man, as you are, be th' excuse

159-61 **soliciting … other ‘**requesting that you give me what I would refuse to grant to anyone else (i.e. love, a kiss)’

167 **affect** feel affection for, love

168 **that … one** i.e. Malroda

170 **father** Malroda’s father seems to have been an enemy of Vitelli’s, or of Spain’s, but it is unclear as no further reference to him is made in the play.

174 **diseases** (a) the pox that prostitutes reputedly carried; (b) moral disgrace

163 farther] further *Colman, Weber, Darley* 164 merciful] *(*mercifull*) F2;* mercifuil *F*

Of my soliciting that from you which shall not
Be granted on my part although desired
By any other. Sir, you understand me,
And ’twould show nobly in you to prevent
From me a farther boldness which I must
Proceed in, if you prove not merciful,
Though with my loss of blushes and good name.

VITELLI

Madam, I know your will, and would be thankful
If it were possible I could affect
The daughter of an enemy.

CLARA That fair false one
Whom with fond dotage you have long pursued
Had such a father; she to whom you pay
Dearer for your dishonour than all titles
Ambitious men hunt for are worth.

VITELLI ’Tis truth.

CLARA

Yet, with her as a friend, you still exchange
Health for diseases, and to your disgrace
Nourish the rivals to your present pleasures
At your own charge, used as a property
To give a safe protection to her lust,
Yet share in nothing but the shame of it.

VITELLI

Grant all this so, to take you for a wife
Were greater hazard, for should I offend you—
As ’tis not easy still to please a woman—

182-84 **You … me** Vitelli echoes the women's song in *The Woman's Prize*: 'For the good of the Common-weal / the woman shall wear the breeches.' (2.6.49-50)

184-93 This speech is the thematic core of the play that the main title alludes to: the power of love to transform the rebellious masculine Clara into an affectionate wife.

197-98 **with … her** 'the devil himself would not attempt to make amorous advances on her, even if she encouraged him to do so'

203 **proved** tried (*OED* 6)

204 **the rest** sexual intercourse; this attitude contrasts with the analogous situation in *La fuerza*, which is reported by Hipólita as a full sexual encounter forced by Luis (see section II.3 of the Introduction); cf. Genevora's attitude to premarital sex expressed in 5.2.53.

205 **herein** Dyce and Williams emended for *heaven*, implying that the line can be paraphrased as 'may God send me luck with her'; but the F reading stresses the more mundane, perhaps cynical side of Vitelli's character.

193 SD] *Weber* 198 SD] *this edn* 201 SD1 *and* SD2] *GWW* SD3] *Dyce* 205 herein] *F;* heaven *Dyce, GWW* SD] *this edn*

You are of so great a spirit, that I must learn
To wear your petticoat, for you will have
My breeches from me.

CLARA Rather from this hour
I here abjure all actions of a man,
And will esteem it happiness from you
To suffer like a woman. Love, true love,
Hath made a search within me, and expelled
All but my natural softness, and made perfect
That which my parents' care could not begin.
I will show strength in nothing but my duty,
And glad desire to please you, and in that
Grow every day more able.

VITELLI [*aside*] Could this be,
What a brave race might I beget? I find
A kind of yielding, and no reason why
I should hold longer out. She's young, and fair,
And chaste for sure, but with her leave the devil
Durst not attempt her. [*aloud*] Madam, though you have
A soldier's arm, your lips appear as if
They were a lady's.

CLARA They dare, sir, from you
Endure the trial. [*He kisses her.*]

VITELLI Ha! Once more I pray you. [*He kisses her.*]
[*aside*] The best I ever tasted, and 'tis said
I have proved many; 'tis not safe, I fear,
To ask the rest now. Well, I will leave whoring,
And luck herein send me with her. [*aloud*] Worthiest lady,
I'll wait upon you home, and by the way—

209 **mankind** (a) masculine (*OED adj.*[2] 3); (b) furious, fierce, mad (*OED adj.*[1])

4.3 Location: Weber and Darley indicate *Night. A street*; Dyce merely *A street.*

1 **cloak … hangers** The Alguazir comments on the booty that the band of false watchmen have managed to get hold of, probably during the preceding squabble with Vitelli (4.2.144). **hangers** ornamented strap on a sword-belt from which the sword was hung (*OED n.*[2] 4b)

2 **pistolets** Spanish gold escudos

6 **proportion** portion of food, excessive for only five people on stage

7 **legion** perhaps reminiscent of Mark 5:9 (see 1.3.78 n.)

8 **these ten years** the past ten years

9 **blackbirds** small in comparison to a capon

12-13 **Let … peace** 'Wedding and hanging go by destiny' was proverbial (Tilley, W232).

11 **fraught** freighted as a ship, in this case with food

14 **another watch** a second watch that will appear with the Alguazir later in the scene

4.3] *(Scæna Tertia.)* 0 SD] LAZARILLO] *F2; Lararillo* | *F* 4 sum] *F2;* some *F, GWW*

If e’er I marry, as I’ll not forswear it—
Tell you, you are my wife.

CLARA Which if you do,
From me all mankind women learn to woo.

Exeunt.

4.3

Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR, PACHECO, METALDI, MENDOZA, [*and*] LAZARILLO.

ALGUAZIR
A cloak? Good purchase. And rich hangers? Well,
We’ll share ten pistolets a man.

LAZARILLO Yet still
I am monstrous hungry. Could you not deduct
So much out of the gross sum as would purchase
Eight loins of veal and some two dozen of capons?

PACHECO
O, strange proportion for five.

LAZARILLO For five? I have
A legion in my stomach that have kept
Perpetual fast these ten years. For the capons
They are to me but as so many blackbirds.
May I but eat once and be satisfied,
Let the fates call me when my ship is fraught,
And I shall hang in peace.

ALGUAZIR Steal well tonight,
And thou shalt feed tomorrow. So now you are
Yourselves again, I’ll raise another watch

18 **ward** an administrative division or district under the jurisdiction of a constable (*OED* 19a)

19 **rug** see 2.1.172-73 n.; if there were such a corrupt officer in every district, thieving watchmen robbing rug gowns would be rich enough to buy rich velvet clothes for themselves.

25-26 cf. Álvarez's threat in 3.4.90

26 **bray … mortar** This image may be reminiscent of the fate of the Greek philosopher Anaxarchus, who was pounded to death in a mortar at the command of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus.[1] **bray** pound, crush to powder in a mortar

20 SD] *GWW* 26 thee in] the in *F, GWW* new] *F2;* now *F*

[1] Diogenes Laërtius, *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), p. 401.

To free you from suspicion. Set on any
You meet with boldly. I'll not be far off
T'assist you and protect you. *Exit.*

METALDI O brave officer.

Enter ÁLVAREZ, LUCIO, [*and*] BOBADILLA.

PACHECO
Would every ward had one but so well given,
And we would watch for rug in gowns of velvet.

MENDOZA
Stand close. A prize.

METALDI Satin and gold lace, lads. [*They stand apart.*]

ÁLVAREZ
Why dost thou hang upon me?

LUCIO 'Tis so dark
I dare not see my way. For heaven's sake, father,
Let us go home.

BOBADILLA No, ev'n here we'll leave you.
Let's run away from him, my lord.

LUCIO O 'las.

ÁLVAREZ
Thou hast made me mad. And I will beat thee dead,
Then bray thee in a mortar, and new mould thee,
But I will alter thee.

30 **murd'ring of** containing, stifling **wild Irish swaggerers** The Irish were thought to have a proverbial dislike of flatulence. Lucio is described as if he were containing his wind, afraid to let it out in the presence of a band of dangerous Irishmen who will take offence and attack him. In *Pierce Penniless* (1592) Thomas Nash commented: 'The Irishman will drawe his dagger, and bee ready to kill and slay, if one breake winde in his company.'[2] In *The Malcontent* there is an exchange alluding to the same belief: '*Mendoza.* The Duke hates thee. / *Malevole.* As Irishmen do bum-cracks.' (3.3.49-50)

33 **No … thee** cf. Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet*: 'hang, beg, starve, die in the streets, / For, by my soul, I'll ne'er acknowledge thee, / Nor what is mine shall never do thee good.' (3.5.192-94)

34-35 cf. Duchess of York pleading for her son's life in *Richard II*, 5.3.85 et seq.

32 **milksop, coward** Perhaps a Chaucerian echo from 'The Prologue to the Monk's Tale' in *The Canterbury Tales*: "Allas," she seith, "that evere I was shape / To wedden a milksop, or a coward ape."'[3] See 2.2.57 n.

39 **light upon** come across (*OED light v.*[1] 10d)

40 **use … man** Álvarez instructs his son to rape the first woman he comes across.

42 **What … now?** Lucio has started to pray, maybe kneeling down, or just joining his hands in prayer. **I am** pronounced as one syllable, *I'm*; the scansion of the line is problematic, though, as *saying* should also be pronounced as monosyllabic to fit the pentameter. TSS silently emended for '*Alv.* What dost thou now? / *Luc.* I'm saying, Sir, my Prayers.'

30 murd'ring] *(*murdring*) F, TSS, Colman, GWW;* murdering *F2 and all other eds* 35 SD] *this edn* 41 SD] *this edn* 42 do] *om. TSS* Sir, I am saying] I'm saying, Sir *TSS;* Sir, I'm saying *Colman*

[2] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his supplication to the diuell* (London: Printed by Abell Ieffes, for I. B[usby], 1592), sig. D1^{v}.

[3] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, 1988), lines 1909-12.

BOBADILLA 'Twill never be.
He has been three days practising to drink,
Yet still he sips like to a waiting woman,
And looks as he were murd'ring of a fart
Among wild Irish swaggerers.

LUCIO I have still
Your good word, Sancho. Father.

ÁLVAREZ Milksop, coward;
No house of mine receives thee. I disclaim thee:
Thy mother on her knees shall not entreat me
Hereafter to acknowledge thee.

LUCIO [*to Bobadilla*] Pray you, speak for me.

BOBADILLA
I would, but now I cannot with mine honour.

ÁLVAREZ
There's only one course left that may redeem thee,
Which is to strike the next man that you meet,
And if we chance to light upon a woman,
Take her away, and use her like a man,
Or I will cut thy hamstrings.

PACHECO [*apart to the other watchmen*] This makes for us.

ÁLVAREZ
What dost thou do now?

LUCIO Sir, I am saying my prayers;
For being to undertake what you would have me,
I know I cannot live.

44 SD **[*two*] *pages*** i.e. the two pages who appeared in 4.1
47 **your great supper** The masque, followed by a banquet, has taken place at Lamoral's house.
45 **you had** pronounced as one syllable, *you'd*
52 **talk** unwittingly, with a sexual connotation; Lucio, who in next scene demonstrates his ignorance of what his father actually means by using a woman 'like a man' (line 40), sets out simply to kiss Genevora (see 4.4.3).
54 **strike again** hit back

48 SD] *this edn* 49 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* 50 SD] *this edn* 54 sir, I] Sir, that I *TSS* SD] *this edn*

Enter LAMORAL, GENEVORA, ANASTRO, *and* [*two*] *pages with lights.*

LAMORAL Madam, I fear
You'll wish you had used your coach: your brother's house
Is yet far off.

GENEVORA The better, sir. This walk
Will help digestion after your great supper,
Of which I have fed largely.

ÁLVAREZ [*to Lucio*] To your task,
Or else you know what follows. [*Álvarez and Bobadilla stand apart.*]

LUCIO [*aside*] I am dying.
Now, Lord, have mercy on me. [*to Lamoral*] By your favour,
Sir, I must strike you.

LAMORAL For what cause?

LUCIO I know not.
And I must likewise talk with that young lady
An hour in private.

LAMORAL What you must is doubtful,
But I am certain, sir, I must beat you. [*He hits him.*]

LUCIO
Help, help!

ÁLVAREZ Not strike again?

LAMORAL How, Álvarez?

56 **Break out** come forward

58 **seem … stronger** Williams's emendation resolves the apparent incongruity of the line by interpreting that the watchmen will take advantage of the fight to mingle with the two factions, steal from both, and then take the winning side to avoid being caught.

my lord Álvarez

62 SD Lucio may attack Anastro first, as he seems to have started the fight with his father; by line 68 Lamoral is clearly fighting as well, presumably leaving Genevora to the care of the two pages.

56 Vitelli's] *F2; Vitell's* | *F* SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* 57 prey] *F2;* pray *F, GWW* 58 stronger] *GWW, Mitchell;* stranger *F and all other eds* 62 SD] *this edn* 63 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* 64 SD] *this edn* 65 SD] *this edn* 67 SP] *Dyce, GWW; Lam.* | *F and all other eds* 68 SD] *this edn*

ANASTRO

This for my lord Vitelli's love. [*Attacks Álvarez.*]

PACHECO [*apart to the other watchmen*] Break out,
And like true thieves make prey on either side,
But seem to help the stronger.

BOBADILLA O my lord;
They have beat him on his knees.

LUCIO Though I want courage,
I yet have a son's duty in me, and
Compassion of a father's danger; that,
That wholly now possesses me. [*Attacks Anastro and Lamoral*.]

ÁLVAREZ Lucio.
This is beyond my hope.

METALDI [*apart*] So, Lazarillo, [*He sets Lazarillo to*
Take up all, boy. Well done. *steal from Anastro.*]

PACHECO [*apart*] And now steal off
Closely, and cunningly.

ANASTRO How? [*to Lazarillo*] Have I found you?
Why, gentlemen, are you mad to make yourselves
A prey to rogues?

[LAZARILLO *aside*] Would we were off.

BOBADILLA Thieves, thieves!

LAMORAL

Defer our own contention, and down with them. [*They attack them.*]

71 **half of my penance** fighting against the first man they come across (line 38)
73 **yet** so soon, already (*OED* 3b); see 1.2.58 n.
78 **will smart** will be punished (*OED* 3b)

70 SD] *this edn* 71 SD *Enter*] *F2; Entes* | *F* SD *disguised … watchman*] *this edn* SD *watches*] *F2; Watchcs* | *F* 73 SD1 *and* SD2] *this edn* 75 SD] *this edn* Asistente] *Dyce; Assistente* | *GWW;* Assistant *Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman;* assistant *Weber, Darley, Mitchell;* assistance *F;* assistants *F2* 76 of't] *F, Dyce, GWW;* of it *Weber, Darley, Mitchell;* on't *F2 and all other eds* SD] *this edn* 78 señors] *(*Signiours*)*

LUCIO

I'll make you sure.

BOBADILLA Now he plays the devil.

GENEVORA

This place is not for me. *Exit* [*with the pages.*]

LUCIO I'll follow her;
Half of my penance is past o'er. *Exit.*

Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR [*with the*] ASISTENTE [*disguised as a watchman*], *and other watches.*

ALGUAZIR What noise?
What tumult's there? Keep the King's peace, I charge you.

PACHECO [*aside*]

I'm glad he's come yet.

ÁLVAREZ [*to the Alguazir*] O, you keep good guard
Upon the city when men of our rank
Are set upon in the streets.

LAMORAL [*to the Alguazir*] The Asistente
Shall hear of't, be assured.

ANASTRO [*to the Alguazir*] And if he be
That careful governor he is reported,
You will smart for it.

ALGUAZIR Patience, good señors.
Let me survey the rascals. O, I know them,

81 **Andalusia** The large southern region of Spain in which Seville is actually located.

82 **Castile** The dominant nation under the rule of the King of Spain, extending over most of the central regions of the Iberian peninsula; see 1.1.53 n.

84 **we had** pronounced as one syllable, *we'd*

85 **dogbolts** dogsbodies, knaves; a term of abuse for a menial person (*OED* 1)

88 **My mistress lost?** Lamoral has realised that Genevora and the pages have disappeared in the tumult; the line has to be spoken aloud, as Bobadilla immediately realises that Lucio has left as well.

92 **droop not** despair not

93-94 The Asistente is in disguise as a member of the second group of watchmen under the Alguazir's command; it may be a confusing moment for the audience, as they cannot know who he is until he discloses his identity at line 115. The theme of the disguised ruler was particularly prominent in English dramatic literature at the turn of the seventeenth century. For instance, King Henry as Harry Le Roy in *Henry V* (1599) and as the main plot device of a cluster of plays in 1603-4: Duke Altofronto as Malevole in *The Malcontent*, Prince Phoenix in Middleton's *The Phoenix*, Duke Ferneze in John Day's *Law-tricks, or Who Would Have Thought It*, and Duke Vincentio as Friar Lodowick in *Measure for Measure*.[4] In the 2012 production, the Asistente appeared above overhearing the scene, dressed in full costume and wearing a chain of office indicating his status, and descended at the appropriate point.

80 pilf'ring] *(pillfring) F, F2, Langbaine, TSS, Colman, GWW;* pilfering *Q, Weber, Darley, Dyce, Mitchell* 81 Andalusia] *Weber, Darley, Dyce; Andaluzia | F, Q, TSS, Colman, GWW, Mitchell; Andaluza | F2, Langbaine* 88 SD1] *GWW* SD2] *this edn* too] *(*to*); om. Langbaine, Q* 93 SD] *this edn;* [*apart*] *GWW*

[4] See Martin Wiggins, *Shakespeare and the Drama of his Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 107-10, and Kevin A. Quarmby, *The Disguised Ruler in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

And thank you for them. They are pilf'ring rogues
Of Andalusia that have perused
All prisons in Castile. I dare not trust
The dungeon with them. No, I'll have them home
To my own house.

PACHECO We had rather go to prison.

ALGUAZIR
Had you so, dogbolts? Yes, I know you had.
You there would use your cunning fingers on
The simple locks; you would. But I'll prevent you.

LAMORAL
My mistress lost? Good night. *Exit* [*with Anastro*].

BOBADILLA [*to Álvarez*] Your son's gone too,
What should become of him?

ÁLVAREZ Come of him what will.
Now he dares fight, I care not. I'll to bed.
Look to your prisoners, Alguazir. *Exit with Bobadilla.*

ALGUAZIR All's cleared.
Droop not for one disaster. Let us hug,
And triumph in our knaveries.

ASISTENTE [*aside*] This confirms
What was reported of him.

METALDI 'Twas done bravely.

97 **toils** nets forming an enclosure in which to catch game in a hunt (*OED n.*[2] 1)
99-100 **carted … bawd** see 3.3.81 n.
100 **smock-gamester** a prostitute
102 **cloister** in secret, as in a nunnery, but also alluding to a brothel
105-6 **prying … market** The Clerk of the Market was an officer in London responsible for verifying weights and measures (*OED clerk*)
108 **fee-simple** exclusive inheritance (*OED* a)
109 **tenants at will** those who hold a property (here metaphorically the right to pillage in the night) at the pleasure of the rightful lessor (*OED*)
113 **silly wretches** the second watch, including the disguised Asistente; *silly* may admit the alternative modernisation *seely*, 'insignificant, simple' (*OED* 7a), and also 'foolish, silly' (*OED* 8).

115 SD] *Dyce*

ALGUAZIR

I must a little glory in the means
We officers have to play the knaves, and safely.
How we break through the toils pitched by the law,
Yet hang up them that are far less delinquents.
A simple shopkeeper's carted for a bawd
For lodging—though unwittingly—a smock-gamester;
Where, with rewards and credit, I have kept
Malroda in my house as in a cloister,
Without taint or suspicion.

PACHECO But suppose
The Governor should know't?

ALGUAZIR He? Good gentleman,
Let him perplex himself with prying into
The measures in the market, and th' abuses
The day stands guilty of; the pillage of the night
Is only mine, mine own fee-simple,
Which you shall hold from me, tenants at will,
And pay no rent for't.

PACHECO Admirable landlord.

ALGUAZIR

Now we'll go search the taverns, commit such
As we find drinking, and be drunk ourselves
With what we take from them. These silly wretches,
Whom I for form's sake only have brought hither,
Shall watch without, and guard us.

ASISTENTE [*Coming forward.*] And we will
See you safe lodged, most worthy Alguazir,

117 **My guard there!** Seward and Sympson in TSS assumed that the Asistente calls for reinforcements, and indicated the entrance of his guard. This would complicate the staging unnecessarily, as it would require at least two more supernumeraries (or actors doubling other main roles with the guard for only fifteen lines). It would also imply that the other watches accompanying him, and already present on stage, are not employed in the arrest. The only other mention of a guard is in the final scene, when all these malefactors reenter accompanied by the guard (5.3.220 SD). The likeliest possibility, for reasons of economy of staging, is that the Alguazir's second watch are actually the Asistente's personal guard (perhaps also in disguise?).

122 **cannot but** have no choice but

125 The line is too long by two syllables; the TSS emendation rendered the line as a pentameter with a feminine ending.

126 **speedily** pronounced as two syllables, *speed'ly*

129 **place** office

132 **endeavour** attempt strenuously (*OED* 3)

118 SD] *this edn; Enter Guard* | *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 120 estimation] *F, GWW, Mitchell;* estimations *F2 and all other eds* 125 upon] on *TSS*

With all of you, his comrades.

METALDI ’Tis the Governor.

ALGUAZIR

We are betrayed!

ASISTENTE My guard there! Bind them fast. [*The watch*
How men in high place and authority *seize them.*]
Are in their lives and estimation wronged
By their subordinate ministers! Yet such
They cannot but employ, wronged justice finding
Scarce one true servant in ten officers.
T’ expostulate with you were but to delay
Your crimes’ due punishment, which shall fall upon you
So speedily and severely that it shall
Fright others by th’ example, and confirm
However corrupt officers may disgrace
Themselves, ’tis not in them to wrong their place.
Bring them away.

ALGUAZIR We’ll suffer nobly yet,
And like to Spanish gallants.

PACHECO And we’ll hang so.

LAZARILLO

I have no stomach to it, but I’ll endeavour.

Exeunt.

4.4 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *Another street.*

5 **enjoined** imposed as a task or obligation (*OED enjoin* 2a)

6 **gentle confessor** i.e. herself

11 **Sweet innocence** Perhaps an aside (as Williams indicates); the kiss may occur before or after this line.

12 **strange new motions** presumably an erection

12-13 **My … fire** Feeling an unknown internal fire is a logical symptom of having been poisoned; cf. the poisoned Emperor in *Valentinian*: 'Oh villaine:——I grow hotter, hotter.' (5.2.77)

17 **lovely** loveable (*OED* 2)

4.4] *(Scœna Quarta.)* 1 you offer] *F2;* your offer *F* 11 SD1] *Dyce* SD2] *GWW* 16 SD] *Dyce*

4.4

Enter LUCIO *and* GENEVORA.

GENEVORA

Nay, you are rude; pray you forbear; you offer now
More than the breeding of a gentleman
Can give you warrant for.

LUCIO ’Tis but to kiss you,
And think not I’ll receive that for a favour
Which was enjoined me for a penance, lady.

GENEVORA

You have met a gentle confessor, and for once—
So then you will rest satisfied—I vouchsafe it.

LUCIO

Rest satisfied with a kiss? Why, can a man
Desire more from a woman? Is there any
Pleasure beyond it? May I never live
If I know what it is.

GENEVORA [*aside*] Sweet innocence. [*They kiss.*]

LUCIO

What strange new motions do I feel? My veins
Burn with an unknown fire. In every part
I suffer alteration. I am poisoned,
Yet languish with desire again to taste it,
So sweetly it works on me.

GENEVORA [*aside*] I ne’er saw
A lovely man till now.

17-20 **How … unscorched** This is phrased as an aside, but the direct address immediately following ('yours are more lovely, lady') necessarily implies that the previous lines have been heard by Genevora.

25 **strict embraces** closer physical contact (i.e. sexual intercourse); it is etymologically related to *strait* (*OED* 1c: 'Of an embrace: close').

26 **to die so** punning on an orgasm

27 **heaven** pronounced as monosyllabic, *heav'n* **Paradise** The garden of Eden (standing for innocence in Genesis), not in the Islamic sense. **I am** pronounced as monosyllabic, *I'm* **wounded** Conventionally lovers start feeling affection when wounded by Cupid's arrows.

30 **strongly** fixedly, intensely; Williams's emendation to *strangely* makes sense but seems unnecessary.

32 **adore** There is a religious undertone to the love Lucio feels, going as far as regarding the glove as 'divine' (line 34); this sense will be elaborated in 5.2.42-43. **love** Genevora asks whether Lucio can love her in a more mundane way

36 **this glove** Presumably Lucio is holding Genevora's hand. Women's gloves had a strong erotic suggestiveness in the period; cf. De Flores introducing his fingers into Beatrice's glove in *The Changeling*, 1.1.236-38.

21 you] *om. TSS* 23 SD] *this edn* 27 SD] *Dyce* 29 SD] *this edn* 30 strongly] *(*stronglie*) F;* stranglie *GWW, Mitchell* you] *om. TSS* 35 resolved] *F2;* resov'd *F*

LUCIO How can this be?
She is a woman, as my mother is,
And her I have kissed often, and brought off
My lips unscorched; yours are more lovely, lady,
And so should be less hurtful. Pray you vouchsafe
Your hand to quench the heat ta'en from your lip;
Perhaps that may restore me.

GENEVORA Willingly. [*He kisses her hand.*]

LUCIO
The flame increases. If to touch you burn thus,
What would more strict embraces do? I know not,
And yet methinks to die so were to ascend
To heaven through Paradise.

GENEVORA [*aside*] I am wounded too,
Though modesty forbids that I should speak
What ignorance makes him bold in. [*aloud*] Why do you fix
Your eyes so strongly on me?

LUCIO Pray you stand still,
There is nothing else that is worth the looking on.
I could adore you, lady.

GENEVORA Can you love me?

LUCIO
To wait on you in your chamber, and but touch
What you, by wearing it, have made divine,
Were such a happiness. I am resolved;
I'll sell my liberty to you for this glove,
And write myself your slave.

40 SD Lucio must be kneeling at this point, as Lamoral refers to this moment in 5.1.5-6.
41 SP The line was re-assigned to Lucio in TSS and all subsequent editions, but the original reading does make sense as a reproachful retort to Genevora's line.
45 **kneel** Alternatively, Lucio may kneel at this point.
47 **giving entrance to** allowing myself to form
51 **grace** favour (*OED* 2b), but alluding to Lucio's quasi-religious adoration for her (see lines 32 and 34)

38 SD] *this edn* 39 SD] *this edn* 40 SD] *this edn* 41 SP LAMORAL] *F, F2, Langbaine, Q; Luc.* | *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell* 42 SD] *this edn* appeared] *Langbaine; (*appeare*) F, F2* 44-45 Not … enemy?] *TSS lineation; one line in F, F2, Langbaine, Q*

Enter LAMORAL.

GENEVORA On easier terms,
Receive it as a friend. [*Offers Lucio her glove.*]

LAMORAL How? Giving favour!
I'll have it with his heart. [*Lamoral takes the glove.*]

GENEVORA What will you do?

LUCIO
As you are merciful, take my life rather. [*Lucio kneels, and Lamoral starts to leave.*]

GENEVORA
Will you depart with't so?

LAMORAL Does that grieve you?

GENEVORA
I know not. [*to Lucio*] But even now you appeared valiant.

LUCIO
'Twas to preserve my father. In his cause
I could be so again.

GENEVORA Not in your own?
Kneel to thy rival and thine enemy?
Away, unworthy creature; I begin
To hate myself for giving entrance to
A good opinion of thee. For thy torment,
If my poor beauty be of any power,
Mayst thou dote on it desperately. But never
Presume to hope for grace till thou recover

52 **favour** physical token of affection, i.e. the glove **ravished** stolen forcibly (but with a sexual undertone)

53 **wears … head** Lamoral has placed the glove in his hatband (as implied in 5.1) at some point since he snatched it from Genevora and Lucio; however, it is not possible to determine the exact point at which he does this. SD Williams interpreted that Lamoral leaves after speaking his line, and then Genevora after hers; however, since Vitelli commissioned his friend to take his sister back to their home after the evening's entertainments (4.1.12-13), it is perhaps more likely that they leave the stage together.

44-62 This speech is analogous to Clara's in 4.2.184-93, signalling Lucio's final assumption of his expected social gender through the power of love (as Vitelli will summarise in 5.3.255).

60 **Roused sleeping manhood** quite literally, as Genevora has provoked his first erection
new creature newly created being

62 **Nature … own** Translated from Horace, *Epistles* I.10.24: 'Naturam expelles furca, amen usque recurret.' ('You may drive out Nature with a pitchfork, yet she will ever hurry back.')[1]

53 SD] *this edn* 62 SD *Exit*] *Colman; Exeunt | F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS*

[1] Horace, *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 317.

And wear the favour that was ravished from thee.

LAMORAL

He wears my head too, then.

GENEVORA Poor fool, farewell. *Exit* [*with Lamoral.*]

LUCIO

My womanish soul, which hitherto hath governed
This coward flesh, I feel departing from me;
And in me by her beauty is inspired
A new and masculine one, instructing me
What's fit to do or suffer. Powerful love,
That hast with loud and yet a pleasing thunder
Roused sleeping manhood in me, thy new creature,
Perfect thy work so that I may make known
Nature, though long kept back, will have her own.

Exit.

5.1 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *A street*. The scene occurs the following morning, six hours after 4.4. 0 SD They may both appear at several doors, or alternatively following each other through the same doorway. In the 2012 production, Lamoral spoke the first speech as a soliloquy to the audience, with Lucio coming on through a different door and overhearing the last few lines before confronting him.

glove … hat This was a sign of defiance to an opponent; Michael Williams wears the glove of Harry Le Roy (the disguised King) in his cap as a challenge in *Henry V*, 4.1.212-14.

2 **habits** (a) clothing, physical appearance (*OED* 1a); (b) demeanour, behaviour (*OED* 4); (c) customs (*OED* 9b). Cf. Duke Francisco in *The White Devil*: 'See: a good habit makes a child a man, / Whereas a bad one makes a man a beast.' (2.1.136-37)

3 **removed** (a) altered, changed (*OED* 9); (b) taken away, taken off (*OED* 4a)

4 **baffled** vilified (*OED* 3)

5 **kneeled** Lucio did kneel in front of Lamoral in the previous scene; see 4.4.40 n. and 45 n.

6 **blubbered** weeped effusively and unrestrainedly; a contemptuous synonym for *weeped* (*OED* 3)

7 **On … honour** 'On the basis of restoring his honour'

9-11 **Such … follies** 'Injurious men shamefully live to see such prodigies as punishment for their own arrogant stupidities.'

12 **flesh** to expose you to violence for the first time (*OED* 2a)

13 **needs not** is unnecessary

16 **captain** one who leads others to do something (*OED* 1a)

17-18 **place … frequented** Duels would typically take place in remote locations, as they were illegal in public places (see section IV.3 of the Introduction).

5.1] *(Actus Quintus. Scœna prima.)* 0 SD] *GWW* 7 On terms] *F2;* One terme *F* seek] *F;* to seek *TSS, Colman* 10 for] *TSS;* and for *F, F2, Langbaine, Q* 17 further] *F;* farther *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS*

5.1

Enter LAMORAL [*with Genevora's glove in his hat*] *and* LUCIO.

LAMORAL

Can it be possible that in six short hours,
The subject still the same, so many habits
Should be removed? Or this new Lucio be
That yesternight was baffled and disgraced,
And thanked the man that did it, that then kneeled
And blubbered like a woman, should now dare
On terms of honour seek reparation
For what he then appeared not capable of?

LUCIO

Such miracles men that dare do injuries
Live to their shames to see for punishment
And scourge to their proud follies.

LAMORAL Prithee, leave me.
Had I my page or footman here to flesh thee,
I durst the better hear thee.

LUCIO This scorn needs not,
And offer such no more.

LAMORAL Why, say I should;
You'll not be angry?

LUCIO Indeed I think I shall.
Would you vouchsafe to show yourself a captain,
And lead a little further to some place
That's less frequented.

20 **new fashioned** newly framed

21 **it** Lucio's sword, as a visual referent to *this* in line 19 **in act** in action, in actual use

23-25 **Ulysses … creed** Lamoral states that the possibility of Lucio bringing himself to fight against him is as improbable as the fictions retold in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

23 **Ulysses' Cyclops** Race of one-eyed giants; the most savage of them, Polyphemus, is tricked by Odysseus (Ulysses in his Roman name) into enabling his escape in the *Odyssey*. Ovid recounted the love story of Polyphemus and the nymph Galatea, referring the Cyclop's blinding by Ulysses, in the *Metamorphoses*, Book XIII, 738-897. **Io's transformation** Io was a priestess of Hera with whom Zeus was in love; to save her from Hera's jealousy, Zeus transformed Io into a white heifer. Ovid retold the transformation in the *Metamorphoses*, Book I, 601-21.

24 **Eurydice … Hell** Orpheus, grieving for his wife Eurydice's sudden death on their wedding day when she was stung by a snake, decided to travel to the Underworld to bring her back from the dead; he was granted that on condition that he would not look back at her until they had left Hades, but he faltered and she was lost forever. Ovid included it in the *Metamorphoses*, Book X, 1-85.

25 **creed** principles (normally of faith) that are held as the absolute truth (*OED* 2b)

26 **be** exist

29 **still-employed** (a) continuously employed; (b) employed for the time being (perhaps until he loses this duel)

34 **wishes** The verb governs the ensuing accumulation of clauses (lines 35-46).

35 **Your … his** Lucio wishes Lamoral to be more honourable, as by beating him in a duel he will metaphorically transfer all that honour to himself.

40 **desert** excellence, worth (*OED n.*[1] 1b)

18 SD] *this edn* 19 SD1] *this edn* SD2] *this edn* 21 SD] *this edn* 24 fetched] *(*fetcht*) F;* fetch *F2* 25 my] *TSS;* your *F, F1, Langbaine, Q* 27 Write] *F2;* Writ *F*

LAMORAL [*aside*] He looks pale.

LUCIO If not,
Make use of this. [*Indicates his sword.*]

LAMORAL [*aside*] There's anger in his eyes too.
His gesture, voice, and behaviour, all new fashioned.
[*aloud*] Well, if it does endure in act the trial
Of what in show it promises to make good,
Ulysses' Cyclops, Io's transformation,
Eurydice fetched from Hell, with all the rest
Of Ovid's fables, I'll put in my creed;
And for proof all incredible things may be,
Write down that Lucio, the coward Lucio,
The womanish Lucio, fought.

LUCIO And Lamoral,
The still-employed, great duellist Lamoral,
Took his life from him.

LAMORAL 'Twill not come to that, sure.
Methinks the only drawing of my sword
Should fright that confidence.

LUCIO It confirms it, rather.
To make which good, know you stand now opposed
By one that is your rival, one that wishes
Your name and title greater to raise his;
The wrong you did, less pardonable than it is,
But your strength to defend it, more than ever
It was when justice friended it; the lady
For whom we now contend, Genevora,
Of more desert (if such incomparable beauty

44 **there** in your hatband
49 **allowed** acknowledged to be (*OED* II)
50-51 **or … or** either … or
51 **opposition** duel, confrontation
53 **Enrich … arms** (a) increase the family's honour and reputation; (b) add new elements to the family's coat of arms (presumably by marriage)
54 **at the stake** placed at hazard (*OED n.*^{2} 1) **At all, then** The duel is not at first blood or to determine who will possess the glove: everything is at stake, including the duellists' lives.
55 **This … fortune** An alternative modernisation (following F and Q) is 'This, and my life, to follow your fortune'.

43 Against] *F2;* Aagainst *F* 47 meet] must meet *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 54 SD] *this edn* 55 life too] *F2; (*life, to*) F, Q* 56 loser] *Langbaine;* looser *F, F2*

Could suffer an addition); your love
To Don Vitelli multiplied; and your hate
Against my father and his house increased;
And, lastly, that the glove which you there wear
To my dishonour, which I must force from you,
Were dearer to you than your life.

LAMORAL You'll find
It is, and so I'll guard it.

LUCIO All these meet, then,
With the black infamy to be foiled by one
That's not allowed a man. To help your valour,
That, falling by your hand, I may or die
Or win in this one single opposition
My mistress and such honour as I may
Enrich my father's arms with.

LAMORAL 'Tis said nobly;
My life with them are at the stake.

LUCIO At all, then.

[*They*] *fight* [*and Lucio takes Lamoral's sword and hat with Genevora's glove.*]

LAMORAL
She's yours. This, and my life too, follow your fortune,
And give not only back that part the loser
Scorns to accept of—

LUCIO What's that?

LAMORAL My poor life,

63 **title** entitlement, legitimate right (*OED* 6); Lamoral was not entitled to Genevora's glove, as it was given to Lucio.

77-79 **Turk … infidel** The Turks would take hold of the material spoil from an enemy ship, but they would also request a substantial ransom for the prisoners taken alive; in this sense, as Lucio implies, they did not seek to kill their enemies but to profit economically from them. However, Lucio, perhaps not well informed, is mistaken if the suggestion is that the Turks would leave behind their prisoners and only take their material belongings, as this was not true; Massinger, based on Cervantes, would elaborate this theme in *The Renegado*. Cf. Vitelli and Malroda in 3.3.102-3.

80 **custom** see 1.2.45 n.; if the opponents' lives were at stake, the rules of duelling dictated that one had to die.

58 further] farther *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 70 purposes] purpose *TSS*

Which do not leave me as a further torment,
Having despoiled me of my sword, mine honour,
Hope of my lady's grace, fame, and all else
That made it worth the keeping.

LUCIO I take back
No more from you than what you forced from me,
And with a worser title. Yet think not
That I'll dispute this as made insolent
By my success, but as one equal with you;
If so, you will accept me that new courage,
Or call it fortune if you please, that is
Conferred upon me by the only sight
Of fair Genevora, was not bestowed on me
To bloody purposes. Nor did her command
Deprive me of the happiness to see her
But till I did redeem her favour from you,
Which only I rejoice in, and share with you
In all you suffer else.

LAMORAL This courtesy
Wounds deeper than your sword can, or mine own.
Pray you make use of either and dispatch me.

LUCIO
The barbarous Turk is satisfied with spoil,
And shall I, being possessed of what I came for,
Prove the more infidel?

LAMORAL You were better be so
Than publish my disgrace, as 'tis the custom,
And which I must expect.

94 **win … wear** proverbial; see 4.2.122
102 **unequal** disposed to act unjustly (*OED adj.* 4b)
103 **Wrongs well maintained** Injuries firmly held **makes** Colman's emendation of the F reading would regularise the subject-verb agreement (*wrongs-makes*) and clarify the rather convoluted syntax; however, this kind of disagreement is frequent in the play (see, for example, Vitelli in line 109: 'Means is offered').
105 **I … on't** This phrase and the preceding soliloquy are important to the characterisation of Lamoral as a reflective man.

81 on] of *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley* 89 SD] *this edn* 91 further] farther *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 103 makes] *F;* make *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce*

LUCIO Judge better on me.

I have no tongue to trumpet mine own praise
To your dishonour. 'Tis a bastard courage
That seeks a name out that way, no true-born one.
Pray you be comforted, for by all goodness
But to her virtuous self, the best part of it,
I never will discover on what terms
I came by these. Which yet I take not from you,
But leave you in exchange of them mine own [*He gives Lamoral his*
With the desire of being a friend; which, if *own hat and sword.*]
You will not grant me but on further trial
Of manhood in me, seek me when you please,
And though I might refuse it with mine honour,
Win them again, and wear them. So good morrow. *Exit.*

LAMORAL

I ne'er knew what true valour was till now,
And have gained more by this disgrace than all
The honours I have won. They made me proud,
Presumptuous of my fortune, a mere beast
Fashioned by them only to dare and do,
Yielding no reasons for my wilful actions
But what I stuck on my sword's point, presuming
It was the best revenue. How unequal
Wrongs well maintained makes us to others, which
Ending with shame teach us to know ourselves.
I will think more on't.

Enter VITELLI.

VITELLI Lamoral.

LAMORAL My lord?

106-7 **And … now** Perhaps an aside.

113-14 **I … in't** 'I never thought that there was anything especial about it.' The expression sounds unfamiliar in English, as Sympson commented: 'My Reader, no doubt, will be surpriz'd with the *Musick* of a Sword. It may be the first time he ever heard of such a thing, and I assure him 'tis quite new to me and Mr. *Seward* too.' Probably by chance, it coincides with a colloquialism that is current in modern Spanish, particularly used when an item on sale is overpriced: *¡Ni que tuviera música!* ('One would say it had music in it!') However, the phrase is not in *La fuerza* or, apparently, in any of the relevant Spanish literary sources with which Fletcher and Massinger were familiar.

117 **new** newly

122 **second** man who acts as a representative of one of the two fighters in a duel, in charge of delivering the challenge, arranging the locality, and verifying the weapons (*OED adj.* and *n.*[2] 9b). In 5.3 Lamoral will be Vitelli's second, while Lucio will act as his father's.

131 **private** own, personal

107 till] tell *F2* 109 is] are *Weber, Darley* 111 thee] that *Langbaine, Q* 114 music] *(*musick*) F, F2, Langbaine Q;* magic *TSS and all other eds* ascribed] *TSS, Colman, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* ascribe *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, Weber, Darley* 115-16 Which … word] *TSS lineation; one line in F, F2, Langbaine, Q* 115 the] thy *TSS*

VITELLI

I came to seek you.

LAMORAL And unwillingly

You ne'er found me till now. Your pleasure, sir?

VITELLI

That which will please thee, friend. Thy vowed love to me
Shall now be put in action. Means is offered
To use thy good sword for me, that which still
Thou wear'st as if it were a part of thee.
Where is it?

LAMORAL 'Tis changed for one more fortunate.

Pray you enquire not how.

VITELLI Why, I ne'er thought

That there was music in't, but ascribed
The fortune of it to the arm.

LAMORAL Which is

Grown weaker, too. I am not, in a word,
Worthy your friendship. I am one new vanquished,
Yet shame to tell by whom.

VITELLI But I'll tell thee

'Gainst whom thou art to fight, and there redeem
Thy honour lost, if there be any such.
The King, by my long suit, at length is pleased
That Álvarez and myself, with either's second,
Shall end the difference between our houses,
Which he accepts of. I make choice of thee,
And where you speak of a disgrace, the means

5.2 Location: Weber, Darley, and Dyce indicate *Another street*.
1 **Madonna** see 3.2.80 n.
3 The line is an iambic hexameter.
4 **willed** with full semantic value, wished; cf. 1.1.128 n.
wait to await
7-9 **It … matter** Bobadilla comments again on his unbecoming face; cf. 2.2.75 and 96.
7 **may be** may be that

5.2] *(Scæna secunda.)* 1 an't] *F2;* and't *F* 2 same, Lady] same Lady *Langbaine, Q, TSS*

To blot it out, by such a public trial
Of thy approvèd valour, will revive
Thy ancient courage. If you embrace it, do;
If not, I'll seek some other.

LAMORAL As I am
You may command me.

VITELLI Spoke like that true friend
That loves not only for his private end.

Exeunt.

5.2

Enter GENEVORA *with a letter, and* BOBADILLA.

GENEVORA
This from Madonna Clara?

BOBADILLA Yes, an't please you.

GENEVORA
Álvarez' daughter?

BOBADILLA The same, lady.

GENEVORA She,
That saved my brother's life?

BOBADILLA You are still in the right;
She willed me wait your walking forth. And knowing
How necessary a discreet wise man
Was in a business of such weight, she pleased
To think on me. It may be in my face
Your ladyship, not acquainted with my wisdom,

9 **What … am** echoing Exodus 3:14: ‘And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM.’ The expression is, therefore, slightly blasphemous.

10 **strange—** The comma in F may indicate that Bobadilla interrupts her (hence the long dash introduced in TSS).

18 **give her out** publicly proclaim; for Clara’s public reputation in Seville, see 3.3.83.

19-24 **yet …courtesy** Though it is unclear, Lucio probably does not overhear her words; if so, she does not actually speak to him until line 50 after a long succession of asides. The precise point at which he enters (which most editors delay two lines from the F position) is also uncertain.

24-49 **Gracious … creature** Lucio’s four speeches are in fact a long, elaborate piece of rhetoric, only interrupted by Genevora’s brief asides, that perhaps is meant to give the impression that it has been carefully scripted to impress the lady.

25 **The sorrow paid** having paid the sorrow

27 **despair not** do not despair from achieving

10 strange—] *TSS, Colman, Weber, Dyce;* strange, *F, F2, GWW;* strange. *Langbaine, Mitchell*
12 SD] *this edn* 21 SD] *this edn* 24 SD] *TSS* 28 SD] *Dyce*

Finds no such matter. What I am, I am;
Thought's free, and think you what you please.

GENEVORA 'Tis strange—

BOBADILLA
That I should be wise, madam?

GENEVORA No, thou art so.
There's for thy pains. [*Gives him money.*] And prithee tell thy lady
I will not fail to meet her. I'll receive
Thy thanks and duty in thy present absence.
Farewell, farewell; I say now thou art wise. *Exit Bobadilla.*
She writes here she hath something to impart
That may concern my brother's life. I know not
But general fame does give her out so worthy
That I dare not suspect her, yet wish Lucio *Enter* LUCIO.
Were master of her mind. But fie upon't;
Why do I think on him? [*Notices Lucio.*]
See, I am punished for it
In his unlooked-for presence. Now I must
Endure another tedious piece of courtship
Would make one forswear courtesy.

LUCIO Gracious madam, [*Kneels.*]
The sorrow paid for your just anger towards me
Arising from my weakness, I presume
To press into your presence and despair not
An easy pardon.

GENEVORA [*aside*] He speaks sense. O, strange.

29-35 **And … it** As Genevora immediately states, this is the language of courtly love: artificious, embellished, and convoluted. What Genevora had commanded was, of course, the recovery of the glove (4.4.50-52); Lucio, like an errand knight, offers to suffer any penance that his lady may request him to undergo.

36 **contemned** treated with contempt, despised

39 SD Presumably Lucio keeps the glove and offers Lamoral's hat and sword as proof of having vanquished him.

42-43 **For … yours** Lucio recovers the religious sentiments expressed in 4.4.32-33.

42 **that** Genevora's glove

45-49 **All … creature** The complicated syntax reaches its climax in this speech with a succession of subordinate clauses and embedded parenthetical phrases. The first sentence can be paraphrased as 'Everything that is good in me was created by that heavenly love which makes men worthy'; the second one can be approximated as 'Cherish that love as your own creation, because it was prompted by your beauty'. This Platonic genealogy identifies Genevora with the ideal on which was modelled the heavenly love that is, in its stead, the source of all goodness in Lucio.

50 **dissemble** conceal my feelings

29 desire] desires *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 34 with] *F2;* wirh *F* 32 infringe] *F2,* iufringe *F;* 35 SD] *Dyce* 38 what] that *Langbaine, Q* 39 SD] *this edn* 44 SD] *Dyce* 45 heavenly] havenly *F2* 49 SD] *Weber* 50 SD] *this edn*

LUCIO

And yet believe that no desire of mine,
Though all are too strong in me, had the power
For their delight to force me to infringe
What you commanded, it being in your part
To lessen your great rigour when you please,
And mine to suffer with an humble patience
What you'll impose upon it.

GENEVORA [*aside*] Courtly too.

LUCIO

Yet hath the poor and contemned Lucio, madam—
Made able only by his hope to serve you—
Recovered what with violence, not justice,
Was taken from him, and here at your feet [*He lays Lamoral's*
With these he could have laid the conquered head *sword and hat*
Of Lamoral—'tis all I say of him— *at her feet.*]
For rudely touching that, which as a relic
I ever would have worshipped, since 'twas yours.

GENEVORA [*aside*]

Valiant, and everything a lady could
Wish in her servant.

LUCIO All that's good in me,
That heavenly love (the opposite to base lust)
Which would have all men worthy, hath created;
Which, being by your beams of beauty formed,
Cherish as your own creature.

GENEVORA [*aside*] I am gone
Too far now to dissemble. [*aloud*] Rise, or sure

51 SD There are two possibilities to stage this moment: either she raises him at this point, or she kneels in front of him here, imposing the need for both actors to stand up later at an unspecifiable moment. The first seems the most likely possibility.

53 **if … more** Genevora's intention to remain a virgin until her marriage, as demanded by chastity, contrasts with Vitelli's calculation in 4.2.203-4: he just assumes that it is not 'safe (…) to ask the rest now', as it will probably be denied, but not that it is improper. However, Genevora shares this determination with Clara, whose newly accepted gender identity, responding to social expectations around her sex and her rank, would preclude premarital intercourse.

54 **sad** serious; perhaps she is crying as well.

55 **by … swear** This oath, also censored in F, was tentatively reconstructed by Colman as 'by Heav'n'. In order to complete the pentameter the missing phrase would need to encompass four syllables; Dyce's suggestion makes sense. (See Appendix 6.)

56 **my nerves** my sinews (*OED n.*^{2}), the maximum compass of my strength (*OED sinew n.* 3)

57 **I … man** 'I would be able to accomplish as much as any man'

65-66 **Till … ended** From the street brawl on the previous night, Lucio is aware that Lamoral and Anastro are members of Vitelli's faction, and he assumes Genevora is close to them; but he does not know that she is Vitelli's sister. The lack of agreement between subject (*difference*) and verb (*are*) is not uncommon in this play (see 5.1.103 n.).

68-69 **remember … sister** She mentions this fact, seemingly unknown to Lucio, in passing, and leaves the stage before he has registered her comment; however, he is fully aware of it by 5.3.125.

71 This line has been the subject of editorial controversy. Sympson annotated it as '*i.e.* To have the Means to compass his desire', which Colman, in a note reproduced as well in Weber, judged to be mistaken: 'The meaning is, "All who feel the pleasure of love, would wish always to have the means of loving."' However, Dyce included both notes and added that 'I incline to believe that Sympson's explanation is the right one'. Alternatively, *ask* could mean (a) to demand by right (*OED* 19a); or (b) to call for, to require (*OED* 23); in either case, perhaps a better paraphrase would be 'Whoever feels the effects of love would always demand (by right) to have the means to realise their desire'.

51 SD] *this edn* 55 by my soul, I swear] *Dyce;* by Heav'n *Colman, Weber, Darley;* by —— *F and all other eds* 61 loose] loose *F2* 71 SD] *this edn*

I must kneel with you too. Let this one kiss [*She raises and*
Speak the rest for me. 'Tis too much I do, *kisses him.*]
And yet, if chastity would, I could wish more.

LUCIO

In overjoying me you are grown sad;
What is it, madam? By my soul, I swear
There's nothing that's within my nerves—and yet,
Favoured by you, I should as much as man—
But when you please, now or on all occasions
You can think of hereafter, but you may
Dispose of at your pleasure.

GENEVORA If you break
That oath again, you lose me. Yet so well
I love you, I shall never put you to't;
And yet forget it not. Rest satisfied
With that you have received now. There are eyes
May be upon us; till the difference
Between our friends are ended, I would not
Be seen so private with you.

LUCIO I obey you.

GENEVORA

But let me hear oft from you, and remember
I am Vitelli's sister.

LUCIO What's that, madam?

GENEVORA

Nay, nothing, fare you well. Who feels love's fire,
Would ever ask to have means to desire.

Exeunt [*severally*].

5.3 Location: The Castle of Santiago. Weber and Darley indicate *A court in the Castle of Santiago with a scaffolding in the background*; Dyce added *filled with spectators*.

1 **they** the combatants, i.e. Álvarez and Lucio on one side, Vitelli and Lamoral on the other

2 **people … assembled** presumably addressed to the audience in the theatre

3 **satisfaction** information that dispels all doubts (*OED* 6a) **what** as to what

4 **republic** from the Latin *respublica* ('public affairs', *Collins*); the State, the commonwealth (*OED* 1), rather than a country with no monarch

6-7 **Forasmuch … King** The proclamation takes up the legal jargon and the syntactic complexity of actual Jacobean proclamations. A typical printed proclamation would open with the words 'By the King', followed by a descriptive title, an opening summary of the antecedents of the situation, and concluded with a command and the characteristic 'God save the King'. However, Jacobean proclamations were phrased as the King's own words in the first person plural, while in this instance it reports the King's command through an official voice (also in the first person plural).

6 **Philip** See 1.1.21 n.

7 **Catholic … Spain** *Catholic* was the traditional title of the Kings and Queens of Spain (*OED catholic* 7c); the title of Catholic Monarchs was granted by Pope Alexander VI in 1494 to Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon.

10 **houses … subjects** Perhaps reminiscent of the first line of *Romeo and Juliet*: 'Two households, both alike in dignity' (Prologue.1)

11 **Ferdinando** the Italian form of the name, perhaps perceived as a fuller and more formal version of the correct Spanish *Fernando*, the name given by Pacheco in 2.1.111

14 **public civil government** the state and its control of the civil institutions, but also, in this context, the preservation of public order

15 **seditiously** The offence to the crown is such as to constitute an act of sedition, probably understood as a 'violent party strife' (*OED* 1), but also hinting at a rebellion against the state (*OED* 2a and 2b). **molested** disturbed, vexed

17 **blood** offspring, descendants in the family tree

20 **commonwealth** see 2.1.84 n.

22 **order and ordain** determine and command

5.3] *(Scæna tertia.)* 5 SD] *this edn* 8 uncurable] *(*honorable*) F2, Langbaine, Q* 9 honourably] uncurable *F2, Langbaine, Q* 11 Ferdinando] Fernando *Dyce* 20 farther] further *Colman* 21 a] *om. Langbaine, Q* 22 be] by *F2*

5.3

Enter [*the*] ASISTENTE, SAYAVEDRA, ANASTRO, [*a*] HERALD, [and] *attendants.*

ASISTENTE

Are they come in?

HERALD Yes.

ASISTENTE Read the proclamation,
That all the people here assembled may
Have satisfaction what the King's dear love,
In care of the republic, hath ordained.
Attend with silence. [*to the Herald*] Read aloud.

HERALD *reads*

'Forasmuch as our high and mighty master, Philip, the potent and most Catholic King of Spain, hath not only in his own royal person been long and often solicited and grieved with the deadly and uncurable hatred, sprung up betwixt the two ancient and most honourably descended houses of these his two dearly and equally beloved subjects, Don Ferdinando de Álvarez and Don Pedro de Vitelli—all which in vain His Majesty hath often endeavoured to reconcile and qualify—but that also through the debates, quarrels, and outrages daily arising, falling, and flowing from these great heads, his public civil government is seditiously and barbarously molested and wounded, and many of his chief gentry—no less tender to His Royal Majesty than the very branches of his own sacred blood—spoiled, lost, and submerged in the impious inundation and torrent of their still-growing malice; it hath therefore pleased His Sacred Majesty, out of his infinite affection to preserve his commonwealth and general peace from farther violation—as a sweet and heartily loving father of his people—and on the earnest petitions of these arch-enemies, to order and ordain that they be ready,

23 **friend** his second; see 5.1.122 n.

24 **Castle of Santiago** The building is not in Seville, but in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, whose port is mentioned in 1.1.2 (see n.).

26 **granted duel** a duel for which the King has given especial permission (see section IV.3 of the Introduction) **this** this is

28 **God … King** The phrase was printed in F as ‘’Save the King’, in which the apostrophe stands for the censored word *God*. (See Appendix 6.)

29 **their** the combatants’

33 SD The text indicates that the two opposing factions come on stage through the two flanking doors at either side of the *frons scaenae*, presumably standing at opposite ends of the platform, establishing a striking visual image of the confrontation. The Asistente and his attendants, plus Sayavedra and Anastro—all of which are present to arbitrate in the ensuing duel—are probably meant to occupy the central part of the stage.

37 **Christianity** Christian values

39 **No** There is no **metropolis** Madrid, the capital of the Spanish Monarchy since the mid sixteenth century

40-41 **great / With** figuratively, pregnant with, full of (*OED* 5b); in this context, well acquainted with

46-47 **’Tis … heaven?** The metaphor is powerful: the soul sails through the sea to its salvation (the pun *heaven*/*haven*), but if the waters are bloodied by homicide, then only repentance and confession (a ‘hard task’) can clear them and grant safe passage. The image seems to be associated to a certain extent with the classical myth of the river Styx that separated the world of the living from the Underworld, and which the souls of the deceased had to traverse on Charon’s boat.

24 Santiago] St. Jago *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Dyce, Mitchell;* Saint Jago *Darley; St.* Iago *GWW* 28 God save] *this edn;* ’Save *F, F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, GWW, Mitchell;* Save *Weber, Darley, Dyce* 29 how] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q* 46 ’Tis] It is *Weber, Darley* thorough] through *F2, Langbaine, Q, Colman, Weber, Darley, Mitchell*

each with his well-chosen and beloved friend, armed at all points like gentlemen, in the Castle of Santiago on this present Monday morning betwixt eight and nine of the clock; where—before the combatants be allowed to commence this granted duel—this to be read aloud for the public satisfaction of His Majesty's well-beloved subjects.'

God save the King. *Drums within.*

SAYAVEDRA

Hark, how their drums speak their insatiate thirst
Of blood, and stop their ears 'gainst pious peace,
Who, gently whispering, implores their friendship!

ASISTENTE

Kings nor authority can master fate.
Admit 'em, then, and blood extinguish hate.

Enter severally ÁLVAREZ *and* LUCIO, VITELLI *and* LAMORAL.

SAYAVEDRA

Stay. Yet be pleased to think, and let not daring—
Wherein men nowadays exceed even beasts,
And think themselves not men else—so transport you
Beyond the bounds of Christianity.
Lord Álvarez, Vitelli, gentlemen,
No town in Spain, from our metropolis
Unto the rudest hovel, but is great
With your assurèd valours' daily proofs.
O, will you then for a superfluous fame,
A sound of honour—which in these times all
Like heretics profess, with obstinacy
But most erroneously—venture your souls?
'Tis a hard task thorough a sea of blood
To sail, and land at heaven!

48-70 **But … lordship** This exchange between the combatants, which verbalises the fight before it actually takes place, is in the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon *bēot*, the boastful threats pronounced by a hero before a battle.

48 **justice** Perhaps personified as the pilot of the ship/soul of the preceding metaphor; cf. Vitelli's invocation to Astrea in 1.1.115 (see n.)

49-50 **if … reconcile** 'if our differences could have been reconciled either by time or by love'

51 **vein** (a) course of action (*OED* 13a); (b) temporary state of mind (*OED* 14b)

53 **blood reciprocal** blood shed in return for Vitelli's uncle's

55 **And … so** 'And I love thee in such way that I will kill thee for it'

57 **story** Perhaps punning on building a *storey* in an unusual architectural metaphor: Vitelli's arm, causing Álvarez's death, will thus construct a new level of a metaphorical building (perhaps on top of the previous section, corresponding to his uncle's murder).

61 **favoured him** gifted him with as a favour or token (*OED favour v.* 2c); see 2.2.231

66-67 **'tis … hat** 'I will rejoin your head with you hat by cutting it off and presenting it to Genevora'

59 winter fire] *(*wintet fire*) F;* winter fire *GWW, Mitchell;* winters fire *F2; (*Winter's fire*) Langbaine, Q, TSS;* winter-fire *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce*

VITELLI I hope not
If justice be my pilot. But, my lord,
You know if argument, or time, or love,
Could reconcile, long since we had shook hands;
I dare protest your breath cools not a vein
In any one of us, but blows the fire
Which nought but blood reciprocal can quench.

ÁLVAREZ
Vitelli, thou sayst bravely, and sayst right,
And I will kill thee for't, I love thee so.

VITELLI
Ha, ha, old man. Upon thy death I'll build
A story with this arm for thy old wife
To tell thy daughter Clara seven years hence,
As she sits weeping by a winter fire,
How such a time Vitelli slew her husband
With the same sword his daughter favoured him,
And lives, and wears it yet. Come, Lamoral,
Redeem thyself.

LAMORAL Lucio, Genevora
Shall on this sword receive thy bleeding heart
For my presented hat laid at her feet.

LUCIO
Thou talkst well, Lamoral, but 'tis thy head
That I will carry to her to thy hat.
Fie, father, I do cool too much.

ÁLVAREZ O boy,
Thy father's true son.

70 SD The drums, as before, may be heard within. However, since they were assumed earlier to be accompanying the combatants (line 29), the musicians might actually be visible; they may be in the gallery (yet leaving space for the four characters that will appear there next), or on the stage, perhaps entering with either party (though the space may be overcrowded).

71 **Spanish right** rightly Spanish, properly Spanish

73 **gutter** guttering along the edge of a roof (*OED* 2) **my puss** Eugenia

75 **on her knees** The three women kneel at unspecified points in this section; this prompts questions about visibility: presumably actors kneeling in the gallery above the stage, behind the railing, would be still perfectly visible. In the 2012 and 2013 productions, the women pleaded on the main stage between the opposing factions.

77 **emulous eyes** rivalrous gazes

78 **behind** inferior to

79 **sister** sister-in-law, i.e. Genevora; Clara and Genevora declare later that they regard themselves as Vitelli's and Lucio's wives 'wanting but ceremony' (see, respectively, lines 165-66 and 170).

70 SD] *Weber* 76 SD] *this edn* 79 SD] *this edn*

Beat, drums. And so good morrow to your lordship. [*Drums.*]

Enter above EUGENIA, CLARA, [*and*] GENEVORA.

SAYAVEDRA
Brave resolutions.

ANASTRO Brave, and Spanish right.

GENEVORA
Lucio.

CLARA Vitelli.

EUGENIA Álvarez.

ÁLVAREZ How the devil
Got these cats into th' gutter? My puss too?

EUGENIA
Hear us.

GENEVORA We must be heard.

CLARA We will be heard.
Vitelli, look: see Clara on her knees
Imploring thy compassion. [*aside*] Heaven, how sternly
They dart their emulous eyes, as if each scorned
To be behind the other in a look!
[*aloud*] Mother, death needs no sword here. O my sister—
Fate fain would have it so—persuade, entreat;
A lady's tears are silent orators,
Or should be so at least, to move beyond

83 **honiest-tonguèd rhetorician** the orator with the sweetest, most eloquent speech. The word *rhetorician* scans as four syllables. ⚔

88 **Custom** see 1.2.45 n.

91 **unweave** unravel, reveal

93 **perpetrate** performed (in a neutral sense; *OED* 1)

96 **Move you from** Make you overcome **gain** win; if Vitelli is victorious in the combat, he will lose Clara's love.

98-99 **brands … carbuncle** Don Pedro's death, while unavenged, is dishonourable to his family, and thus Vitelli's face must be reddened by shame. A carbuncle was a pustule on the face or nose associated with rosacea (*OED* 3b), a chronic skin disease that produced a persistent reddening of the face; Vitelli characterises it as contagious (*pestiferous*; *OED* 2b), but later medical knowledge revealed it was not. **I am** pronounced as monosyllabic, *I'm*

101 **exorations** entreaties; pronounced as five syllables

102 **this point** his sword's tip

105-6 **I'll … son** cf. King Richard to Queen Elizabeth on having killed her children in *Richard III*: 'But in your daughter's womb I bury them, / Where, in that nest of spicery, they will breed / Selves of themselves, to your recomfiture.' (4.4.354-56)

83 honiest-tonguèd rhetorician] *Colman (proposed in TSS), Weber, Darley, Dyce, GWW, Mitchell; (*honest tongu'd-Rethoritian*) F, F2, Langbaine, Q* 84 SD] *GWW* 96 should] *F2;* shoule *F* 102 on] in *F2, Langbaine, Q*

The honiest-tonguèd rhetorician.
[*to Vitelli*] Why will you fight? Why does an uncle's death,
Twenty year old, exceed your love to me
But twenty days, whose forced cause and fair manner
You could not understand, only have heard?
Custom, that wrought so cunningly on nature
In me that I forgot my sex, and knew not
Whether my body female were, or male,
You did unweave, and had the power to charm
A new creation in me, made me fear
To think on those deeds I did perpetrate.
How little power, though, you allow to me
That cannot with my sighs, my tears, my prayers,
Move you from your own loss, if you should gain.

VITELLI

I must forget you, Clara, till I have
Redeemed my uncle's blood, that brands my face
Like a pestiferous carbuncle. I am blind
To what you do, deaf to your cries, and marble
To all impulsive exorations.
When on this point I have perched thy father's soul,
I'll tender thee this bloody reeking hand
Drawn forth the bowels of that murderer.
If thou canst love me then, I'll marry thee,
And for thy father lost, get thee a son;
On no condition else.

ASISTENTE Most barbarous.

SAYAVEDRA

Savage.

110 **weaned** Bobadilla and Álvarez had called him *milksop* (2.2.57 and 4.3.32).
113 **desperate** despairing, unhopeful (of saving his life; *OED* 1a)
120 **wear a vein** An odd image (veins as external appendages rather than internal to the body), seemingly unattested in other printed English books of the period (as a *LiOn* search for the phrase reveals)
122 **Life's … dream** cf. *Macbeth*: 'Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player / That struts and frets his hour upon the stage, / And then is heard no more.' (5.5.23-25)
127 **thorough** Pronounced as one syllable, *through*, as Weber suggested with his emendation.
131 **cock** victor, vanquisher (*OED* 7a); akin to *cock of the game*, a dexterous fighter (*OED gamecock* 2)
133 **Hunch** a cough, as if something were sticking in his throat

109 more] *om. F2, Langbaine, Q* 127 thorough] through *Weber, Darley, Mitchell* 128 SD] *this edn* 133 Pox, I am] *Dyce;* by Heav'n I'm *Colman;* by Heav'n, I am *Weber, Darley;* —— I am *F and all other eds*

ANASTRO Irreligious.

GENEVORA O Lucio!
Be thou more merciful. Thou bear'st fewer years,
Art lately weaned from soft effeminacy,
A maiden's manners and a maiden's heart
Are neighbours still to thee. Be then more mild,
Proceed not to this combat; be'st thou desperate
Of thine own life? Yet, dearest, pity mine.
Thy valour's not thine own: I gave it thee,
These eyes begot it, this tongue bred it up,
This breast would lodge it. Do not use my gifts
To mine own ruin. I have made thee rich;
Be not so thankless to undo me for't.

LUCIO
Mistress, you know I do not wear a vein
I would not rip for you to do you service.
Life's but a word, a shadow, a melting dream,
Compared to essential and eternal honour.
Why would you have me value it beyond
Your brother? If I first cast down my sword
May all my body here be made one wound,
And yet my soul not find heaven thorough it.

ÁLVAREZ [*to Eugenia*]
You would be caterwauling too, but peace,
Go, get you home, and provide dinner for
Your son and me. We'll be exceeding merry.
O Lucio, I will have thee cock of all
The proud Vitellis that do live in Spain.
Fie, we shall take cold. Hunch. Pox, I am hoarse
Already.

134 **spleen** (a) courage, resolution (*OED* 5a); (b) passion, ill temper (*OED* 7a). In humoral theory the spleen was the seat of melancholy, rather than choler (the expected humour in an enraged fighter; see 3.2.23 n.).

135 cf. Beatrice on Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*: 'I would eat his heart in the market place.' (4.2.307-8) ⚔

142-43 **valour … infancy** Lucio's newly found courage is yet immature; cf. line 110.

144-45 **O … week** Cf. Salisbury in *Richard II*: 'O call back yesterday, bid time return.' (3.2.65); Frankford in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*: 'That it were possible / To undo things done, to call back yesterday.' (13.51-52)

149 **You have** pronounced as one syllable, *You've*

134 SD] *GWW* 135 now. / GENEVORA Vitelli, brother] *F2;* now: */ Gen. Lamorall* ; you have often sworne / You'ld be commanded by me. / *Gen. Vitelli*, Brother | *F* 143 SD] *this edn* 149 sworn] *Dyce, GWW, Mitchell;* swore *F and all other eds* [*see 135 t.n.*]

LAMORAL [*to Vitelli*] How your sister whets my spleen!
I could eat Lucio now.

GENEVORA Vitelli, brother,
Ev'n for your father's soul, your uncle's blood,
As you do love my life, but last and most
As you respect your own honour and fame,
Throw down your sword. He is most valiant
That herein yields first.

VITELLI Peace, you fool.

CLARA Why, Lucio,
Do thou begin; 'tis no disparagement.
He's elder and thy better, and thy valour
Is in his infancy.

GENEVORA [*to Vitelli*] Or pay it me,
To whom thou ow'st it. O, that constant time
Would but go back a week: then, Lucio,
Thou wouldst not dare to fight.

EUGENIA Lucio, thy mother,
Thy mother begs it: throw thy sword down first.

ÁLVAREZ
I'll throw his head down after, then.

GENEVORA Lamoral,
You've often sworn you'd be commanded by me.

LAMORAL
Never to this. Your spite and scorn, Genevora,

151 **Your … words** see line 135 n.
155 **dreadful** awe-inspiring (*OED* 2a)
159 **watch** wait expectantly for the occasion (*OED* 12b)
160-62 **Now … vow** As a challenge: 'After these reminders, let either brother dare to damn himself for perjury.'
163 **Pish, you tyrannise** There is no indication that Vitelli yields Clara's sword, and he thus breaks the promise he implicitly made in 2.2.227.
164 **did equivocate** made an ambiguous (and therefore invalid) promise (*OED* 3a); the term was politically loaded in the period in the wake of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, particularly for the trial of Henry Garnett (1555-1606), the English Jesuit who was a notorious defendant of the controversial Catholic doctrine of equivocation and was executed for high treason.

151 in] on *TSS, Colman* Your … words *om. GWW*

Has lost all power in me.

GENEVORA Your hearing for six words.

ASISTENTE, SAYAVEDRA, *and* ANASTRO Strange obstinacy!

ÁLVAREZ, VITELLI, LUCIO, *and* LAMORAL We'll stay no longer.

CLARA

Then by thy oath, Vitelli,
Thy dreadful oath thou wouldst return that sword
When I should ask it: give it to me now,
This instant I require it.

GENEVORA By thy vow,
As dreadful, Lucio, to obey my will
In any one thing I would watch to challenge,
I charge thee not to strike a stroke. Now he
Of our two brothers that loves perjury
Best, and dares first be damned, infringe his vow.

SAYAVEDRA

Excellent ladies.

VITELLI Pish, you tyrannise.

LUCIO

We did equivocate.

ÁLVAREZ On.

CLARA Then, Lucio,
So well I love my husband—for he is so,

166 **Wanting** Lacking
171 **gage** (a) stake, wager (*OED* 2a); (b) engage (*'gage*)
172 **men or stone** Stones are immovable, while men are subject to be emotionally moved.
176-82 The plan to carry out an assisted triple suicide is similar to Flamineo's plot in the final scene of *The White Devil*. Flamineo gives two pistols each to Vittoria and Zanche so that they can simultaneously shoot into each other's breasts and into his own. In the present case, the addition of a fourth agent, Bobadilla, is probably due to two practical considerations. On the one hand, since the women have tried to reason with the duellists first for a considerable space of time (over one hundred lines, 70-175), the weapons are not needed until this point as they would give away their intentions; Bobadilla is the obvious servant of Eugenia's household to be employed in carrying them on stage. On the other hand, as the suicide is to be performed in the above playing space, it would be ineffective to attempt it with only three actors: Flamineo, Vittoria, and Zanche are necessarily required to stand on stage forming a triangle, whereas this would be impractical to accommodate in a gallery; the division of the available personnel into two pairs—Genevora and Clara on one side, Eugenia and Bobadilla on the opposite—presents a flatter, and therefore more effective, stage picture. In any case, Eugenia needs an extra weapon to make sure that Bobadilla will do as he has been told, by threatening to stab him (a proven coward) if he fails to shoot.
181 **stick** stab

172 stone] *F;* stones *TSS* 175 SD] *this edn* 178 SD] *this edn* 181 Hold!] *(*—— hold:*) F;* By Heaven! Hold! *Weber, Darley*

Wanting but ceremony—that I pray
His vengeful sword may fall upon thy head
Successfully for falsehood to his sister.

GENEVORA

I likewise pray, Vitelli, Lucio's sword—
Who equally is my husband as thou hers—
May find thy false heart, that durst 'gage thy faith,
And durst not keep it.

ASISTENTE Are you men or stone?

ÁLVAREZ

Men, and we'll prove it with our swords.

EUGENIA

Your hearing, for six words, and we have done,
Sancho come forth—we'll fight our challenge too.

Enter BOBADILLA [*above*] *with two swords and a pistol.* [*He gives the swords to Clara and Genevora.*]

Now speak your resolutions.

GENEVORA These they are:
The first blow given betwixt you sheathes these swords
In one another's bosoms.

EUGENIA [*to Bobadilla*] And, rogue, look
You at that instant do discharge that pistol
Into my breast. If you start back or quake,
I'll stick you like a pig.

181 **Hold!** A long dash in F misled Weber to reconstruct a missing oath, but, as Dyce pointed out, ‘no addition is required either for the sense or the metre’.
184 **devilish** pronounced as two syllables, *dev’lish*
188 **our master Philip** the King of Spain (see line 6 n.)
189 **return … Indies** ‘the return of one of his Spanish fleets loaded with treasures from his colonies in the West Indies’
192 **false prophet** One whose prophecies prove to be mistaken; in Matthew 7:15 Jesus warns against false prophets.

182 we] we have *TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* 184 SD] *GWW* 189 SD] *Weber* 190 SD] *this edn* ye] *F2;* he *F*

ÁLVAREZ Hold! You are mad.

GENEVORA
This we said. And by our hope of bliss
This we will do. Speak your intents.

CLARA *and* GENEVORA Strike.

EUGENIA Shoot.

ÁLVAREZ, VITELLI, LUCIO, *and* LAMORAL
Hold, hold! All friends.

ASISTENTE Come down. [*Exeunt those above.*]

ÁLVAREZ These devilish women
Can make men friends and enemies when they list.

SAYAVEDRA
A gallant undertaking, and a happy,
Why, this is noble in you, and will be
A welcomer present to our master Philip
Than the return from his Indies.

Enter [*below*] CLARA, GENEVORA, EUGENIA, *and* BOBADILLA.

CLARA
Father, your blessing.

ÁLVAREZ [*to Vitelli*] Take her. If ye bring not
Betwixt you boys that will find out new worlds
And win ’em too, I’m a false prophet.

193-94 **Long … fate** ‘Destiny has blended two sundered bloodlines into a durable one.’

195 **I … regarded** In *1 Henry VI*, the Bishop of Winchester is left alone on stage: ‘Each hath his place and function to attend: / I am left out; for me nothing remains.’ (1.1.173-74)

196-98 **I … men** An extended sexual metaphor: ladies of short stature are said to be attracted to men who carry long weapons (i.e. men who have large penises).

198 **longest——** The long dash may indicate a humorously meaningful pause, suggestive of a missing word. If the sexual pun was censored, the missing word must have been the past participle of a verb qualifying men who are militarily well equipped (and metaphorically who possess large penises). Given the semantic context (‘I put the longest weapon in your sister’s hand’), the phrase ‘longest-weaponed’ seems the likeliest choice. However, it might have been perhaps ‘the longest-nosed men’: in *The Maiden’s Tragedy*, the Wife says: ‘must you / Give such bold freedom to your long-nosed fellow / That every room must take a taste of him?’ (4.1.77-79), which Wiggins annotates as ‘a long nose was considered a sign of a long penis’.

99-100 **pistol … bullets** Extended pun on the pistol and two bullets being Bobadilla’s penis and testicles; cf. Pistol in *2 Henry IV* threatens to shoot at Mistress Quickly using the same sexual pun: ‘I will discharge upon her, Sir John, with two bullets.’ (2.4.111-12)

202-3 **like … chain** Roman soldiers would commit suicide letting themselves fall on their own swords; Bobadilla supposes Roman stewards would follow a similar process using the distinctive badge of their office, (a-historically) their chain. (See also 2.2.108.)

206 **’Shalt** Thou shalt **Saint Jacques’ Day** 25 July; Saint James is the patron saint of Spain (see 1.2.6 n.)

207 **this** your existing chain

209 **atonement** reunion, reconciliation (at-one-ment)

211-15 **Well … repentance** Echoing Sir John Falstaff’s repeated intentions to amend his usual ways; e.g. ‘I must give over this life, and I will give it over.’ (*1 Henry IV*, 1.2.95)

215 Alternatively, without the comma: ‘For thus a melancholy gentleman doth [live] and ought to live.’

217 **Nay … me** cf. Justice Clement in the ending of *Every Man In his Humour*: ‘And now, to make our evening happiness more full, this night you shall be all my guests.’ (5.3.378-79) See 2.1.191-2 n.

218 **the Castle’s business** Presumably the Castle of Santiago is being used as a prison where the Alguazir and his associates are held.

192 SD] *this edn* 195-205 *Colman lines* regarded! / provided / put / hand, / lady; / men. / it: / pistol; / I, / into / not / too, / hung / been / Zancho, / Hum! / regarded, / rewarded. / 196 SD] *this edn* 198 longest——] *long dash om. Colman, Weber, Darley* 206-7 *Colman lines* peace! / day, / gilt. / 208-16 *Colman lines* due. / atonement; / would / meet; / more / forswear / then / a-whoring / tail; / ’em / forsworn / repentance: / doth / live. / 209 melancholy] me- *Q* 217 shall] stall *F2*

VITELLI [*to Lucio*] Brother,
There is a sister. Long divided streams
Mix now at length by fate.

BOBADILLA I am not regarded. I was the careful steward that provided these instruments of peace. [*to Vitelli*] I put the longest weapon in your sister's hand, my lord, because she was the shortest lady; for likely the shortest ladies love the longest—— men. And for mine own part, I could have discharged it: my pistol is no ordinary pistol, it has two ramming bullets; but, thought I, why should I shoot my two bullets into my old lady? If they had gone, I would not have stayed long after. I would ev'n have died too, bravely i' faith, like a Roman steward. Hung myself in mine own chain, and there had been a story of Bobadilla Spindola Sancho, for after ages to lament. Hum, I perceive I am not only not regarded, but also not rewarded.

ÁLVAREZ Prithee, peace. 'Shalt have a new chain next Saint Jaques' Day, or this new gilt.

BOBADILLA I am satisfied. Let virtue have her due. And yet I am melancholy upon this atonement. Pray heaven the state rue it not. I would my lord Vitelli's steward and I could meet; they should find it should cost 'em a little more to make us friends. Well, I will forswear wine and women for a year, and then I will be drunk tomorrow, and run a-whoring like a dog with a broken bottle at's tail; then will I repent next day, and forswear 'em again more vehemently; be forsworn next day again, and repent my repentance. For thus a melancholy gentleman doth, and ought to live.

ASISTENTE
Nay, you shall dine with me. And afterward
I'll with ye to the King. But first, I will
Dispatch the castle's business, that this day

220 SD At this point the stage is filled with the maximum number of actors required in the play: 19 speaking characters and a minimum of four supernumeraries.

221-44 The following section is reminiscent of the final scene of *Volpone* (5.12.106-51), in which the four *avocatori* pronounce their sentence on the fate of the various characters. They are taken off presumably guarded.

221 **ringleader** chief instigator of a criminal activity (*OED* 1)

226 Taken almost directly from the sentence pronounced on Mosca in *Volpone*: 'For which our sentence is, first thou be whipped; / Then live perpetual prisoner in our galleys.' (5.12.113-14) The Alguazir has served a term in the galleys already (see 2.1.141 and 164).

227 **restoring** Giving back stolen goods to their rightful owner is a typical condition for the absolution of the mortal sin of robbery. However, this is not exclusive of Catholicism, as Protestant doctrine would also dictate the restitution of property in such cases. However, since the play is set in Spain, the line is a reminder that the characters on stage are all Catholics. If the Alguazir is, in fact, a converted Jew (as 2.1.140 seems to imply), this line might be a reminder of the fact that he finds some Christian doctrines objectionable: confession and absolution are not contemplated in Jewish theology. The phrase is also reminiscent of Falstaff: 'O, I do not like that paying back; 'tis a double labour.' (*1 Henry IV*, 3.3.180-81)

231 **doomed** sentenced **Mendicants** Mendicant friars, devoted to acts of charity and subsisting exclusively on alms; cf. First Avocatore to Corbaccio in *Volpone*: 'We here possess / Thy son of all thy estate, and confine thee / To the Monastery of San' Spirito.' (5.12.129-31)

232 **for nothing** for no payment

236 **set up again** restart your business

237 **souls** Pacheco puns on the homophone *souls* and *soles*, as in 2.1.91.

238 **underlay** (1) give support to the souls (*OED* 1a); (2) provide shoes with a new or extra sole (*OED* 1c); (3) debase them, humble them (approximately *OED* 2a, 'to place [something] beneath')

223 restore] return *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS* 230 SD] *this edn* 231 cloister] cloisters *F2, Langbaine, Q, TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* Mendicants] Mend cants *Langbaine* 234 your] you *F2* 238 SD *Exeunt*] *(Exe.) F2; Enit | F* 239 SD] *this edn*

May be complete. Bring forth the malefactors.

Enter [*the*] ALGUAZIR, PACHECO, METALDI, MENDOZA, LAZARILLO, PIORATO, MALRODA, *and* [*the*] *guard.*

You, Alguazir, the ringleader of these
Poor fellows, are degraded from your office.
You must restore all stolen goods you received,
And watch a twelvemonth without any pay.
This, if you fail of, all your goods confiscate,
You are to be whipped, and sent into the galleys.

ALGUAZIR

I like all but restoring; that catholic doctrine
I do dislike. Learn, all ye officers,
By this to live uprightly—if you can. *Exit.*

ASISTENTE [*to Pacheco*]

You, cobbler, to translate your manners new,
Are doomed to th' cloister of the Mendicants
With this your brother botcher there, for nothing
To cobble and heel hose for the poor friars,
Till they allow your penance for sufficient,
And your amendment; then you shall be freed,
And may set up again.

PACHECO Mendoza, come.
Our souls have trod awry in all men's sight;
We'll underlay 'em till they go upright. *Exeunt Pacheco and Mendoza.*

ASISTENTE [*to Metaldi*]

Smith, in those shackles you for your hard heart
Must lie by th' heels a year.

243 **bits** bites, morsels (*OED bit* 1a) **blows** Malefactors convicted to row in the galleys would be regularly whipped; see 2.1.141 n.

244 The line is missing one syllable; the emendation in TSS sounds slightly forced. **want** lack **rows** punning on *roes*; the roe is the (edible) mass of eggs spawned by fish and shellfish and generally carried by the female in her ovaries. Instead of getting the meal he has been longing for, Lazarillo is sentenced to row in the galleys, a physical activity that was particularly demanding and that weaker individuals did not typically survive.

247 **married … whore** A comic inversion of a conventionally heinous fate. In *Cupid's Revenge*, the god of love causes the infatuation of Duke Leontius with a prostitute, Bacha, so that he quickly proposes marriage to her; the social grotesqueness of this situation is the basic dramatic conflict of the play. In *Measure for Measure*, Lucio is condemned to marry a whore; he exits declaring that 'Marrying a punk […] is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging' (5.1.521-22). As a newly-wed couple in a comedy, Piorato and Malroda may remain on stage for the remainder of the scene after line 251.

250-51 **An … promised** Perhaps it might be performed as an aside to Piorato. **what I promised** see 3.2.143 n.

254 **as … nowadays** Perhaps a reference to the Overbury scandal. (See 2.2.145 n. and section I.3 of the Introduction.)

255 **lo** Dyce based his emendation of F's *to* on Heath. Sympson proposed emending for *tho'*, while Mason is quoted in Weber defending *So* as being 'nearer to the ancient reading than that of Sympson'.

256 **custom** see 1.2.45 n.

241 SD] *this edn* 244 though] *(*tho' I*) TSS, Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce* SD] *Weber* 245 SD] *this edn* Señor] *(*Signior*)* 250 an] *Colman, Weber, Darley, Dyce;* and *F, F2, Langbaibe, Q, TSS, GWW, Mitchell* 252 Here] Hear *F2* 255 lo, nature] *Dyce, GWW, Mitchell; Nature,* tho' *Colman (proposed in TSS);* So Nature *Weber, Darley;* to nature *F, F2, Langbaine, Q*

METALDI I have shod your horse, my lord. *Exit*.

ASISTENTE

Away. [*to Lazarillo*] For you, my hungry white-loafed face,
You must to th' galleys, where you shall be sure
To have no more bits than you shall have blows.

LAZARILLO

Well, though herrings want, I shall have rows. [*Exit.*]

ASISTENTE [*to Piorato*]

Señor, you have prevented us, and punished
Yourself severelier than we would have done:
You have married a whore; may she prove honest.

PIORATO

'Tis better, my lord, than to marry an honest woman
That may prove a whore.

VITELLI

'Tis a handsome wench, an thou canst keep her tame.
I'll send you what I promised.

PIORATO Joy to your lordships.

ÁLVAREZ

Here may all ladies learn to make of foes
The perfect'st friends, and not the perfect'st foes
Of dearest friends, as some do nowadays.

VITELLI

Behold the power of love: to nature lost
By custom irrecoverably, past the hope

260 **success** ending

Epilogue

2 **dullness** hardness that prevents love's proverbial arrows from penetrating the heart
3 **apt** disposed **wanted** lacked
5 **odd** irregular (*OED* 8a)
8 **Are liked with** Have enjoyed **smooth** free of irregularities, well-crafted **he … ends** 'he will have achieved his target'

0 SD] *this edn* 1 author] *F2; Auhor* | *F* rebel] Rebels *Beaumont* 8 SD] *this edn*

Of friends restoring, love hath here retrieved
To her own habit, made her blush to see
Her so long monstrous metamorphoses.
May strange affairs never have worse success.

Exeunt.

[*Enter Speaker of the* EPILOGUE.]

EPILOGUE

Our author fears there are some rebel hearts,
Whose dullness doth oppose love's piercing darts;
Such will be apt to say there wanted wit,
The language low, very few scenes are writ
With spirit and life; such odd things as these
He cares not for, nor ever means to please;
For if yourselves, a mistress, or love's friends,
Are liked with this smooth play he hath his ends.

[*Exit.*]

FINIS.

Prologue

0 **reviving** revival

3 **Phidias or Apelles** respectively, celebrated and proverbial sculptor and painter of classical antiquity

4 **sympathy** affinity

7 **mind's art** the product of artistic creation **this pre-eminence** this privilege, i.e. survive in time

9 **this dear piece** i.e. the present play

10 **fancies** invention, wit **teemed** gave birth, engendered

11-12 **When … worth** 'When even the lesser of their works attested the greatness of the authors'

13 **desert** merit

14 **bays** bay leaves in a laurel wreath crowning poetic achievement

15 **is worthy Phoebus** is as valuable as the sun

16 The imagery is confusing: from sculptures and paintings, through a metaphor of human generation (works as the artists' children), the poem finally presents images of vegetation and material value that are not totally coherent with the previous lines.

19 **The … right** 'The more you appreciate them (by reading or, perhaps, performing them), the more justice you do them.'

1 price] praise *Beaumont* 4 painters] Picture Painters *Beaumont* 14 bays] Boyes *F2*

A PROLOGUE

At the reviving of this play

Statues and pictures challenge price and fame
If they can justly boast and prove they came
From Phidias or Apelles. None deny
Poets and painters hold a sympathy,
Yet their works may decay and lose their grace,
Receiving blemish in their limbs or face.
When the mind's art has this pre-eminence,
She still retaineth her first excellence.
Then why should not this dear piece be esteemed
Child to the richest fancies that e'er teemed,
When not their meanest offspring that came forth
But bore the image of their fathers' worth?
Beaumont's and Fletcher's, whose desert outweighs
The best applause, and their least sprig of bays
Is worthy Phoebus; and who comes to gather
Their fruits of wit, he shall not rob the treasure.
Nor can you ever surfeit of the plenty,
Nor can you call them rare though they be dainty.
The more you take, the more you do them right,
And we will thank you for your own delight.

LONGER NOTES

1.1.74 **petronel** The petronel seems to have been an unusual prop weapon on the Renaissance stage, as it only appears twice in the whole corpus of plays and entertainments: here, and in James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634). Sir Petronel Flash is a character in Jonson and Marston's *Eastward Ho!* (1605), and he is referred to in Marston's *Histriomastix* (1602) and in Middleton's *The Family of Love* (1607).

1.1.128 **will** The punctuation of this passage ('To … me', lines 127-29) has been traditionally disputed. F, F2, Langbaine, and Q are extraordinarily ambiguous. Seward and Sympson chose to break the sentence after *assistance*, interpreting that *will* does not function here as an auxiliary; they added that 'Had the Editors of any one of the Copies understood this Passage, they would have taken better care in the Punctuation'. However, Colman interpreted that the noun phrase 'your friendship, / And oaths!' functions as an independent emphatic expression, while the rest is a question ('Will your Assistance let your deeds / Make answer to me?'); of Seward and Sympson's emendation he says that 'We think they have quite mistaken the passage, and hope we have been more successful in presenting the meaning of the Poet'. While Weber and Darley reproduced Colman's reading, Dyce adopted Seward and Sympson's punctuation, commenting favourably on it and pointing out that *will* is also used in this way in 1.2.94. Williams and Mitchell followed this judgement.

1.2.2 **blue** The first record in the *OED* is from *The Night Raven* (1620) by Samuel Rowlands; the quotation there also refers to a garment spoilt when being starched with 'too much blue'. In Jacobean England blue was a colour normally worn by servants (see 2.1.148-49 n.); Lucio may be protesting that it debases his social status.

1.2.28 **holp** Dyce assigns the emendation of *hope* (F, F2) for *holp* to TSS, in which Sympson comments: 'The Absurdity of this Lection [in F and F2] any Reader will easily perceive.' However, it was already corrected in Q; this reading is logical, since Bobadilla picks up on the word in his reply (line 32). Mitchell's reading (*helped*) is illegitimate, as it was justified by an erroneous textual note ('"*helped":* F1-2 "*helfe*"').

1.2.58 **yet** The *OED* provides an example in Fletcher and Massinger's *A Very Woman* (1623): 'I am glad you have found your tongue yet.' (3.5.144) This scene is also by Fletcher,[1] so it seems a particularly Fletcherian use. Sympson, however, suggested that 'yet' has 'nothing to do with *Bobadilla*'s Speech, but is undoubtedly the first Word of *Eugenia*'s', implying a compositorial misreading of y^t in the MS as *yet*, rather than *that*; this would render it as follows:

> BOBADILLA 'Tis well, he has forgot how I frighted him.
>
> EUGENIA
>
> That thou shalt. But first kneel with me, Lucio,

1.2.60 **Posthumia** According to Livy, Postumia (in its classical Latin spelling) was a vestal virgin that was unjustly tried 'for incontinencie and incest […] by reason that she was suspected for her apparell and going more light & garish in her attire.'[2] This association with a character legally

[1] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (II)', p. 154.
[2] Livy, *The Romane historie vvritten by T. Livius of Padua* (London: Printed by Adam

challenged for wearing inappropriate clothes connects the name with Lucio's dressing habits, and is preferable to the F reading, *Posthumina*, which seems to carry no ascertainable literary resonances.

1.2.88 **nightcap** The F reading, *gold night-Cap*, has caused some controversy: Sympson, though he did not emend the text, suggested that, even if he had heard of gold helmets and armour, he had 'never before this do I remember to have seen a *Gold Night-cap*' and that the 'true Reading here is, *A Gold Chain, and Night-cap*'; he based his conjecture on the meaning of Piorato's question to Bobadilla in 3.2.40, in which the swordsman asks the steward whether his chain is *right*, i.e. of pure gold. However, Weber did not see 'the absolute need for alteration. The gold night-cap may refer to the caps which are still to be seen [in 1812] in some old-fashioned houses, wrought with gold; and may have been appropriated to stewards as well as the chain, with which they were anciently adorned.' Dyce incorporated Sympson's emendation, and noted that chains made specifically from gold were worn by stewards in great families, as it 'appears from innumerable passages of our early writers'.

1.3.17-34 The main clause is a vocative repeated twice (17 and 28) followed by a gentle command, *entertain* (28); lines 18-28 are a long preamble. As the actor in the 2012 production demonstrated in performance, if the speech is re-punctuated with a full stop after 'Looks gently on thee', the sentence becomes syntactically anomalous, as it would lack a main clause, but is easier to speak. Clara interrupts the long utterance with an immediate expression of submission to paternal authority, and, arguably, to a military superior.

1.3.38 SD Weber must have interpreted that it was a music cue for the prompter to indicate to the musicians that they should get ready, rather than the place in the dialogue at which music is actually required. In this case, the relatively short delay (two lines) may have indicated that the musicians were to play within the tiring house, rather than climb the steps to the gallery, which may have taken longer than the allotted space, but this is speculation. In any case, the music is a strong underscoring of the meaningful moment of reunion of both halves of the family, and it may provide a striking effect when it is interrupted by the entrance of Vitelli's faction.

1.3.73-78 The sequence in F is as follows: the sound of clashing swords starts as Álvarez begins to speak, Eugenia's next speech is interrupted, and Álvarez inquires about a voice that has just been heard. The lines spoken by Sayavedra and Vitelli off stage are printed immediately after with no speech prefixes.

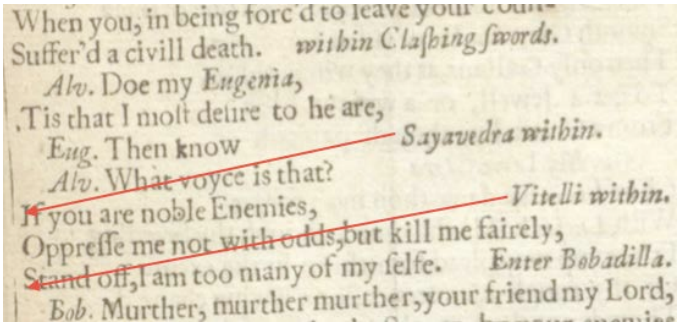


Fig. 16. F, sig. 5Q4^{v}

F2 interpreted that *voice* must have been a misprint for *noise*, referring to the clashing swords, and gave the first two unassigned lines to Sayavedra (75-76) and the third to Vitelli (78).

Islip, 1600), sig. P6^{v}.

However, it still printed the SDs *Sayavedra within* and *Vitelli within* in the margin. Williams rephrased the first as *Sayavedra* [*calls*] *within* and placed it after the SD about the noise of the swords, thus justifying the F reading *voice*. However, there could be a simpler explanation: the F placing of the two marginal SDs indicate the position of the two speeches that were printed after Álvarez's line, rendering a logical sequence: Eugenia is interrupted by Sayavedra shouting within, Álvarez asks whose voice it is, and then Vitelli replies. This has been the interpretation followed in the present edition, thus justifying the F reading *voice* and the F position of the SD about the clashing of swords. We can only speculate that the copy MS was confusing at this point, perhaps lacking enough available space on the page to clarify the sequence of events. However, the position of the SD about the noise of the swords is still a point of contention, and could be the cause of the interruption of Eugenia's line, as Dyce first suggested, thus justifying the F2 reading *noise*. The passage, following Dyce, would alternatively appear as follows:

EUGENIA Then know— *Within clashing swords.*

ÁLVAREZ What noise is that?

SAYAVEDRA (*within*) If you are noble enemies,
Oppress me not with odds, but kill me fairly.

VITELLI (*within*)
Stand off, I am too many of myself.

Williams (and Mitchell) chose to print Álvarez's line 'What voice is that?' (77) and Sayavedra's 'If you are noble enemies' (75) as one whole (twelve-syllable) line of verse.

1.3.89 SD At the end of 1.1 both swore to accompany Vitelli in his revenge against Álvarez. However, according to F only Anastro appears, and exits in the space of one line: Lamoral may be assumed to be off stage, or may be seen within about to come on, when Clara manages to overpower them. However, a stronger visual contrast may be established if Clara is shown fighting against the same number of opponents as Vitelli: while he is unable to defeat two older men, she can immediately beat two presumably younger fighters, including the duellist Lamoral. Even if he does not fully appear on stage, it seems reasonable to emend the SD to clarify this point of dramaturgical continuity. Of course, such incongruity would not be unusual in a play of this period, but the rest of the staging of *Love's Cure* seems to be coherent in this kind of detail.

1.3.91 **will I spare** It may have been an accidental omission when F was typeset: the compositor could have overlooked the capital *I* between the double *l* in *will* and the long *s* at the beginning of the next word, mistaking the number of consecutive ascenders required in the sequence 'will I ſpare'; in the typeface used in F, both letters look almost identical.

2.1.145 **royal a day** A Spanish silver *real de a ocho* was worth 5 English shillings (or 60 pence) in 1626.[3]

2.1.147 **Portuguese-born … Moors** On the one hand, he is accused of having Jewish ancestry, as many expelled Castilian and Aragonian Jews had emigrated to Portugal following their expulsion in 1492 (cf. line 140). On the other hand, of being descended from the Moors, or being a Morisco (a descendant of Spanish muslims who had converted to the Christian faith); the Moriscos were

[3] Sandra K. Fischer, *Econolingua: A Glossary of Coins and Economic Language in Renaissance Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), p. 115.

officially expelled from the various Spanish kingdoms in different stages between 1609 and 1614, so the issue was topical at the time. For an English audience it may have presented a double layer of prejudice: the Alguazir is not only Spanish, but also Portuguese and Moorish.

2.1.148 **errant tailor** cf. the proverb 'Nine tailors make a man' (Tilley, T23).

2.1.148-49 **red … jacket** In *Valentinian* the poet Paulus wants the wear blue to a state occasion, earning Lycippus' mockery for its inappropriateness.[4] Jews in Renaissance Venice were required to wear distinctive red hats to distinguish them from the Christians.[5]

2.1.172-73 **Gird … midnight** As Battle points out, 'the omission [of these lines in F2] might have been made because of the Biblical parody (see 1 Kings 20:32, Job 12:18, Proverbs 31:17)'.[6] Other obvious Biblical parodies in the text, however, were not censored (e.g. see 1.3.78 n.).

2.2.6 **put … Monday** It appears for the first time in the 4th edition of John Playford's *The Dancing Master* (1670) as 'Put on thy Smock a Munday. *A Round Dance for six*'.[7] In *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), Nicholas refers to it in 2.41. Bobadilla's sense is 'put on your skirt and go out dancing like a girl'.

3.1.3-4 **the … ale-physiognomy** The word *ale* seems to be semantically attached to the Alguazir's *physiognomy* rather than the preceding *sage*, and it seems advisable to adopt Weber's reading. The expression *grave and sage* is meant as an ironic comment on the Alguazir's 'face of wisdom'. Presumably the Alguazir has the reddened face of a drunkard, which coincides with his hair colour (see 2.1.170 and 3.1.58). The alternative form found in F2, 'sage-ale physiognomy', referring to a kind of beer flavoured with sage, destroys the collocation *grave and sage*.

3.1.23 **connived** Dyce based his emendation of the F reading on Heath, who, finding the reading of the folios to be 'stark nonsense', suggested that, if emended, the lines may be paraphrased as 'You are a delinquent, you are a poison, yet I have connived at all this'; he added that 'the correction is confirmed by the next line but one [line 27]' (Quoted in Dyce). The F reading *contrived* ('plotted or conspired with you') does not seem to agree with the rest of the Alguazir's argument: he has turned a blind eye on Malroda's dealings rather than actively planning them with her. The collocation in F of *connivd* near *connivency* in lines 27 and 28 suggests that the earlier occurrence of *contriv'd* in lines 23 and 24 may have been the result of a confusion during typesetting between *conniv'd* (the presumed MS reading) and *contriv'd* (the compositor's choice), with the second *-n-* confused with the diagraph *-tr-*.

3.1.58 **de'il** Weber emended for *devil*, adding that he supposed F's *Dill* was an abbreviated form of the word. Dyce left the text un-emended but suggested that it might have been a misprint for *drill*, 'a Baboon, or overgrown Ape'. Williams suggested that the meaning of *dill* as a girl or wench (*OED n.*[2]) is spurious, and that *devil* is the likeliest meaning. The noun *devil* applied to the Alguazir recurs later in this scene (lines 61 and 66). In their Arden 3rd Series edition of *Hamlet*, Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor modernised the Q2 reading *deale* for *de'il* in: 'The spirit that I have seen / May be a de'il, and the de'il hath power / T'assume a pleasing shape.' (2.2.533-35)

3.3.18-26 Malroda's first lines express a command ('Do as I told thee'), a formulaic salutation

[4] See Martin Wiggins's edition of *Valentinian*, 5.4.14 n.
[5] Graham Holderness, *Shakespeare and Venice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 45-46.
[6] Battle, '*Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid* by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher', p. 9.
[7] John Playford, *The Dancing Master* (London: Printed by W. Godbid, 1670), sig. I3v.

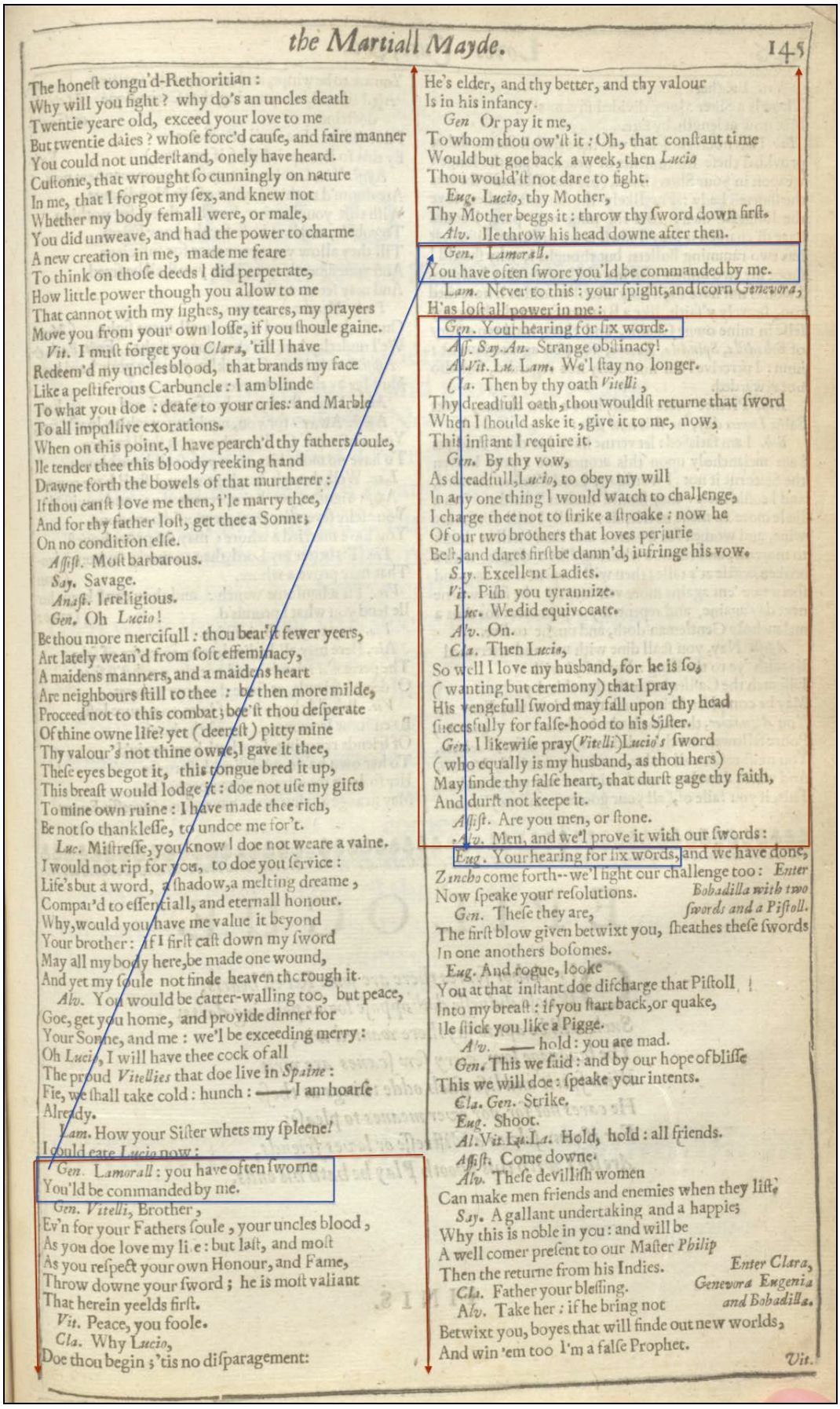
(‘’Bless thee, señor’), and a greeting to someone of higher social rank (‘O my dear lord’). The first addressee must be Piorato and the third, Vitelli. The identity of the second, however, is not straightforward to determine. I have opted for the interpretation I think most plausible: Malroda instructs Piorato to hide from Vitelli (the first command), then comes forward acknowledging the presence of the Alguazir, and then speaks to Vitelli. Williams interpreted that the Alguazir ‘*stands apart*’ before Malroda and Piorato’s entrance, being thus invisible to the two of them and therefore forcing that her second sentence is necessarily addressed to Piorato as a formula of dismissal. This alternative option would appear as follows:

> ALGUAZIR[*aside*] Now, luck. [*He stands apart.*]
>
> *Enter* MALRODA *and* PIORATO.
>
> MALRODA [*apart to Piorato*]
>
> ’Tis he. Do as I told thee. ’Bless thee, señor. [*Piorato stands apart.*]
>
> [*to Vitelli*] O my dear lord.

However, there seems to be little dramatic justification for the Alguazir to retreat or hide at the appearance of the courtesan and the swordsman, as both parties know of each other’s presence in the house.

5.3.83 **honiest-tonguèd rhetorician** Colman’s reading responded to Seward’s and Sympson’s proposed emendation. Seward spotted the obvious incongruity in F: ‘That there is no proper Antithesis between the *silent Oratory of a Lady’s Tears* and the *Honesty of a Rhetorician’s Tongue*, must be clear to any Reader of common Sense.’ He suggested that the antithesis would only be rendered if *honest* is substituted with *loudest*, ‘which is not far from the Trace of the Letters’. Sympson, however, proposed *honiest* as a less radical and more plausible reading, suggesting that ‘Our Poets who were admirers of the Classics, might possibly have had *Nestor* in their Eye, who is thus described by *Homer*: *Experienc’d* Nestor*, is Persuasion skill’d, / Words sweet as Honey, from his Lips distill’d. /* Mr. *Pope’s* Translation.’

5.3.135 The insertion at this point in F of a phrase that is repeated in lines 148-49 (‘Lamoral, / You’ve often sworn you’d be commanded by me.’) perhaps indicates a passage marked as a possible cut for performance in the promptbook; Weber was the first editor to note this: ‘Perhaps the intermediate speeches were omitted in the representation.’ The repetition of the phrase ‘Your hearing for six words’ (Genevora in line 151 and Eugenia in line 174) may also be an indicated cut; perhaps the first instance (Genevora’s) should be omitted, but as it is assigned later to a different character the publishers of F2 (and all subsequent editors) did not eliminate it, with the exception of Williams, who did. (See image on the next page.)



the Martiall Mayde. 145

The honeſt tongu'd-Rethoritian :
Why will you fight ? why do's an uncles death
Twentie yeare old, exceed your love to me
But twentie daies ? whoſe forc'd cauſe, and faire manner
You could not underſtand, onely have heard.
Cuſtome, that wrought ſo cunningly on nature
In me, that I forgot my ſex, and knew not
Whether my body femall were, or male,
You did unweave, and had the power to charme
A new creation in me, made me feare
To think on thoſe deeds I did perpetrate,
How little power though you allow to me
That cannot with my ſighes, my teares, my prayers
Move you from your own loſſe, if you ſhoule gaine.
Vit. I muſt forget you *Clara*, 'till I have
Redeem'd my uncles blood, that brands my face
Like a peſtiferous Carbuncle : I am blinde
To what you doe : deafe to your cries: and Marble
To all impulſive exorations.
When on this point, I have pearch'd thy fathers ſoule,
Ile tender thee this bloody reeking hand
Drawne forth the bowels of that murtherer :
If thou canſt love me then, i'le marry thee,
And for thy father loſt, get thee a Sonne;
On no condition elſe.
Aſſiſt. Moſt barbarous.
Say. Savage.
Anaſt. Irreligious.
Gen. Oh *Lucio* !
Be thou more merciſull : thou bear'ſt fewer yeers,
Art lately wean'd from ſoft effeminacy,
A maidens manners, and a maidens heart
Are neighbours ſtill to thee : be then more milde,
Proceed not to this combat ; bee'ſt thou deſperate
Of thine owne life? yet (deereſt) pitty mine
Thy valour's not thine owne, I gave it thee,
Theſe eyes begot it, this tongue bred it up,
This breaſt would lodge it : doe not uſe my gifts
To mine own ruine : I have made thee rich,
Be not ſo thankleſſe, to undoe me for't.
Luc. Miſtreſſe, you know I doe not weare a vaine.
I would not rip for you, to doe you ſervice :
Life's but a word, a ſhadow, a melting dreame,
Compar'd to eſſentiall, and eternall honour.
Why, would you have me value it beyond
Your brother : if I firſt caſt down my ſword
May all my body here, be made one wound,
And yet my ſoule not finde heaven through it.
Alv. You would be catter-walling too, but peace,
Goe, get you home, and provide dinner for
Your Sonne, and me : we'l be exceeding merry :
Oh *Lucio*, I will have thee cock of all
The proud *Vitellies* that doe live in *Spaine* :
Fie, we ſhall take cold : hunch : —— I am hoarſe
Already.
Lam. How your Siſter whets my ſpleene!
I could eate *Lucio* now :
Gen. *Lamorall* : you have often ſworne
You'ld be commanded by me.
Gen. *Vitelli*, Brother,
Ev'n for your Fathers ſoule, your uncles blood,
As you doe love my life : but laſt, and moſt
As you reſpect your own Honour, and Fame,
Throw downe your ſword ; he is moſt valiant
That herein yeelds firſt.
Vit. Peace, you foole.
Cla. Why *Lucio*,
Doe thou begin ; 'tis no diſparagement:
He's elder, and thy better, and thy valour
Is in his infancy.
Gen Or pay it me,
To whom thou ow'ſt it : Oh, that conſtant time
Would but goe back a week, then *Lucio*
Thou would'ſt not dare to fight.
Eug. *Lucio*, thy Mother,
Thy Mother beggs it : throw thy ſword down firſt.
Alv. Ile throw his head downe after then.
Gen. *Lamorall*.
You have often ſwore you'ld be commanded by me.
Lam. Never to this : your ſpight, and ſcorn *Genevora*,
H'as loſt all power in me :
Gen. Your hearing for ſix words.
Aſſ. Say. An. Strange obſtinacy!
Alv. Vit. Lu. Lam. We'l ſtay no longer.
Cla. Then by thy oath *Vitelli*,
Thy dreadfull oath, thou would'ſt returne that ſword
When I ſhould aske it, give it to me, now,
This inſtant I require it.
Gen. By thy vow,
As dreadfull, *Lucio*, to obey my will
In any one thing I would watch to challenge,
I charge thee not to ſtrike a ſtroake : now he
Of our two brothers that loves perjurie
Beſt, and dares firſt be damn'd, infringe his vow.
Say. Excellent Ladies.
Vit. Piſh you tyrannize.
Luc. We did equivocate.
Alv. On.
Cla. Then *Lucio*,
So well I love my husband, for he is ſo,
(wanting but ceremony) that I pray
His vengefull ſword may fall upon thy head
ſucceſsfully for falſe-hood to his Siſter.
Gen. I likewiſe pray (*Vitelli*) *Lucio's* ſword
(who equally is my husband, as thou hers)
May finde thy falſe heart, that durſt gage thy faith,
And durſt not keepe it.
Aſſiſt. Are you men, or ſtone.
Alv. Men, and we'l prove it with our ſwords :
Eug. Your hearing for ſix words, and we have done,
Zancho come forth -- we'l fight our challenge too : *Enter*
Now ſpeake your reſolutions. *Bobadilla with two*
Gen. Theſe they are, *ſwords and a Piſtoll.*
The firſt blow given betwixt you, ſheathes theſe ſwords
In one anothers boſomes.
Eug. And rogue, looke
You at that inſtant doe diſcharge that Piſtoll
Into my breaſt : if you ſtart back, or quake,
Ile ſtick you like a Pigge.
Alv. —— hold : you are mad.
Gen. This we ſaid : and by our hope of bliſſe
This we will doe : ſpeake your intents.
Cla. Gen. Strike.
Eug. Shoot.
Al. Vit. Lu. La. Hold, hold : all friends.
Aſſiſt. Come downe.
Alv. Theſe deviliſh women
Can make men friends and enemies when they liſt,
Say. A gallant undertaking and a happie;
Why this is noble in you : and will be
A well comer preſent to our Maſter *Philip*
Then the returne from his Indies. *Enter Clara,*
Cla. Father your bleſſing. *Genevora Eugenia*
Alv. Take her : if he bring not *and Bobadilla.*
Betwixt you, boyes that will finde out new worlds,
And win 'em too I'm a falſe Prophet.
Vit.

Fig. 17. F, sig. 5S5^{r}

Actor	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5
1	Vitelli		Vitelli	Vitelli	Vitelli			Vitelli		
2	Lamoral		Lamoral							
3	Anastro		[Anastro]							
4		Lucio	Lucio		Lucio				Lucio	
5		Bobadilla	Bobadilla		Bobadilla		Bobadilla		Bobadilla	
6+		Eugenia	Eugenia						Eugenia	
7*		Servant 1								
8*		Servant 2								
9*		Stephano								
10			Álvarez		Álvarez				Álvarez	
11+			Clara		Clara				Clara	
12			Sayavedra						Sayavedra	
13				Pacheco						Pacheco
14				Lazarillo						Lazarillo
15				Metaldi						Metaldi
16				Mendoza						Mendoza
17				Alguazir		Alguazir	Alguazir	Alguazir		Alguazir
18+						Malroda	Malroda	Malroda		
19							Piorato	Piorato	Piorato	
20+										
21										
22*										
23										

+ indicates a boy actor
* indicates non-speaking role
In total, 16 male roles, 4 female parts played by boy actors, and a minimum of four non-speaking supernumeraries.

Actor	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	5.1	5.2	5.3
1	Vitelli	Vitelli			Vitelli		Vitelli
2	Lamoral		Lamoral	Lamoral	Lamoral		Lamoral
3	Anastro		Anastro				Anastro
4			Lucio	Lucio	Lucio	Lucio	Lucio
5			Bobadilla			Bobadilla	Bobadilla
6+							Eugenia
7*	Page 1		Page 1				Attendant 1
8*	Page 2		Page 2				Attendant 2
9*			Watch 1				Guard 1
10			Álvarez				Álvarez
11+		Clara					Clara
12							Sayavedra
13		Pacheco	Pacheco				Pacheco
14		Lazarillo	Lazarillo				Lazarillo
15		Metaldi	Metaldi				Metaldi
16		Mendoza	Mendoza				Mendoza
17		Alguazir	Alguazir				Alguazir
18+		Malroda					Malroda
19		Piorato					Piorato
20+	Genevora		Genevora	Genevora		Genevora	Genevora
21			Asistente				Asistente
22*			Watch 2				Guard 2
23							Herald

In addition, the Speaker of the Epilogue could be played by any of the 23 actors.

APPENDIX 2. Props in *Love's Cure*

This list of props required by the text has been adapted and enlarged from Wiggins 1779.

Lighting:

two torches (3.4, F SD, '*2 Torches* / *ready.*', not required on stage until 4.1)[1]

two lights (4.1, 4.3, SD)

Weapons:

Vitelli's sword (1.1, implicit)

Bobadilla's sword (1.2, implicit; 1.3, 2.2, dialogue)

Álvarez's sword (1.3, implicit; 3.4, 5.3, dialogue)

Clara's sword (1.3, 2.2, 5.3, dialogue)

Pachieco's rapier (2.1, dialogue)

Lucio's sword (2.2, 3.4, 5.1, 5.3, dialogue)

Clara's petronel (2.2, dialogue)

Piorato's sword (3.4, 4.2, dialogue)

bills (3.5, dialogue)

Lamoral's sword (5.1, 5.3, dialogue)

A blade weapon (4.2, implicit)

two swords (5.3, SD)

a pistol (5.3, SD, could be actually Clara's petronel

Clothing:

a bluish ruff (1.2, dialogue)

Clara's feather and ring, and perhaps a ribbon and gloves (2.2, dialogue)

unspecified wearable 'trifles' (3.4, dialogue)

a cloak and hangers (4.3, dialogue, and therefore stolen in 4.2)

Genevora's glove (4.4, 5.2, implicit)

[1] See 3.4.76 n. and t.n., and section IV.1 of the Introduction.

Lamoral’s hat (5.2, dialogue, presumably worn before by Lamoral)

Money:

an unspecified sum (2.2, dialogue)

two sums of gold (3.4, dialogue)

an unspecified sum (4.2, implicit)

a purse of gold (4.2, dialogue)

an unspecified sum (5.2, implicit)

Small portable objects:

letters (possibly implicit in 1.2; also in 3.2, 3.4, dialogue)

a picture (3.3, dialogue)

a jewel (3.3, dialogue)

Clara’s black work (3.4, dialogue)

a diamond (4.2, dialogue)

a pearl (4.2, dialogue)

a letter (5.2, s.d.)

Bobadilla’s chain of office (1.2 and 2.2)

Clara’s black work (3.4, dialogue)

Large portable objects:

Chairs or cushions (perhaps in 1.2 and 3.4)

The Alguazir’s staff of office (2.1, 4.2, dialogue)

Bobadilla’s staff of office (2.2)

Álvarez’s staff of command (referred to in 2.2, perhaps on stage)

APPENDIX 3. Compositorial analysis and running titles in F

Williams included in his introduction a compositorial analysis based on the unpublished work of Standish Henning. It indicates that the text was composed seriatim, that is, following the order of the manuscript from beginning to end of each play, rather than typesetting by formes. The division of the shares of the three compositors is as follows:[2]

Compositor			
A:	Q4^{v}, R1^{r}, R1^{v}, R2^{r},		R4^{v}, S1^{r}, S1^{v},
B:		R2^{v}, R3^{r}, R3^{v}, R4^{r}	
C:	Q3^{r}, Q3^{v}, Q4^{r},		
A:		S5^{r}, S5^{v}, S6^{r}	
B:	S3^{v}, S4^{r}, S4^{v},		
C:	S2^{r}, S2^{v}, S3^{r},		

Running titles follow a regular pattern:[3]

Verso:	I	Q3^{v}, R4^{v}	Loves Cure, or	Two spaces after the comma.
		S5^{v}	Loves Cure, &c.	Three spaces after Loves.
	III	Q4^{v}, R1^{v}, S2^{v}, S4^{v}	Loves Cure,or	No space after the comma; the title is pied between quires Q and R, only Loves remaining as initially typeset.
	V	R2^{v}, R3^{v}, S1^{v}, S3^{v}	Loves Cure, or	One space after the comma.
Recto:	II	Q4^{r}, R4^{r}, S3^{r}, S5^{r}	the Martiall Mayde.	
	IV	R1^{r}, S1^{r}, S2^{r}	The Martiall Maid.	
	VI	R2^{r}, R3^{r}, S4^{r}	The Martiall Maid.	

[2] Adapted from GWW, p. 10; see that page for further information about the linguistic preferences of the three compositors.
[3] Adapted from GWW, p. 9.

APPENDIX 4. Collation of copies

As specified in the Note on the text, this edition has been prepared with two copies of the play at hand, the Bridgewater exemplar (Bdw) and the copy at the University of Toronto (Tnt). I have also collated six other copies—four at Harvard University and two in Birmingham—and have transcribed the results of the collation undertaken by Williams for his edition.

The 8 copies I have collated are:

> **Bdw** (Houghton Library, Harvard HEW 7.11.5; Bridgewater copy), **Hou^{1}** (Houghton Library, Harvard HOU 14421.3), **Hou^{2}** (Houghton Library, Harvard HOU F 59S-368), **Hou^{3}** (Houghton Library, Harvard HOU F 72-39), **Hou^{4}** (Houghton Library, Harvard HOU F 14421.3.2), **Bhm^{1}** (Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham Selbourne Coll q PR 2420-1647), **Bhm^{2}** (Birmingham Central Library AQ094/1647/6), **Tnt** (Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library, University of Toronto E-10 07451)

The 15 copies collated by Williams, 'Press-variants in F1 (1647)', pp. 97-98, were:

> **Bodl** (Bodleian Library B.1.8.Art.), **Camb^{1}** (Cambridge University Library Aston a.Sel.19), **Camb^{2}** (Cambridge University Library SSS.10.8), **CSmH** (Henry E. Huntington Library 112111), **DFo^{1}** (Folger Shakespeare Library copy^{1}), **DFo^{2}** (Folger Shakespeare Library copy^{2}), **NCD** (Duke University), NCU (University of North Carolina), **NN^{1}** (New York Public Library, Berg Collection/Beaumont Copy^{1}), **NN^{2}** (New York Public Library, Berg Collection/Beaumont Copy^{2}), **NN^{3}** (New York Public Library, Berg Collection/Beaumont Copy^{3}), **NN^{4}** (New York Public Library, *KC/1647/Beaumont (Astor Copy)), **NN^{5}** (New York Public Library, Arents Collection 232, Acc. 3583), **TxU** (University of Texas Ah/B 384/C647/copy^{2}), **ViU^{1}** (University of Virginia 217972), **ViU^{2}** (University of Virginia 570973).

PRESS VARIANTS

Quire Q *(outer sheet, inner forme)*

Corrected: the rest

Uncorrected: TxU

Sig. 5Q4^{r}

heading 127] 128

1.2.89 which] whtch 94 cooks] cooks,

1.3.68 *Alvarez*] *Alvarezi* 68 catchword, Accompt] Accomp

Quire R *(inner sheet, inner forme)*

Corrected: the rest

Uncorrected: CSmH, Hou[3]

Sig. 5R2[v]

2.2.171 Tis] Ti3

Quire R *(outer sheet, outer forme)*

Corrected: Bodl, Camb[2], CSmH, DFo[1], NCD, NCU, NN[1,2,4], TxU, Bdw, Bhm[2], Hou[1,2,4]

Uncorrected: Camb[1], DFo[2], NN[3,5], ViU[1,2], Tnt, Bhm[1], Hou[3]

Sig. 5R1[r]

2.1.91 soule-menders] soule-members

Quire S *(middle sheet, outer forme)*

Corrected: Bodl, Camb[2], DFo[1], NN[4,5], ViU[1], Tnt, Hou[1,3,4]

Uncorrected: Camb[1], CSmH, DFo[2], NCD, NCU, NN[1-3], TxU, ViU[2], Bdw, Bhm[1,2], Hou[2]

Sig. 5S2[r]

4.2.124 gallant,] gallant.

Quire S *(outer sheet, inner forme)*

Corrected: the rest

Uncorrected: ViU[2], Bhm[1]

Sig. 5S1[v]

4.2.56 SP *Vit.*] ∀*it.*

APPENDIX 5. Prologues and Epilogues in F

Many of the 34 plays contained in F are accompanied by a prologue and/or an epilogue printed at the end of the text of each play.

13 plays do not have a prologue or an epilogue:

> *Beggar's Bush* (II), *The Laws of Candy* (III), *The Island Princess* (III), *The Maid in the Mill* (IV), *The Prophetess* (IV), *The Tragedy of Bonduca* (IV), *The Sea Voyage* (V), *The Double Marriage* (V), *The Pilgrim* (V), *The Knight of Malta* (V), *The Honest Man's Fortune* (V), *The Queen of Corinth* (VI), and *Women Pleased* (VI).

Those with only a prologue are 2:

> *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (VII) and *Love's Pilgrimage* (VIII).

Those with only an epilogue are 3:

> *Wit at Several Weapons* (VI), *The Tragedy of Valentinian* (VII), and *Four Plays in One* (VIII).

Those with both epilogue and prologue are 15:

> *The Mad Lover* (I), *The Spanish Curate* (I), *The Little French Lawyer* (I), *The Noble Gentleman* (II), *The Captain* (II), *The Coxcomb* (II), *The False One* (II), *The Chances* (III), *The Loyal Subject* (III), *The Lovers' Progress* (III), *The Humorous Lieutenant* (III), *The Nice Valour* (III), *The Woman's Prize* (V), *Love's Cure** (V), and *A Wife for a Month* (VI).

In addition, *The Custom of the Country* (II) has two epilogues and two prologues.

* *Love's Cure* stands as the only play whose prologue appears on a new page after the epilogue and the *FINIS*.

APPENDIX 6. Censorship and expurgation in F

Before being printed in 1647, the text of the play was expurgated of oaths and expressions of profanity, which were substituted with long dashes. It also seems probable that certain instances of ribaldry were censored. Two difficulties emerge from this fact. On the one hand, any attempt to reconstruct the suppressed phrases can only be an act of creative informed speculation. Colman proposed the first reconstructions, while Weber (and Darley) followed his suggestions. Dyce also adopted most of them, though he proposed some independent solutions.[4] On the other hand, establishing at what point the expurgation was effected is not straightforward: plays in Griffin's section V show varying degrees of censorship, but the elimination of certain words—particularly oaths appealing to God in a Christian context, and wishing the plague or the pox on someone or something—was not consistent throughout the sequence. Section V contains *The Sea Voyage*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Woman's Prize*, *Love's Cure*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, and the poem 'Upon an Honest Mans Fortune / By Mr. John Fletcher.' (sig. 5X4^{v}) These texts, as the rest of those in F, had not been printed before, and only one of them is extant in an alternative contemporary version: the undated Lambarde MS of *The Woman's Prize*. The text of this play was re-licensed for performance by Sir Henry Herbert on 21 October 1633, 'purgd of oaths, prophaness, and ribaldrye'.[5] The F text reproduces the censored text, while the Lambarde MS contains the uncensored version, and it 'clearly descends from a copy-text that predates Herbert's censorship'.[6] These alterations may give us an idea of what is missing from *Love's Cure* if Sir Henry Herbert was indeed responsible for the expurgation that is noticeable in the extant F version. However, in the case of suppressed expressions censored with a long dash in F, we could argue that Herbert probably offered an alternative, non-offensive solution, as the actors could not be expected to verbalise a dash. In this case, the dashes may have been introduced at the printing house by the compositors, though we could ask why an already censored phrase was not printed. If Herbert just crossed out the objectionable expressions in the manuscript, indicating no alternative, then we have to wonder how the actors may have performed the text.

A complete list of the censored words and phrases in the Lambard MS is given in Meg Powers's edition for the Malone Society Reprints, Appendix B, pp. xxiv-xxv. According to this list, the expressions of ribaldry that Herbert objected to would not be detectable in F without an alternative text, as they were simply omitted in most cases, or were altered for tamer words. For example, the MS's *pispots* was substituted for *looking-glasses* (Bowers's edition, 4.2.2), while passages such as 'for then old woemen are coole cellars' were excised. Objectionable profanity was also altered in a similar way. Three passages were cut altogether, while other phrases were diluted: *Christian* for *certaine*

[4] See the historical collation in the textual notes.
[5] *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1673*, p. 20.
[6] John Fletcher, *The Woman's Prize* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), p. xviii.

(2.2.51), *this creed* for *these Articles* (2.6.158), or *religion* for *adventure* (4.5.167).

All these instances represent irrecoverable phrases in the absence of an alternative text, which is the case of *Love's Cure*. However, there are other expressions of profanity and oaths that are relevant to this discussion in which the censored phrase was substituted with the familiar long dash found in F. For example, the phrase 'O pox on't' in the MS changed to 'A ——' in F, while a number of expurgated oaths are immediately recognisable in *Love's Cure*. A single long dash, not preceded by any other word, could encode *Death* (as in *The Woman's Prize*, 1.3.278, implying *God's death* or frequently *'Sdeath*), or *troth* (4.5.183), or even *I vow* (1.3.290, 5.4.40). The expression 'by this hand' could substitute 'by this light' (i.e. 'God's light'; 4.5.60). And, most interestingly, the expurgated 'By ——' does not necessarily imply a missing word, but a phrase censored altogether: 'By ——' in 5.4.72 reads 'I sweare' in the Lambarde MS. These alterations are useful when trying to reconstruct some of the missing phrases in *Love's Cure*, assuming Herbert was also responsible for them. We also have to take into account that Herbert was not consistent: he censored five occurrences of *heaven* in *The Woman's Prize*, but 19 other instances are extant in F, while expressions such as 'by the faith I have' (Maria in 1.2.135) or 'by that faith I gave ye fore the Priest' (Petruchio in 2.6.153) were left untouched.

It is useful to examine the censored expressions in *Love's Cure* under four broad categories.

1) Single words missing indicated by one long dash.

***Zancho:* —** (Lucio in 3.4.94, sig. 5S1^{r})

— if you doe my lord *Vitelli* knowes it (Malroda in 4.2.18, sig. 5S1^{v})

— if you doe / I will cry out a rape (Malroda in 4.2.78, sig. 5S1^{v})

— I am hoarse / Already (Álvarez in 5.3.133, sig. 5S5^{r})

—— hold: (Álvarez in 5.3.181, sig. 5S5^{r})

In the first instance, 3.4.94, Dyce suggested that there is a missing word, and emended for *Pox*, though it could just be an interruption in the speech, and all other editors printed the dash or omitted it altogether.[7] The last example, 5.3.181, was emended by Weber for 'By Heaven! Hold!', which has not persuaded later editors. In this edition, the other three are one-syllable oaths have been emended for *pox* following Dyce. According to the Lambarde MS uncensored phrases, they could be *faith*, *troth*, or *death*, or even censored instances of *heav'n*. These alternatives are available for emendation in performance.

[7] For example, in the F text, Lucio interrupts Lamoral, who is saying 'to accept of —' (5.1.57, sig. 5S3^{v}).

2) —— on

There are the following instances:

> **a —— O' this filthie vardingale** (Clara in 2.2.61, sig. 5R2^{r})
>
> **the ——on your aphorismes** (Malroda in 3.1.3, sig. 5R3^{r})
>
> **— o' this stitching** (Clara in 3.4.53, sig. 5R4^{v})

In these cases, the word missing is clearly *pox* or *plague*, though the editorial consensus has been to emend for *pox*, and only in on one case, 3.4.53, Colman chose *plague*. In Griffin's section V, the word *pox* used as an oath appears three times in *The Knight of Malta*, once in *The Double Marriage* and six times in *The Pilgrim*, so its expurgation was probably not due to compositorial or printing-house prudishness, but pre-printing censorship. In any case, the word *plague*, generally more common than *pox* in Fletcher, appears as an oath twice in *The Knight of Malta* and four times in *The Pilgrim* (plus twice in *The Woman's Prize* but not as an oath).

3) By ——

This is the most complicated case, as the missing oath could have been a missing word or a substituted phrase such as 'I sweare' in the Lambarde MS. Based on this one instance, however, we cannot know if this was the usual practice, or whether there is in fact one word missing after *by*.

These are the cases:

> **come not on, by ——** (Clara in 1.3.142; sig. 5Q4^{v})
>
> **Ile have you search'd, by ——** (Álvarez in 2.2.145; sig. 5R2^{v})
>
> **By —— ile Pistoll thee** (Malroda in 3.3.92; sig. 5R4^{v})
>
> **by —— sir, / You shall endeere me ever** (Clara in 3.4.113-14; sig. 5S1^{r})
>
> **by ——, / There's nothing that's within my nerves** (Lucio in 5.2.56-56; sig. 5S4^{r})
>
> **'Save the King** (Herald, 5.3.28; sig. 5S4^{v})

In the last example the word missing is clearly *God*, as was printed in all Jacobean proclamations (see 5.3.28 n.); previous editors either printed the apostrophe or omitted it (see 5.3.28 t.n.). I have decided to use the Lambarde MS suggestion to reinforce Álvarez's line 'I'll have you searched' and Malroda's 'I'll pistol thee', while it clearly would not fit in 1.3.142. In that instance, and in 3.4.113-14, I have chosen to follow Colman's 'by Heaven', which is consistent with Herbert's practice on the text of *The Woman's Prize*. Other instances of 'by Heaven' are included in the Griffin section: in *The Sea Voyage*, *The Double Marriage*, *The Knight of Malta*, and *The Honest Man's Fortune*. It is used once in *Love's Cure*, though not as an oath (the Alguazir in 3.1.76-77: 'My free

will / Left me by heaven'). With respect to *Love's Cure*, there are no less than six instances of *heaven* used as an oath or invocation in the F text: Vitelli says 'I would to heaven' (2.1.124), and then simply 'would to heaven' (2.2.176); the Alguazir, 'O equal heaven' (3.1.68); Lucio, 'For heaven's sake' (4.3.22); Clara, simply invoking 'Heaven' (5.3.76); and Bobadilla, 'Pray heaven' (5.3.209). Herbert—if it was indeed him who censored the play—might have deleted some of them, but, as with *The Woman's Prize*, these numerous instances may have passed unnoticed or uncensored.

The alternative expression 'by God' does not seem advisable, as it seems to have been eradicated after the 1606 'Act to Restrain Abuses of Players'.[8] In *Amends for Ladies*, Ingen uses 'By Gad' (1.1, p. 10), but that is a phonetic euphemistic variety. However, by 1615 the censored phrases may have included a reference to God, as is attested by *Monsieur Thomas*, which includes four instances: 'God forgive thee' (1.3.), 'for God sake', 'O God', and 'Pray God', which may have well been considered blasphemous by the censor. These are alternatives that may be used in *Love's Cure* in performance.

In 3.4.113, in which no less than four syllables are missing, I have followed Dyce's 'by my soul, I swear', which is also consistent with the Lambard MS readings (which Dyce may have consulted).[9]

4) By this good —— / by this ——

A particularly interesting case is the censoring of the related phrases 'by this good ——' and 'by this —'. in 4.2.37. Vitelli is trying to sleep with Malroda that night, so Colman suggested that the missing word is not an oath, but an objectionable amorous proposition; they printed *kiss*. This seems too tame to have merited censorship, especially in a play containing a considerable number of quite direct sexual allusions. Dyce did not agree with Colman, and he suggested that the missing word is *light*, though he did so with some reluctance: 'I am by no means certain that the word which I have inserted is the true one.' (163) If the missing word is *light*, it would have been understood as an abbreviation of 'by God's light', a strong oath (sometimes euphemistically given in plays of the period as *'slight*). The expression 'by this light' is very common in plays of the Fletcher canon, including some chronologically close to *Love's Cure* such as *Wit without Money*,

[8] In chronological order, during the late Elizabethan and the Jacobean periods it appears in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1593), *1 Henry IV* (1597), and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597), Henry Porter's *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (1598), Munday's *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (1598), Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton's *Patient Grissil* (1600), Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1601), Marston's *The Malcontent* (1603), Heywood's *2 If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (1604), *The London Prodigal* (1604), Dekker and Webster's *Northward Ho!* (1605), Marston's *The Wonder of Women, or The Tragedy of Sophonisba* (1605), and Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter* (1606). There is only one later occurrence in Field's *A Woman is a Weather-cock* (1609), and then it does not seem to appear again in English drama up to 1650.

[9] Fletcher, *The Woman's Prize*, p. xiii.

Monsieur Thomas, *The Mad Lover*, and *The Woman's Prize*. The latter, together with *The Pilgrim*, which also contains the expression 'by this light', were printed by Griffin in section V, which again confirm that the expurgation probably did not take place in the printing house.

A search on *LiOn* reveals that, in the drama published in English up to 1650, the phrase 'by this good' was most commonly followed by the word *light*.[10] As the censored phrases in the Lambarde MS reveal, Herbert objected to 'by this light', and forced that it be changed for 'by this hand'. In *Love's Cure*, 4.2.37, and again assuming he was responsible for the censorship of *Love's Cure*, he did not offer a substitution, but marked it for deletion.

[10] In *Every Man In his Humour*, it appears as well as 'by this good heaven', 'by this good ground', and 'by this good day'; in *Every Man Out of his Humour*, 'by this good air'; in *The Alchemist*, 'by this good dark', 'by this good rush', and 'by this good day'; in *Bartholomew Fair*, 'by this good day' and 'by this good hand'; and in *Much Ado About Nothing* it is 'by this good day'.

APPENDIX 7. Piorato's song

The music for Piorato's song (3.2.118-25) was composed by John Wilson (1595–1674), lutenist, composer, and Professor of Music at the University of Oxford from 1656 to 1661. In early 1614 he took over from Robert Johnson as principal composer associated with the King's Men.[11] However, he could have been collaborating with the company as early as 1611.[12] He would continue this partnership for the following fifteen years or so, providing musical arrangements and original work, particularly songs, for their performances at the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses, and at court. Plays containing Wilson's surviving songs from this period include 'Richard Brome's *The Northern Lass*; John Fletcher's *The Beggar's Bush* [*sic*], *The Bloody Brother*, *The False one*, *Love's Cure*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *Valentinian*, *The Wild Goose Chase*, and *Women Pleas'd*; John Ford's *The Lovers' Melancholy*; and Thomas Middleton's *The Witch*'.[13]

The song was circulated independently in manuscript long before it was printed. The text of the song appears in several privately owned collections and miscellanies from the 1630s: it was transcribed at the end of a MS of John Donne's poems;[14] it survives (headed 'To his Love') in a *c.* 1634 miscellany compiled by or for Thomas Finch, 2nd Earl of Winchilsea (MSR); in a MS collection of poems now owned privately by the Stoughton family in Warwick; and, headed 'Upon his Mistress's Eyes', in another miscellany now at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[15] As a song accompanied by Wilson's musical setting it also features in several extant manuscripts: a mid-seventeenth-century part-book owned by a member of the Filmer family of Kent;[16] a *c.* 1650s set of manuscript songbooks compiled by Edward Lowe;[17] and a manuscript that John Wilson presented to the University of Oxford in 1656 (MSB).

I print below the *EEBO* facsimile of the song, as published by Wilson in *Cheerful Ayres* (Oxford: Printed by W. Hall for Richard Davis, 1659), sigs $T2^{v}$-$T3^{r}$. I also include a version in modern notation prepared by Germán Rodríguez Balaguer with my modernised text. The song seems to have been recorded only twice: in its original version for vocal soloist and accompaniment by Julianne Baird (soprano) and Ronn McFarlane (lute) in *The English Lute Song* (Troy, NY: Dorian Recordings, 2005);[18] and in an arrangement for

[11] Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 139.
[12] Wiggins 1799, *Beggars' Bush*.
[13] Ian Spink, 'Wilson, John (1595–1674)', *DNB*.
[14] Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R. 3.12 (James 592), p. 243.
[15] MS Bell-White 25, fos. 25^{v}-26^{r}; see Wiggins 1779.
[16] Now at the Yale Music Library at Yale University, New Haven, Misc. MS 170, Filmer MS 4 (a) fo. 15^{r}, (b) fo. 11^{r}, (c) fo. 15^{v}.
[17] Two out of the three volumes survive, both for treble: Bodelian Library, Oxford, MS Mus. d. 238, p. 76; and MSE.
[18] Available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5EjEK4U-Dw>, published on 19 January 2015.

three voices (soprano, alto, and bass) and lute by the early music group English Ayres in their album *The Laughing Cavalier* (Berkeley, CA: Magnatune, 2010).[19]

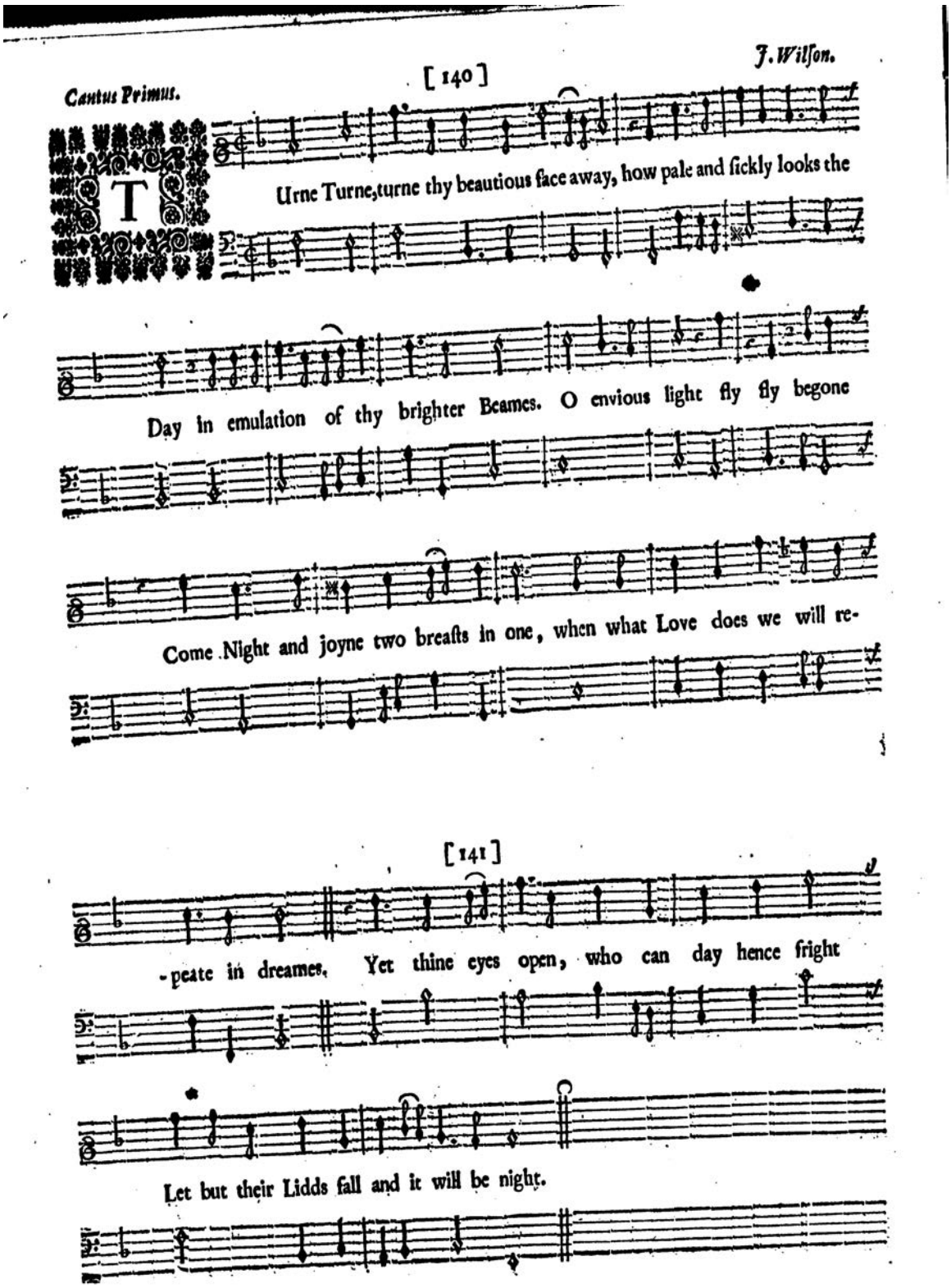
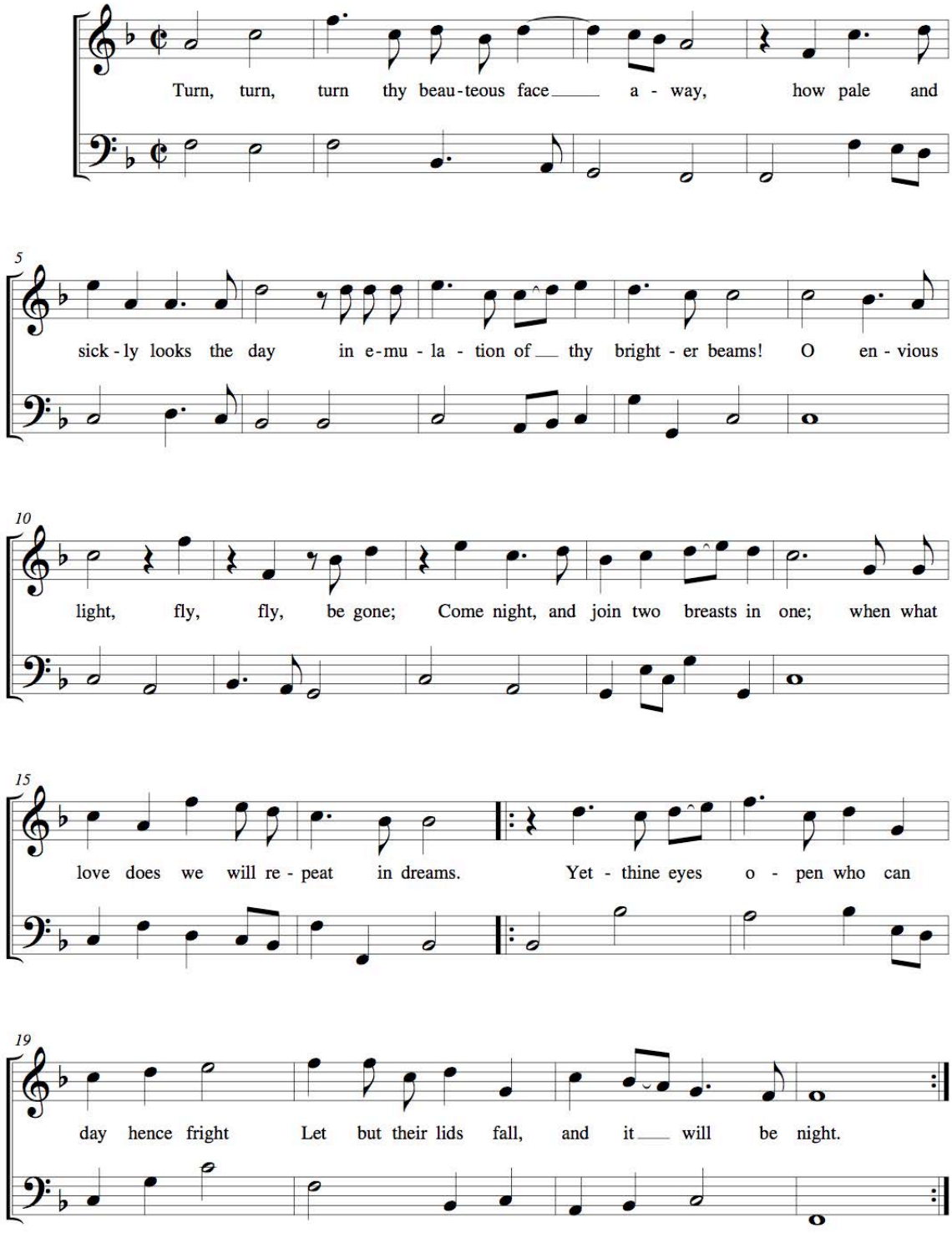


Fig. 18. From *Cheerful Ayres* (Oxford, 1659), sigs T2^{v}-T3^{r}

[19] Also available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXLVfzY4uns>, published on 13 February 2015.

Cantus Primus

J.Wilson



APPENDIX 8. Disputed narrative sources

1) *Gerardo* as a false source.

R. Warwick Bond suggested a connection between four passages in *Love's Cure* and an episode in *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard* by Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, which George Walton Williams accepted without verification.[20] The original book had been printed in Madrid in 1615 as *Poema trágico del español Gerardo*, and was only published in Leonard Digges's English translation in 1622.[21] As these two dates are obviously incompatible with the date of composition of *Love's Cure*, Bond's suggestion could only hold true if the play had been revised at a later stage including the passages supposedly derived from *Gerardo*. As Hoy's theory included a thorough post-1625 revision by Massinger, including the sections in act IV alluded to in Bond's theory, this may have been a possibility that would still allow for the retention of the topical allusions to the 1611-15 period in the extant, supposedly revised, text.[22] However, Bond's identification of *Gerardo* as a source for *Love's Cure* does not stand closer scrutiny.

Firstly, he traced the gulling of Vitelli by Malroda and her associates in 4.2, and the subsequent attack on the young gallant by the group of four rogues, to a passage in *Gerardo* in which the protagonist is ensnared into the private chambers of his beloved Clara, only to be attacked by her uncle and his servants. In his escape, after he has 'leaped out of the window into the street', Gerardo leaves behind 'Hat, Cloke and Pistoll as spoiles'.[23] which Bond linked to the cloak and 'rich hangers' that the Alguazir has been given at the beginning of the following scene (4.3.1). The objects left behind, and the motivation and unfolding of both dramatic situations, are substantially dissimilar. Clara and Gerardo have sexual intercourse before they are interrupted: as he narrates, 'being with her, without scruple [I] gave my selfe to her embraces, & those Armes whose close culling made mee mad with joy.' (sig. D8^{r}) Clara's strategy is to undress the young and naïve Gerardo to maximise his vulnerability, and to leave him defenceless against her uncle by stripping him of his pistol. Vitelli merely loses the hangers of his sword and not the weapon itself, and does not flee the scene as he is saved, for the second time, by the Clara of *Love's Cure*. By contrast, Malroda's approach is based on a negation of further

[20] GWW, p. 7.
[21] For further information about the contemporary popularity of the novel around Europe see Lucía Cucala Benítez, 'Hacia una caracterización genérica de *El español Gerardo* de Céspedes y Meneses: Entre la novela bizantina y la ficción sentimental', *Hesperia: Anuario de filología hispánica,* 13 (2010). Fletcher used the novel as a narrative source in *The Spanish Curate*.
[22] Hoy, 'The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (VI)', p. 49.
[23] Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, *Gerardo the vnfortunate Spaniard. Or A patterne for lasciuious louers Containing seuerall strange miseries of loose affection. Written by an ingenious Spanish gentleman, Don Gonçalo de Cespedes, and Meneçes, in the time of his fiue yeeres imprisonment. Originally in Spanish, and made English by L.D.* (Printed [by George Purslowe] for Ed. Blount, 1622), sig. D8^{v}.

sexual intercourse with her old lover: in order to gull Vitelli out of his jewels before marrying Piorato, she effectively delays the moment of yielding to his advances. After a long conversation in which Vitelli has employed different strategies to try to work his way into her bed, the scene culminates in a final delay:

> VITELLI Shall we to bed now?
> MALRODA
> Instantly, sweet. Yet, now I think on't better,
> There's something first that in a word or two
> I must acquaint you with.
> (4.2.115-18)

As if this were the agreed signal, the Alguazir and the four rogues invade the scene at that point, suspending any possibility of success for Vitelli. The difference between the two situations and the characters' motivations seem to be only loosely reminiscent of one another through a commonplace resemblance.

Bond added that 'Clara [in *Gerardo*] excuses herself as urged by her kindred to compel his fulfilment of an alleged promise of marriage',[24] comparing it to *Love's Cure* 3.3.95 et seq. and 4.2.142-43. Both instances refer to Malroda's claim that Vitelli has promised to marry her, which the gallant disclaims in strong terms. Both situations, however, seem to be entirely unconnected as the promised marriage in *Gerardo* merely serves as Clara's justification for her treachery, while Vitelli denies the betrothal when Malroda indignantly reacts to the rumour that he is marrying someone else. The second example is based on a misreading of the real sense of the lines: 'He's such that would continue [i.e. keep] her, a whore / Whom he would make a wife of.' (142-43) The promise of marriage is Piorato's, and not Vitelli's.

Finally, Bond drew a comparison between a second night-time attack on Gerardo by his rival, Rodrigo, who supposedly corresponds here to Vitelli, with 'the second exploit of the Alguazir's crew' in 4.3. This is even more tenuous, as this scene does not even include Piorato and the intention of the group of rogues is not to attack Vitelli again, but to steal from anyone they may come across at night.

Despite the use of the name Clara in both works, and the fortuitous recurrence of the phrase *in cuerpo* (*Love's Cure* 2.1.1), which appears only once in the English version of *Gerardo* (sig. O2^{v}), and the surnames Sayavedra (only once on sig. N8^{v}) and Mendoza (only once on sig. O3^{v}, as *Mendosa*), the link between the Spanish novel and the English play can be safely dismissed.

2) The case of *La Cesarea Gonzaga* as a possible indirect source.

Stiefel noted that Castro's play may have borrowed some plot details from a prose comedy by Luca Contile (1505-1574), printed in Milan by Francesco Marchesino in 1550 under the title *Comedia del Contile chiamata la Cesarea Gonzaga* (*Comedy by Contile called The Cesarea Gonzaga*).[25] However, the differences outweigh the similarities,

[24] Bond, 'On Six Plays', p. 267.
[25] The name of the play refers to that of its dedicatee, Cesare Gonzaga, Duke of Ariano.

which perhaps suggests a minimal inspiration, or perhaps a fortuitous coincidence. The story involves not one, but two families. On the one hand, Petronio, a gentleman from Bologna, has two children, Lucanio and Cornelia, who has been cross-dressed as a boy named 'Ottavio' from birth, and whose real identity is only known to her father and her father's aunt Angela. On the other hand, Sempronia, a lady from Sassatella, near Modena, has taken refuge in Bolonia from her murdered husband's enemies with her daughter Camilla and her son Cesare, who has been disguised as a girl named 'Giulia' to protect him from their foes. Lucanio falls in love with 'Giulia' (Cesare); Cesare falls in love with 'Ottavio' (Cornelia); and Cornelia in her stead loves Lucanio, who hates 'Ottavio'. Lucanio manages to arrange to have sex in the dark with 'Giulia', only to find himself in bed with Camilla. Meanwhile, 'Ottavio' has arranged a nightly tryst with 'Giulia' at his uncle Alonzio's house. There they both discover their real identities. Cesare, who was in love with a man finds out that that man is, in fact, a woman. But they both fall in love; as Cesare confesses to the astonished Lucanio:

> Non sono io vostra moglie ma vostro cognato, ed e certissima cosa ch'amo vostro fratello come Donna e' moglie che ella m'e. (sig. O1^{r})
>
> 'I am not your wife, but your brother-in-law, and it is a most certain thing that I love your brother as a woman and as the wife that she is to me.'

In the final scene, in addition to the marriage of Cesare and Cornelia, the parents of both families, Sempronia and Petronio, marry each other; Lucanio marries Camilla; and Sempronia's steward Castruccio marries Angela.

The name 'Ottavio' might have been reused for the duellist Otavio in *La fuerza*; the presence of Ruberto, the tutor of Lucanio and 'Ottavio', corresponds to that of the *ayo* or Tutor; and Castruccio may broadly correspond to Galván (and therefore to Bobadilla). The strange case of double cross-dressing is, however, quite dissimilar, as they are not siblings and end up marrying each other. Contile's play also contains obvious homoerotic overtones, while the Spanish and English authors, as we have seen, did not suggest that their cross-dressers had any overt homosexual tendencies.

Though it is intriguing that the name of Lucanio is closer to *Love's Cure*'s Lucio than to Castro's Félix, it is most likely a coincidence: Lucanio is the brother of a female cross-dresser, but he is not himself a transvestite. Another similarity with the English version is that Sempronia has specifically concealed her son from her enemies by dressing him up as a girl, fearing that he might be abducted. Eugenia has taken a similar stance in *Love's Cure*, though she is not afraid of abduction but plain murder, while Doña Costanza in *La fuerza* is herself hiding from her father's wrath, but has no other enemy, and her reasons for dressing Félix in girl's clothes is to keep him at home, away from city brawls and the aggressive world of men. However, rather than trying to trace any kind of mutual literary influence, we can probably assume that these women's motherly protectiveness towards their sons has classical origins: Thetis disguised her son Achilles as a woman to protect him from mortal dangers, as Tirso de Molina dramatised in *El*

Aquiles.[26] In addition, as Martin E. Erickson stated, 'the Italian play does not have a martial maid, as do both the Spanish and English plays'.[27] Finally, the whole confusion that drives the plot of the Italian play is based on the fact that only a few relatives know the actual identity of the two cross-dressers, whereas in *La fuerza* and *Love's Cure* cross-dressing never really addresses the disguise theme as it never causes comic confusion (except briefly for Vitelli in 1.3).[28] Therefore, it seems safe to assume that, even if Contile's comedy had any influence on Castro, the remote similarities that we may find in *Love's Cure* would be due to their appearance in its Spanish literary precedent, and not a direct borrowing from the Italian play.

[26] Bravo-Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español: siglos XVI-XVII*, p. 76.
[27] Erickson, 'A Review of Scholarship Dealing with the Problem of a Spanish Source for *Love's Cure*', p. 119.
[28] See section IV.4 for further discussion of the theme of cross-dressing and disguise in *Love's Cure*.

APPENDIX 9. The Fletcher and Massinger canons[29]

1) The plays by John Fletcher and his collaborators

The Woman-Hater (1606; printed in 1607), with Beaumont

Cupid's Revenge (1607; printed in 1615), with Beaumont

The Faithful Shepherdess (1608; printed in 1609?), *solus*

Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding (1609; printed in 1620), with Beaumont

The Coxcomb (1609; printed in 1647), with Beaumont, perhaps revised by Massinger

The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed (1610; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Scornful Lady (1610; printed in 1616), with Beaumont

A King and No King (1611; printed in 1619), with Beaumont

The Maid's Tragedy (1611; printed in 1619), with Beaumont

The Captain (1612; printed in 1647), with Beaumont

All Is True (or *Henry VIII*, 1612; printed in 1623), with Shakespeare

Cardenio (fragments survive as *Double Falsehood*; 1612), with Shakespeare

Four Plays in One (1613; printed in 1647), with Field

The Honest Man's Fortune (1613; printed in 1647), with Field and Massinger

The Two Noble Kinsmen (1613; printed in 1634), with Shakespeare

The Tragedy of Valentinian (1614; printed in 1647), *solus*

Bonduca (1614; printed in 1647), *solus*

Wit Without Money (1614; printed in 1639), *solus*

The Night-Walkers (1615; printed in 1640), *solus*, revised by Shirley (licensed on 11 May 1633)

Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid (1615; printed in 1647), with Massinger (plausibly also revised by him) and perhaps another collaborator

Monsieur Thomas, or Father's Own Son (1615; printed in 1639), *solus*

Love's Pilgrimage (1616; printed in 1647), with 'Shadow Beaumont'

Beggars' Bush (1616; printed in 1647), with Massinger (or revised by him) and 'Shadow Beaumont'

[29] The dates are the Best Guess in Wiggins.

The Jeweller of Amsterdam (lost; 1616), with Massinger and Field

The Mad Lover (1616; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Chances (1617; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Queen of Corinth (1617; printed in 1647), with Massinger and Field

Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or The Bloody Brother (1617; printed in 1639), with Massinger and Field

Thierry and Theodoret (1617; printed in 1621), with Massinger and Shadow Beaumont

The Elder Brother (1618; printed in 1637), with Massinger

The Knight of Malta (1618; printed in 1647), with Massinger and Field

The Loyal Subject (licensed on 16 October 1618 by Sir George Buc; licensed renewed by Sir Henry Herbert on 23 November 1633; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Humorous Lieutenant (1619; printed in 1647), *solus*

Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt (August 1619; MS), with Massinger

The Custom of the Country (1619; printed in 1647), with Massinger

The Little French Lawyer (1620; printed in 1647), with Massinger

The False One (1620; printed in 1647), with Massinger

Women Pleased (1620; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Island Princess (1621; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Wild-Goose Chase (1621; printed in 1652), *solus*

The Pilgrim (1621; printed in 1647), *solus*

The Double Marriage (1622; printed in 1647), with Massinger

The Prophetess (licensed on 14 May 1622; printed in 1647), with Massinger

The Sea Voyage (licensed on 22 June 1622; printed in 1647), with Massinger

The Spanish Curate (licensed on 24 October 1622; printed in 1647), with Massinger

A Very Woman (1623; licensed on 6 June 1634; printed in 1655), with and/or revised by Massinger (re-licensed on 6 June 1634)

The Maid of the Mill (licensed on 29 August 1623; printed in 1647), with Rowley

The Devil of Dowgate, or Usury Put to Use (lost; licensed on 17 October 1623), *solus*

The Lovers' Progress, or The Wandering Lovers (licensed on 6 December 1623; printed in 1647), with Massinger; revised by Massinger (as *Cleander*, licensed on 7 May 1634)

A Wife for a Month (1624; licensed on 27 May 1624; printed in 1647), *solus*

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (1624; licensed on 19 October 1624; printed in 1640), *solus*

The Fair Maid of the Inn (licensed on 22 January 1626; printed in 1647), possibly completed by Massinger, Ford, and Webster

The Noble Gentleman (licensed on 3 February 1626; printed in 1647), with Middleton?

2) The plays by Philip Massinger and his collaborators

The Honest Man's Fortune, tragicomedy (1613; printed in 1647), with Fletcher and Field (only two small sections)

Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid, comedy (1615; revised 1625?; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

Beggars' Bush, comedy (1616; revised 1622?; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Jeweller of Amsterdam (lost; 1616), with Fletcher and Field

The Queen of Corinth, tragicomedy (1617; printed in 1647), with Fletcher and Field

Rollo Duke of Normandy, or The Bloody Brother, tragedy (1617; printed in 1639), with Fletcher, Jonson, and Chapman (?)

Thierry and Theodoret, tragedy (1617; printed in 1621), with Fletcher

The Elder Brother, comedy (1618; printed in 1637), with Fletcher

The Knight of Malta, tragicomedy (1618; printed in 1647), with Fletcher and Field

The Fatal Dowry, tragedy (1619; printed in 1632), with Field

Sir John van Oldenbarnevelt, tragedy (August 1619; MS), with Fletcher

The Custom of the Country, comedy (1619; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Little French Lawyer, comedy (1620; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The False One, history (1620; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Virgin Martyr, tragedy (licensed on 6 October 1620; printed in 1622), with Dekker

The Woman's Plot, comedy (lost; acted at court in 1621)

The Duke of Milan, tragedy (1621; printed in 1623, 1638), *solus*

The Double Marriage, tragedy (1622; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Prophetess, tragicomedy (licensed on 14 May 1622; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Sea Voyage, comedy (licensed on 22 June 1622; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

The Spanish Curate, comedy (licensed on 24 October 1622; printed in 1647), with Fletcher

A Very Woman, tragicomedy (1623; licensed on 6 June 1634; printed in 1655), with Fletcher

The Bondman, tragicomedy (licensed on 3 December 1623; printed in 1624), *solus*

The Lovers' Progress, or The Wandering Lovers, tragicomedy (licensed 6 December 1623; revised by Massinger in 1634; printed in 1647), with Fletcher [The two titles might correspond to two separate plays, of which only one is extant.]

The Renegado, or The Gentleman of Venice, tragicomedy (licensed on 17 April 1624; printed in 1630), *solus*

The Parliament of Love, comedy (licensed on 3 November 1624; MS), *solus*

The Spanish Viceroy, comedy (lost; December 1624), *solus*

The Fair Maid of the Inn, comedy (licensed on 22 January 1626; printed in 1647), with Fletcher, Ford, Rowley, and Webster

A New Way to Pay Old Debts, comedy (1626; printed in 1632), *solus*

The Unnatural Combat, tragedy (1626; printed in 1639), *solus*

The Roman Actor, tragedy (licensed on 11 October 1626; printed in 1629), *solus*

The Judge (lost; licensed on 6 June 1627), *solus*

The Great Duke of Florence, tragicomedy (licensed on 5 July 1627; printed in 1636), *solus*

The Honour of Women (lost; licensed on 6 May 1628), *solus*

Antonio and Vallia, comedy (lost; 1628), *solus*, reviser of an earlier play?

The Forced Lady, tragedy (lost; winter 1628-29), *solus*

Minerva's Sacrifice, tragedy (lost; licensed on 3 November 1629), *solus*

The Picture, tragicomedy (licensed on 8 June 1629; printed in 1630), *solus*

The Maid of Honour, tragicomedy (January-April 1630; printed in 1632), *solus*

The Emperor of the East, tragicomedy (licensed on 11 March 1631; printed in 1632), *solus*

Believe as You List, tragedy (rejected by the Master of the Revels on 11 January, but licensed on 7 May 1631; MS), *solus*

The Unfortunate Piety, or The Italian Nightpiece, tragedy (lost; licensed on 13 June 1631), *solus*

The Tyrant (lost; second half of 1631), *solus*

The City Madam, comedy (licensed on 25 May 1632; printed in 1658), *solus*

The Guardian, comedy (licensed on 31 October 1633; printed in 1655), *solus*

The Orator (lost; licensed on 10 January 1635), *solus*

Philenzo and Hippolita, tragicomedy (lost; 1635), *solus*

The Bashful Lover, tragicomedy (licensed on 9 May 1636; printed in 1655), *solus*

Fast and Welcome, comedy (lost; 1637), *solus*

The King and the Subject (lost; licensed on 5 June 1638), *solus*

The Noble Choice, comedy (lost; second half of 1638), *solus*

Alexius, or The Chaste Lover (lost; licensed on 25 September 1639), *solus*

The Prisoner, or The Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo (lost; second half of 1639), *solus*

REVISIONS

The Coxcomb, comedy (1609; printed in 1647), reviser of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1636

APPENDIX 10. The 2012 script-in-hand production on DVD (Attached to the back cover of this thesis)

The research project around *Love's Cure* that I coordinated in the spring and summer of 2012 culminated with two performances of the play at the Shakespeare Institute and the main campus of the University of Birmingham on 7 July. The artistic credits are as follows:

Cast (in order of appearance): Charlie Morton (Lamoral), Jason Burg (Anastro), José A. Pérez Díez (Vitelli), John Curtis (Bobadilla), Hadley Brown (Lucio), James Parsons (Eugenia), Richard Ball (Stephano, Metaldi), Peter Malin (Álvarez), Hefin Robinson (Clara), David Southeard (Sayavedra), Adrian McCarthy (Pacheco), Ryan Moir (Lazarillo), Robert Mrozek (Mendoza, Herald), Mark Spriggs (Alguazir), Callum Ashton (Malroda), Richard Nunn (Piorato), Liam Edwards (Genevora), Philip Hickson (Asistente), and Will Cotterill (Guard)

Music arranged and performed by Jennifer Waghorn (Baroque violin) and Cecilia Kendall White (clarinet), with Zoe Hawken (drums)

Directed by Robert F. Ball

Text and dramaturgy: José A. Pérez Díez

Costume design: Red Smucker

Costumes supplied by the Royal Shakespeare Company and Richard Nunn

Stage manager: Helen Osborne

Textual advisors: Peter Malin and Martin Wiggins

Project advisors: Erin Sullivan and Alison Davies

Set design: Colin Judges

Set artwork: Jude Sandelewski

Props and armour: Richard Nunn

Catering: Irma Prieto Menéndez

Archival recording: Kelley Costigan

Edited by Rachel Stewart and José A. Pérez Díez

N.B. Some individual readings spoken by the actors may vary from the final text proposed in this edition.

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By principal author

(English plays in chronological order of Best Guess in Wiggins)

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The deseruing fauorite. As it was lately acted, first before the Kings Maiestie, and since publikely at the Black-Friers. By his Maiesties seruants (London: Printed for Mathew Rhodes, 1629)

Luca Contile

Comedia del Contile chiamata la Cesarea Gonzaga (Milan: Francesco Marchesino, 1550)

Guillén de Castro y Bellvís

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